

Let the People Decide Issue of War or Peace!

An Editorial

According to the Constitution, Congress alone has the right to declare war. But Truman, taking advantage of the flimsy subterfuge that he has not "declared" war, has put the United States into a war that is as real and as bloody as if it had formally been "declared."

Instead of resisting these usurpations of power, Congress has acted like a door mat. Even though it was in session and could be called together for action by the President in a few hours, it has not challenged his demonstrative assumption of war-making powers. A few Republicans questioned the legality of Truman's moves, but only for the record.

This issue, however, goes far beyond the question of legality, and the relations between the White House and Capitol Hill. If Truman is permitted to fling the country into a "little" war on his own initiative and decree, then what is going to stop him from doing the same in the case of a full-scale world war? Congress must be condemned not only for its cowardice on the Korean crisis but also for permitting the establishment of a precedent that may later be used on a much broader and much more fateful occasion.

The candidates of the Socialist Workers Party and The Militant believe that the issue of war or peace is too vital to be placed in the hands of any one man, or to be seized by him. We say that if Congress abdicates its constitutional rights — as it has already done — this right should be put in the hands of the people themselves.

Who Has Better Right to Decide?

It's not Truman who will be sent to duck bullets and shells in Korean foxholes, and neither will the members of Congress. It's not Truman who will be compelled to pay the costs of war in blood and lowered living standards, and neither will the members of Congress.

No, it's always the people who do the dying and the sacrificing in war. Who has a better right to decide whether or not this country should go to war? Who will make a wiser or juster or more democratic decision than they? Why should any politician be afraid to let the voice of the people be heard, or to let their wishes prevail?

We know that our proposal — for a national referendum to let the people vote on the issue of war or peace — will be denounced as a radical, dangerous and impractical innovation. But we are not frightened by name-calling and our answer is that a crisis involving the very fate of civilization demands radical measures, and that the only ones who have real reason to regard it as dangerous are those who want to hurl the country into war against the wishes of a majority of the people. As for practicality, can anyone point to a more practical method for guarding against involvement in imperialist wars opposed by most of the population?

Let Wish of the Majority Prevail

We don't pretend that this proposal is a fool-proof guarantee against war; nothing less than the abolition of the capitalist causes of modern war and the victory of international socialism can give us that. We know too that the capitalist monopoly of most of the means of communication might make it possible for the people to be deceived by false information and tricked into voting for a reactionary war. And we are aware that the capitalist ruling class might very well decide to flout a constitutional provision for a referendum on war just as it has not hesitated to flout other constitutional provisions.

But with all these limitations, we contend that our proposal — to take the war-making powers away from Congress and the White House and to put them in the hands of the people — is a more practical method for mobilizing mass anti-war sentiment and putting the people on guard against the warmongers' conspiracies than any other yet advanced.

The candidates of the Socialist Workers Party are not afraid to submit to the wishes of the people on the overriding issue of war or peace. Why should the capitalist politicians resist such a method unless they are convinced in advance that their policies would be rejected in a referendum democratically recording the wishes of the majority?

Let the people decide! If you agree, then your place is at the side of the Socialist Workers Party in the current war crisis and 1950 election campaign.

Workers Councils Are Given Control of Yugoslav Industry

BELGRADE, June 28 — The draft law on the management of state economic enterprises and higher economic bodies by work collectives, adopted yesterday by the National Assembly, has as its principal aim the development of the democratic principle of popular administration and a strict application of the socialist principle on the basis of which the people become the owner of the means of production while the producers themselves direct social production.

According to this law, within the framework of the state economic plan, the work collectives in the name of the social community and through the medium of their workers' councils and management committees, will themselves manage the factories, mines, transportation system, trade, agriculture and others. The law will also be applied in the economic enterprises of social organizations.

The workers' councils are elected by direct and secret ballot by all the workers and employees of the factories and enterprises. The workers' council, in turn, elects, dissolves or recalls the management committee of the enterprise or any of its members.

ROLE OF COUNCILS

The workers' council approves the fundamental plans and audits the books of the enterprise, adopts decisions concerning the administration of the enterprise and the realization of the economic plans. It adopts the regulations for the enterprise which are approved by the administrative committee of the higher economic body, discusses the reports and the work of the management committee and makes decisions on approving its work.

The workers' council also reviews the various measures of the management committee and makes decisions on these measures, decides on the allocation of supplies remaining at the disposal

of the enterprise, that is, at the disposal of the work collective.

In regard to the duties of the management committee of the enterprise, the law provides that these committees determine the basic plans for the enterprises as well as monthly plans. The committees supervise the proper functioning of the enterprise, notably the employees in the leading posts of the enterprise and adopt decisions on grievances raised by workers and employees or matters dealing with plant organization and dismissals.

The management committee adopts measures intended to raise production, fixes the norms of

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Union Leaders To Cooperate In Labor Draft

By Albert Parker

When you say A, you've soon got to say B. When you give your support to an imperialist war venture in Asia, even on a "limited" scale, you soon find yourself being asked, and agreeing, to endorse plans for a labor draft at home that are as drastic and "unlimited" as any ever instituted under a totalitarian regime. That is the position the labor leaders are in today, and they are accepting it without complaint.

W. Stuart Symington, Big Business czar of the National Security Resources Board, is Truman's appointee in charge of all plans for controlling and drafting labor, freezing wages, outlawing strikes and other methods for house-breaking and destroying the independence of the union movement. Last week he summoned 22 representatives of the AFL, CIO and the major unaffiliated unions to meet him in Washington on July 11 for "a briefing session of the board's plans."

WANTED — A "VOICE"

The labor bureaucrats naturally consented to meet with Symington. They do not object to putting the fate of the labor movement in the hands of a government board any more than they did during World War II. All they ask in return is a "voice."

The 22 labor leaders all gave their pledge of allegiance to the war at their meeting with Symington. In addition, they reported later, they told him that any mobilization plan "must provide full and adequate representation for organized labor in the policy, planning and operational divisions of the government agencies involved."

What they were really saying was: "We labor leaders are willing to help you put the unions in a strait-jacket if you will only designate some of us to serve on the board that selects the strait-jacket model and designates the time for it to be put on. We did it before and we are eager to do it again, if you will only realize how helpful we can be to you."

"VOLUNTARY METHODS"

Of course the labor leaders had some suggestions and criticisms of their own to offer Symington. They said they would not be satisfied with the creation of mere advisory bodies to the decisive government agencies, and they stressed that "voluntary methods" would prove a more successful method of "meeting manpower needs than "compulsion," for example, a labor draft.

The joker there, however, is that by "voluntary methods" the labor bureaucrats really mean methods which are endorsed by a few top union officials, or by the delegates at CIO and AFL convention, and which thereafter are regarded as binding on all workers in industry. To the Murrys and the Greens anything that is acceptable to themselves or their appointees on a government board automatically comes under the category of "voluntary methods."

No more than Symington and his Big Business associates are

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SWP Candidate Hits Intervention in Korea



There Is An Undeclared War on U.S. Labor Too

By Fred Hart

Truman broke the AFL Switchmen's strike against five railroads mainly as a demonstration. He was demonstrating—to the bigger railroad unions which were threatening to strike for the same objectives as the Switchmen, and to the labor movement as a whole — that the government is not going to tolerate strikes at the present time, and that it is going to use the armed power of the state, if necessary, to smash them.

The union had struck five railroads for a 40 hour week at 48 hours pay, after a long period of negotiations and stalling by the National Mediation Board. Truman on July 6 threatened "drastic action" if the strike wasn't stopped at once. The union then called off the strike on four of the roads, continuing only on the Rock Island Railroad system.

On July 8 Truman ordered the army to seize the Rock Island in the name of "the protection of our citizens . . . the national defense . . . the security of the nation . . . the public health and . . . the public welfare generally."

To this "taken seizure" of the union's president, Arthur J. Glover, replied that the union would be willing to go back to work "when and if the government seizes the profits of that

railroad as well as the labor of free men."

Glover continued: "The President has said the United States is not at war. Is the democratic President of a democratic country saying that no railroad union can conduct a legal strike in peace time?"

That's exactly what Truman was saying.

The government sought and immediately obtained an injunction directing the union to halt the Rock Island strike. Faced with contempt proceedings if they did not comply, the union leaders obeyed the injunction and sent the strikers back to work. The army has control of the railroad, but as the union said, it is "taken" control in the sense that the railroad operators will continue to get the profits as before.

TWO UNDECLARED WARS

In case anyone had forgotten, Truman was reminding the nation that his administration is waging not one but two undeclared wars — against the rights of labor at home as well as against the colonial people and Stalinism abroad. The war in Asia, as a matter of fact, is just the pretext the capitalist class has been waiting for to justify its aggressive intentions against American labor's liberties and living standards.

It doesn't matter to Washington if a union is led by conservatives; it doesn't make any difference how often such leaders pledge allegiance to capitalism and vow support of the war in Korea — if they strike, they can expect to feel the full force of the government's iron fist, including the use as strikebreakers of the armed forces which Truman has ordered expanded through the draft.

THE MAIN ENEMY

The breaking of the Rock Island strike indicates that for American capitalism the main enemy is not necessarily the Stalinists in Korea or Moscow — it is also the American working class in Chicago or Buffalo or anywhere else that men and women hesitate to give up their struggles for improved conditions.

American troops who are alerted for action nowadays cannot be 100% sure that they are being sent to preserve the police state in South Korea. It might also be that they are being sent to preserve the interests and profits of employers on whose behalf the government has shown its readiness to smash the strikes of American workers at home.

(See editorial, "Murray, Green and the Rail Strike," on Page 3.)

Hansen Radio Speech Urges Socialism As Way to Peace

NEW YORK — The American people should reject the policies of both Truman and Stalin, condemn the intervention in Korea and take the road to socialism as the only alternative to world war, said Joseph Hansen, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U. S. Senator from New York. Hansen stressed the example set by the Yugoslav people in rejecting both imperialism and Stalinism and following this course. The full text of his speech, scheduled for delivery over the American Broadcasting Company network on July 15, follows:

Every home in America is watching our deepening involvement in Korea with great anxiety. The fear is universal that this might be the opening of the war that can destroy civilization and leave our earth a poisonous, radioactive waste.

This dread is not without foundation. World war is a real danger. It's the consequence of the "calculated risk" taken by Truman turns out to have been miscalculated.

We are told that the North Koreans violated the United Nations charter when they attacked the puppet regime set up by American occupation forces. We are told that the Soviet Union is the "aggressor."

But how can an American boy dying in Korea feel any comfort over the fact that, U.S. action has been declared legal by the UN?

A WAR POLICY

The truth is that since the end of World War II, the Truman administration has centered foreign policy around aggressive preparations for another world war.

That is why the Truman Doctrine of the "containment of communism" was proclaimed and cold war begun.

That is why military bases have been systematically built around the Soviet Union.

That is why the press has been filled for five years with brazen



JOSEPH HANSEN

schemes about the best way to atom-bomb Russia.

It was for war that all Latin America was lined up in a military alliance.

It was for war that this was followed by the Atlantic Pact covering the rest of the western hemisphere. And the Marshall Plan supplied the economic cement for this fearful military structure.

THEIR AIMS

At home we have seen the military caste and its power grow at alarming speed.

We have been given "loyalty" purges and witch-hunts wholly in the spirit of the Nazis.

Dollars by the scores of billions have been poured into armaments

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DRAFT IS BIG STEP TO "TOTAL WAR FOOTING"

The speed and recklessness with which the warmakers are plunging ahead should make any thoughtful person pause and ask: Just where is the mass of our people really being dragged?

In the space of a brief two weeks we have passed from a "police action," to a "little war," to a "very grave situation."

The draft was jammed through a servile Congress before the ink had time to dry on Truman's decree by which, usurping the warmaking powers, he plunged the American people into the undeclared war in Korea.

DRAFT BEGINS

Truman wasted no time in issuing the first mobilization order. He used the powers, wielded only by absolute monarchs and dictators, to order the draft of "only" 20,000 conscripts. But what is this if not simply the first installment for a huge and permanent conscript army which is to be henceforth maintained regardless of the outcome of the hostilities in Korea?

Rumors persist of pending orders to mobilize at least a part of the armed reserves and the National Guard.

"Limited industrial mobilization" is already an admitted feature of our economic life. With sizable new orders for arms already placed, and with "phantom" orders, long ago arranged for, readied for clearance, the shift to full-scale war production has been brought dangerously close.

"Civilian defense" set-ups are mushrooming all over the country on a local and state-wide scale. Gen. Lucius D. Clay, Dewey's ap-

pointee to head the New York state organization, lost no time in announcing that his aim is "total war footing."

Simultaneously, trigger-happy militarists on the Pacific coast have announced a trial run of a "dummy" atom-bomb attack on Seattle.

While these step-by-step measures to transform the U. S. into a military camp, unparalleled in history are being taken, no less ominous military steps are being rushed abroad.

Japanese police forces are to be doubled. This is no mere "police" measure but a preparatory step to a large scale rearming of Japan. A similar project is underway in Western Germany.

The U. S. "military mission" hastily sent to Indo-China has arranged for increased arms shipments. Washington affirms. The new French Premier, even before his cabinet is officially formed and affirmed, announces a 20% hike in the French arms budget.

PRICES SOAR

Prices of foodstuffs and necessities are soaring. Wall Street and the commodity markets respond as in a war fever. This is not simply a domestic development but true of the capitalist world generally.

While shouting about assuring "peace," the warmakers are thus unleashing forces which they themselves may soon be unable to control.

'Our Way of Life' and the War in Korea

By John F. Petrone

American troops are supposed to be defending "our way of life" in Korea. The question is: How much barbarism is compatible with "our way of life"?

Rutherford Poats, UP correspondent in Korea, sent the following report on July 10:

"United Nations military observer R. J. Rankin of Australia and I came upon two open trucks today parked in front of a grove overlooking a river.

"At first glance, the passengers might have been mistaken for picnickers. But not for long.

"Some 40 persons were crouched on all fours in the back of one of the trucks. A Korean policeman stood in the middle of this mass and crashed the butt of his American rifle into the back of one after another of the kneeling men.

"Their backs broke with a sickening crunch which could be heard 100 yards away.

"Rankin hunted up an English-speaking policeman and asked an explanation.

"Guerrillas," said the policeman with a gesture at their backs.

"We bang bang in woods."

"He indicated that the prisoners would be taken to nearby woods and executed. But it seemed unlikely that many would live long enough for the formal execution.

"The policeman said the prisoners had not been caught in action with the North Korean army, but had been picked up by police around the South Korean lines as suspected guerrillas.

"He said armed Communists in American clothes who are caught helping the North Koreans were shot on the spot."

It should be noted that the victims of this gruesome brutality were only SUSPECTED of being guerrillas, and that in distinction from prisoners "shot on the spot" they were neither armed nor "caught helping the North Koreans."

This incident was observed on July 10. That was six days after General MacArthur issued a communique promising:

"Personnel of the armed forces of North Korea and other persons of North Korea who are taken into custody or fall into the hands of the armed forces now under my operational control in connection with hostilities in Korea will be treated in accordance with the humanitarian principles applied by and recognized by civilized nations involved in armed conflict."

MacArthur said he expected similar "humanitarian" treatment for all personnel under his command who fall into North Korean hands, and threatened to "hold responsible any individual acting for North Korea who deviates from these principles or who causes, permits or orders any deviation from such principles."

NOT NEW IN SOUTH KOREA

He evidently forgot to transmit a copy of this communique to the Syngman Rhee regime of South Korea.

The final paragraph in Poats' dispatch reads: "It seemed probable the Communists were applying at least as vigorous measures against collaborators with the South Koreans."

That may be so. But one hesitantly does not justify another. Besides, the Rhee regime's

sadistic treatment of helpless prisoners is not something new, it is not something adopted in the heat of war. It is well known that before the outbreak of hostilities the South Korean police state tortured and executed thousands of people who were SUSPECTED of being communists, or were conveniently designated as such to justify their murder.

How barbarous must a regime be before it becomes incompatible with "our way of life"?

And how can the "cause of democracy" be served by defending a military-police dictatorship which is distinguished from its enemy primarily by the fact that it commands less support from the people it rules over?

Or don't such questions even arise when the military-police dictatorship is on "our side"?

European Notebook

The European Working Class and America

By Ernest Germain

The European capitalists, the middle classes, and the Stalinists all have their peculiar, and for the most part reactionary relations with America. But what is the attitude of the European working class toward American imperialism, and toward the United States of America in general?

Notwithstanding the tremendous Stalinist propaganda in countries like France and Italy, and notwithstanding the Stalinist leadership of the working class organizations in these countries, the working class as a whole and its advanced layers in particular have not at all become infected by "Americanophobia" of the Stalinist type. There is today more than ever among the skilled workers of Europe a positive and healthy attitude toward all the positive and healthy aspects of American civilization: the advanced technology, the higher standard of living in the cities, superior rationalized economy and mass production.

ADMIRE US TECHNOLOGY

While the Stalinists, almost like the Nazis before them, are shouting that everything that comes from America is bad and rotten, an automobile worker of Renault, FIAT or Opel studies and admires pieces of American heavy equipment imported into his plant since the end of the war; a miner from Belgium or

Poland will listen for hours to an explanation of how American coal mines are organized from the point of view of safety; an agricultural worker from Holland, France, and Northern Italy looks with pride upon some of the latest American farm equipment used on his job.

Among millions of European workers, the idea of America is linked up with the idea of wonderful tools and abundance of all kinds of consumer goods — and these are two of the things closest to the heart of any worker. UNRRA goods distributed after the war, weapons and equipment parachuted to partisan fighters during the resistance, goods imported under the Marshall Plan have helped to strengthen that impression and the most faithful Stalinist workers cannot escape its universal presence today in Europe. For the European working class, the United States of America represents today virtually the same thing which a hundred years ago Great Britain represented to the artisans and toiling masses of continental Europe.

On the other hand, antagonism toward the leaders of America and hatred of America's Sixty Families is today nearly as universally widespread among the European working class as admiration of American technology. No matter how much the reformist agents of American imperialism try to "explain" to them, European workers feel instinctively that the American bankers, diplomats and generals are today the quintessence of reaction in the world.

They hate their arrogant attitude, their brutal way of ordering foreign people around, the smooth and efficient way by which they take control over economy and politics in nearly every Western European country. Bewildered as they were for the first couple of days following the outbreak of the Korean civil war, their instinctive distrust of American imperialism enabled them to see clearly from the moment of American military intervention in that Far East peninsula.

Even the backward and anti-Communist layers of the European working class have the same instinctive reaction under a peculiar form. They feel that American imperialism wants to use them in the framework of its own game of power politics — only to replace the threat of what they call "Stalinist tyranny" by the actuality of American imperialism. This feeling is especially widespread among the German workers, millions of whom have been pushed into the American camp by the barbaric treatment of the German civilian population by the Russian army and the Stalinist emissaries.

STRONG DREAMS Among the Social Democratic workers everywhere in Europe and among the "labor aristocracy" in particular, the combination of these two opposite attitudes toward America — admiration of American technology, distrust of American politics — is especially noteworthy. The thin layers of well-paid, highly skilled workers in Europe envy more than anyone else the higher standard of living of the highly skilled American workers, and dream of the famous "comfort" which American movies, American publicity and American literature are so tirelessly describing to them.

One must recall that there is hardly an industrial worker in Europe who owns a car in order to understand how strong these dreams are and how lopsided the overall picture of American becomes in the heads of these workers. It is among these layers that the argument that "US imperialism is a lesser evil than Stalinism" has some chance of being accepted, and it is also among them that are recruited many of the would-be immigrants to the United States, a list which is getting longer and longer not only in Italy but also in Germany, Holland and the Scandinavian countries.

SILENT ON US LABOR

The Stalinist propaganda and the Social Democratic illusions about America have nevertheless one thing in common: They remain silent about the real struggles and the real strength of the American labor movement. The Stalinists could not peddle their lie about "semi-fascist

America while at the same time explaining the strength of the American unions and the militancy of many hundreds of thousands of trade unionists. The Social Democrats could not praise the United States as some kind of paradise, while exposing the growing class contradictions which lead to a sharpening of the class struggle.

Ignorance of American domestic politics in Europe is as great as ignorance in America about European conditions. The way in which the official European labor movement reacted to the Stalinists denouncing Truman as a "semi-fascist demagogue," the Social Democrats explaining that he is "almost a socialist" — was a clear sign of that ignorance.

INTERNATIONALIST DUTY

There is a great task here facing the Trotskyist movement. European Trotskyists have today the twofold task of struggling against the deceit and hypocrisy of the Social Democratic pro-American propaganda — which is nothing else than the language of American imperialism translated by the petty bureaucrats of the European unions for their own use — and, at the same time, explaining to the workers deceived by Stalinism the strength and the future of the American labor movement.

European Trotskyists must denounce the lie of "American democracy versus Russian total-

itarianism"; they must show the European workers that Wall Street's struggle for world domination is today the main reactionary trend in the world. But at the same time European Trotskyists must denounce the Stalinist lie about "the United States, the center of world reaction." They must show the European workers that there are two Americas, the America of Wall Street which is allied to the Pope, the butcher Franco and the puppet Bao Dai, and the America of the 15 million trade unionists who can become the strongest allies of the European workers and the colonial peoples struggling for freedom.

The European Trotskyists must bring to the European workers the program and perspectives of the American revolution, explain to them that a tremendous force is rising in the United States to challenge apparently triumphant imperialism right at home and show them the essential role the American workers will have to play in the world struggle for socialism. Today this is not only a duty of internationalism to combat deceitful Stalinist propaganda. It is also one of the essential arguments to combat pessimism and desperation among the European workers themselves by showing them that the biggest sector of their class is only preparing today for big battles that lie ahead and that the American workers have suffered no major defeats as yet.

BRANCHES RUSH MONEY TO MILITANT FUND IN LAST DAYS OF CAMPAIGN

By Reba Aubrey Fund Campaign Manager

Look at that scoreboard! Eight more Socialist Workers Party branches crossed the finish line during the week, making a total of 15 that have completed their quotas 100% or more before the campaign deadline — July 15. New York bid for and won one of the two remaining Militant Chorus recordings by completing their \$2,500 quota. New York was the ninth branch to cross the line.

The race for the tenth award was getting so close that Connecticut decided to take no chances. They sent a courier to New York Saturday with the balance of their pledge, and with instructions to deliver the final payment and get it recorded before the morning mail arrived. They wanted to be sure to be among the first 10 branches to complete their quotas and win an award. Connecticut made it — they took the last Militant Chorus recording.

The first eight branches to complete their quotas and receive the award were, in the following order: Pittsburgh, Flint, St. Louis, West Virginia, Buffalo, Youngstown, Boston, Allentown. Another payment from Flint branch keeps them in first place with 130%. Youngstown climbed to 112% and holds second place on the scoreboard. St. Louis didn't

stop at 100% either; an additional \$3 payment places them third with 108%.

Buffalo is still going strong. A \$14 airmail special delivery payment just came in. Comrade L. Young writes for the branch: "We are very happy to have over-subscribed our pledge for The Militant. All the Buffalo comrades fulfilled their personal pledges, even going over the top, before the deadline, showing unbounded enthusiasm for the unceasing publication of The Militant and its message of revolutionary socialism. We send with this contribution the hearty wish, Long Live The Militant!"

Allentown took a big leap from way down on the scoreboard and landed among the 100%ers. The Chicago comrades spurred over the finish line a week ahead of schedule. They say, "We rather like that!"

Telegrams put two branches among the 100%ers this week. "Cleveland completes Militant Fund quota of \$260. Check in mail." "Detroit collected full amount Militant Fund. Check for \$158 in mail."

B. Esmond sent \$22.50 for Toledo — "our balance due on Militant Fund — IN FULL AND ON TIME!"

Worcester rushed in their balance, saying, "We didn't want our branch to spoil a 100% record on the fund."

Only 10 branches remain to complete their quotas by July 15. Letters received from them show a determination to be among the 100%ers when the campaign finishes.

Comrade Seymour of Oakland informs us they will do everything they can to send the \$24.50 still owing.

Philadelphia is "having a tough time scraping funds together to meet the Militant Fund deadline, but we're doing our damndest and hoping for the best."

Additional contributions from friends of The Militant sent the "General" quota flying over the finish line. M. G. of St. Paul, contributed \$2; E. B. of New York \$5; I. H. of Roxbury, Mass. \$1; a friend in New York came into The Militant office to give \$5. He said he is "eager to see the 'General' quota 100%."

A friend in Detroit writes: "I hope this \$25 contribution reaches you in time to be counted in the Militant Fund. As a working woman with children to worry and wonder about these days, I feel that The Militant is doing a job for all of us in showing what the warmakers in this country are up to. Here's a helping hand so that it can keep on with the good work."

The final scoreboard will appear in next week's Militant.

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

Why Capitalist System Cannot Be 'Stabilized'

By Art Preis

It is remarkable how few people really believe the "welfare state" can save capitalism. The capitalists, of course, don't. Philip Murray, at the last CIO Steel Workers convention, bewailed their "lack of confidence" in the future of their own system, adding that he "did not share their fears." But his words were intended to reassure the workers first of all.

Only the professional Trumanite propagandists — the union officials, above all — see in the "welfare state" a magic formula to "stabilize" capitalism and cure its chronic ills. Walter Reuther, CIO United Auto Workers president and the most aggressive exponent of "welfare statism" in the labor movement, summarized the "welfare staters'" claims at the April 1950 convention of Americans for Democratic Action.

Raising the question of why production is not geared to the needs of the people, Reuther pointed out that in America today — after nearly two decades of the "welfare state!" — 21% of the homes lack electric lights; 30% have no running water; 43%, no private baths; 53%, no mechanical refrigeration or central heating; and "we need, on top of that, 20 million homes."

Unfortunately the people don't have the income to buy these things. For "the rich are getting richer and the poor are getting poorer," said Reuther, citing the trend of savings. In 1945, the top 10% of America's families had 46% of the total net savings. By 1948, they had 80%, leaving only 20% for the other 90% of the people.

In 1929, we all recall, this same trend led to a devastating depression. But Reuther says it need not happen again. It is simply, he claimed, "a question of reaching a balance between wages, prices and profits so that we may achieve and maintain a full-employment, full-production, full-distribution economy."

This formula is not exactly new. All the capitalist economists and politicians advocate the same thing. But just what is this delicate "balance"? For instance, how much of the national income shall go for wages and how much for profits to achieve this "balance"? Who will determine it? If Reuther knows, he has kept it a deep secret.

Will the latest contracts Reuther signed in the auto industry help achieve this balance? The Ford and Chrysler workers got no immediate wage raises at all. The General Motors workers are bound for five years to maximum annual wage increases of four cents an hour, while GM is given virtually unrestricted power to boost man-hour output through speed-up and technological improvements. Reuther's formula spells out reduced wages in relation to higher production and profits.

Laws of the Capitalist System

While union leaders like Reuther blab about "balancing" wages, profits and prices to ensure "full employment, full production," the capitalist system follows its own inherent laws that sooner or later mean depression, dictatorship and war.

The capitalists own and control the means of production and distribution. That ownership and control gives them the last word on how the system is to be "balanced." And the only "balance" they are interested in is their bank balance. They and their politicians run the system for one thing: Profits.

In his all-consuming drive for profits, the capitalist can aim at only one source: Labor. He must squeeze more surplus value from labor over and above the value of the workers' wages. He must strive to get more output from each worker for the same or less pay. He must try to maintain and increase total production with fewer workers.

This drive of American capitalism was accelerated during the pre-war depression. "Over the 12 years 1929 to 1941 the nation's output per man-hour of employment increased 34%. This was at

the rate of 2 1/2% per year compounded." (Post-War Markets, U.S. Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce).

But from 1941 to 1950, productivity rose even faster. According to the data of the President's Council of Economic Advisers, during the last 9 years productivity has increased another 34%, or as much as in the previous 12 years. Today man-hour output is being pushed up at the most frenzied pace ever known.

"Labor productivity is rising, rising fast," reported the March 4 Business Week. "It's taking fewer workers each year to produce our high volume of goods — so unemployment is creeping up." In 1949, 3% fewer workers produced the same amount of goods as in 1948.

While the capitalists speed up output per worker, reduce the number of workers and boost profits, another 800,000 to 1,100,000 new job seekers — mostly youth and self-dependent women — are added to the labor force each year, according to the Federal Reserve Board.

To absorb this expanding labor force, said Leon H. Keyserling, acting chairman of Truman's Council of Economic Advisers, total production must expand 3 to 4 per cent each year over the preceding year, or by 1954 "you could have 10,000,000 to 12,000,000 unemployed."

Forbidding Obstacles Abroad

The capitalists have tried to extricate themselves by seeking foreign markets and foreign outlets for investment of their huge accumulation of idle capital that cannot be profitably invested at home.

Since the end of the war, however, American capitalism has been able to sell goods abroad only by getting the federal treasury to hand out nearly \$30 billion of foreign aid. Even so, exports declined from a high of \$15 billion in 1947 to \$12 billion last year.

No capitalist nation wants to buy; all of them are anxious to sell. British capitalism is driven to export more and more of the goods that the British workers, under the Laborite "austerity" regime, cannot buy. Belgium's production rises, but its unemployed increase to 12% of its labor force. France's production goes up 10%, but its jobless increase 100%. The Netherlands turns out 12% more goods, but suffers a 50% rise in unemployment. So all raise the slogan, "Export or die!"

Francitantly, Washington launches a campaign in this country to "Buy More Imports" to keep these capitalist countries from going under and to provide them with dollars to buy American goods. But American oil, textile and other interests who fear the competition of foreign imports raise a howl. The CIO Textile Workers Union joins a campaign to keep tariff barriers and warns of worse unemployment if imports are permitted to compete with American goods.

But the most urgent of all needs for American capitalists is to find fields for profitable investment of their staggering and ever-growing accumulation of liquid capital. For by the end of 1949, the working capital of American corporations totaled nearly \$68 billion. This idle capital is crying for profits.

Arthur Gorman, a financial writer for the N. Y. World-Telegram, wrote on Jan. 3 that "if the (American capitalist) system is to survive, the United States must take over a capital exporting role similar to that played by Great Britain in the 19th Century." But, he pointed out, the obstacles are "forbidding" and "the prospects — except in a few scattered areas — are admittedly not too hopeful." On the one hand, the Soviet Union and the countries under its control "are out of the orbit of potential capitalist markets." In the rest of the world, the governments are "unstable" and "the climate" is said to be unfavorable. . . for profitable foreign investments."

(Next Week: Government "Cushions" and Armaments)

Arrested



Eric J. Reintaler and his wife are shown with their attorney after being arrested in Belleaire, O., for distributing handbills protesting U.S. military intervention in Korea. They were accused of passing out leaflets without a license. Meanwhile in Birmingham, the chief of police was making wholesale arrests of people merely because they were known or suspected to be members of the Communist Party.

Letters from Our Readers

Negroes Press Fight Against Jim Crow In St. Louis

Negro haters, who organized hoodlums last year to attack Negroes who went swimming in the St. Louis Fair Grounds Pool, previously reserved for white people, failed to intimidate the colored people of St. Louis, but have spurred them to greater efforts in their fight for equality.

The day after last year's St. Louis Fair Grounds riots on June 21, which attracted world wide attention as a lesson in American democracy, Mayor Darst appointed his first Council on Human Relations. The job of this council was supposed to be the rallying of the community behind a program to secure the rights of citizenship to all, without regard to race, creed or color. It was responsible for the Schermer report which recommended a step-by-step program to eliminate all segregation.

But in March of this year the Council of Human Relations urged a policy of segregation in recreational facilities — recommended that segregation be continued in all but two of the city's recreational centers. The centers where

the council decided there was no need for segregation were in districts where interracial policies have been followed before and since the Fair Grounds riots.

This action of the Council of Human Relations has completely exposed it as an organization whose purpose is to stall the struggle for equal rights. Even the most glib liberals are disgusted with it. The Negro citizens of this city have determined to fight for the program the Council said it was for. They are concentrating their fight on the Fair Ground Pool.

A year after the Fair Ground riot, two Negroes, who were barred from the pool, sought an injunction against the city's Jim Crow policy and a total of \$70,000 in damages. Two Negro youths attempted to get into the pool and were denied entrance on the same day. They are not suing because the suit of the other two Negroes is meant to represent all Negroes.

There is great interest in this suit. The front page of the St. Louis Argus (leading St. Louis Negro paper), with the headline, "Files Suit to Crack Jim Crow at Fair Ground," was posted in the windows of large numbers of stores in the Negro shopping districts.

While political trickery and a local and national leadership afraid of mass action have kept the St. Louis struggles from being effective, the pressure from below is becoming more powerful and this city in the near future is going to see magnificent struggles against the Jim Crow system.

Lee Ryan St. Louis Literature Agent Cathy Dee

MILITANT FUND SCOREBOARD

Table with 4 columns: Branch, Quota, Paid, Percent. Lists various branches and their financial contributions to the Militant Fund.

THE MILITANT ARMY

The score in the July subscription campaign is 332 points, which is 30% of the goal of 1,120. This is a bit behind schedule, probably still a result of the July 4 week end when some of the sub-getters apparently forgot to take sub blanks with them to the beach and countryside.

First to go over the 100% mark were the St. Louis comrades. The 14 points they sent in gave them an even 140%. That's something for the others to shoot at. How about it, New Haven and Allentown?

The Toledo crew appear to be running a stream-lined campaign. Look at that score, 26 points. That's within two points of their goal. At that rate Toledo looks like a formidable contender for top honors.

St. Paul has tied Toledo on points, but with a larger quota, their percentage is not as high. That 65%, however, gives every branch something to consider. There's energy and consistent hard work behind that score.

San Francisco came through with a nice slug of points this week that brought them right up into the top bracket on the scoreboard. "Nine comrades worked about two hours in a housing project in the district where we anticipate having an assembly candidate next fall," writes Francis. "The result is the enclosed 11 subs! The comrades all reported the best response to our ideas that we have experienced for some time."

reports encouraging results in New York's first Sunday morning visiting in working class areas. A total of 41 points were obtained by 22 comrades.

In addition, in Harlem 20 copies of the May-June issue of Fourth International were sold. This is the issue devoted entirely to "Marxism and the Negro Struggle." The sub-getters report a friendly reception. Reba Aubrey of the Downtown branch, for example, was greeted by two teenage boys in one home. One of them recalled hearing Mike Bartell of the Socialist Workers Party speak last year at a street meeting during election time when he was running for the office of mayor. "We sure thought he made a lot of sense and when we came home, we told Mom about it."

The New York comrades have decided to award prizes for top sub-getters in their area. Among the prizes are a free day at Mountain Spring Camp, the book Whither Russia by Leon Trotsky which has long been out of print, a hand-bound black leather cigarette case and a green leather cigarette pack holder.

Table with 4 columns: Branch, Goal, Points, %. Lists branches and their performance relative to their goals.

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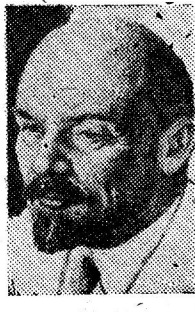
Monday, July 17, 1950



TROTSKY

"Generally speaking, democracy is indispensable to the bourgeoisie in an epoch of free competition. To monopoly capitalism, resting not on 'free' competition but on centralized command, democracy is of no use; it is hampered and embarrassed by it. Imperialism can tolerate democracy as a necessary evil up to a certain point. But its inner urge is toward dictatorship. During the last war, 22 years ago, Lenin wrote: 'The difference between the republican-democratic and monarchic-reactionary imperialist bourgeoisie is being effaced precisely because both of them are rotting.' Further, he added: 'Political reaction all along the line is inherent in imperialism.' Only hopeless idiots can believe that imperialist world antagonisms are determined by the irreconcilability between democracy and Fascism."

— Leon Trotsky, A French Lesson, 1938.



LENIN

FEPC Rejected Again

The treatment accorded to racial and national minorities is a very accurate gauge of the real extent of "democratic processes" in a given country. Applied to capitalist America, where Negroes and other minorities are kept in an oppressed and segregated status, it means that the U. S. ranks not among the "free democracies" but among the worst of despotisms.

It's the national shame of the U. S. It also happens to be an international scandal. To cover it up, the "progressive" capitalist politicians and demagogues engage periodically in a travesty of "reforms." The introduction, discussion and defeat of civil rights legislation, for example, has become as permanent a fixture of our domestic political scene as the reign of Jim Crow itself.

As a rule, Capitol Hill witnesses a single performance on civil rights legislation. One measure is generally passed by the House and invariably buried in the Senate by the white supremacist filibusters. But this year we have been treated to a repeat performance. The House passed a meaningless and toothless FEPC bill and two months ago the closure petition to bring up the FEPC issue for a vote in the Senate failed miserably.

Needless to say, the result of the second Senate performance on July 12 was the same as last May. No one expected anything different. Least of all, the administration "sponsors," who were interested only in making a "better showing" than last time. In May, 52 Senators voted for closure; this time there were 55, still nine short of the necessary two-thirds majority to shut off the filibuster. The Trumanites made a "better showing," but a majority of the Democratic Senators was still recorded against closure.

Contrast this with the way the Truman administration jams through the Senate measures it really wants — for instance, the draft. Without a single dissenting voice, without even a passing remark, the Senate yielded to Truman dictatorial powers over the entire youth of the land.

To plunge this country into the Korean war Truman did not hesitate to usurp powers never granted him by the Constitution. But he and his colleagues refuse to seriously challenge the "rights" of the white supremacists — which remain "inviolable," especially in the Senate. The contrast between what happened to the draft and the FEPC bill speaks far louder than a thousand speeches on "democracy" by the American capitalist politicians.

Murray, Green and the Rail Strike

The government's breaking of the AFL Switchmen's strike was a symbol — not only of the Truman administration's fundamentally anti-labor character, which is merely heightened and made more obvious by the international crisis, but also of the role that the labor bureaucracy has decided to play in this crisis.

Only the day before Truman began his strikebreaking moves against the Switchmen's Union, the leaders of that union announced that they had received from AFL President William Green and CIO President Philip Murray pledges of support by their organizations for the strike.

That was the day before Truman acted. But thereafter nothing appeared in the press about Murray or Green. They had said the strike was justified and legitimate and worthy of general labor support, but once Truman stepped into the picture and denied every one of these truths, Murray and Green had nothing more to say.

When Truman usurped the powers of Congress and threw the U. S. into an undeclared war, Green and Murray (from a sick bed) hastened to wire telegrams of enthusiastic support. But when Truman broke a strike which they had endorsed, the cat had their tongues.

There is really nothing surprising in that. War doesn't change the nature of the labor bureaucracy any more than it changes the nature of imperialism or Stalinism. A cowardly, spineless labor bureaucrat will still be cowardly and spineless, the only difference being that these characteristics are generally a little more noticeable in periods of crisis.

Murray and Green may be silent about Truman's role in the rail strike for a time, but we can be sure that they won't be silent about Truman for long. On the contrary, they will soon be gushing tens of thousands of words, addressed to labor's rank and file, urging them to contribute money and ring doorbells for the Trumanites as "friends of labor" in the 1950 election.

It would be a good thing if the rank and file could force Murray and Green to deliver a speech or write an article on the subject: "The difference between the way Truman, friend of labor, handled the rail strike, and the way an enemy of labor would have handled it."

It will also be interesting to learn how much money the AFL Labor's League for Political Education receives from the AFL Switchmen's Union toward the election of Trumanite candidates this year.

NEW LAW GIVES WORKERS COUNCILS CONTROL OVER YUGOSLAV INDUSTRY

(Continued from Page 1) work, adopts proposals for the designation of pace-makers, rationalizers and innovators. The management committee supervises the grading of the workers and the employees, safety conditions, social insurance and the improvement of the living conditions of the workers and adopts measures for the protection of national property administered by the enterprise.

In order to assure competence in the administration of the enterprise, the law provides that the director shall be appointed by the administrative committee of the higher economic body. The director of the enterprise is a member of the management committee. He directly manages the enterprise, is responsible for the production and the proper functioning of the enterprise. He administers the laws, the regulations and the directives of the management committee of the enterprise, of the administrative committee and the director of the higher economic body, as well as those of the corresponding state bodies.

This law transfers to the work collectives a number of functions

in production hitherto exercised by the state through the medium of its representatives with the participation of the trade unions. Marshal Tito declared yesterday that this means that the stateized means of production, the factories, mines, railways will gradually pass into a higher form of socialist property and that this is the road that leads toward the withering away of the functions of the state in the economy.

(Translated from Tanjug, daily bulletin of the Yugoslav Telegraphic Agency published in Paris.)

The news of the passing by the National Assembly of the bill on the management of industrial enterprises by the workers was received enthusiastically in factories and mines all over Yugoslavia.

In the course of discussions in meetings and special conferences the workers expressed their satisfaction at this measure and declared their confidence in their ability to do the job.

Speaking to his comrades in the Sarajevo tobacco factory, leading worker Hugo Zeherovic declared: "What was promised us has

been done. Workers will be entrusted with the management of factories and enterprises. This is something new for the whole world."

A worker at the Zenica iron-works in Bosnia, Medvedic, who had spent 20 years working as an emigre in Belgium, said that in the three years since he had been home he had seen many reforms, which had improved the position of the workers and which cannot be even thought of in the capitalist world.

The passing of the bill, which realizes the demand "the factories to the workers," was greeted by a meeting of the workers of the Ivo Lola Ribar machine-tool plant, near Belgrade. Radovan Jaksic, who has been several times declared a shockworker, said:

"We Yugoslav workers are proud that we are the first workers in the world who have been entrusted with the management of the factories, mines and other industrial enterprises we work in. This will without doubt be the basis for new achievements in work."

(Reprinted from the July 7 Yugoslav Bulletin, published weekly in London.)

Stalinists Change Tune On Trygve Lie and UN

By John G. Wright

The very first — even if still unlisted — casualty of the international crisis now unfolding around the Korean events is the myth of the UN as a "guarantor" of world peace. All the previously sown illusions are now being destroyed by the conversion of the UN into a convenient cover for the undeclared war of American imperialism in Asia.

We Trotskyists were the only ones who warned from the outset that as "an instrument of peace" the UN was not only worthless, but that, on the contrary, the illusions spread about it could and would only serve the imperialist warmakers. On the other hand, the Kremlin and all its agents have labored might and main to spread these illusions. Who has been proved right?

SINGING A NEW TUNE

The Moscow press is beginning to sing a new tune concerning the role and function of the United Nations. Where yesterday Pravda shrieked about the "illegality" of the actions taken by the Security Council, it now talks of this body as being "half-wrecked." Where yesterday Moscow led the chorus in glorifying and praising the "great" Trygve Lie, Secretary General of the UN, it now assails him, as has the Moscow Literary Gazette, as a tool of the American imperialists and "exposes" his "historic peace mission" as a "maneuver designed to detract attention from the war venture prepared by the Americans in the Far East."

In this country, Joseph Starobin, who was removed not long ago as foreign editor of the Daily Worker, has suddenly been chosen to discover that the UN is, after all, nothing but an "unhappy football kicked around for three years by the architects of the cold war" (July 9 Worker). Starobin forgets to add that for the last

three years and more he and his colleagues have been busy defending and lauding this "unhappy football" to the skies.

As late as June 20, the Daily Worker was thundering editorially: "Who owns the United Nations anyway? There seems to be some confusion on this point. Trygve Lie thought that the UN nations run the UN." And the editors made it amply clear that they agreed wholly with Lie.

While Starobin now denounces the UN as not "a real thing" but a "phony," his successor as foreign editor, Joseph Clark, darkly hints that Gen. Douglas MacArthur is "the new 'director' of United Nations activity" and that Trygve Lie takes orders from him.

Meanwhile it remains a fact that the whole Stalinist "historic peace crusade" centered around the UN and Trygve Lie.

FLOWERS FOR LIE

Few individuals other than Stalin have received the homage paid by the Daily Worker to Trygve Lie. They featured, his picture even in their editorial column. They organized delegation after delegation to "welcome Trygve Lie," and proudly reported how their stooges "literally submerged Trygve Lie in a sea of flowers." (June 12 Daily Worker).

They wrote column upon column, editorial upon editorial whose keynote was that "Trygve Lie's historic peace mission must be supported by every thoughtful man and woman," that "he has the support and good will of the workers of the U. S."

They hailed Henry Wallace's proposal "that there should be Trygve Lie peace rallies all over the country." They themselves staged such rallies — from a solemn presentation to Trygve Lie's "personal representative" of "an eight-foot scroll inscribed with some of the 150,000 signa-

tures for the Stockholm peace petition" down to a "One World Hootenanny and Dance" which "celebrated in song and dance" Trygve Lie's "historic round-the-world mission for peace" (same, June 16).

The conclusion of their entire "peace campaign" was publicly set for Oct. 24, which they officially designated as "United Nations Day," and which was to witness the largest of their "joint mass pilgrimages" to the UN.

Ironically enough, on June 20, the Daily Worker featured an article from London by R. Palme Dutt, "outstanding British Marxist," who declared: "The choice before the world finds expression in the contrast between the paths followed by Acheson and Trygve Lie."

As has happened so often in the past, the Stalinists now have to set their own lies of yesterday. Meanwhile, however, these lies have done their work of misleading, confusing and demoralizing the workers in this country and throughout the world.

THEIR RESPONSIBILITY

It is true that the American imperialists are using the UN as a pious tool. But it is just as true that Stalin and his lies about the UN have made this possible.

It is true that Trygve Lie is working hand in glove with the American imperialists. But it was none other than the Stalinists who backed him for the post of UN general secretary and built him up as the "Great Crusader for Peace."

Stalin bears direct and personal responsibility for every one of the crimes that have been and are now being committed in the name of the United Nations. And Stalin's biggest crime in this connection was his role as one of the chief architects of this second edition of the League of Nations, the original "thieves' kitchen," as Lenin correctly called it.

"No Neutrals Allowed!" U.S. Tells India, Egypt

By Paul G. Stevens

One thing U.S. imperialism has made clear above all in connection with its war in Korea. It wants no neutrals. And neutrals will get no quarter, especially so far as economic and political pressure is concerned. European capitalist countries, dependent upon Marshall Plan aid for their existence lost no time in toing the line.

Even Sweden, uninvolved in any war for more than a hundred years, was quick to approve the U.S. resolutions in the United Nations condemning North Korean aggression and ordering the corresponding military "sanctions." The Latin American countries, half of them dictatorships that are private preserves of Wall Street and all of them dependent on U.S. economic aid, could not, of course, be expected to do less.

Leaving aside Yugoslavia, which courageously took its anti-imperialist stand in the UN, the U.S. steamroller ran into a few bumps only in the Far East — India — and in the Near East — Egypt. The Nehru government, which originally abstained, was brought around to a more "positive" position hard on the heels of a long conversation between Nehru and U.S. Ambassador Loy Henderson.

HAILED AS VICTORY

Egypt, which continued to abstain even after similar talks between her Foreign Minister and U.S. Ambassador Jefferson Caffery, began to become somewhat more amenable only after an additional barrage of diplomatic pressure from Great Britain, India, Pakistan and the Arab League. On July 11 Egypt's Foreign Minister finally issued a statement denouncing North Korean aggression and communism. And this has been hailed by the capitalist class as a great victory.

Why this intolerance of neutrals? Authoritative voices, such as the N. Y. Times, readily admit that all the UN resolutions and all the votes for them are "not expected to affect the military picture in Korea." And further, that "U.S. forces would do most of the fighting." The aim

is to get "important psychological effects." Just because the Korean war is really an American show, it is necessary to demonstrate, as U.S. delegate Warren Austin told the UN, that "the issue is not between two power blocs but between an aggressor and the United Nations."

This is the general reason for the drive on the neutrals and for the utilization of the UN flag by MacArthur. This "business of the flag," as one Times editor put it, along with the elimination of neutrals, is to serve in the nature of a camouflage operation for the American military. The UN cover plus "unanimity" are needed to drape the hideous reality of the struggle for world domination by U.S. imperialism.

FEAR NEW FIRES

But there is a more particular reason for the drive to eliminate neutrals among the independent countries, especially those in Asia. It is necessary, as capitalist editorial writers continually point out, "to refute Communist propaganda about 'white imperialism.'" The more the military conflict in Korea is confined to a struggle between American troops and Koreans, the more guerrillas participate in the struggle and facilitate the march of the North Korean armies, all the more desperate becomes the need to counteract the impact that Korean developments can have upon the masses of all of Asia in the struggle against imperialism. And beyond this there is the necessity of precautions lest new fires are kindled among colonial peoples elsewhere.

That is why a special effort was made to bring about a quick change in India's position. That is why pressure is mounting to achieve, even if more gradually, the same change in Egypt's foreign policy.

PUBLIC OPINION LAG

But while Washington has recorded a considerable measure of success among the official circles of these two countries, it can hardly be said that the diplomatic

No Compromise, Take All Of Korea!—New Leader

The Social Democratic New Leader demands that there be no return to the status quo ante in Korea. Why stop at the 38th Parallel? It asks, demanding that U.S. troops take and "unify" the whole country, even if the North Koreans should agree to "withdraw and respect the integrity of South Korea."

steamroller has cleared the road completely for the American power drive in Asia. Although the Nehru government has switched its position on Korea, reports from India keep stressing that broad layers of public opinion, including influential newspapers, continue to oppose any involvement in the "struggle between the power blocs."

Prime Minister Nehru himself, in statements and interviews, has been careful to wrap his stand in a maze of sophistry, putting the accent on the UN formula of aggression, while reiterating his government's friendship for the Mao government in China, and its impartiality in Indo-China — where Truman also happens to be intervening.

In the Near East, Arab public opinion also seems to lag behind the gradual turn of the Egyptian government under U.S. pressure, to judge by newspaper comments which continue to stress neutrality.

MASS SENTIMENT

No doubt, the native capitalist rulers in these former colonial countries are attempting to utilize the Korean crisis in order to wring as many concessions and advantages as they can for their own class. But beyond these rulers there are the aroused and restless masses who have been seeking for decades to throw off all colonial rule to achieve full independence.

It is doubtful that all the manipulation of the United Nations, the camouflage, the maneuvering with the flag and the commitments of Asian governments against the "North Korean aggressors" can serve to suppress the deep hatred felt by these masses toward imperialism, along with their instinctive sympathy for the struggle of the Korean people to achieve their own liberation.

Harry Bridges Supports UN's 'Cease-Fire' Order

Harry Bridges' line on Korea is somewhat different from that of the Daily Worker. When right wing elements in Local 10 of the CIO Longshoremen's Union brought in a motion pledging "loyalty" to the U.S., Bridges proposed an amendment supporting the "cease-fire" order of the UN Security Council and asking for a peaceful settlement of the Korean conflict. When the Yugoslav member of the Security Council took a similar position, he was hotly denounced by the Stalinists.

THE GERMAN PRISONERS IN THE SOVIET UNION

(The author is a former German prisoner of war in the Soviet Union, where he was sent to a special school to be trained to become a Stalinist functionary. But when he returned to Germany, he joined the Trotskyist movement instead. His article, written specially for The Militant, is one of the first authentic reports on the fate of Stalin's German prisoners to be published in this country. —Ed.)

GERMANY — The Moscow conference of the foreign ministers in 1947 accepted Molotov's proposal to repatriate all German prisoners of war before Dec. 31, 1948. The prisoners in Russia pinned their hopes on this day, but when it came, hundreds of thousands were still in the camps. Several demonstrations of despair, hunger strikes, work strikes, etc., broke out, followed by severe reprisals.

Some weeks ago, Tass (the official Soviet news agency) announced the completion of the P.W.'s repatriation. This provoked a wave of indignation in Germany, where it has been known for many months that the Russians have systematically held back the return of large numbers of P.W.'s by means of court sentences to long forced labor terms, generally from 5 to 25 years. This punishment was meted out not only for minor lapses on the job, petty theft, etc., but members of suspect units, placed on a kind of blacklist, were often arbitrarily sentenced.

The exact number will probably never be determined, and I will not try to even make a rough estimate. I think the method by which the Bonn government arrived at its estimate of 1 1/2 millions is wrong. For example, the number of P.W.'s given by the official Russian reports during the war and which have sometimes been cited by the Bonn government were exaggerated. I know, for instance, that before Molotov declared in 1947 that there were 800,000 prisoners, people in the Russian camps spoke of two or three million. At the "Anti-Fascist School" to which I was sent in the Soviet Union, we were told time and again: "You 600 men are chosen from out of two or three million," etc. The Russian war bulletins cannot be trusted.

Why Estimates Can't Be Trusted

On the other hand, the number cited by Molotov (800,000) seems much too low to me. When it was published, everybody in the camps was astonished and distrustful. Nor can estimates be based on the number of German soldiers missing in the East since 1945. There were many thousands who died on the battlefields but whose death could not be established. And many others among those missing died in the Russian camps. In the transit camps immediately behind the fighting front the death rate was extraordinarily high. Here is one example: 90,000 men of the more than 800,000 in the Stalingrad Army were taken prisoner. Of these 90,000 so many died from the bitter cold and from epidemics that only 5,000 to 7,000 have survived to this day.

In the regular labor camps the death rate was likewise very high during the war. But there registration files were set up, and it was said that each fatality would be reported to a central registry in Moscow, which in turn was supposed to notify the next of kin. However, this was never done. Moreover, every repatriated prisoner was thoroughly searched before leaving the camp or Soviet territory in order to prevent lists of the dead from reaching Germany by underground channels. A friend told me that a comrade in his camp had sewed into his jacket a list with the names of many deceased soldiers. He was denounced and deported to a prison camp where he is probably being detained as a "war criminal."

Of course the Stalinists have their own special method for explaining the big discrepancies in the number of P.W.'s: They cite a 1946 newspaper dispatch to the effect that a secret registry of the German High Command, containing the names of 1 1/2 million German soldiers whose death was never announced to their relatives, had fallen into Allied hands. But they ignore the Moscow list of those who died in the camps, and they are silent on the revolting mass sentences. A friend told me that in his camp the number of condemned men sometimes ran to 10 or 15% of the prisoners. When a Russian military court pronounced the verdict in these "trials," where the defendant was allowed no counsel and no chance of bringing witnesses from Germany, the prisoner was told in each case that he thereby ceased to be a P.W. This bestial trick allows Tass to pretend that there are no more P.W.'s left in the Soviet Union.

The political consequences of the P.W. problem are enormous in Germany. In almost every village, even the smallest one, there are men who were P.W.'s in the Soviet Union and saw what it is really like. Many of these were released after Dec. 31, 1948 and themselves experienced the agony of Molotov's broken promise. I think that the propaganda effectiveness of the former P.W.'s repatriated from Russia (even if they do not engage in any conscious political activity) strengthened the Kremlin's desire to hold back as many as possible of those who had seen and experienced too much. The voice of a repatriated prisoner at a meeting is sufficient to completely discredit any Stalinist speaker.

I have already mentioned the "anti-fascist" instruction I was given. It was designed to produce zealous activists for the labor camps (propagandists for Russia's policy and speed-up artists) and to train functionaries for the SED and CP (German Stalinist parties). In the beginning there were only two such schools, with continuous courses each of four months. In 1947 about 40 new district schools were opened.

Only a small minority of their students joined the Stalinist party after their return to Germany. Most of them are becoming indifferent to politics, while among the others some are becoming receptive to Trotskyist ideas. A friend I met at that school, whom I won over to our movement after our return, recently wrote me: "I have contacted two of the men who participated in our course. Both had been asked to collaborate with the Stalinists immediately after they returned to Germany. But they refused, explaining they wanted to cooperate for the cause of socialism with honest Marxists, not with those who parrot Moscow's orders. One of these is an old CP member who was active in the Stalinist youth movement before 1933. Yet he doesn't want to have anything to do with today's CP."

4th International Urges Action to Save Revolutionists in Czech Jails

PARIS, July 1 — The International Secretariat of the Fourth International today issued the following protest against the arrest, torture, and assassination of Yugoslav citizens and Czech Trotskyists in Czechoslovakia.

"The trial and execution of Zavis Kalandra has focused the attention of international working class opinion on the fate of militant workers in Czechoslovakia who defend the interests of their class against the oppressive regime established by Stalin. The case of Dimitri Dimitrievitch, president of the Yugoslav Popular Front in Czechoslovakia, who has been savagely tortured to death by the Stalinist henchmen, further demonstrates that this anti-labor terror is being directed against representatives of all currents in the revolutionary movement.

"The International Secretariat of the Fourth International has learned that several old Czech Trotskyist militants are now being held in the prisons of this country. Comrade Zdenek Flajzar, a veteran communist militant, secretary of the Young Communists of Olomuc for a number of years, who was imprisoned by the Nazis and deported to Buchen-

wald and whose wife died in deportation in the concentration camp at Auschwitz, was arrested in December 1949. Since then there has been no sign that he is still alive.

"Comrade Frantisek Roszypal, likewise an old communist militant, who was arrested with Kalandra, was referred to as 'a witness' in the Trial of the Thirteen, but the substance of her testimony, which seems not to have been too favorable to the Stalinist inquisitors, has never been published.

"The Czech Stalinist executioners must be prevented from perpetrating on comrades Flajzar and Roszypal, irreproachable revolutionists, the mortal crime they have already perpetrated against Zavis Kalandra. The protest action already undertaken on Kalandra's behalf ought to be expanded to include Flajzar, Roszypal and all other militant workers now incarcerated in Czech prisons. It is necessary to act quickly to tear them from the hands of the executioners!"

By Theodore Kovalesky

It was Mrs. Gawronski who first saw him. In fact, Mrs. Gawronski was the heroine of the whole incident. When she heard the brittle splatter of broken glass, she peeped around the side of her window shade, and there he was, standing in the alley outside the back entrance of the tailor shop, the dirty light of the street lamp full on him.

"(I bet you was awful scared," little Mrs. Lupisz whispered later, her eyes wide with awe and admiration behind her gold-rimmed glasses.)

But Mrs. Gawronski wasn't scared. Feeling the weight of her responsibility to the community, she hurried down the hall to the phone and called the police.

While Mrs. Gawronski was hastening to summon the forces of justice, Mr. Kwiatkowski was standing uncertainly behind the tailor shop. And surely if Mrs. Gawronski had stayed to look, she would not have been scared. For Mr. Kwiatkowski was hardly a sight to inspire terror in even the faintest heart. A pale faced, pudgy little man about five decades beyond his first birthday, he stood trembling, concerned with just one burning question: which way to run, where to hide. Of the fact that his left arm was bleeding badly from a cleanly sliced glass cut he was quite unaware. At the end of the alley the street lamp was bleakly showering him with its beams, and he suddenly realized with a fresh wave of panic that he was clearly visible to anyone who might look in his direction. He shrank back against the building.

How long he stayed there, Mr. Kwiatkowski could not have told. Finally a rustling at his feet flung him into horrified motion. A rat had run right across his shoe. He fled blindly back into the dark depths of the alley, away from the rats, away from the exposing rays of the street lamp. Suddenly a black mass loomed before him. He threw up his arms. His feet skidded on the cement, and he crashed against the wall of the terrified Mrs. Lupisz's house. Reeling, clutching for his balance, he wheeled about and fled headlong toward the street lamp at the opening of the alley. He skidded around the corner just as the squad car came howling down the street with its siren screaming like a soul in torment, like Mr. Kwiatkowski's soul.

Caught full in the glare of the street lamp he stopped dead. A split second more and his whole body glowed in the beam of the police spotlight like a moth caught in the projection beam at the Emblem Theater. With unnatural clarity he heard window shades scraping open, a woman's voice yelling, "There he is," the door of the squad car thumping against a hydrant as it burst open.

Once more he whirled into action, running, leaping across the street into another dark al-

leyway between two stores. Two loud explosions blasted the air behind him, and twice something slashed at the brick wall beside him and whined briefly, horribly away into the darkness. Mr. Kwiatkowski felt the splinters and dust of brick and mortar on his face and his bald head. He lost his footing and sprawled full length, smashing his nose on the driveway. An empty garbage can crashed over and rolled stridently until it clattered into a wall, and then Mr. Kwiatkowski heard nothing more.

Twin beams of light gouged him bitterly out of his brief dream of peace, and as his eyes focused he saw that the lights were held by two very large cops. With one last wild attempt to escape, more like a wild animal risking death before captivity, he struggled to his feet to flee back through the alley, to leap the wooden fence to freedom.

But in three paces, Officer Brady's gun barrel had sliced across his scalp. With a howl like that of a cat in agony Mr. Kwiatkowski tumbled again to the concrete. Officer Schultz reached for his collar, yanked him to his feet, and crashed a very hard fist against his jaw. Mr. Kwiatkowski was unaware of it when they dragged him out of the alley, through the murmuring crowd, and into the squad car.

"They say he put up a terrible fight," Mrs. Lupisz said breathlessly.

"Oh, yes," Mrs. Gawronski said complacently. "He was a desperate character."

"Maybe you'll get a reward," said Mrs. Lupisz. "I suppose so," said Mrs. Gawronski, "if he's wanted."

But Mrs. Gawronski's only reward was the sense of a citizen's duty well done and the admiration of her neighbors (although Mrs. Koladz sniffed, "She feels pretty proud of herself, don't she, one Polack turning another one into the cops!") — for Mr. Kwiatkowski wasn't "wanted." No, Mr. Kwiatkowski, bald, fifty, pudgy and completely innocent of any wrongdoing up to this time, wasn't wanted anywhere, not anywhere in this world. He was only an ex-machinist, an unemployed factory worker whose unemployment benefits had run out before his life, his appetite, and his need for clothing and shelter had run out. In fact his needs showed no immediate signs of abating, so he tried clumsily, amateurishly, to become a burglar.

When the neighborhood found how lacking Mr. Kwiatkowski was in the qualities of a desperado, most of the spice went out of the telling of Mrs. Gawronski's tale. And by the time Mr. Kwiatkowski was sentenced, nobody even noticed it in the newspaper.

Advertising for War

By Ruth Johnson

Worried by Wall Street's failure to make friends and influence people lately, Congress last week listened hopefully to the unanimous advice of experts and "elder statesmen." Bernard Baruch, Secretary of State Dean Acheson, General Eisenhower, John Foster Dulles and other notables, told a Senate Foreign Relations subcommittee that what America needs is a super propaganda agency to sell its "Truth Bomb."

Eisenhower called for a "general staff of a new kind" to wage "ideological warfare." Baruch preferred to call it "a body of thinkers." But they meant the same thing, as Eisenhower most frankly explained.

"Just recently we moved into Korea with the very best of intentions, the intention to help a people live its own life," Eisenhower complained. "And what has happened? Propaganda has so twisted our act as to make it appear as a vicious stage in American imperialism."

The Asiatic people and the masses in Europe just don't understand that the South Koreans loved being tortured by Syngman Rhee's hangers-on. Nor do they recognize the humane, democratic way in which American guns and bombs shatter Korean civilians. Clearly this situation calls for more high-powered selling than the Marshall Plan which carried Coca Cola to Paris.

Dulles, a practical man, was prepared with a theme to start off the campaign. We must make it plain, he said, "that the free nations could accept differences in view, and that the United States has no intention of trying to press every country into its own mold."

That's an excellent theme, easy to illustrate with candid photographs. One picture might show

the bloody Greek monarchy firing American guns against Greek partisans. Another could be a view of Japan, democratically administered by the freedom-loving combination of American occupation forces, the Mikado, and the Japanese monopolists. A third could show Franco, giving the fascist salute as he inspects Spanish concentration camps, or asks the U. S. Ambassador for loans and arms shipments. It's the easiest thing in the world to demonstrate that Washington will let every nation have its own form of government, provided it is staunchly capitalist, brutally dictatorial, and utterly servile to the dollar.

Acheson doesn't expect to have any trouble finding experts to carry on the propaganda drive. "The free nations," he says, "have developed to a high degree as integral parts of their free institutions the technical resources and skills necessary for 'discovering the truth and telling the truth' as American imperialism wants it told."

Always eager to help in the promotion of truth, we have a proposal too. Our contribution is a useful example, we think, of the way truth can be used in such advertising. In the best advertising tradition, it uses illusion, an appeal to self-interest, and a light sprinkling of fact. It goes like this:

Does gray hair trouble you? Are you often hungry? Out of a job? Worried about your own or your children's future? Stop worrying! Sign up today for a new UN treatment perfected in Washington and tested in Korea, and guaranteed to work in Formosa, Indo-China and the Philippines. Choose the most modern way to solve your problems. Let Truman's "UN police action" plus our "Truth Bomb" free you from life and all its troubles.

SWP Candidate Hits Korea Intervention

(Continued from Page 1)

ments; and the stockpile of atomic weapons has been building for five years.

What do America's 60 ruling families hope to get out of the projected war?

Their aim is conquest of the world. Their aim is an iron government at home to guarantee profits such as no ruling class ever before saw or thought possible.

CREATING AN EMPIRE

You can easily see how Truman's response to the shooting in Korea fits into this scheme of world conquest.

He not only ordered troops into Korea. He also sent the Seventh Fleet to protect dictator Chiang Kai-shek's armed killers on Formosa.

That's not all. Truman also ordered more vigorous support of the French imperialists in their colonial war on the people of Indo-China.

And so we have the puppet Bao

Extradition of Patterson Denied by Mich. Governor

Michigan Governor M. W. Williams on July 12 refused to sign extradition papers for Haywood Patterson, Scottsboro victim who fled jail in Alabama after 17 years' imprisonment for a crime he never committed.

Dai, a pocket edition of the blood-stained Chiang Kai-shek, listed as another of the shining knights bearing Wall Street's banners in the crusade for empire and profits on the mainland of Asia.

Besides this, Truman gave the word to strengthen the present reactionary regime in the Philippines which is thoroughly hated by the Filipino people.

These measures go far beyond the civil war in Korea. Aren't they obvious steps toward carving out a colonial empire on the other side of the Pacific Ocean?

Viewed in the light of the master plan of world conquest, they take their place beside the policy of bolstering the divine Mikado in Japan and foisting the Syngman Rhee regime on the people of Korea.

MIGHTY UPSURGE

The Syngman Rhee government, let it be said, has as cruel and bloody a record as any despotism in the world. That is why it was repudiated by the South Koreans in the recent election.

The drive of American Big Business for colonial empire is not assured of easy success.

The whole East is aflame with revolt. The majority of mankind is breaking out of colonial slavery. The centuries' old struggle for freedom from European despotism is nearing victory.

Can American military power crush this mighty upsurge of hundreds of millions of people?

Already we see how costly the conquest of the tough Koreans is proving to be.

Wall Street expects enthusiastic approval from the American people, no matter what sacrifice is required to cross the Pacific, land on alien shores and re-establish the rule of such hated figures as Chiang Kai-shek.

Is Wall Street right? We of the Socialist Workers Party do not think so.

The American people have a tradition of opposition to foreign conquest. Let us recall how Abraham Lincoln opposed the war of conquest against Mexico a hundred years ago. And how Mark Twain at the turn of the century thundered against the conquest of the Philippines.

That tradition still lives. If it were not for the sinister role of Stalinism it would even now be resounding throughout the land.

STALIN'S CRIMES

But the warmongers point to the Kremlin dictator and say, "It's either Truman or Stalin."

If that were true, the future would indeed be grim.

Stalin shares responsibility for the conditions creating the present danger of world war that has been touched off in Korea.

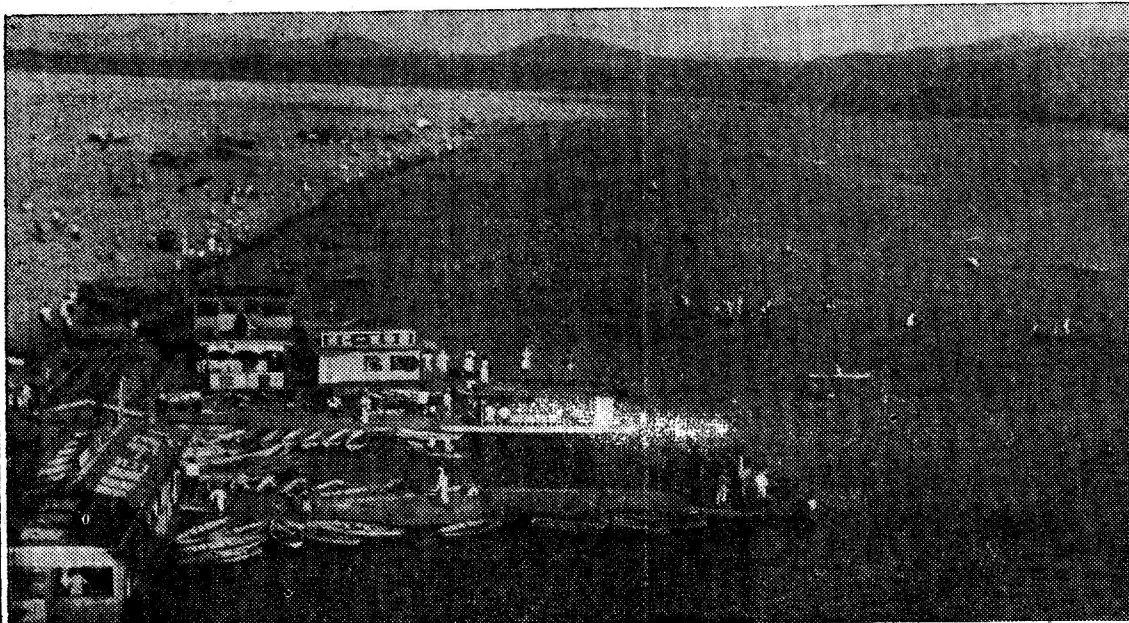
VOLUME XIV

MONDAY, JULY 17, 1950

NUMBER 29

THE MILITANT

River Breached in Korea



A natural barrier below Seoul, the capital of South Korea, the Han River was quickly crossed by North Korean troops, who continued to make steady advances to the south, where South Korean troops put up little or no resistance. This shot was taken before the fighting began.

July 23 Memorial For Oscar Coover At Mt. Spring

The weekend of July 22-23 at Mountain Spring Camp has been set aside as the first annual Oscar Coover Memorial Weekend, the camp's management announced this week.

On May 3 of this year death removed Oscar Coover from his lifelong place in the front ranks of the American fighters for socialism. His contributions to the workers movement were varied and enduring. The last two years of his life saw him devoting his vast skill and energy to the construction of Mountain Spring Camp.

"COOVER HALL"

He assumed this heavy responsibility with a willingness and enthusiasm that flowed from his strong belief that it was important that workers and their families should have the opportunity to spend their vacations at a camp that would provide them with the facilities for recreation and political study.

The program for the memorial weekend will include the unveiling of a plaque dedicating the camp's large and beautiful dining hall, whose construction Oscar supervised, as Coover Hall.

DOBBS TO SPEAK

Farrell Dobbs, National Chairman of the Socialist Workers Party, and an intimate associate of Oscar in the Minneapolis labor movement for many years will be the principal speaker.

The camp also announced that increased sleeping facilities, now under construction, will be available for the Memorial Weekend. To assure the choicest accommodations the management recommends prompt reservations. Reservations should be sent to: Manager, Mountain Spring Camp, RD 1, Washington, N. J.

FORD PAPER PRINTS SWP ANSWER TO LIES OF CP

DETROIT, July 8 — Ford Facts, the weekly paper of UAW Ford Local 600, today printed a letter by Howard Lerner, chairman of the Socialist Workers Party in this city, vigorously nailing a number of anti-Trotskyist slanders contained in a recent Stalinist smear letter to the paper. The text of the letter by Lerner, who is a charter member and former executive board member of Local 600, reads as follows:

STALINIST SMEAR

It has been brought to my attention that a Stalinist smear attack was made against the Trotskyists in a letter by Russell Lacroix. This letter appeared in the Ford Facts of June 24. As a charter member of Ford Local 600, as well as a former executive board member, I submit the following letter for the information of your membership.

Addressing the editor of Ford Facts, Russell Lacroix praises the Michigan Worker and states in part, "you are a Trotskyist, and it was people like you that helped Fascism engulf Germany." As usual with partisans of Stalinist papers, the facts are false.

CP SLIT UNIONS

It wasn't Trotsky but Stalin who signed a pact with Hitler! It wasn't Trotsky who stated that Fascism was a matter of taste, but Molotov. It wasn't Trotsky

STALINIST RECORD

The facts on the Worker are just as plain. It advocated piece-work, speed-up and cooperation with management during the last war. It was the loudest supporter of the no-strike pledge and acted as strikebreaker against the Miners' Union in its wartime strikes. The union which the Worker considers a model labor organization is the UE. After a dozen years of organization under its leadership the workers in the electrical, radio, and machine industry are still ridden with piece-work, speed-up, low wages and discrimination.

End the 'Guns-and-Butter Psychology'—New Republic

The New Republic insists the first week of the fighting in Korea proved "we must fight hard against the business-as-usual, guns-and-butter, psychology." (It's in favor of guns.) It also says "the last possible minute has already arrived" by putting into effect "the mobilization plan of the National Security Resources Board."

REVIVES THE SPIRIT OF SOCIALISM

among the masses inside the Soviet Union and in all the satellite countries dominated by the Kremlin.

That is why the Kremlin fears the Tito government and threatens its destruction.

If the appearance of an independent workers and farmers government in small Yugoslavia has such results, imagine what would happen if powerful America went socialist.

The Soviet people would no longer have any reason to fear attack from abroad. They would feel free to settle accounts with their own oppressors.

The establishment of a Workers and Farmers Government in America will thus spell the end of Stalinism.

THE REAL CHOICE

It will be possible to begin uniting major sections of world economy into a harmonious whole operated according to scientific plan.

A new era of boundless prosperity and progress will open for mankind.

The real choice facing us today is world empire and the risk of atomic annihilation or world socialism and the guarantee of enduring peace.

We are confident that the peoples of the world will take the road to socialism.

MAYBE CAPITALIST POLITICIANS WERE A LITTLE TO BLAME TOO

Angelica Balabanoff, 71-year old Social Democrat held at Ellis Island for three days on her return from Italy, suspects the Stalinists were responsible for her detention.

36 of Roosevelt College Faculty Support Kutcher

CHICAGO, July 3 — Thirty-six members of the Roosevelt College faculty have signed statements endorsing the Kutcher case and the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee, the Chicago section of the KORA announced today.

James Kutcher is the legless veteran of Newark who was fired from his job as a filing clerk with the Veterans Administration, under the provision of Truman's "loyalty" program, because of his membership in the Socialist Workers Party. The committee is now preparing to bring suit in the federal courts in the next court session to win back Kutcher's job.

The support to Kutcher from Roosevelt College comes in the midst of a rabid witch-hunting tide whose waters are reaching every walk of American life. It is an earnest of the popular resistance to the "subversive" list, the "loyalty" oath and other thought-control measures which have become standard procedure in government circles, in many schools and large corporations.

VEHICLE OF RESISTANCE

It is significant that two years after Kutcher was victimized in the "loyalty" purge, his case is still generating such strong resistance to government-by-decree, and offers the vehicle for its expression.

Roosevelt College is a small Chicago school, with a small faculty. The number of members joining this supporting action is smaller in absolute terms than that of their colleagues who took a similar step in such large universities as Chicago and Harvard. Proportionately, however, this number is larger than that in any academic institution which has supported the Kutcher case.

Faculty members who signed the statement include: E. Balduf, E. Chandler, V. Colby, R. Cosbey, S. Dorfman, V. Dropkin, D. Faegre, H. Fish, J. Hackman, A. Halasi, H. Hirsch, R. Hooker, O. Jonas, C. Kaplan, S. Landau, A. Lerner, R. Levy, S. Marck, F. McCallister, C. Orr, G. Paster, D. Pontius, B. Reynolds, R. Runo, P. Scharf, H. Sell, B. Seybold, C. Thomas, R. Tischler, L. Turner, G. Watson, D. Welkin, M. Williams, A. Winder, O. Wirth and J. Glikman. The last named signed the statement as a whole, though he took exception to one sentence in it.

FACULTY STATEMENT

The statement follows: "We, the undersigned, members of the faculty of Roosevelt College, are disturbed by the state of civil liberties today. The arbitrary establishment of a 'subversive' list on the say-so of one man — former Attorney General Clark — and the consequent development of the loyalty purge program based on this list, constitute a serious invasion of our traditional democratic rights and freedoms. We therefore join those who have raised their voices against the arbitrary firing of James Kutcher from his job as a filing clerk with the Veterans Administration in Newark, N. J. James Kutcher should have had the public hearing for which he asked and which was denied him by the Veterans Administration.

"We endorse the efforts of James Kutcher and the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee in their endeavor to right the wrong he has suffered — especially his suit in the federal courts which is now pending. We have read the statement of the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee accompanying its appeal for funds, and we urge everyone to give it his fullest consideration and support."

Faculty members who signed the statement include: E. Balduf, E. Chandler, V. Colby, R. Cosbey, S. Dorfman, V. Dropkin, D. Faegre, H. Fish, J. Hackman, A. Halasi, H. Hirsch, R. Hooker, O. Jonas, C. Kaplan, S. Landau, A. Lerner, R. Levy, S. Marck, F. McCallister, C. Orr, G. Paster, D. Pontius, B. Reynolds, R. Runo, P. Scharf, H. Sell, B. Seybold, C. Thomas, R. Tischler, L. Turner, G. Watson, D. Welkin, M. Williams, A. Winder, O. Wirth and J. Glikman. The last named signed the statement as a whole, though he took exception to one sentence in it.

UNION LEADERS PROMISE TO COOPERATE IN LABOR DRAFT

(Cont. from page 1)

the union bureaucrats in favor of giving the workers in the factories a voice in freely determining their conditions in so-called emergency or war periods. That was amply proved during World War II, when they clamped the no-strike pledge and the wage-freeze on the workers and imposed them despite growing rank and file unrest until the very end of the war.

NO-STRIKE PLEDGE The no-strike pledge was repeatedly mentioned by the union leaders at the July 11 meeting. The press reports did not mention specifically what they said about

it, other than that they used it to "illustrate what could be done if labor were granted representation on all levels of the agencies that may mushroom throughout the nation in the coming months." But it was noted that Symington "warmly commended" them on the no-strike pledge in the last war.

The press also reported that while Symington expressed satisfaction with the gathering as "a good preliminary meeting," he did not make any commitments. But although Symington (and Truman) will naturally keep the real control, it is likely that they will give the labor bureaucrats some of the "representation" that they request, perhaps even to the extent of accepting their hints that a labor leader be appointed to the presently vacant vice-chairmanship of the NSRB.

CHEAP SERVICES

Labor salesmen have done a big job in peddling the Marshall Plan to the European workers; why shouldn't the capitalist class make use of their services in selling the Korean war and the projected labor draft to the workers at home? Their services are cheap, and they have proved in the past that they are capable of suppressing the struggles of the workers, even if only temporarily. Before they adjourned their meeting with Symington, they decided to set up a nine-member committee to continue negotiations with him.

The arrangement they seek would cost Czar Symington nothing and would bring him the all-out support of the labor leaders at bargain prices. He would be a fool to turn it down, just as the rank and file workers would be fools to believe that their interests would be protected in any such set-up.

Next Week:

Report on the SWP National Legislative Convention.

Text of Farrell Dobbs' radio speech: "What Next for U. S. Labor?"

A Working Class Alternative to the Schuman Plan, by Ernest Germain.

The New Purge in UAW Ford Local 600.