

THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Vol. XV - No. 2

NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, JANUARY 8, 1951

PRICE: FIVE CENTS

"Great Debate" Awakens People As Crisis Nears

By The Editors

The "great debate" over foreign policy is without precedent in Twentieth Century America. It is not an affair stage-managed by the striped-pants diplomats who politely exchange meticulously formulated lies. Fear and perplexity have loosened their tongues.

Social crisis, that dread virus, threatens to infect the veins of American capitalism. The disease which has paralyzed all other capitalist countries holds no respect for the fat and wealthy U.S., bastion of private profit enterprise. Global strategy now confronts the U.S. with the prospects of the astronomical costs of another all-out war piled on top of the unpaid back-breaking debt of World War II. Portents of catastrophic cycles of wars and revolutions fill the luxurious inner sanctum of the State Department with apprehension.

Uncertainty and consternation gnaw at the self-confidence of the U.S. ruling class and find their way into public pronouncements. The American people feel the nation drifting rudderless in a swift tide toward military and economic disasters. Truman and Hoover, Taft and Acheson, Dulles and Dewey debate how best to prepare the country for war, searching for the most expedient tactical operations in order to maintain the interests of the rich and powerful. But the people discuss foreign policy with opposite aims in view.

A sense of foreboding also grips the American people. The collapse of the Truman-MacArthur "police action" in the Korean civil war has shaken the confidence of the masses in their rulers. They were dismayed by the Korean war from the beginning. Today a vast majority oppose this war.

As long as a feeling of well-being and security existed, they did not speak out. But under the impact of the Korean defeat, the American people — who previously left such matters to the professionals in the business of settling world policy — have entered the debate.

They seek to stop the slaughter of their sons. They search for a way to avert all-out war which threatens to take from them their hard-won working and living standards, their traditional freedoms. They want no global war which augurs only a calamitous future of indefinite duration and little hope of ultimate success.

Hammer blows have shattered the illusions of U.S. security. The imperialist dream of an American Century following the Second World War has turned to ashes. The U.S. is suddenly revealed to be in dire lack of dependable allies. The flower of the American army suffers defeat in battle. All the plans since the end of World War II have gone awry.

What has happened to the scheme to use the American dollar to patch up the disfigured and broken post-war world? Billions in greenbacks were poured into capitalist Western Europe with the end result that it remains debilitated, wracked by recurrent economic, political and social crises.

More billions were poured into the coffers of the dictator-butchers Chiang Kai-shek and his murderous crew in China; but dollars proved to be paper props too thin to maintain foreign domination and the native parasites. A half billion awakened revolutionary fighters brushed aside Chiang and the "paper tiger" of U.S. imperialism.

Instead of "containing" the spread of social revolt abroad, the Marshall plan and aid to Chiang Kai-shek succeeded only in weakening the financial, political and social structure of the U.S. itself.

This failure in Asia and Europe, laid bare by the shock of Korean disaster, has undermined the belief of the American people in U.S. invincibility. The Korean catastrophe laid the "American Dream" beside the bodies of imperialism's GI victims in their icy graves along the roads of retreat.

The Capitalist Road to War

It will soon become clear to our people that the "great debate" on foreign policy in the top circles is not leading to peace and security. The capitalist class is committed to one major strategic approach: All their roads lead to war. That is the road of Truman. That is the road of Hoover. That is the road of Dulles and every other prominent capitalist spokesman. The differences among them are tactical. How, where and when to deploy the armed forces — that is the issue under debate by the political leaders of the American plutocracy.

But the masses of people who are to be the conscripts of war are against the war itself — a war which the Big Business government accepts as inevitable and toward which it is driving.

For most Americans — the working populace — the building of a huge military machine at home and abroad means "austerity." As New York Governor Dewey put it, it means "toll and more toll; sacrifice and greater sacrifice." Traditional freedoms will be destroyed. The youth will be gambled away in another and more dangerous "calculated risk" with odds stacked against victory.

Thus, facing the issue of life or death, American workers, farmers, housewives, students, shopkeepers, clerks — the whole people — are thrust onto the field of politics: world politics.

The political awakening of the American people is at hand. They are intervening in the "great debate." Out of the crisis into which the U.S. has been thrust by its capitalist rulers will emerge the independent will of the people. The giant labor movement, the only organized force capable of providing a leadership and program that gives hope, must forge the instruments to resolve the crisis.

The Trumanite labor leadership, which is today so closely associated with the bankrupt policies of imperialism, cannot hope to prevent this great awakening any more than they could sell imperialism to the workers of Europe or halt the Asian revolution.

As American workers break the bonds which tie them to the corrupt and bankrupt political machines of the old capitalist parties, they will forge new bonds — strong bonds of solidarity with the oppressed of all lands. They will make allies of the masses of Europe and Asia. Together they will find the only real solution to the irrepressible crisis into which our country and theirs have been plunged — the program of world socialism.

"Bring Troops Home!" Mail Floods Congress and Press

Engineers Reject 3-Year Railroad Pact

Pressure of the railroad workers, who have fought for nearly two years for a 40-hour week at the present 48-hour week's pay, was reflected in the decision of the general chairman of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers on Dec. 29 to reject the three-year pact which the Truman administration is trying to foist on the four Railroad Brotherhoods operating unions.

This decision, made in the face of the government's continued "seizure" of the lines, is reported to have "stunned" government officials. They had not reckoned with the sentiments of the railroad men, whose disgust with the stalling and intimidation by the White House, as well as their lack of confidence in the union officials, led to a recent "unauthorized" strike which Truman broke with injunctions.

RANK AND FILE COMMITTEE

Top representatives of the Engineers, Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, Brotherhood of Firemen and Enginemen and the Order of Railway Conductors had accepted the government's formula in an agreement with the carriers. It was subject to ratification by the general chairmen of the unions. Some 125 of the Engineers' chairmen met in a two-day discussion in Cleveland and instructed their top officials to go back to Washington and negotiate a "more favorable settlement." The other unions will act this week.

Officials of the various unions expressed "dissatisfaction" with the government-imposed pact. James P. Shields, head of the Engineers, said he did not like the "three-year moratorium on wage movements."



Plant Discussions Show Strong Anti-War Feeling

By Emmett Moore

FLINT — The latest events in Korea have brought about a sharp change in the political thinking of Flint auto workers. These workers are following with keen interest the foreign policy debate between Hoover, Dulles, Dewey and Acheson. While they remained cold to the arguments of Dewey for full scale intervention, Hoover's address produced animated discussion in all of the GM plants.

These auto workers have demonstrated that they are sick and tired of the bloody Korean war. Everyone you talk to — whether in a bar, restaurant or barber-shop — demands the withdrawal of the troops from Korea. Insofar as the GM workers interpreted Hoover's speech as a demand to recall the troops from Asia they have indicated that they support him. As many of these workers put it, "It's too bad the son-of-a-gun is a Republican."

WORKERS SEEK ANSWERS

The rapid change in the political climate brought about by the crisis of American imperialism in Korea has aided class-conscious militants tremendously. Only a few weeks ago they were treated like outcasts. The intense red-baiting campaign forced them to maintain silence. Now workers seek out these militants to learn their answers to the big political questions of the day. In Chevrolet plants some workers have posted up clippings from The Militant on the Korean war, and in many cases it was reported they remained up all day.

Class-conscious workers who a few weeks ago were interested primarily in union problems are today thirsting for information about America's foreign policy, the colonial uprisings in Asia and the impact of these events on their standard of living at home. These workers are now reading The Militant from beginning to end.

Workers with sons in Korea are extremely bitter in expressing their sentiments. One worker, whose son has gone through the entire Korean campaign, doesn't hesitate to tell workers around him that he writes to his son every week and warns him, "Don't be a glory-seeker — your life is more important than any medals. This is a war for Wall Street and the big shots, be on your guard and try and come back in one piece." It is significant that these remarks are greeted with sympathy by his fellow-workers.

For the first time the auto workers here have come to realize that the gigantic war program is going to drive down their standard of living. They don't like the idea of still more taxes, sacrifice for a war they want no part of. And they fear the consequences of long layoffs when the war contracts come in to the auto plants.

DULLES SAYS CAPITALISM FACES CHOICE: 'DIE IN BED OR IN BATTLE'

By John G. Wright

The Dec. 29 speech of John Foster Dulles, a prominent Republican and a leading official of the State Department, provided little solace and considerable embarrassment for both of the two contending sides in the "great controversy" over foreign policy.

It was promptly repudiated by Guy Gabrielson, Republican national chairman, who declared that "Mr. Dulles did not speak for the Republican Party." For their part, chief administration spokesmen have maintained a studious silence about the speech itself as well as about Dulles' prior telegram to Hoover, denying that this speech was intended as an attack on him as Administration-inspired advance publicity tried to represent.

Dulles assured Hoover that while his own viewpoint is "somewhat different from yours," there was, assuredly, agreement as well as disagreement between them. Indeed, yes.

Instead of going down the line for the administration policy, Dulles associated himself with some of Hoover's salient criticisms of the Truman-Acheson course. What must have irked the administration and the Pentagon

Letters Voice Big Popular Sentiment to Stop War and "Get Boys Out of Korea"

By Art Preis

If a poll of the American people were taken today, they would vote overwhelmingly to stop the war now and withdraw all U.S. armed forces from Korea at once. Denied the right to vote on this life-and-death issue, the people are expressing themselves in a flood of desperate and bitter letters to Congress and their local newspapers.

The Dec. 28 N. Y. Times, a staunch advocate of Truman's war policy, admits that "an independent sampling of Congressional mail showed overwhelming public support for the Hoover approach." To most people, "the Hoover approach" means above all, to immediately end the war and "bring our boys back from Korea."

"Even Congressmen from the East, so-called seat of internationalism, find their mail running from 40-to-1 to 90-to-1 and even greater in support of the Hoover program," reports the Times. "Congressional secretaries, trained to look for 'inspired' communications, were convinced that this outburst was completely spontaneous."

MOTHERS AND HOUSEWIVES

The Congressional secretaries "noted also that many of the letter-writers were women whose viewpoint very well could be influenced by menfolk they have or stand to have in the service." That is, mothers, wives and sisters of men facing death in Korea or army draft are foremost among those demanding an end to Truman's "police action" in Korea that threatens to lead to full-scale war with China and a third world war.

Paralleling the spontaneous barrage of anti-war letters to Congress and the White House is an unprecedented increase all over the country in letters to news paper editors expressing, often in the bitterest terms, opposition to Truman's foreign policy and clamoring for the withdrawal of U.S. troops to this country.

This phenomenon has reached such proportions that the Dec. 31 N.Y. Times devotes a page to a national survey of these letters. Even newspapers, like the Times itself, which support Truman's policy, admit only a "slight" ma-

majority of letters back him. Most newspapers report overwhelming criticism of the Truman-Dulles-MacArthur war.

Typical of the tone of these letters is that of a housewife in The Charlotte (N.C.) Observer: "Get the boys out of Korea and then impeach some of the bunglers who caused it to happen." The Milwaukee Journal said 50% of its letters contained the theme: "No foreign wars, keep our boys at home." A housewife wrote in The Milwaukee Sentinel: "Uncle Sam is getting a little too big for his breeches."

Up to now the American people have not dared to open their mouths because of the intimidation and witch-hunting by the government. They have seized on Hoover's speech as a means through which they can let their real sentiment be known without being persecuted and denounced as "communists." They hope to use the Hoover policy as a wedge with which to drive through their own policy of opposition to the Korean war.

SOUNDING OFF

The Times observes that "from Maine to California, a growing national debate is being waged by housewives, students, factory workers and business men exercising the old American privilege of sounding off." But this unprecedented popular debate in the midst of war cannot be passed off with a sneer about "sounding off."

This debate is deadly serious. It discloses a profound popular dissatisfaction — indeed a fervid opposition — to the martial course of American imperialism. It reveals Truman's Korean adventure as the most unpopular war in American history. It lays bare the government's disdain and contempt for the will and deepest feelings of the American people. It is the beginning of a great awakening of the American people which may end not merely in "sounding off," but in actions that will shake this country to its depths.

these retreats and place them within their historical context.

The alternative for U.S. and Western European capitalism, as Dulles really sees it and rather picturesquely poses, is: Either "to die in their beds, particularly as they grow older"; or to die, like rare generals, with their boots on. As regards the first choice, Dulles is quite optimistic: "We are not doomed to die in our beds," he boasts. As for the second, he admits the legitimacy of doubt. "Have we renewed our youth like the eagle's only to be shot at in battle? That might be." These words are no optical illusion.

We see here in black and white a capitalist politician awkwardly phrasing a major premise of the death-agony of capitalism, scientifically formulated long ago by Marxist thought. The dialectic of history, as Leon Trotsky foretold, is beginning to catch up with the ideologists of American imperialism. As their skulls reel under the blows of events, the mouths of some capitalist politicians start burbling out historical truths, even if in a vulgarized form.

Dulles does not deny that capitalism is old and decrepit. Ignorantly enough, he estimates

(Continued on page 3)

An Asian Revolutionist Speaks for Labor

A two weeks' session of the ILO (International Labor Office) Plantation Committee was held in December in Indonesia, with delegations of workers, employers and government bodies from Belgium, Ceylon, Cuba, France, India, Indonesia, Liberia, the Netherlands, Pakistan, the Philippines, Portugal and the United Kingdom.

The Ceylon Workers delegation consisted of P. Velappillai, M.P. of the Ceylon Workers Congress, M. G. Mendis of the All-Ceylon Plantation Workers Union, and Dr. Colvin R. deSilva, of the All-Ceylon Estate Workers Union.

We believe the speech of Dr. deSilva which we reprint here, will be of great interest to American workers, whose union leaders serve on the ILO as flunkies of imperialism. Dr. deSilva's address is a model of genuine representation of a workers' organization.—Ed.

Following is deSilva's speech:

Sir, I have asked for the rostrum on this occasion because it is necessary to say categorically and publicly that the operative decisions contained in the reports before us do not represent even the level of advance which could have been won at this Conference

by the plantation workers through a properly conducted struggle.

It is necessary also to say publicly and categorically that the primary responsibility for this failure to advance the plantation workers' interests adequately at this Conference rests on the

shoulders of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

The activities of the ICFTU at this Conference have proved it to be the organized projection internationally of the most reactionary aspects of European and American trade unionism. Its surrender-approach to every basic demand of the employers has been matched only by the persistence of its maneuvers against every effort to conduct the workers' case here on a fighting line.

The speeches of its accredited leader, the British trade union representative, have in their approach and content only supplemented the fundamental philosophy of the employers' representatives in respect to working class problems. His tenderness for the rights of private property

has not only matched that of the employers but even at times surpassed that of some governmental representatives. In a word, the ICFTU and its chief representative have in this Conference functioned as an almost open agency of the employers within the workers' group.

FAKE REPRESENTATIVE

Sir, I am bound to add that these maleficent activities of the ICFTU have been facilitated by the fact, that in some cases, the so-called workers' representatives are in fact but the representatives of governments, and that, in other cases, the colonial workers have had foisted on them metropolitan trade union officials. This is a ridiculous position, against which I take this opportunity to protest on behalf of the working

class movement. I take the liberty of also warning the ILO that by not taking the necessary precautions against this sort of fake representation of the workers, it can only bring itself into disrepute.

There is a third protest I must publicly lodge. There has been far too much of an effort all round to convert the deliberations of the Plantation Workers' Committee into an anti-communist demonstration. The line was given at the outset, characteristically, by the British trade union representative with his dark hint about "knowing our real enemy." It was taken up more openly by the Chairman of the Employers' group when he spoke of protecting the workers from "professional agitators and Commun-

(Continued on Page 2)

Yugoslavia Seen With Open Eyes: 10

How Could The Revolution Happen?

By Ernest Germain

How could it happen? How was it possible for the leadership of a Communist Party, educated for two decades in the school of Stalinism, to be able in so short a time to execute so decisive a revolutionary turn in its policy?

And to lead a very small and very backward country so far on the road of workers' democracy than was ever done before in modern times? To answer these questions, two decisive factors must be considered, in their inseparable interrelationship: The specific nature of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, and the specific nature of the revolutionary upsurge experienced by that country since 1941.

If we define Stalinist parties as degenerated working class parties whose leading bureaucracies subordinate the interests of the working class of their respective countries to the interests of the Soviet bureaucracy and the needs of the Kremlin's foreign policy — and that has been the classical definition of Stalinist parties given by Leon Trotsky and the Trotskyist movement ever since 1933 — then it is possible to prove today on the basis of the facts and other material evidence we already possess, which is only part of all the existing material — that the CPY was never a purely Stalinist party in the above sense approximately from the time Tito took over its leadership in 1938.

HITLER-STALIN PACT — During the period of the Hitler-Stalin Pact as well as after the mass development of the resistance movement in Yugoslavia the CPY did not follow the same line as was followed by all other Stalinist parties in Europe (including here the Greek CP where the mass movement was as strong at that time as in Yugoslavia.) During the Hitler-Stalin Pact, the CPY continued its general orientation toward "the establishment of a People's Front from below by organizing and waging a struggle against fascism and reaction" (Tito's report to the Fifth Party Conference in Zagreb, October 1940, reprinted in the first issue of the English edition of "The Communist," organ of the CC of the CPY, October 1946, p. 68.)

At the same time the CPY openly declared that the fascist imperialist powers had started the Second World War, whilst denouncing the "pseudo-democratic mask" of British imperialism (Tito's report to the Fifth Party Conference, Zagreb 1940, same, pp. 50, 68.) This same report included an extremely sharp attack on Hitler's "new order" in Western Europe, an attack which was absent at that time from the publications of the Stalinist parties throughout the world. Only because the CPY did not make the treacherous turn after the conclusion of the Hitler-Stalin Pact which other European CP's had made, only because it did not white-wash Nazi crimes, but did prepare the working class in advance by propaganda and by organization for an armed struggle against the Nazis which it considered imminent just as it considered imminent the involvement of Yugoslavia in the war — only for these reasons could it raise the banner of mass insurrection as far back as June-July 1941.

From the moment this insurrection started, the CPY followed the line of destroying the old state organs, and setting up a new state, based on the People's Committees. It was the only CP in Europe which set up proletarian brigades in the Partisan movement, as far back as December 1941. And was severely rebuked for this by Moscow. It was the only CP which consciously bound up goals of socialist emancipation with the goal of national liberation. It was a party which consciously employed a strategy of civil war in Yugoslavia against the remnants of bourgeois power, against the fascist collaborators of German and Italian imperialism and the no less reactionary agents of British imperialism, Mihailovich's Chetniks. It was only for that reason that the CPY was able successfully to mobilize the broadest masses in that strug-

gle, and pursue it to the complete conquest of power in the country, without any major support from the Soviet bureaucracy. All its public attempts to placate the Western imperialists notwithstanding, it was the only CP whose Partisans sang a song ending with the words: "America and England will be proletarian countries."

STALINIST METHOD

Of course, the CPY leadership held an essentially Stalinist outlook on most of the historical and theoretical problems and tasks confronting the Communist movement at that time. It used essentially Stalinist methods inside its own organization; although Tito succeeded in doing what no out-and-out Stalinist party can ever achieve, namely, to wield together a harmonious group of party leaders, each with his own talents and specific capacities in a specialized field of work. The above-mentioned reports of Tito before the Fifth Party Conference at Zagreb, contain the usual slanderous and insulting language against "Trotskyist agents." But all these elements, important as they are, are not decisive in determining the character of a party. Decisive is its program of action, its actual role in the class struggle, its relations with regard to the immediate and historical interests of the working class. Judging from that point of view, we cannot escape the conclusion that the CPY was indeed not a Stalinist party in the full sense of that term, but rather an organization which tried to conciliate the interests of the Yugoslav working class with those of the Kremlin, and in this process, bending more and more toward the accomplishment of the proletarian revolution in its own country.

While this tendency was present from the start in the CPY, it

became strongly accentuated under the pressure of the most important and vital of all developments; the revolutionary upsurge of the masses, broader in its scope and more powerful than anything witnessed in Europe since the Russian Revolution.

Our fundamental explanation for the rise of Stalinism is the defeat of the revolution, the withdrawal of the masses from the arena of history. Only when the masses become weary and passive can the pressure of bureaucratic elements, whose presence is unavoidable in any proletarian revolution, become decisive enough to swing over to their side a section of the Communist leadership, and wield it together into a weapon of a victorious political counter-revolution.

A mighty revolutionary upsurge of the mass movement, on the contrary, tends to isolate the conservative, nationally narrow-minded and bureaucratic elements in the labor movement, and to impel to the forefront the more revolutionary and audacious elements. Under the constant pressure of the mass movement, a given semi-Stalinist party like the CPY could tacitly adjust its line again and again, move closer and closer toward a revolutionary day-to-day policy. This revolutionary policy empirically arrived at by the CPY enabled the mass movement to push boldly ahead without first having to wage a fight to the finish against its own bureaucratic leadership, as was the case in Spain, in Greece, France and Italy. The specific nature of the CPY and the tremendous scope of the mass revolutionary upsurge reacted upon each other, and made possible the victory of the proletarian revolution in Yugoslavia.

The importance and depth of the Yugoslav revolutionary mass movement was understood at the

time by Trotskyists all over the world. Witness the articles written in that connection in the Fourth International (International Notes in the issues of August and November 1942, and the article "The Civil War in Yugoslavia," by John G. Wright in the April 1943 issue of the same magazine.) Witness the specific articles published by the underground Trotskyist press in Europe, though cut off from any source of information other than the Nazi publications (Quatrieme Internationale No. 2 — "The Partisan Movement in Eastern Europe," December 1943 and No. 3 "Resolution on the Partisan Movement in Europe," February 1944.)

But toward the end of the war, the general counter-revolutionary role of the Kremlin and the Stalinist parties all over Europe, the lack of any concrete information as to what was happening specifically in Yugoslavia, and the lack of any public delimitation by the CPY from Stalinist policy in general, brought our movement to the wrong conclusion that in that country, too, the leadership of the CP had betrayed and halted the revolution.

CORRECT PROGRAM

Events were to show that this was not true. Events showed later that far from strangling the mass movement in 1945, the CPY developed and extended it more and more, thereby eliminating the remnants of bourgeois power still present in the country at the end of the war; completed the setting up of a new proletarian state apparatus, and was ready, only through thus having gained and consolidated the confidence and support of the large masses, for the showdown with the Kremlin. That we needed some time before we were able to recognize all this, is regrettable enough, and no excuse should be sought for it. But that we were able, from the day fol-



TITO

lowing the Kremlin's break with the CPY, to orient ourselves correctly in that conflict, and to understand the world-historic significance of that event — the only tendency in the international labor movement to do so — this is a new and magnificent proof of how correct is our general program and method. It is the only program and method which enables the vanguard of the working class to gain a comprehensive conception of the present world, its contradictions and its general trends of development.

As a product of reaction, Stalinism can be overcome only by a new and mighty revolutionary upsurge of the masses. That has been the alpha and omega of the Trotskyist explanation of the degeneration of the USSR. The one country where a thorough and successful revolutionary upsurge of the masses occurred in Europe has led to the disappearance of Stalinism there. That is the foremost lesson of Yugoslavia!

(Next Week: Permanent Revolution)

Tokyo, Belgrade Report Mao Vying With Stalin

By Fred Hart

On Dec. 24 the Tokyo censors cleared a sensational cable to the N. Y. Times, reporting "a wide split" between Peiping and Moscow over Korea where each is "vying for control." This news is vouchered for as "authenticated." The source is "the United Nations mission, including U.S. observers" at Pyongyang.

North Korean officials and army personnel, among them "a few high-ranking officers" are said to have supplied the following information, either through grilling or voluntarily:

THE KREMLIN'S ROLE

1. — At first Moscow easily got the upper hand in Korea. After the Soviet armies moved in the Chinese-trained Koreans "were pushed out of commanding jobs in the North Korean Communist hierarchy and supplanted by men trained in the Soviet Union;" a tight Russian control was established and maintained over the Korean policy and armed forces.

2. — It was because control over Korea was not in their hands but Moscow's that the "Chinese failed to intervene in the Korean war last summer" when the commitment of even small forces would have settled the war in Korea. But that would have merely entrenched Moscow there.

3. — Since their intervention in Korea, the Chinese have supplanted with their own men "the Russian-oriented (Korean) Communists," including such top figures as "Premier Kim Il Sung who are now being 'played down' by the new Chinese masters."

And, finally, 4. — Moscow has now reportedly conceded, even if grudgingly, to Peiping both control over the conduct of the war and "a major voice in the policies of the future Korean Communist regime."

CHINA IN CONTROL

The Tokyo report dates the rift between Mao and Stalin "as far (back) as the end of World War II." At that time Chinese-backed Kim Dabong, returning from Yanan to Korea, formed the People's Party. Moscow was behind the North Korean Communist Party. The two organizations were merged in 1946 into the North Korean Labor Party in which the Yanan representatives were squeezed out of control,

with Kim Il Sung emerging as "head of the Political Bureau which decided" all policies. Today the situation is reversed with the Peiping-oriented Koreans in the saddle.

How much of this information proves correct, still remains to be seen. It is noteworthy that the news comes by way of Tokyo where MacArthur's publicity machine, supplementing the work of the notorious Chiang lobby in this country, has been picturing, as it still does, the Mao regime as a mere puppet of the Kremlin.

BELGRADE REPORT

Almost simultaneously with the Tokyo report, similar news came from Belgrade, this time in the shape of a political analysis. The Yugoslav Review of International Affairs carried a two-page editorial which analyzed China's intervention in Korea in much the same way:

"The Soviet government started the Korean war to demonstrate its leadership in Asia. The plan collapsed as a result of the defeat of the North Korean armies. The Chinese Communist government then moved its troops into Korea. . . The Chinese Communists have now superseded the Russians in Korea and the Soviet government will not succeed in getting them out." (Dec. 26 Belgrade dispatch by M. S. Handler to the N. Y. Times.)

Whatever else may be in doubt, it is unquestionable that Peiping is today in control of Korea and playing a role independent of the Kremlin not alone in Korea but all of Asia. This is evidenced by a striking difference in policy since the Chinese intervention. Previously no attempt was made to rally the Asian peoples to the support of the Korean struggle and to link the latter up with the All-Asian struggle against imperialism — in short, a typical reactionary Kremlin line was followed. Peiping has been vigorously and demonstratively pursuing just the opposite course.

MAO AND ASIAN MASSES

In this respect Mao's policy cannot be defined otherwise than as revolutionary. At the UN the Peiping delegation spoke over the heads of the assembled diplomats to the Asian and colonial masses. The same has been done by outstanding government and party figures and it has been followed

up by the Peiping radio and propaganda generally. A pact has been recently signed with Ho Chi Minh's Indo-China; and another reportedly with the Burmese revolutionists.

On Dec. 24 Chu Teh, commander of the Chinese armies, spoke in Peiping to a delegation that had just returned from the Warsaw "Peace" Congress. Chu's remarks, given wide publicity, run diametrically opposite to the fraudulent and cynical demagoguery of these latter-day versions of Stalin's peace-masquerades of the Thirties. Chu pointedly stressed that China's military triumphs "will push the anti-imperialist feelings of the various Asian nations to a new record height."

This is to the point and absolutely true. And more than this, China's new role in Korea is fast converting Peiping into the rallying center of the revolutionary struggle of the colonial masses of Asia, and by this token, throughout the world. This not only undermines, to an extent previously unknown in history, the foundations of world imperialism. It will also tend to bring the Mao regime into increasingly sharper tensions with the Kremlin and ultimately into collision with it.

SEEDS OF THE RIFT

It is on the international scale and not solely within the national framework of any single country, including Korea, that the seeds are sprouting of the rift between Peiping and the Kremlin.

It is, before all, as the polarizing center of the Asian anti-imperialist struggle that the Chinese revolution is bound to receive its greatest impulsion toward steering a course independently of Stalin and Stalinism.

Home Building Cut 54% in Next Year

Truman's war program will cut home building by 54% in 1951, according to a survey by the Commerce Department.

Private builders polled by the government department indicated they will cut construction of new homes from 1,300,000 started in 1950 to only 600,000 in 1951.

In place of badly-needed housing, the builders expect to make even bigger profits from government "cost-plus" construction, including military facilities and new arms plants. This is what is happening to the election promises Truman made the American workers in 1948. The "Welfare State" is side-tracked for the garrison state.

Local Addresses Of Socialist Workers Party

- AKRON—For information, write P. O. Box 1342.
- BOSTON—Workers Educational Center, 30 Stuart St. Open Tues., 5:30-9:30 P.M. Social Sat. of every month.
- BUFFALO—Militant Forum, 629 Main Street, 2nd fl. Open every afternoon except Sun. Phone Madison 3-960.
- CHICAGO—166 W. Washington St., Rm 312-314. Phone Dearborn 2-4767.
- CLEVELAND—Pack's Hall, 1446 E. 82nd St. (off Wade Park Ave.), every Sun. 9 P.M.
- DETROIT—6108 Linwood Ave. Open Mon. through Sat., 11-5 P.M. Phone TY 7-8275.
- FLINT—SWP, 1507 Oak Street. Phone 22406.
- LOS ANGELES—Militant Pub. Ass'n, Rm 525, 124 W. 6th St. Phone Vandyke 8061.
- MILWAUKEE—917 N. 3rd St., 3rd fl. Open Sun. through Fri., 7:30-9:30 P.M. Phone Franklin 2-5337.
- MINNEAPOLIS—10 South 4th St. Open daily except Sun. 10 A.M.-6 P.M. Library, bookstore, Phone Main 7781.
- NEW HAVEN—For information, write P.O. Box 1019.
- NEWARK—423 Springfield Avenue.
- NEW YORK CITY—Ho., 116 University Place. Phone: AL 5-7822.
- BROOKLYN—To Luxe Palace, 553 Howard Ave., near Loew's Pitkin. Meeting every Thurs., 8 P.M.
- HARTFORD—102 W. 116th St. Rm 23. Open discussion, every Thurs., 8 P.M.
- OAKLAND (Cal.)—For information, write P.O. Box 1833, or call TD 3648 2-3725.
- PHILADELPHIA—1303-05 W. Girard Ave., 2nd fl. Open every Fri. evening. Phone: STEVENSON 4-5820.
- PITTSBURGH—For information, write P. O. Box 882.
- ST. LOUIS—For information, Phone MO 719.
- SAN FRANCISCO—1739 Fillmore Avenue, 4th fl. Open daily except Sun., 12-4:30 P.M. Phone 5-6410.
- SEATTLE—Maynard Bldg., 1st Ave., So. and Washington, Rm 201. Open Mon. through Sat., 12-5 P.M. Branch meeting every Thurs., 7:30 P.M. Library, bookstore, Phone Main 9278.
- TOLDO—For information, write P.O. Box 1502.
- YOUNGSTOWN—234 E. Federal St. Call 5-1779.

STILL AVAILABLE The 1949 Militant neatly bound in durable covers. Order one for your reading room. Only \$4.50. The Militant, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

An Asian Revolutionist Speaks

(Continued from Page 1)

ists." As a Trotskyist myself, that is to say, as a member of the Fourth International, which, basing itself on authentic Marxism, fights for the establishment of revolutionary proletarian democracy in every country in the world, I cannot let these remarks pass. Permit me, therefore, to exchange courtesies in this matter by pointing out that this type of remark comes ill from imperialist exploiters, colonial reactionaries or even their trade union stooges.

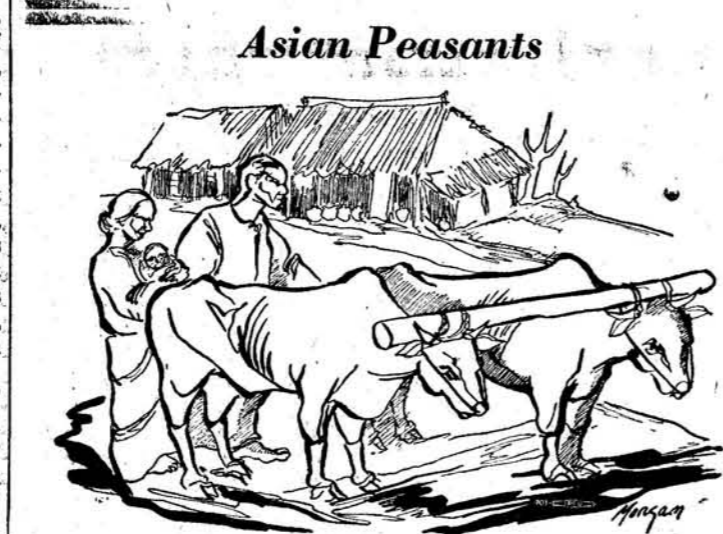
Sir, we of the Ceylon Workers' delegation have refused to fall for this diversionist maneuver behind which the employers have sought to displace even the sober report of the ILO on the condition of the plantation workers. We would stress that the enemy of the plantation workers is to be found, not in Moscow or in Peking, but in the great metropolitan centers of Europe and America, and in the colonial regions which they directly or indirectly dominate. Our joint deliberations have underlined this fact, and the reports before us reflect it.

PLANTATION ECONOMY

It is a pity the reports before us do not bring out the true significance of the plantation economy in the backward countries. From the historical and sociological standpoint, the plantations constitute the specific economic form which foreign capitalism adopted for its intrusion into the pre-capitalist country-side of the colonies. Indigenous capital, in its development under the auspices of foreign capital, simply followed in its footsteps.

From the social standpoint, the plantations represent the disruption and even destruction of earlier forms of social organization, the uprooting of the country-folk from their villages, and, in many a case, their personal transplantation to new communities dominated by the wage relationship.

Here, however, there is an im-



Asian Peasants

portant distinction to be made from the similar process in the metropolitan countries. Although, from the standpoint of technique and organization, the plantations represent nothing but the introduction of the factory system of industry into colonial agricultural production, nevertheless, the plantation owners, operating, as they often do or have done, amidst societies of a pre-capitalist character, have been able to keep the wage relationship anchored to earlier social relations and thereby to thrust their labor force down to a substantially serf or semi-serf position.

That is the true significance of a transplanted, resident labor force in plantation areas which either have never had the village at all or have encircled the village and even wiped it out. And that is why we have had perpetrated in one of the reports today the international joke of resolving solemnly that the resident labourer should, in this 20th century, have the right of entertaining his friends and relatives.

Sir, if the problem is regarded in the above background, it will readily be seen that the fundamental question before the plantation workers is not one simply of more humane recruiting methods, better housing and medical attention, and the like. It is a question of fundamental human rights achievable only in the political field. That is why even the most "moderate" of plantation workers' trade unions is also automatically political; and it is therefore pointless to renounce that fact. And that too

is why the apparent problems of labor relations turn out to be really problems of property relations, matters in respect of which it is impossible for workers to rely on the "impartiality" of the state.

Moreover, Sir, unless this fact is firmly grasped, the trade unions can have no real or effective reply to the employers. The employers have insisted here that they have already gone ahead with the provision of medical and other amenities. But what does the claim really amount to? Only that, like every butcher, they fatten their cattle for the slaughter! The point, however, is not the fattening — the issue is the slaughter! And that is why every workers' representative worth the name must repudiate this butcher's approach to the working class instead of adopting it as the IOFTU have done.

This also is the reason why, Sir, the Ceylon Workers' delegation has consistently sought in this Conference to place such issues as the right of entry and meeting, the claim to tenancy rights, and the like, in the very centre of the picture, instead of mere social amenities. The plantation worker requires most to be free and not merely fat! He must be free to order his life as he wills, to organize for his needs, to fight for his rights. Labor which is on a semi-serf or serf footing must necessarily make that the primary issue — and no one who fails to grasp this can correctly conduct the plantation workers' struggle.

Let it be said for the employers' representatives here that they have understood this point beyond cavilling. As their colleague and my compatriot on the other side of the battle line, Mr. J. A. T. Perera, put it: "There is still such a thing as private property." How true! How realistic! How pertinent! It is a statement from the employers' side of a principle

of negotiation which every trade unionist should grasp, viz. no negotiation on principles, but only on their application! In other words, no abandonment of the class struggle, which is precisely a struggle over the question of perpetuating private property in the means of production.

Sir, we of the Ceylon delegation have been attacked by the IOFTU and its allies for standing firm on this principle; but we are impatient. To the charge that this is politics, we plead guilty; but we also summon both the employers and their government as our associates in crime. They make no bones about political methods and partisanship when fundamental issues are at stake.

To the charge that we are uncooperative we answer: it is necessary to be intransigent on principled questions, we have never ruled out negotiations on other things.

And to the trade unionists pure and simple, if there be indeed such, who find in us obstacles in the way of their getting little concessions, we say: it is not we who are obstacles but yourselves who pathetically plead for urgent action by the employers in your favor lest the Communist replace you. The working class is not here, or anywhere else for that matter today, begging for favors; it is here, as elsewhere, to fight for its objectives. And that objective, in the case of the plantations, is not crumbs from the tables of the plantation-owners but the plantations themselves.

I understand that the employers have made a persistent drive for plantations to be defined. It is sufficient for us that both they and we can recognize a plantation when we meet it. For the workers seek, not favors, but power. Their demand is not the rationalization of the plantation economy, but the nationalization of the plantations. And, definition or no definition, the workers will achieve it!



Order from PIONEER PUBLISHERS

THE MILITANT ARMY

"Leon Trotsky said that a good socialist must have tenacity," writes Literature Agent Manny Stone of Chicago. "Our Militant sales people are trying to live up to this advice. When The Militant put out its special Dec. 4 'STOP THE WAR NOW' issue, a bang-up job was done here in selling it in spite of very heavy snows and freezing temperatures."

"One of our sales took place at a Stalinist meeting in the evening. It was so cold that our fingers and feet were numb after standing only ten minutes. We parked a car directly in front of the building. Two of us sold while the other three warmed up inside the car. As soon as those people were gone, we went out selling The Militant. It was a triumph. We had thawed out would replace us. In this fashion we sold 17 Militants."

"A total of 161 Militants were sold at sales, newsstands and at the office. Among those participating were Paul, Bert, Marze, Gus, Joe, Snow and Elaine. Like all the other members of the Militant Army, these comrades have demonstrated that they are not just fair-weather socialists."

From Detroit, Literature Agent Howard Mason reports "some pretty good distributions this past week." At a small forum sponsored by two union locals, Fred sold six Militants and a six-month subscription. At another meeting, Knight sold seven. Jack and Esther sold eight copies of Fourth International, the theoretical magazine of American Trotskyism, at a NAACP meeting. This was the issue on "Marxism and the Negro." Lee, Larry and Stanley sold 15 Militants and five copies of the "American Labor Leaders" issue of the FI at a local union meeting. While Fred and Bea sold five Militants and two FIs.

Deadline for Militant The deadline for articles and ads for The Militant is the Tuesday before the date of publication.

J. B. of Seattle says that the series of articles by Ernest Germain on Yugoslavia "have made many friends for us" on the campus.

J. T. S. of Saskatchewan, Canada, congratulates The Militant on publishing James P. Cannon's letter denouncing Truman for plunging America into undeclared war in Korea. "That letter was sure a good one."

H. A. of Chicago on renewing his subscription made it \$5 instead of the usual \$2 for one year. The extra money is for The Militant's "tireless striving for a better world to live in and your courageous work in an insane society." Thanks a lot, H. A.

C. D. of Pottstown, Pa., writes: "Congratulations on your Dec. 11 issue. It was wonderful. I could not stop until I read it from end to end. If enough copies of this issue and Dec. 4 could be distributed it sure ought to upset the suicidal foreign policy of our rulers. Enclosed is \$1. Send 17 copies of the Dec. 11 issue and 16 copies of the Dec. 4. Thanking you and hoping we can yet stop this damn Third World War."

Stocks Up Despite Excess Profits Tax

Despite the hullabaloo about the excess profits tax, and the moans and groans of capitalist spokesmen, the New York stock exchange reports that major corporate stocks have risen as much as \$1.50 a share in the past week.

One reason for this show of "optimism" is the fact that the profits tax loopholes will allow big business to deduct from its returns, over a period of five years, the full cost of any improvement or expansion of productive capacity.

The temporary readjustment difficulties, which have resulted in mass layoffs of auto workers, have not affected stocks. The financiers see ahead another lush period of wartime profiteering and unchecked governmental favors to industry.

Subscriptions: \$2 per year; \$1 for 6 months. Foreign: \$3.00 per yr; \$2 for 6 mos.

THE MILITANT

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

Bundle Orders (5 or more copies): 50 each in U.S., 60 each in foreign countries.

Vol. XV - No. 2

Monday, January 8, 1951



TROTSKY

On Labor's Way to Win Middle Class

"In the epoch of the rise, growth and the bloom of capitalism the petty bourgeoisie, despite acute outbreaks of discontent, generally marched obediently in the capitalist harness.



LENIN

— Leon Trotsky, Political Programs of the Petty Bourgeoisie, 1932

No Voice for Labor

We are informed by the daily press that a "new" Congress took over on Jan. 6. The term "new" is misleading, if not false altogether.

But, in essence, it's the same old Congress that's been legislating for this country for a good many years now, including most of the personages who have been shooting off their mouths in the Capitol Hill chambers and conniving in its corridors through both the Republican 80th and Democratic 81st Congresses.

Of course, the Trumanite union leaders and liberals shake their heads mournfully and warn us that this Congress is likely to be "worse" than the last. They mean that it won't contain quite as many Democrats.

All this "new" Congress is likely to do is carry on the line of the last one and the one before that. It will, perhaps, extend repressive legislation like the Mc-

Carran-Kilgore police-state bill and the Taft-Hartley Act. It will vote to spend more billions for the military machine. It will pass more special-privilege legislation to protect the profits and interests of the rich.

In one thing especially this Congress will be no "worse" than the others. The 82nd Congress will contain not one single genuine spokesman for labor. No voice will speak there for the working people.

What a shame and disgrace that in this hour of decision, this opening of the "great debate" on foreign policy on which the fate of humanity hinges, the mighty millions of organized labor and its allies among the Negro people, working farmers, and lower-middle class must stand on the sidelines while the enemies of humankind hold forth in the ruling councils.

There will never be a Congress to legislate the will of the people until organized labor makes up its mind to set up its own political party, break with every last vestige of capitalist parties and politics and houseclean Washington from cellar to attic.

Who Will Sacrifice?

Gov. Dewey of New York has called upon the American people to prepare for "toil and more toil, sacrifice and more sacrifice," as the U.S. prepares for World War III.

But who will toil? Not the Duponts in their 150-room castles in Delaware; not the useless scions of America's 60 richest families. Perhaps they will convert their rounds of cocktail parties into "benefits" for the "boys over there," as their contribution.

Who will sacrifice? Not the profiteer-parasites who own and control American industry. In the last war they got cost-plus — a guaranteed profit. In any new world conflict their "normal" profits will again be held sacred. Their President and their Congress will see to it that they continue to live in the style to which they have become accustomed.

Wars make little difference to the U.S. plutocracy. They never have and never will toil or sacrifice, under the system of private ownership of the means of production.

As always under capitalism, the workers will bear the burdens of war. As the United Mine Workers Journal stated in its last issue, "War has always been a rich man's game by which the rich get richer and the poor get poorer."

When Dewey speaks of "toil and more.

toil" it means speed-up and more speed-up to the workers. When he and all the other top capitalist spokesmen speak of "sacrifice" they mean the wage-freeze, and a lower standard of living for the masses of people.

And when these capitalist politicians try to soften these blows with talk of "equality of sacrifice" they lie. This phony slogan, lifted out of Roosevelt's arsenal of duplicity which he used to corral the people into World War II, is too threadbare today to convince workers.

They remember that last time the rich sacrificed nothing. Cost-plus war contracts further enriched the billionaire class; Roosevelt's promised \$25,000 salary freeze was never effected; but wages were frozen and prices soared. The government built plants and turned them over to the monopolists; the scramble for profits and ever greater profits was never checked.

Not only the mine workers know that "war is a rich man's game." World War II taught this to millions. No one expects this coming war to be different. As the full effects of the all-out war mobilization are felt, the American workers will show their wrath against this "game" of toil and sacrifice for the laboring poor and plunder and pleasure for the idle rich.

Truman's Support for Franco

With Truman's appointment on Dec. 27 of investment banker Stanton Griffis as this country's first ambassador to Spain in five years, Washington has restored full diplomatic relations with the bestial fascist dictatorship of Franco, who seized power with the aid of Hitler and Mussolini by butchering two million Spanish workers and peasants.

Only last Nov. 2 Truman had stated that it would be a "long, long time" before he would name an envoy to the regime that had supported the side of the Axis during the last war. Reminded of this fact when he announced the appointment of Griffis, Truman brushed it off by saying his formal full recognition of Spain "does not represent a change of policy" and that it made "a little more orderly way of doing business."

In a broad sense, Truman told the truth. From the start of Franco's bid for power, the policy of the administration in Washington was one of aid and comfort. Roosevelt's embargo on arms to Loyalist Spain, while Franco was supplied by Hitler and Mussolini, was designed as calculated aid to the Spanish fascists, the political arm of Spanish capitalism.

Subsequently, Washington accorded speedy recognition to Franco and maintained full and friendly diplomatic relations with him throughout World War II. It was not until Dec. 31, 1945, that

Truman withdrew ambassador to Spain, Norman Armour.

This action was taken only after the UN, against U.S. resistance, had adopted a resolution to brand Franco's regime as "fascist totalitarianism" and as a partner of Hitler and Mussolini. It recommended that all UN nations withdraw their diplomatic representatives from Spain.

But it was in the cards that Truman, at the first opportunity, would bring Franco back "into the fold." Acheson indicated a year ago that the U.S. would seek to reverse the UN's position. Under U.S. economic and political pressure, the majority in the UN removed the ban last Nov. 4. Thereafter Congress passed and Truman signed a bill for a \$62 million loan to prop up the corrupt and rotten Franco regime. Truman ordered the release of these funds to Franco a month later.

But Truman did not tell the whole truth. This much is changed in his policy: With full diplomatic relations, Washington will now be able to send hundreds of millions of dollars to Franco; supply him with arms openly and directly; cover him with a cloak of international "respectability." In short, the capitalist government of the U.S. has come to the rescue of tottering Franco and reinforced his brutal dictatorship over the Spanish people.

U.S. Moves to Restore Japan's Military Power

By Joseph Keller

Hard-pressed U.S. imperialism is now moving openly to re-militarize another of its former Axis foes — capitalist Japan. The empire which American armed forces subdued and occupied less than six years ago is to be converted into the Asian spearhead for Washington's planned conquest of China and the Soviet Union.

The policy of restoring Japan as a military power in alliance with Western imperialism was officially indicated in the note on the question of a Japanese peace treaty which the State Department handed on Dec. 28 to the Kremlin's UN delegate Malik.

SEPARATE TREATY

This note not only asserted Washington's intention to impose its own separate peace treaty on Japan, but that "irresponsible militarism" would "make it reasonable for Japan to participate with the United States and other nations in arrangements for individual and collective self-defense."

The effect of such a treaty, which U.S. officials hope to conclude within six months, would be to "allow the Japanese Government to go ahead promptly with the reestablishment of Japanese armed forces." (N. Y. Times, Jan. 1.)

Gen. MacArthur, the madly-ambitious dictator of Japan who dreams of being the conqueror of all Asia, made explicit the aim which was merely implicit in the State Department's note to the Soviet Union. In his New Year's message to occupied Japan, he stated:

FORCE TO MEET FORCE

"Your constitution renounces war as an instrument of national policy . . . the highest ideal the modern world has ever known. . . (But) it is inherent that this ideal must give way to the overwhelming law of self-preservation, and it will become your duty within the principles of the United Nations in concert with others . . . to mount force to repel force."



GEN. MacARTHUR

MacArthur, whose own highest ideal is ever to "mount force," for once looked graciously upon the State Department. He called its note to the Kremlin a "honey." Only three years ago, on a similar occasion, MacArthur had declared that to permit the slightest rearming of Japan would be to "backtrack" on the professed aims of America in the second world war — a war which cost the American people several hundred thousand casualties in the Pacific alone.

But there has been no waiting on a peace treaty to set in motion the rearming of Japan. Gordon Walker, Chief Far Eastern Correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor, wrote last week from Tokyo: "Any realistic observer here who listens to the mounting debate over the question of Japanese rearmament and who witnesses the gradual build-up and training of the new national police reserve has little choice but to say that rearmament of Japan — however limited — already is under way. The only thing missing has been formal publication of the fact precluded by suitable appeals to public opinion."

MacArthur, three days later in his New Year's message, supplied this "suitable appeal." Hanson W. Baldwin, N. Y.

Times military analyst, flatly asserts that, "rearmament of Japan actually has started . . . this is the real meaning of the creation last summer by the Japanese government, under Gen. MacArthur's direction, of a national police reserve in Japan. . . Virtually all of the enlisted men have had military training and when the occupation's 'purge bans' on several thousands of former Japanese non-coms and officers was lifted last fall, a pool of trained leaders was made available."

Baldwin — whose views undoubtedly reflect the administration's opinion — asserts that Japan "will fashion the history of tomorrow in the Western Pacific," that "a strong Japan is the only way in the long run to restore a balance of power in the Orient" and that "Japan as a great power — a great power politically, economically and militarily — is essential to any long-term stabilization program in the Orient."

AN IMPERIALIST POWER

In this same article, Baldwin concedes rearming of Japan involves a "major risk" that the Mikado's empire might again become "an expansionist imperialist power." He reports that the former Japanese general staff officers "still maintain an underground liaison with each other." He might have added that Japan still remains under the control of the monopolists, monarchists and militarists who ruled Korea for four decades and overran China for 14 years.

But for American imperialism, as Baldwin argues, there is "no way out" other than to rearm the imperialist rivals whom it conquered in 1945. It needs the power of those great industrialized countries, Japan and Germany, if it hopes to carry through its program of world domination. And, as in the case of Western Germany, it is determined to force on the highly reluctant Japanese people the "duty," as MacArthur termed it, of carrying the intolerable burden of an imperialist war machine once more.

DULLES SAYS CAPITALISM FACES CHOICE: 'DIE IN BED OR IN BATTLE'

(Continued from Page 1)

that it is "1,000 years old"; adding some 500 years to the genealogy of this social order which first saw the light of day in the Fifteenth Century. The remarkable thing about capitalism is not at all its imposing historical span, which is brief in comparison to the preceding societies (feudalism, slavery), but rather the fact that it has become outlived and anti-social more swiftly than any other previously known economic and political system.

So bankrupt, in fact, has capitalism become that its champions are left without any ideas of their own to bring to its defense. And so a Dulles has the gall to plagiarize from the arsenal of Marxism one of its noblest ideas and ideals, namely: Marx's formula for the Communist society of the future: "From each according to his abilities; to each according to his needs." After outrageously falsifying the entire postwar period, Dulles, almost as an after-thought, adds that "our capitalistic society has come to approach . . . the ideal of production according to ability and distribution according to need!"

Again, it is historical necessity that puts such hitherto unthinkable words on the lips of this arch-conservative Republican, who has fought every single pro-labor measure and who still voices displeasure at "our own social changes" as having gone "too far."

To commit his plagiarism from Marx, Dulles has to resort to two whopline lies. First, he takes the "Communist world" of Stalin — which is neither a "world" nor Communist — as the yardstick for his comparison. Second, he paints up the misery and degradation of the bulk of humanity — in the first instance the billions who live in the Asian and other colonial hell holes — at whose expense capitalism here and abroad has achieved every single phase of its development.

LIMITED WAR

Like the soberest of his colleagues, Dulles recognizes the need of retreat, and just like the rest he shies away in panic from the scope of retreats dictated, above all, by the revolutionary upsurge of the Asian masses. He seeks to strike a happy compromise between the Hoover line — which is too "defensist" for

him — and the administration line which in some respects he holds too risky and adventurous. But on the whole Dulles leans to the Truman-Acheson-MacArthur gamble of "limited war" in Asia and the almost equally risky gamble of reviving Nazi German military might in Europe. And once again, Dulles is by far the most outspoken.

FULL SCALE WAR

The administration policy, especially the backing up of MacArthur, makes the spread of war

in Asia not only likely but unavoidable. Dulles not only admits this, but also that the outbreak of the world war itself may be imminent. "We cannot be sure that anything we now do will, in fact, prevent the awful catastrophe of a third World War." It is one way in which he put it.

"We cannot be sure!" The American people must make sure that the fateful issues now up for decision are decided by them and not left in the hands of these divided, frightened and self-destructing capitalist rulers.

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS By LEON TROTSKY

- The First Five Years of the Communist International — Vol. 1 384 pages cloth \$2.50
The Revolution Betrayed 308 pages cloth 2.50
The Soviet Union—What it is—Where it is going paper 1.50
In Defense of Marxism.... 240 pages cloth 2.00
An Analysis of the Reasons for defending the Soviet Union against imperialist attack. paper 1.50
The Permanent Revolution.... 176 pages 2.50
The author's famous thesis on revolutionary policy in the colonial and semi-colonial countries.
In Defense of the Russian Revolution 16 pages .15
1932 Copenhagen speech explaining the Revolution.
Lesson of Spain—The Last Warning! 48 pages .25
A withering exposure of the politics of Stalinism.
Stalinism and Bolshevism 40 pages .15
Stating the differences between Stalinism and Revolutionary Socialism.
Fascism, What It Is—How to Fight It 48 pages .15
A compilation of articles explaining events in the process of development and the reasons.
Their Morals and Ours 64 pages .25
Trotsky's answer to the bourgeois "moralistic" arguments.

Order from PIONEER PUBLISHERS 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

WHEN THE GIs DECIDED TO COME BACK HOME

By George Breitman

It is now five years since the world-wide "we want to go home" demonstrations by American troops put a crimp in the imperialist plans of the White House and the Pentagon. This is an anniversary especially worth observing today, when a similar demand — to withdraw the GIs from Korea — is being raised by broad sections of the American people, and even a section of the capitalist class.

In recent years it has become fashionable for Congressmen and capitalist publicists, in referring to the demobilization demonstrations, to darkly hint or openly insist that they were "communist-fomented." That is both a slander of the GIs and credit for the Stalinists that they don't deserve. The Daily Worker's real position at that time was for demobilization of all the troops "except those essential for occupation" — which was exactly what the Pentagon was saying.

Actually, the GI protest demonstrations that began around Christmas Day, 1945, and reached their peak early in January 1946, were one of the most spontaneous, popular and fast-spreading movements in the history of the American people. Radicals and trade unionists with militant reputations like Emil Mazey of the UAW played a role of leadership in some cases, but not all; in several countries where American troops were stationed, the most active and guiding spirits were young men who had never had any political experience, and who were still in high school long after the war began. Nobody "organized," let alone "fomented," it; like most great mass movements and revolutionary explosions, it burst out by itself, with a force and power expected by nobody, including its leading participants.

The demonstrations had one central aim — to protest the delays in bringing the troops back to the U.S. and to express opposition to the reported plans of the government to keep large numbers overseas as a force to police the world indefinitely. The prospect of being used as occupation armies (like the just-defeated troops of the German and Japanese imperialists) was regarded with aversion and hatred by virtually all the enlisted men and junior officers.

FIRST BIG ACTION IN PHILIPPINES

The first big action came in the Philippines on Christmas when 4,000 GIs marched to the Manila replacement depot headquarters to protest the cancellation of a scheduled transport sailing for home. The men dispersed after the depot commander warned them, "You men forget you're not working for General Motors (then shut down by the first big postwar strike). You're still in the Army." But the threat of harsh disciplinary action by the brass hats proved ineffectual to quell the rebellious sentiment of the troops. They met again, and again, each time in greater numbers. They held mass meetings, issued mimeographed leaflets explaining their grievances, and began to elect representatives from their units. This culminated in the establishment of the Manila Soldiers Committee, consisting of 156 delegates from units representing 139,000 men, with a central committee of eight, including six enlisted men and two officers.

The news raced around the world like wildfire. Everywhere GIs began to act on their own, setting up their own committees, staging demonstrations, writing home urging their families and their congressmen to publicize and help win their demands. Germany, France, Japan, Korea, Hawaii, England, Alaska and dozens of other countries — including the U.S. itself — were the scenes of mass action, organization and protest by American troops who had gone docilely enough into the army to "fight fascism" but who now were upsetting the Washington apple-cart by their reluctance to act as police toward the peoples of other lands.

After a period of hesitation and vacillation, the top brass forbade further demonstrations, but by then, almost a month after Christmas, it was too late. The American people had been alerted, and they responded to the appeals of their sons and brothers overseas. Congress was bombarded with angry demands to bring the boys back, and the brass hats had to retreat. Not only political pressure, but newly-aroused doubts about the wisdom of trying to occupy countries with "disaffected" troops, induced them to speed up demobilization to a tempo they had never bargained for during the war.

Thus the demonstrations had great political effects all over the world — exactly how great we may not learn until the files of the State Department and Pentagon are thrown open. But as we look back at the events today we can justly say that their social significance was just as great.

UNION METHODS UTILIZED BY TROOPS

The capitalist class had expected that a strikebreaking force of some magnitude could be recruited from among the veterans, whom they had sought to arouse against strikers during the war. But things turned out quite differently. Veterans were in the forefront of the strike wave that followed V-J Day, and what was infinitely more shocking from the viewpoint of Big Business and its government, even the soldiers in uniform, many of them still in their teens, were adopting strictly labor methods and techniques to dramatize their grievances.

How did it happen that these troops, so many of whom had never held a job in a factory, were now running mass meetings, marches and parades, electing delegates, issuing bulletins, defying military discipline and acting for all the world like union members engaging in a strike? Police-minded people may seek the answer in "communist fomentation" but Marxists find it in the great transformation of the American working class that began with the depression of 1929 and proceeded through the surges of militant unionization that swept over this country during the Thirties and early Forties.

The workers became union conscious on a mass scale; they still had not risen to the level of independent political action and class consciousness, but their experiences of conflict with the capitalists on the economic field profoundly affected the thinking and practices of most working class families. The GIs who came from these families instinctively resorted to proletarian methods, whose effectiveness they had seen tested in the struggles of their fathers and brothers. Their bold actions testified to the militancy of the American working people and reflected the process of mass radicalization that began to unfold almost 20 years ago and is still continuing today, although temporarily at a slower pace.

COURAGE AND TIMING SHOWN BY GIs

Those demonstrations took real courage, initiative and ability to strike while the iron was hot. The troops were still under military discipline and subject to severe penalties under the Articles of War — disadvantages that rival anything workers have to contend with when they go on strike in defiance of government injunctions and threats of "military seizures." But the GIs showed an excellent sense of timing, taking full advantage of the "victory" that had been won and the psychological moods this produced, and they moved so quickly and powerfully that they had accomplished their purposes before the brass hats quite realized what had struck them.

Today, of course, the situation is quite different. The troops in Korea want to come home — nobody seriously questions that mood, which keeps manifesting itself in even the most carefully censored dispatches from Seoul and Tokyo. But both the political and military situations make it extremely difficult for them to voice their demands in the manner of 1945-46.

That is why an even bigger obligation rests with the American people today than it did five years ago when their relatives in the armed forces asked their help in speeding demobilization. The GIs don't have the elbow room they had then, they cannot speak freely or act independently. Furthermore, their need of help is far greater. In 1946 they were not in immediate danger — today their very lives are jeopardized by the efforts of the imperialists to subdue the revolutionary peoples of Asia, and even a delay of weeks may mean thousands of added casualties.

On behalf of the troops and on behalf of their own aspirations to prevent the outbreak of a third world war, the American people should redouble their clamor to stop the war now and bring the troops back home. The militancy and boldness shown by the GIs five years ago can serve as the best of all models for the American people today.

Baby Food Upsets Editor

By George Lavan

As old as class society itself is the cry of the privileged that "the lower classes are being pampered." The N. Y. Herald-Tribune recently echoed this lament. The editors of this ultra-dignified journal of Big Business viewed with alarm the Consumers Price Index of the Bureau of Labor Statistics. That their alarm was not abstract is explained by the fact that a million and a half workers have union contracts containing escalator clauses that escalate according to the figures of this price index.

Now the BLS is a governmental agency. Like all such agencies it is not neutral in the class struggle, but minimizes the rise in the cost of living. It is headed by political appointees and political appointees don't stay appointed very long if their public reports contradict what the appointers are saying.

At present the BLS price index is being revised before it loses credibility among the workers.

As the editor of the Herald-Tribune read down the long list of consumer items used as the basis for figuring out what the average consumer buys, his face grew redder and redder. Finally, no longer able to restrain his indignation, he disturbed the calm of the editorial sanctum by expiating (narratively): "By Jove! The country is going to the bow-wow. This bureaucratic bureau is pampering the working man. Why those beggars are living like kings!"

Among the items so infuriating to him were prepared baby foods, frozen foods and electric toasters. In an editorial entitled, with withering sarcasm, "What, No Caviar?" it was pointed out that: "Frozen foods and even prepared baby foods are a luxury in the sense that they are easy, time-saving and labor-saving — but not necessities."

The Herald-Tribune wants to introduce a new criterion for the Consumers Price Index — not what the American consumer purchases but a non-luxury Spartan list of "necessities." Prepared baby foods are not necessary because as the editors state, after all, they only save time and labor. The editor knows because he asked his wife who asked the nurse who found out from the cook that with extra work and time all the preparing of baby food done in the factory can be done in the kitchen. Then the editor saw it all in a flash — lazy working class woman — the type

belonging to a union having an escalator clause — gets home from the factory and instead of taking time out to puree food for the kid, slyly opens a jar of baby food and after that, without even a thought of the inflationary consequences for our economy, heats up some frozen food for her husband. He, no doubt greedy, like all the workers, abets her in this because he's hungry. But the worst is not yet. With the prospect of millions of lower class women going into war plants further excesses will probably take place. As the editorial says in its punch-line: "The BLS forgot to include diaper service." In case you lower class readers don't get it, the editor was here also indulging in devastating irony.

This editorial is simply an expression of a general attitude of the American capitalist class. These people still use variants of the story that working people don't deserve decent housing with inside plumbing because they would ignorantly keep coal in the bath tubs.

During World War I a favorite story among the capitalists was that as a result of the "scandalously" high pay factory workers were wearing silk shirts. In World War II a favorite horror story was that a working class woman, dressed in her factory clothes, walked into the best furrier's in town and bought a mink coat for cash. How the upper class ladies cucked their tongues over that story! "Working women simply don't know their place any longer, my dear." "Yes, darling but the real fault lies with the fantastic pay they're getting, they get so much they simply don't know how to spend it."

There are no figures showing how many World War I workers bought silk shirts. Probably about as many as there were Belgian babies whose hands were cut off by the "Huns." But if any did, they earned the money and were a lot more entitled to wear them than the bankers and politicians who favored such attire in those days. Similarly with mink coats. I haven't noticed an abundance of them going into factories or in working class neighborhoods. However, if some woman welder, under the influence of Hollywood or the magazines or the ads in such papers as the Herald-Tribune were to set her heart on one and saved up the necessary \$2,000 and bought one, more power to her! She deserved it. She earned it and that's more than can be said for the wives of the capitalists rulers.

Committee Bares Further Clues to Tresca Assassin

NEW YORK CITY — Fresh hope that there may be an early solution of the Carlo Tresca murder was expressed this week by the Tresca Memorial Committee, in recent action by the District Attorney's office and the city police, involving Carmine Galante, first suspect in the case.

Certain significant circumstances in the officials' actions were pointed out by Norman Thomas, the committee chairman, in announcing plans for honoring Tresca, courageous editor of the Italian anti-Fascist journal *Il Martello* on the eight anniversary of his death.

Galante was brought by detectives from his Brooklyn home to Manhattan on Dec. 15 and was questioned for hours in the district attorney's office.

HOMICIDE BUREAU

"But," Mr. Thomas observed, "he was questioned by members of the Homicide Bureau. Why?" He called attention to three notable facts which might have special meaning in relation to the Tresca case:

First, Galante was picked up in connection with two dice game raids, at a place near the location of the escape car used by Tresca's killers on the night of the crime. Second, one of the men arrested in the raid lives only a few doors from the garage in which the murder car was kept. Third, that address is less than a block from where Galante originally was picked up on the night after Tresca was murdered in 1943. It is believed this suspect was never actually cleared.

This year the memorial committee will honor Tresca at 1 p.m., Jan. 11, at the spot where he was slain — the corner of Fifth avenue and 15th street in New York. Flowers will be laid where he fell, and friends will speak briefly.



CARLO TRESCA

Discuss Wage Freeze



Members of Wage Stabilization Board, set up to impose wage freeze, get together to work out tactics. L. to r.: J. Ward Keener, industry representative; Board Chairman, Cyrus Ching, formerly of the U.S. Rubber Co., and Elmer Walker, labor spokesman.

CP CONVENTION OFFERS FAKE PEACE PROGRAM

The American Communist (Stalinist) party held its national convention in New York City over New Year's weekend. As was to be expected no surprises came out of

the convention. Resolutions and elections had been decided long ago by the leadership and the delegates were assigned the role of yes-men to cheer at the appropriate time.

Persecution of the Stalinist party by the witch-hunters considerably curtailed the usual welcome and other celebrations staged for the delegates. Police and press intimidation made it difficult for the Stalinists to secure meeting halls for the public welcoming meetings.

The resolutions passed at the convention were reaffirmations of the current party line. Resolutions for peace of a pacifist type echoed Kremlin demands for a deal with U.S. imperialism. No trace of the Leninist conception of a revolutionary socialist opposition to the war-makers was found in resolutions or speeches.

CIVIL RIGHTS

Under harsh persecution themselves, the Stalinists denounced the Smith Act and the McCarran Law. In this they tried to picture themselves as the foremost defenders of the civil liberties of the American people. No reference was made to their record during the last war when they hailed the persecution and conviction of 18 Socialist Workers Party and Minneapolis CIO members under the Smith Act, the first conviction under this thought-control law. In refusing to defend the civil rights of the 18 Trotskyists, the Stalinists greased the rope for the conviction last year of their own 11 top leaders under the same law.

Nor was any mention made at the convention of the CP's refusal to support the civil rights fight of James Kutcher, the legless veteran who was purged from his

CHICAGO, Jan. 4 — Irving Beinin, a sheet metal worker by trade, and long active in the struggle of labor and the Negro people, was chosen last night by the Chicago

local of the Socialist Workers Party to be its candidate for the post of 5th Ward Alderman in the February 27 city-wide election. Because of election laws, Beinin will file as an independent candidate, but will run on the program of the Socialist Workers Party and will receive the active support of its members and friends.

At last night's nominating meeting, Beinin declared, "I am entering the race for 5th Ward Alderman as a Socialist anti-war candidate. The central problem facing the people in the 5th Ward and in every ward is the war question. There has been a groundswell of popular resentment against the intervention of American troops to suppress the progressive struggles of the colonial peoples for independence. The American people do not want a third World War. It is the main task of every government official to express and to mobilize the anti-war sentiment of the people to halt the war drive."

"The incumbent, Alderman Merriam — a liberal of the same stripe as Paul 'Drop the Atom Bomb Now' Douglas, supports and defends the bi-partisan war program of the Truman administration, The City Council, of which Mr. Merriam is a member, has aided the propaganda build-up necessary to the war drive by holding atom-bomb drills and issuing instructions on what to do after the atom bomb drops. The people of Chicago want to prevent it from dropping!"

"If elected to the City Council," Beinin continued, "I will raise my voice in that body to mobilize the people against the war program. I will expose the organized campaign of big business and the two capitalist parties to destroy our traditional civil liberties, smash the labor movement, drive down the workers' standard of living, and further oppress the Negro people; a campaign intended to establish a military dictatorship in the country."

"The crucial question for voters of the 5th Ward is not the construction of super highways or the development of better parking regulations, but rather the vital issue of capitalist war versus socialist peace. The SWP has decided to intervene in the 5th Ward election campaign in order to give its voters an opportunity to express their opposition to the Government's war drive and the threat of atomic destruction."

"Our opposition to the war drive is not to be confused with the unprincipled position of the Stalinist Communist Party whose record is one of repeated betrayal of the anti-war struggle. On the one hand they sustain the pacifist illusion that peace can be achieved under capitalism by such futile devices as the Stockholm petitions. On the other, they are

prepared and eager to support any capitalist politician willing to make a deal with Stalin, though it be at the expense of the European and Asiatic masses as well as at the expense of the American working class. Such a would-be "champion" of peace was Henry Wallace, the capitalist ally of the Stalinists in the Progressive Party who could not climb on the war bandwagon fast enough when the chips were down.

"The Progressive Party is now a hollow shell; its former non-Stalinist supporters who looked to it to spearhead the anti-war sentiment in the country have been betrayed. Those who are not disillusioned are looking for new leadership, a new program for the fight against war. We address our campaign to this section of the population with special urgency."

Mr. Beinin also pointed out that the SWP has demonstrated to the Negro community in this area, by its successful campaigns in the White City, the Hardy and the Hickman cases, the party's principled and uncompromising opposition to Jim Crow.

In conclusion, he stated, "The Chicago SWP is making extensive plans to take this campaign into every working class home in the 5th Ward. We intend to campaign actively among the large University of Chicago student body living in this ward. With the threat of permanent militarization and the curtailment of academic freedom facing them, we expect wide support and interest from the student ranks."

The petition campaign to place Irving Beinin on the ballot is well under way. In enthusiasm shown so far indicates that far above the necessary minimum number of signatures will be gathered.

The main slogan of the campaign is "A vote for Beinin is a vote against war."

John Carmody

By John G. Wright

On Thursday, Dec. 28, 1950 John Carmody died prematurely at the age of 45 of heart attack in New York City. He was born into a working class family on Jan. 22, 1905 in Tralee, County Kerry, Ireland.

Jack, as his comrades and friends fondly knew him, started moving toward social consciousness from earliest youth. As a lad of eleven he was already in the ranks of the Irish freedom movement. In 1916 he was serving as a scout in the Irish Republican Army, before the famous Easter Week.

His unflinching devotion and courage, traits he preserved throughout his life, distinguished him in the IRA where he rose to the rank of captain while still a teenager.

It was at the same early age that he first came in contact with the internationalist-minded socialist tendency of James Connolly and soon thereafter became drawn to revolutionary socialism.

Jack migrated to the United States in 1922. Here he worked in the merchant marine, the hotel and restaurant trade, chemical plants and other industries. Everywhere he participated in the struggles of the workers, fighting shoulder to shoulder with them to defend their interests and rights, to improve their living and working conditions.

It was in the nature of things that John Carmody should have found his way to what was then the pioneer Communist movement in this country.

So, too, he was one of the earliest Communists in America to turn to Trotskyism, joining the pioneer Trotskyist organization, the Communist League of America (the CLA).

Those were the years of bitter isolation and hardship when the American Trotskyists kept the movement alive not so much with material resources, so pathetically meager at the time, as with selfless faith, bare hands and stout hearts. For years Jack unstintingly served in the ranks of the CLA with loyalty and devotion.

Primarily because of his physical condition, in later days Jack did not participate in the movement. Although from time to time he differed on various questions with us, he always remained faithful to the basic ideas of Trotskyism. "Jack must have been born with the heart of a Socialist fighter." These are the words of the closest companion of his last years. These are true words. That heart John Carmody carried with him to his grave.

Nehru on Marx

By Tom Conlan

References to Marx and Marxism are becoming almost a commonplace nowadays in the major policy pronouncements of Democratic and Republican statesmen. By and large as in the case, say, of a Hoover or a Dulles these are ignorant or smug allusions. But abroad, those in the seats of power take Marx and Marxism far more seriously, even if just as dishonestly.

A recent case in point is India's Prime Minister Nehru. Speaking last month before the Chemical Manufacturers Association at New Delhi, Nehru, who in his salad days flirted with Socialist ideas, tried to pose as an authority on Marx. "I am quite certain Marx himself would be astonished if he saw the various interpretations of his doctrine," he said.

This admonition was presumably addressed to Moscow, but at least one of Nehru's eyes was cocked in the direction of the growing Indian Socialist Party, which has a strong left wing, and which has been causing considerable discomfort to Nehru, his government and his class.

At all events Nehru's reference applies to the two false "interpretations" of Marxism still holding sway in the world labor movement, namely: Stalinism and Social Democracy. So far as Marx personally is concerned, he had the occasion in his own lifetime not to become astonished but, on the contrary, to explain, denounce and combat a whole number of attempts to palm off under the label of Marxism anti-working class policies and programs. "If that is Marxism, then I am no Marxist," was the way Marx once put this lifelong struggle against revisionists, vulgarizers or falsifiers of his teachings.

All the various "interpretations" of Marxism from those in the days of Marx and Engels through classic reformism down to latter-day Stalinism have one thing in common: They substitute an unprincipled policy of compromise for the policy of principled political struggle. But that is not what Nehru finds objectionable.

It was the rulers of the British Empire who defined politics as the "art of compromise." This admirably serves the interests of the British imperialists, as well as those of their European col-

leagues and rivals, not to mention the Indian bourgeoisie.

The reduction of working-class politics to a frantic search for compromise with the capitalists within the respective national frameworks was the accomplishment of the classic reformists. For the sake of gaining a compromise, the Social Democrats spread the lie that labor and capital could abide in harmony and peace at home; they substituted the "struggle for democracy" for the class struggle; they put the interests of the capitalist "fatherland" in place of the interests of labor, the only true defender of all-national interests; in brief they gutted Marxism, leaving nothing of it but a verbal shell.

Stalinism transplanted the same search for compromise to the world arena. For the sake of temporary deals with this or that group of imperialists, the Kremlin has spread the lie that the Soviet Union could abide in peace and harmony with its capitalist environment; Stalinism reproduced and multiplied manifold every one of the blunders, crimes and betrayals of classic reformism.

All this was done fraudulently in the name of Marxism for the sake of finding some solution in between capitalism and socialism. Nehru, like other astute Asian capitalist rulers, seeks to use the crimes and betrayals of reformism and Stalinism in order to discredit Marxism. In vain! What is really being discredited is the policy of compromise, the policy of "in-between" solutions — for which, Nehru himself is one of the rabid tub-thumpers.

In the same speech where he took Marx's name in vain, Nehru predicted that "in the final analysis the people may discard both communism and democracy for some 'intermediary or other methods.'" Reformism and Stalinism have just about exhausted the "intermediary or other methods" that have played so prominent a role in the propping up of "democracy" (read capitalism). The sole alternative remains genuine Marxism, which in our times is orthodox Trotskyism.

A Reasonable Demand

Until a year and a half ago when the General Motors workers got their escalator clause contract, the only organization in the American labor movement which advocated and fought for the program of the sliding scale of wages to meet rising prices was the Socialist Workers (Trotskyist) Party.

Both the top leadership of the unions and the Communist (Stalinist) Party throughout the World War II and post-war period of continuous inflation bitterly attacked the sliding wage scale policy which the SWP and The Militant unceasingly urged the unions to adopt. To this day, the Stalinist party and its press assail this "Trotskyite" policy.

But today, the principle of the sliding wage scale, as embodied in the escalator clause, is the central issue in the struggle of organized labor to defend the workers' standard of living against the drive of the capitalist government and the corporations to freeze wages while prices climb daily to new heights.

A million CIO auto workers are now protected by escalator clause contracts. Following their lead the officials of the CIO, AFL, independent machinists and non-

operating railway unions have declared through their United Labor Policy Committee that they are opposed to any wage "stabilization" which would ban clauses in union contracts that provide for periodic automatic wage increases to compensate for rises in the cost of living.

Seldom has the labor movement raised a more modest and justifiable demand. It is so reasonable and so just that the Truman administration, the capitalist press and the corporations are finding it extremely difficult to openly attack the escalator clause. At the same time, they are very fearful of its widespread incorporation in union contracts.

For labor is not here asking for increases in real wages. In fact, most of the union leaders are ready to accept and to help enforce a wage "stabilization" which includes the freezing of real wages. They are willing to have the government put a rigid ceiling on the workers' purchasing power. But the pressure of the ranks compels them to endorse a measure to prevent the cutting of real wages by rising prices.

The escalator clause requires only that an employer pay throughout the life of a contract the full real wages agreed upon. He is bound merely to pay the workers the number of dollars

which have the purchasing value of the wages obtaining at the time the contract is signed. He agrees not to reduce wages by swindling the workers with depreciated currency. Can anything be more just and fair than that?

Indeed, even the escalator clauses that have been written into union contracts, primarily in auto, do not really keep wages abreast of rising prices, but merely slow down the rate of decline in real wages. They are always three months behind prices because they are usually adjusted only quarterly in line with previous living cost increases. The U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics price index, on which most escalator clauses are based, notoriously understates the real rise in living costs, as any comparison of local grocery store prices and rents will prove.

But to pay the cost of the war mobilization and preparations, while maintaining the huge profits of the corporations, the government needs to drastically slash mass purchasing power, to grab a big portion of workers' real wages. Thus, the escalator clause in all union contracts, despite its limitations and inadequacies, is the least the unions can demand to keep living standards from being swiftly sliced to subsistence levels by war inflation.

LIBERALS OFFER AMERICAN YOUTH A FUTURE OF WARS AND DESPAIR

By Ben Reifman

On the day after Christmas, the SDA (Students for Democratic Action), a self-styled "liberal" student group, held its annual State Convention at Columbia University. One theme ran through the entire two-day affair — hopelessness. No hope for the youth, no hope for the future, no hope for peace. . .

James Wechsler was aptly chosen as the keynote speaker of the gathering. Wechsler, liberal-sounding, pro-war editor of the N. Y. Post, compared the young generation of today to the "lost generation" of the depression years, and piously remarked that "there ought to be a day when crisis ends."

PROGRAM OF WAR

Then he got down to business. To the millions of youth whose lives are being broken up by the draft, he offered a program of war, continuing crisis, and "calculated risks." "Life won't be easy for many years to come," he promised, and to make sure of this he outlined a plan of spreading American military and economic power all over the world. It is a "calculated risk," he

cheerfully added, "that the Russians won't fight if we're strong. If that's wrong, I don't care to discuss the outcome in any great detail."

PERIOD OF TENSION

The "Foreign Policy Resolution" adopted the next day was the most important action taken at the convention. Beating the drums for the war drive, it spoke of the need to "mobilize" for "a period of tension and anxiety," but offered the hope "that a third world war may be ultimately avoided by skillful diplomacy."

But that is just what has brought the world to its present crisis — skillful capitalist diplomacy! While the bombs fall and the people die, the liberals meet at Columbia and issue a plea to the heads of governments for — skillful diplomacy!

There was a good deal more — enough to convince the most rabid McCarthyite that the SDA was 100% behind the war drive. A clause stating that the A-Bomb should not be used "in the present crisis" was amended to read "without the approval of the U.N. General Assembly." This criminal sanctioning of U.N. use

of the A-Bomb in "the present crisis" met with almost no opposition. The same amendment was added to a statement that the "U.N." planes should not bomb territory outside the Korean borders. Thus SDA leaves the question of Atomic destruction in the hands of the most powerful single enemy of peace, the American-run United Nations.

This Convention is one more proof of the bankruptcy of liberalism, and of the urgent need for a socialist youth program — one with the perspective of understanding and fighting for a working-class society in America. Only on the basis of a socialist America in a socialist world can those who are young today win a decent future.

CHICAGO
Socialist Workers Party Hqds.
5th Ward — 5558 Ellis
for
IRVING BEININ
SWP Candidate
Open Weds. from 7 to 10 p.m.