

## STALINIST 'EXPLANATIONS' ON WALLACE'S SWITCH

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# THE MILITANT

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## A Letter to the President And Members of the Congress

By James P. Cannon

To the President and members of the Congress:

Gentlemen:

I disagree with your actions in Korea and in my capacity as a private citizen I petition you to change your policy fundamentally, as follows:

Withdraw the American troops and let the Korean people alone.

I am setting forth the reasons for this demand in detail in the following paragraphs. But before opening the argument, I beg your permission, gentlemen, to tell you what I think of you. You are a pack of scoundrels. You are traitors to the human race, I hate your rudeness and your brutality. You make me ashamed of my country, which I have always loved, and ashamed of my race, which I used to think was as good as any.

The American intervention in Korea is a brutal imperialist invasion, no different from the French war on Indo-China or the Dutch assault on Indonesia. American boys are being sent 10,000 miles away to kill and be killed, not in order to liberate the Korean people, but to conquer and subjugate them. It is outrageous. It is monstrous.

### Attitude of the Korean People

The whole of the Korean people — save for the few bought-and-paid-for agents of the Rhee puppet regime — are fighting the imperialist invaders. That is why the press dispatches from Korea complain more and more about "infiltration" tactics, increasing activities of "guerrillas," the "fluid" fighting front, the "sullenness" and "unreliability" of the "natives."

The Korean people have a mortal hatred of the Wall Street "liberator." They despise unto death the bestial, corrupt, U.S.-sponsored Syngman Rhee dictatorship that made South Korea a prison camp of misery, torture and exploitation.

The high morale and fearlessness of the north Koreans and the hostility of the south Koreans toward their U.S. "liberators" alike testify to the unity of the entire Korean

people in their unflinching opposition to imperialistic domination.

The explosion in Korea on June 25, as events have proved, expressed the profound desire of the Koreans themselves to unify their country, to rid themselves of foreign domination and to win their complete national independence. It is true that the Kremlin seeks to take advantage of this struggle for its own reactionary ends and would sell it tomorrow if it could get another deal with Washington. But the struggle itself has the overwhelming and whole-hearted support of the Korean people. It is part of the mighty uprising of the hundreds of millions of colonial people throughout Asia against western imperialism. This is the real truth, the real issue. The colonial slaves don't want to be slaves any longer.

### Civil and Class War Too

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

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

These reforms, these promises of a better economic and social order have attracted the peasants and workers. This prospect of a new life is what has imbued a starving subject people with the will to fight to the death. This is the "secret weapon" that has wrested two-thirds of South Korea from U.S. imperialism and its native agents and withstood the troops and bombing fleets of mighty Wall Street.

American imperialism was quite willing to turn northern Korea over to Stalin in return for control over south Korea, which it ruled through the bloody dictatorship of Syngman Rhee. Now Washington is seeking, against the resistance of the Korean people, to reimpose its imperialist puppet rule, to enforce the division of Korea and to maintain it as a colony and military base for future war on the Soviet Union.

### Right Is On Korean Side

There is not an iota of concern for the wishes and rights of the Korean people in this brutal invasion. The attempt to prop up the Syngman Rhee regime by armed force is part of Wall Street's planned program to dominate and exploit the whole world. Your undeclared war on Korea, Mr. President, is a war of enslavement. That is how the Korean people themselves view it — and no one knows the facts better than they do. They've suffered imperialist domination and degradation for half a century and they can recognize its face even when masked with a UN flag.

The right in this struggle is all on the side of the Korean people. Like the colonial peoples everywhere in Asia, they want no part of U.S. or even UN "liberation." They want the American troops to get out of Korea. They want freedom from all foreign domination. They want to decide their own fate.

The American people well remember the War of Independence that brought this nation its freedom from British tyranny. In the spirit of this revolutionary and democratic tradition of ours, I call upon you to halt the unjust war on Korea. Withdraw all American armed forces so that the Korean people can have full freedom to work out their destiny in their own way. I submit this to the Congress as a motion.

American troops, supported by fleets of bombers and fighter planes, flying the UN banner and offering "liberation," are being hurried and beaten by half-starved, poorly-clad, under-sized peasants in uniform. The latest explanation is that the North Korean forces are "masters of infiltration" who penetrate the American lines like magic.

"They have the advantage not only of the initiative but also of training in tactics enabling them to convert regular army units at a moment's notice into guerrilla forces disguised as peasants," says a N. Y. Times editorial. But why are there no reports of "friendly" South Koreans carrying out the same tactic against the North Koreans?

### "LOWER LEVELS"

The answer to this is supplied by the Times' own correspondent, Walter Sullivan, who wrote on July 25 from Tokyo that "in many respects success in Korea depends on political, not military, considerations. It is a generally accepted

(Continued on page 3)

## "WE DON'T EVEN KNOW WHO THE ENEMY IS"

By Joseph Keller

"American soldiers in Korea are battling a strange enemy whose identity is uncertain, whose commanders are nameless, who fights murderously. The Northern enemy looks exactly like the Southern friend. . . There is no difference in appearance, in language or in personal customs between South and North Koreans," complains an Associated Press article from Washington on July 24.

It is understandable that American soldiers are confused about who the enemy is. The Korean people themselves can't distinguish between "North" and "South" Koreans. Because there is no such distinction. The Korean people, north and south, are one. The "difference" was created by Truman and Stalin when they drew a dividing line across the map of Korea after the last war.

The dispatch quoted above, while correctly reciting the difficulty of distinguishing between Koreans from above or below the 38th parallel, contains a propaganda falsehood, however. It speaks of "Northern enemy" and "Southern friend." The American soldiers have no friends in Korea, south and north. In this respect, too, the distinction drawn between Koreans is purely fictional. That is what has the American GIs most confused. He's looking for friends where he has none and finds enemies where he least expects them.

### THE WHOLE PEOPLE

This enemy is everywhere, in the front and in the rear, in peasant dress, in workman's clothes, in student garb. He is the engineer who drives the U. S. supply train to the wrong destination. He is the old man who gives wrong road directions to American troops. He is the sniper who fires on a GI truck 40 miles from where the "front" is supposed to be. In short, this enemy is the whole Korean people, fighting ferociously with every means at their command, against a foreign invader.

That is why this enemy is "strange," "uncertain," "nameless." The masses have no name and only one face.

All kinds of explanations have been advanced why the best

NEW YORK, July 17—"Against the capitalist system of war and want, the Socialist Workers Party offers the alternative of the socialist system of peace and plenty," declared Farrell Dobbs, SWP National Chairman, in a nation-wide radio address delivered tonight over the Columbia Broadcasting System. The full text of his speech, entitled "The Socialist Program for America," follows:

Friends of the radio audience: All of you, I am sure, remember the promises made in the last war by Franklin D. Roosevelt. He assured us that the Second World War would bring us "freedom from fear." More than one million American boys paid for Roosevelt's promise with their blood.

Yet today — less than five years after their terrible sacrifice — we, the American people, are suffering the greatest fear we have ever known. We fear that the war in Korea will flare into

a global war of atomic annihilation. We fear to speak our minds lest we be denounced as "disloyal" and face persecution. We fear economic insecurity — either higher and higher prices brought on by war profiteering, or unemployment due to economic decline.

### ALREADY PAYING

Even as you hear my voice tonight, American boys are dying, 10,000 miles from home, in an undeclared war. The first shot fired by United States troops in Korea also struck the liberties of the American people at home. Truman not only ordered troops into Korea; he also ordered the United States Army to break the midwest strike of American railroad workers.

With the first radio announcement of the Korean events, price tags were changed overnight in grocery stores and butcher shops. Food costs began to mount under pressure from monopoly producers and wholesalers. We are

already paying — in broken strikes, in higher taxes, in rising prices, in the deaths of fathers, sons and brothers — for this so-called "little war" in Korea. The only ones who won't pay are the rich — the bankers, the war industrialists, the five-percenters — they will all get richer.

Where are the "Fair Deal" promises made by Truman in the 1948 elections? What little remained of them was blown sky-high by the first United States bomb that exploded in Korea. The Democratic-controlled Congress has tossed almost every social welfare bill into the pigeonhole marked "Filed for the Duration."

We are told we must accept war, economic sacrifice, and what is already coming dangerously close to police-state rule because Stalin threatens us. Is that really why the capitalist world has known such terrible wars, depression and inflation for half a century? These evils of the

capitalist system existed long before Stalin came to power in the Soviet Union and long before Truman embarked on his "cold war." They would exist even if there were no Stalin and no Soviet Union.

For the plain truth is that the only way American capitalism can keep going, even temporarily, is by preparing for war and then waging war. If the government stopped spending tens of billions for war preparations every year, the profit system would collapse overnight and become completely discredited.

### THE CAPITALIST PROGRAM

The American ruling class of bankers and industrialists realize that, and in their desperate efforts to hang on to their ill-gotten gains, they now want to conquer the whole world. They want to turn the entire planet into a closed market for American goods. The American corporations have piled up sixty-nine

billion dollars in idle capital that they hope to invest abroad. They want to use it where taxes are low and labor is cheap, and the rate of profits will therefore be even higher than in America.

But this program of world imperialism is already costing the American people what they prize most dearly — their democratic liberties, their highly developed industrial system, their very lives.

Every one of us who tries to lift his head above the poison fog of propaganda and to think things out for himself will surely realize where we are heading. We should stop and ask ourselves: what political program, what political party offers real hope and a way to halt this drive to universal disaster?

Surely, we can expect no solution from the Democratic Party — the party that has already taken us into two world wars and is fast leading us into a third.

The Republican Party differs (Continued on page 4)

## U. S. DETAINS JEHOVAH'S WITNESSES AS 'MENACE'

When the liner Queen Elizabeth docked for quarantine in New York City on July 20 a squad of immigration agents, headed by District Immigration Director Shaughnessy, swarmed on board and proceeded to "temporarily detain" 305 passengers, most of them English, who have come here to attend the convention of the Jehovah's Witnesses at the Yankee Stadium.

Shaughnessy confiscated their passports on the ground that some individuals among them were here to "engage in extreme pacifism" and that this constituted a "menace to public safety." Even pacifist ideas are too "extreme" and "menacing" today!

The Jehovah's Witnesses, a religious sect with a large membership in this country and many affiliates abroad, are honestly and courageously opposed to war, holding pacifist views. During the last war many of them served prison sentences as conscientious objectors.

We of The Militant disagree profoundly with their political views, especially their pacifist attitude, but we respect them for their seriousness, honesty and courage and support without reservations their right of assembly and their right to advocate their views.

Shaughnessy's high-handed and brutal action has aroused a storm

## Our Bill of Rights: Unlisted Casualty Of Truman's War

The first month of Truman's undeclared war in Korea was accompanied by an unparalleled intensification of the undeclared war against elementary democratic rights and civil liberties at home.

Truman himself stepped to the forefront of the drive to intimidate the American people with a personal appeal on July 24 to "all patriotic organizations and individuals" to ferret out and report to the FBI all "spies, saboteurs and other subversive activities."

It must be understood that the Truman administration means by "subversive" activities. Some of its spokesmen have even designated the circulation of "peace petitions" as "subversive." Organizations have been placed on its official "subversive" blacklist solely because they oppose capitalism and advocate socialism. It's not spies and saboteurs Truman's "snoop order" is aimed at checking (they won't be bothered by it at all) but individuals and organizations who are opposed to imperialist war.

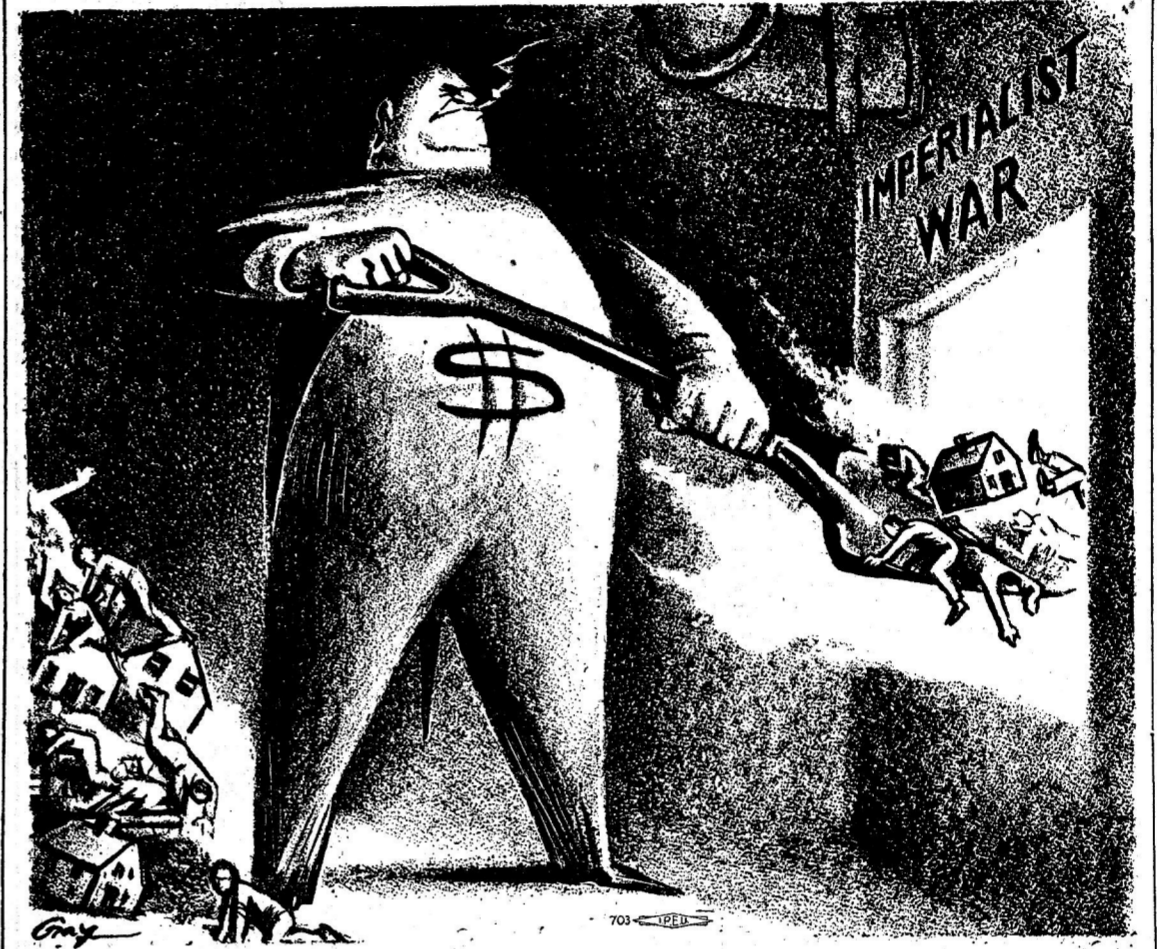
### BROKEN BACK

Political parties have been outlawed in Birmingham and communities in Texas and Tennessee. The sale of certain literature has been banned on sidewalk newsstands in Detroit. And in a Milwaukee auto plant freedom of petition was destroyed when several workers were driven from their jobs for circulating or "supporting" the "Stockholm peace petition." When one of the workers returned to his job, he was thrown out of the building and his back was broken when he fell.

In Pittsburgh Democratic Judge Michael A. Mussmano publicly demanded the immediate internment of 11 individuals fingered as Communist Party leaders by an FBI undercover stoolpigeon.

This proposal for concentration camps into which anyone could be thrown without even a hearing or trial, but simply upon anonymous denunciation, was matched by the House's passage of the notorious Hobbbs Bill, which would empower the FBI to jail all "undesirable aliens" for life.

And meanwhile, pressure continued to mount in Congress for the adoption of the Mundt-Nixon Bill, supported by the Chamber of Commerce, which would in effect make minority political views a criminal offense punishable by prison sentence.



## Profiteers Hop On Gravy Train Of Korea War

Soaring prices in the first month of U.S. intervention in Korea have given American workers an "across-the-board" wage slash of several per cent. Prices — particularly of food — have shot up at a pace comparable to the worst inflation during the last war and the post-war period following the end of OPA.

Less than three weeks after American troops began the invasion of Korea, according to a survey in the July 17 N. Y. Post, a market basket of staple food items bought in New York City chain stores cost \$7.93 compared to \$7.20 a year ago. That's a rise of over 10%!

Truman, the capitalist press and the big manufacturers, wholesalers and retailers put the blame for price rises on "hoarders." They mean, of course, the poor housewives who rush down to get a few extra pounds of sugar or coffee before prices go through the roof.

Since most working people scarcely make enough to live on from week to week, they can't do very much "stockpiling." It's the well-to-do who have money to buy up 100 or 200 pounds of sugar at a time or several hundred pounds of meat to put in their deep-freezers.

But the chief cause of rising prices is the profiteering manufacturers, wholesalers and commodities speculators who are holding back and buying up supplies in anticipation of war scarcities and demanding big price increases.

### THE PROFITEERS

Truman can't blame working class housewives for the price increases announced last week by the shoe, rubber, tire, woolen goods, textile, cigarette and other manufacturers. The manufacturers who are yelling loudest about the "unpatriotic hoarders" are boosting prices all down the line.

The big spur in prices that has already taken place is only a hint of what is to come. Truman told Congress in his Economic Report on July 26 that the "daily spot index" of wholesale commodity prices rose from 264 on June 23 to 290.7 on July 20 — a 10% rise in less than a month. But a day before he gave his figures out the same index had reached 299.5 — one day registering nearly a five point jump!

### WORKERS WILL PAY

Price rises are not the only gouge the workers will feel. The government is going to reach right into their pockets to pay for Truman's undeclared war and super-armaments program. On July 25, he presented Congress with his tax program to raise immediately another \$5 billion of revenue to pay for his Korean adventure. This, he explained, is just an interim bill until after the November elections. "Clearly, this will not meet our long-run revenue requirements," he warned.

No excess profits tax is contained in the proposal. The corporations — which stand to clear \$25 billion in profits this year — face a slight 4% to 7% rise in their normal tax rates. But at least 60% of the increased taxes will come from personal income, with the biggest increases on the lowest incomes. A married person with two dependents and an income of \$3,000 to \$5,000 a year will get a 20.5% boost in income tax; those in the same family status with \$500,000 and \$1,000,000 a year incomes will get increases of only 12% and 10.2% respectively. It's another rich man's war.

European Notebook

What's Happening to Soviet Kolkhozes?

By Ernest Germain

At the end of the war, the Soviet collective farm (kolkhoz) system was in bad shape. Kolkhoz bureaucrats, millionaire farmers, state functionaries, factory managers, high army commanders, had appropriated several million acres of kolkhoz land. Graft and embezzlement were common inside the collective farms. The mass of the peasants, being impudently cheated of the fruits of their labor, systematically neglected work on the kolkhoz land and concentrated their efforts on small holdings of their own. Chaos and anarchy reigned in agriculture and it took a long time before even some formal measures of planning could be taken again.

In 1946, the heavy hand of the Kremlin came down on the kolkhozes with all its force. A government decree of Sept. 19, 1946 ("Measures to liquidate offenses against the kolkhoz statutes") took a series of steps in order to restore the prewar situation and created a special bureau for kolkhoz affairs attached to the government, with high authority to supervise the application of the said decree. A large-scale purge of kolkhoz functionaries took place and when the reconversion crisis of the Soviet economy was overcome, a large quantity of consumer goods flowed into the villages and helped the Kremlin to reconsolidate the kolkhoz system.

It would be wrong, however, to assume that everything is normal again in Soviet agriculture. For one thing, restoration of prewar conditions means only restoration of prewar troubles, and as far back as May 1939, the Kremlin already had to issue a decree against private appropriation of kolkhoz land by bureaucrats and rich peasants. Furthermore, the 1946 purge did not succeed in eliminating all of the gross abuses which arose during the war.

And finally, the bureaucratic dictatorship itself, with its lack of democratic control by the masses and its universal arbitrariness, constantly produces the very same abuses it has to combat each time they threaten to strangle planning and endanger the collective ownership of the land with innumerable attempts of private appropriation. A number of interesting quotations of the current Soviet press give a clear picture of what is wrong with the kolkhozes under bureaucratic management.

"GOLDEN DAYS"

An article published in the Moscow Journal Sotsialisticheskoye Zemel'deye (Socialist Agriculture) of May 16, 1950, cites many examples of private appropriations of collective farm property. During 1949, according to this journal, 4,380 hectares (more than 10,000 acres) of kolkhoz land in the Molotov district were ap-

propriated by private individuals or administrations. In the district of Ulyanovsk, 600 hectares (1,500 acres) suffered the same fate. In that district 3,000 farmers were not even formally members of kolkhozes and 6,000 others, while participating in collective farms, had built up considerable personal holdings out of kolkhoz land.

The journal goes on to explain that "the experience of the last few years demonstrates" that presidents of collectives appropriate hayfields on a vast scale, either in order to harvest the hay for their own private use or to lease them for their private profit. The same paper, in its issue of June 2, 1950, gives another example, that of the district of Akmolinsk, where individual farmers appropriated 200 hectares (500 acres) and functionaries of the railways 500 hectares (1,250 acres) for their own personal use. These cases of "plundering the collective farms" have created "golden days for profiteers and idlers," says this Stalinist paper.

The Komsomolskaya Pravda (the communist youth daily of the USSR) publishes examples of "selfish" offenses against the kolkhoz statutes in its issue of May 31, 1950. In the district of Belgorod, says the paper, two-thirds of the members of one kolkhoz have not even complied with the legally required minimum of working days in their

kolkhoz. They live their own secluded life, work their own holdings and do not participate at all in the collective work. Similar abuses have been committed in a number of kolkhozes in Kazakhstan, in the Kirghiz SSR and in the districts of Orel and Kalinin. In all these cases, large amounts of money and goods, property of the collective farms, have been squandered by the kolkhoz functionaries. The Komsomolskaya Pravda ends its indictment by coining a new slogan: "Thrift is a fundamental feature of the character of a communist, and the youth must be constantly educated in this spirit."

"DEVOURING US"

But most of the complaints listed are against the bureaucratic management of the kolkhozes, with its countless waste and extortions. Pravda of April 20, 1950 exposes a case of gross mismanagement in the district of Stavropol. As a result of neglect by kolkhoz presidents and district functionaries, one MTS (machine tractor station) had more tractors than tractor operators at its disposal, with the result that dozens of tractors stood idle in the garages. A similar situation exists in the districts of Budenovsk, Novoselitsk and Yegorlik, where daily from 15 to 30 agricultural machines remained unused.

Izvestia of May 16, 1950 pub-

lishes an article by one N. Ryabchikov with the significant title: "Agronomists are overburdened by office work." Ryabchikov cites the district of Mogilev-Podolsk, in the Ukraine, where local agricultural authorities receive an uninterrupted flood of "instructions" to comply with and forms to fill out. In one district 53 forms for a total of 72 pages were received in one month's time! And Ryabchikov quotes the word of an imprudent local agricultural director of that district, one Rapatsky, who told him: "Bureaucratism is devouring us."

Because the super-bureaucrats in the Kremlin have long since lost their sense of humor it is worthwhile to note one abuse which they charge against a small bureaucrat, and which, even if grotesque, illustrates the stupidity of the bureaucratic rule over the Soviet workers and peasants. According to the Sotsialisticheskoye Zemel'deye of May 31, 1950, the president of one kolkhoz in the Ryazan region, appropriated for his private use the club of the kolkhoz, and prevented the showing of films in that club by transforming it into a barn for his pigs and chickens. It is a trifling matter, but how many millions of Soviet workers are today denied culture by the greed and the oppression of the bureaucracy!

(Next week: New turn in Russian Agriculture)

Welfare State' — Or Socialism? (Part VI)

Class Struggle Versus Class Collaboration

By Art Preis

All the so-called "welfare states," including the Roosevelt-Truman model, turn out to be nothing but the old exploitative capitalist order garnished with a few miserable reforms to make it more palatable to the workers.

AFL Secretary-Treasurer George Meany, in a rare display of candor, confessed: "Of course, there is no such thing as a welfare state, neither here in America nor anywhere else in the world. To liberals the welfare state is an ideal."

In short, the "welfare state" exists only inside the heads of muddled liberals and union leaders. But this "ideal" — or rather, illusion — has its uses for the capitalists and their political agents. With this illusion, they attempt to dope the workers on false hopes of a better day under capitalism, to convince the working class that it is possible and desirable for capital and labor to progress together in "peace and harmony," to appease the discontent of the workers and divert resistance to capitalism's evils into "safe" channels.

The Trumanite union leaders point to the capitalist "welfare state" as the answer to all labor's problems. Collaborate with the "welfare state," they tell the workers, and labor will not need to wage militant class struggle against the capitalists. The "welfare state" will provide.

Yet there has not been a single concession won by labor which was not wrested from the capitalists and their "welfare state" by labor's own class action. Class struggles have convulsed this country for a decade and a half. The stormy Thirties brought into being the CIO and the sit-down strikes. After the war, in 1946 and 1949, we saw the two greatest strike waves this country has ever known.

It was only after more than two million coal, steel, auto and other workers fought on the picket lines to win pension concessions from the employers that Truman and Congress this year began to get busy on a program to slightly improve the federal old-age pension system.

Congress' "Leave of Absence"

The miners last spring again gave irrefutable proof of the effectiveness of class struggle as against class collaboration. They defied the government, smashed Truman's Taft-Hartley injunction, rejected his treacherous "fact-finding" intervention and won wage gains of more than 20 cents an hour, half in take-home pay and half in pension funds. The average settlement of other industrial unions, which accepted the recommendations of Truman's "fact-finding" board, was about eight cents for pensions and not one penny for immediate wage increases.

Class collaboration with the capitalist "welfare state" has brought, not increasing social reforms, but the slave labor Taft-Hartley Act and the

strikebreaking injunction. And even Philip Murray complains in his recent New Republic article: "Since 1938, Congress has taken a leave of absence from social welfare legislation." The Roosevelt-Truman "welfare state," Murray confesses, hasn't given the workers any concessions in 12 years!

The true origin and aim of the "welfare state" was explained by one of its chief supporters, the Harvard historian and ADA liberal, Arthur Schlesinger Jr. Writing on "The Welfare State" in The Reporter, Oct. 11, 1949, he frankly described the "welfare state" not as a new "ideal" but as an old device of the capitalists to save their power and privileges by tossing crumbs to the rebellious workers.

Bribing Masses Out of Fear

"Western society (capitalism) was driven to welfareism by the most powerful and stark of all motives: fear," says Schlesinger. "It was the overwhelming need to BRIBE the masses into remaining loyal — not sentimental idealism — that created the welfare state. . . If you do not give the people social reform, as an English Tory has said, 'the people will give you social revolution.'"

But in its period of decline and decay capitalism is less and less willing and able to "bribe" the workers. Its depressions and ruinous wars are too heavy a drain. The real epoch of the "welfare state" was between 1880 and 1939. Between those years most of the advanced European countries introduced unemployment insurance, public health and pension programs on a far more generous scale, in proportion to their wealth, than the Roosevelt-Truman "welfare state" has ever provided.

History has already shown us the fate of those labor movements, in countries like Germany and Austria, which thought that the "bribes" of the capitalist "welfare states" would continue and grow forever. Capitalism, in the end, ran roughshod over labor, doped and blinded by visions of eternal capitalist reform. Hitler and Dolfuss brutally ended the dream of the "welfare state."

This year we have seen two more "welfare states," which offered the workers only "bribes," go tumbling before the resurgence of capitalist reaction. The Labor Party governments in Australia and New Zealand, which tried for many years to "reform" capitalism, ended up by defeat at the hands of the capitalist parties. In England, a similar policy of the British Laborite government brought it almost to the verge of defeat in last spring's election.

Truman's "welfare state" gives only the promise of "bribes." It has another and opposite program, spelled out in three letters—WAR.

(Next week: War and the 9c Dollar)

WHAT RADIO AUDIENCE WROTE ABOUT TWO SPEECHES BY FARRELL DOBBS

On His Speech, 'What Next for U. S. Labor?'

Heard Mr. Dobbs' speech on the radio. Please send copy. More power to you. Best I've heard. This is what we need at this time.

J. A. B. Atlantic City, N. J.

Boy, you sure put things down the aisle tonight in your radio talk. Let's have a copy of that. And when you need a big man — look me up, look me up!

E. A. E. St. Petersburg, Fla.

Kindly mail three copies of Farrell Dobbs' excellent speech which I heard on the radio this past Sunday night.

J. E. B. Altoona, Pa.

Please send me a copy of the speech of Sunday night on the radio. I'm interested in an American labor party. Very excellent speech.

H. W. New York City

Kindly send me your brilliant speech, "What Next for Labor?"

G. B. Detroit, Mich.

I am writing in response to your offer of a copy of the radio script of July 16 by Mr. Dobbs. Your party's domestic and foreign policy views and my own see eye to eye with each other. Please en-

close general information of your party. (I understand you are "Trotskyists.")

R. D. L. Atlantic City, N. J.

You are not a true American, just an agitator, a rotten politician and a menace to America. If it wasn't for capitalism you couldn't talk over our wonderful radio. I only wish I was not a cripple so I could come and tell you to your face what a scoundrel you are. If it wasn't for bankers, you couldn't have cars, etc.

C. J. New York City

On His Speech, 'Socialist Program for America'

I heard the lecture tonight on the social, economic and international situation, its causes, effects and solutions over the radio, delivered by one of your speakers, and I must say that it was about the best I have heard since the days of Eugene V. Debs.

It is about time and I really felt happy that there is a group somewhere that have the courage and the ability to come out with the truth in plain language.

Please find enclosed one dollar for which mail me as many copies as it will buy of the speech and I will distribute them where they shall do the most good.

Yours for unadulterated socialism.

K. E. Bellingham, Wash.

I'm very glad to hear you over the CBS concerning the Socialist Workers Party. Very, very good! Your address was a corker. Let's have some more. Please send me your free booklet.

C. A. R. Kansas, Mo.

On the night of July 17, I had the pleasure of hearing the principles of your party set forth by your chairman over the facilities of CBS. I have long been searching for a truly socialist American party. I think I have found it in your organization. The American proletariat have long been in need of a vigorous movement to champion its rights. The workers of this land are seeking a banner free from the stains of capitalism around which to rally. Have you such a banner? Have your leaders the courage and the dynamic intensity to fight the battle of the oppressed? If so, success is yours. I should like to learn more about the Socialist Workers Party — its program and its policies.

C. R. R. Baltimore, Maryland

You call upon workers, farmers, Negroes. I happen to have one of these groups in my neighborhood. Your speech does not impress me. On the other hand, your charges against capitalism do not ring true at all. They antagonize the "average American" whom you claim to address, and to a thinking person they appear just what they are — false and misleading. Mrs. H. A. W. Charlotte, N. C.

Korea-Bound GI



Seated beneath the wing of a B-29, an Air Force sergeant writes a farewell letter to the folks at home just before taking off for the Far East and possible action in the skies over Korea. He was aboard one of the 30 superfortresses that left March Field for Japan.

Letters from Our Readers

Antidote for Capitalist Lies

Part of our contributions to the recent Militant Fund was a \$10 bill from a worker, accompanied by the following note:

"When a capitalist politician wants votes, he hires special workers to blow his horn. Radio workers, printers and others are used for this job. Thus the politician buys the votes with money. Being myself a worker in the advertising industry, I know that the horn blasts don't represent the opinions of the workers who blow the horns. We blow a blast for one candidate and then a blast for his opponent, and exchange sighs and cynical remarks among ourselves. The only blast that arouses our enthusiasm is that of the noon whistle.

"Some day we'll stop blowing the bosses' horn and blow for our own class. The best we can do now is to keep our jobs so we can eat, and kick back part of our wages to The Militant so that money intended to spread the bosses' lies will help the workers to provide an antidote for those lies. So here's one \$10 bill I got from one of the two big capitalist parties. It's only fair that the next one I send you should come from the other."

P. M. Calif.

The Fight Against The Ober Law

Your readers may be interested in learning about the latest developments in the Maryland "Ober Law." It is the opinion of most informed people that this law is so extreme that it makes it illegal for a librarian to suggest that one should read a book about socialism — or that a school teacher should even discuss any of the aspects of socialism before a class or otherwise.

The Ober Law is now scheduled to come before the voters of Maryland in a state referendum to be held next November. A new group, called the Maryland Committee Against Un-American Activities, has organized a campaign to get the voters to ratify it. Their slogan is that a vote for the bill is a "vote against communism."

An organization known as the Citizens Committee Against the Ober Law was doing an excellent job in fighting against this thought-control law up until a short time ago.

Now these people apparently have switched their efforts to a "peace campaign" and the obtaining of signatures for petitions advocating the outlawing of the atomic bomb. Their withdrawal from the fight against the law, temporary I hope, plus the formation of the Maryland Committee Against Un-American Activities, makes it apparent that the fight to get rid of this law is going to be none too easy.

R. D. Baltimore, Md.

Trotsky Memorial Issue

When Stalin's hired killer murdered Trotsky ten years ago, the uncrowned czar in the Kremlin fondly believed that he was also forever rid of Trotsky's ideas, whose power he so feared and hated. But today the specter of Trotskyism haunts the Kremlin bureaucracy throughout Eastern Europe and in Asia. The July-August issue of Fourth International, now on the newsstands, documents this historical vindication in terms of the world crisis of Stalinism, the Yugoslav revolution, the events in the colonial world and the trends in this country.

LEON TROTSKY — A NEW VINDICATION, a hard-hitting article by George Clarke, deals in considerable detail with how "the ideas and program of the great theorist and practitioner of the science of Marxism are being tested and confirmed in the crisis of world Stalinism and especially in its most dramatic and positive expression, the Yugoslav revolution." The Yugoslav events, he shows, confirm Trotsky's analysis of Stalinism as "a transitory phenomenon born out of working class defeats and reaction," and demonstrate that at every critical stage the Yugoslav revolution took a course directly opposite to Stalinism and in close consonance with the basic views of Trotsky.

The system of frame-up and blood purges is the quintessence of Stalinist rule. STALIN'S FRAME-UP SYSTEM by Joseph Hansen is a study of the monstrous Moscow Trial of the 1930's, the understanding of which supplies the key to the current trials and purges in Eastern Europe.

THE TEST OF YUGOSLAVIA by Gerard Bloch analyzes the vital issues involved in the Yugoslav question and demonstrates how hopelessly bankrupt are all the revisionist theories in the light of the Yugoslav experience. Bloch singles out three mutually exclusive and self-contradictory "positions taken on the Tito-Stalin conflict by the Shachtman group in the U. S."

In an article entitled DOWNFALL OF COLONIAL EMPIRES, David Adam traces what has happened in Asia, Africa and the rest of the colonial world. The material he provides is indispensable for following the events not only in Korea but throughout the colonial world.

American imperialism, Trotsky repeatedly warned, would confront the world with military expansion and explosions unparalleled in history. Among the obstacles in its path, however, are the revolutionary traditions of the American people, among them the traditions of THE MOVEMENT FOR AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE. In his brilliant article, William F. Warde explains their meaning and shows their bearing on the struggle today against the imperialists and their outlived system.

Rounding out the rich anniversary issue is a section, published for the first time in English, from Trotsky's uncompleted book on Lenin: HOW LENIN STUDIED MARX. In addition to illuminating the true personality of Lenin, it provides the reader with invaluable suggestions and aid for his or her own study of the Marxist classics.

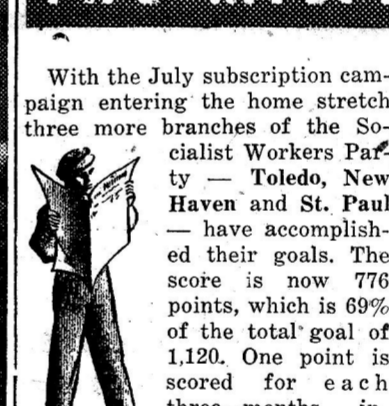
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Enclosed is: — \$1 for five copies. — 25 cents for a sample copy of the July-August FOURTH INTERNATIONAL.

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READ THE MILITANT

THE MILITANT ARMY



With the July subscription campaign entering the home stretch three more branches of the Socialist Workers Party — Toledo, New Haven and St. Paul — have accomplished their goals. The score is now 776 points, which is 69% of the total goal of 1,120. One point is scored for each three-month introductory subscription, two points for a six-months sub and four points for a one-year sub.

St. Paul has done some fine work this past week which raised their score from 75% to 113%. Literature Agent Shirley in Detroit tells us "the branch is really just getting started on the sub campaign but we are sure of obtaining our quota of 100 points."

The campaign is a little behind schedule but a final push will bring us across the finish line in time. It's up to the branches listed in the lower brackets of the scoreboard to make this one-month subscription drive a success.

Table with 3 columns: City, Points, Percentage. Total: 1,120 776 69%

Local Addresses Of Socialist Workers Party

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ACLU Deplores Exclusion Of Foreign Born by NMMU

Asserting that "scant, if any discussion at all" had been given to the question of excluding aliens from membership in the CIO National Maritime Union at the NMMU's last convention, the American Civil Liberties Union last week asked the NMMU to give the issue further consideration and to adjourn any action "until a full and adequate discussion is had." The exclusion is effective July 31. The ACLU letter said "it is shameful that under the impact of the present international tension the economic means of supporting their families is being abruptly taken from aliens who are subject to the same human needs as all other persons."

New Rates at Mt. Spring Camp

Effective July 31, the daily and weekly rates at Mountain Spring Camp will be increased due to the sharp rise in commodity prices. Daily rates will be increased 50 cents. Weekly rates will be increased \$2.50.

The management of Mountain Spring Camp announces that the increase in rates is necessary in order to maintain the high standard of food and service established by the camp. Reservations made prior to July 31 will be honored at the old rate. The new rate will be \$35.00 weekly for cabin tent accommodations and \$32.50 for dormitory space. The new daily rate will be \$5.00 for the dormitories and \$5.50 for cabin tents.

For reservations, address Mountain Spring Camp, RD 1, Washington, New Jersey.

Subscriptions: \$3 per year; \$1 for 6 months. Foreign: \$5.50 per year; \$3 for 6 mos. Entered as second class matter Mar. 7, 1944 at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the act of Mar. 3, 1879.

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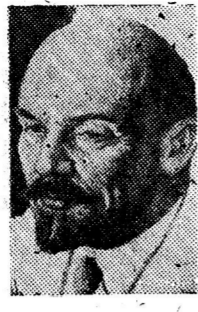
Monday, July 31, 1950



TROTSKY

"Colonial and semi-colonial countries are backward countries by their very essence. But backward countries are part of a world dominated by imperialism. Their development, therefore, has a combined character: the most primitive economic forms are combined with the last word in capitalist technique and culture. In like manner are defined the political strivings of the proletariat of backward countries: the struggle for the most elementary achievements of national independence and bourgeois democracy is combined with the socialist struggle against world imperialism."

— Leon Trotsky, The Death Agony of Capitalism, 1938.



LENIN

## Jim Crow in Korea

Lester B. Granger, executive secretary of the National Urban League and member of Truman's Committee on Equality in the Armed Services pretends to see in the undeclared war in Korea a great boon to the Negro people. In an article entitled "Jim Crow Ends in Korea," written for the July 22 issue of the Social-Democratic New Leader, Granger cites as "proof" that Negro airmen, sailors, soldiers are permitted to serve not only as messmen and menials but also as combat troops, pilots, gunners, radar operators, etc.

This shameless contention that Korea has meant the death of Jim Crow has been given the lie direct by none other than Walter Sullivan, Tokyo correspondent of the conservative N.Y. Times. In his July 25 dispatch Sullivan affirms in so many words that the problem of problems in Korea is how to palliate the "political damage" resulting from the Jim Crow attitude and actions that pervade the U. S. military ranks in Korea from top to bottom.

"Almost invariably," writes Sullivan, "officers and men refer to the Koreans as 'gooks,'" and he adds: "The lack of understanding of the Koreans, their civilization and their capabilities is not limited to the enlisted men. In recent days this correspondent has heard several higher-ranking officers in Korea make disparaging remarks, even in the presence of Orientals."

Sullivan cites the head "of one foreign mission" and a U.S. missionary in Korea

as convinced that "already the United States soldiers' attitude has made most of the South Korean populace indifferent and might make them hostile." And as he sums it up: "Fundamentally, however, the United States soldiers look down on their Korean allies and the latter, sensitive and proud, are quick to feel it."

What does all this unmistakably spell out? Far from being an anti-Jim Crow body, as Granger and his ilk so falsely claim, it is the army that now serves as a huge conveyor for spreading Jim Crow wherever it comes in contact with the Koreans. And what is there so surprising about it?

Jim Crow is not simply a mistaken attitude arising from a "lack of understanding" or any other set of ignorant views. Jim Crow flows from a set of social institutions under which an arrogant and ruthless minority exploits and degrades the mass of the people, reserving a special status of super-exploitation and super-degradation for all "inferior" national and racial groups, oppressed nationalities and minorities.

The name of this set of social institutions, of which Jim Crow at home and abroad is an indivisible part, is—capitalism. Jim Crow and all the abominations connected with it cannot be eliminated unless and until the abolition of the capitalist order which breeds it and is nourished by it. The experience in Korea is another proof of this.

## A Question for the Cominform

Last week's Militant described the Kremlin's frenzied attack on the new law in Yugoslavia to establish workers' control of industry. Our article exposed the lies about this law published in the Cominform's paper. But there is one revealing aspect of the Cominform's diatribe that we did not touch upon.

Among other arguments, the Cominform claims that the new workers control law was introduced by the "fascist Tito" just as a "smoke-screen" to hide his moves to "restore capitalism." You would gather from this that the Cominform is objecting because the move in Yugoslavia is allegedly a fraud and because what Tito proposed is not workers control at all, but something else falsely labeled by that name.

No one in his right senses would say that genuine workers' control and greater workers' power in the factories are going to make it easier for the capitalists in Yugoslavia to take back the means of production. You would assume then that the Cominform, if it thinks the Tito government is putting over a fake workers' con-

trol, would call on the Yugoslav workers to fight to win real workers' control.

But here the Cominform paper lapses into a vast silence. It doesn't breathe a word that would suggest that the Yugoslav workers brush aside Tito's alleged "smoke-screen" in order to establish effective workers' control. That's what shows that the fraud is all on the side of the Stalinist agents of the Kremlin.

We suggest that those workers who are taken in by Stalinism address the following question to the Cominform: Does it advocate genuine workers' control, more workers' democracy, in Yugoslavia — or for that matter in Stalin's own satellite countries?

We know the answer in advance: Anybody who even raises such a question must be a "Trotskyite" or a "Titoist." What has roused Moscow's ire is not that Tito is putting over a "fake" workers' control, but that he talks about workers' control at all. Who knows? Even mentioning the subject may inspire "dangerous thoughts" in the other countries of Eastern Europe.

## As If They Had Been Bombed

If Hitler's slogan was "Guns — Not Butter," Truman's can be said to be "Bombs — Not Homes."

The government's new housing program, enacted only a year ago, has been dumped down the drain of Truman's undeclared Korean war.

This housing program, inadequate as it was, was claimed as the chief "Fair Deal" achievement by the Trumanites. Truman himself scuttled it with a series of far-reaching executive orders. He did not even bother to seek approval of Congress.

What this will mean for the still extremely acute housing shortage is indicated by the fact that at least 50% of all residential units now under construction have been undertaken with federal aid of one kind or another.

The chief form of such aid was government insurance of new mortgages which enabled veterans to build or buy homes with little or no cash down payments and to pay off in 20 or 30 years.

Truman ordered the Veterans Administration to demand cash down payments of at least 5% on insured loans. This will have the effect of shoving many veterans, who haven't the money, right out of the housing market. He likewise ordered the

Federal Housing Agency to ask "substantially" higher down payments where they are required.

He ordered the FHA to demand big down payments also on modernization and repair loans, which have been granted without such payments up to now. He directed the FHA to use construction costs of July 1 as the "ceiling" in setting the basis for mortgage insurance, which means that loans will be granted only after the most careful screening.

The government's low-cost housing project will be cut to the bone — not more than 30,000 units will be allowed in the next half year. School construction commitments have been halted altogether.

Truman even told the bankers and mortgage companies to "drag their heels" in making private mortgage loans.

Finally, he revealed that he intends to approve the use of not more than \$650,000,000 of the \$1,250,000,000 which Congress authorized to insure new mortgages.

The total effect of these measures is to wreck new housing. Thus millions of homes for the American people are being wiped out by war just as surely as if they had been bombed.

# Truman Orders Europe To Rearm in A Hurry

By John G. Wright

What does the shift to war economy at home mean for the rest of the world and especially for Western Europe?

In his July 19 message to Congress Truman spelled this out in part when he said that the "other nations . . . will need to divert additional economic resources to defense purposes."

Truman followed this up the very next day with "instructions" to Charles M. Spofford, who is the new U.S. deputy to the North Atlantic Council, scheduled to meet in London on July 25. These highly secret "instructions" have not, of course, been made public.

But what their gist is may be readily gathered from what has already appeared in the capitalist press. Spofford's first job is to get the North Atlantic Council to agree to a "vast expansion" of the West European arms production.

According to Carl Levin, Washington correspondent of the N. Y. Herald Tribune, "The exact nature of the (arms) speed-up to be urged on the other treaty nations was not disclosed, but it is known that plans are being made to put more Western European factories

to producing weapons and other military supplies."

For this reason, even the character of the first meeting of the Atlantic Council of Deputies is to be drastically changed. Originally, explains Levin, it was to have been nothing more than an "organizational meeting." But now "the deputies, it is understood, will go on immediately to devise means for putting the new (arms) speed-up into effect."

"The Atlantic Allies," announce the editors of the N. Y. Times, July 24, are expected "to match our efforts by a proportional effort on their part." The exact scope of this "proportional effort" is still, of course, a jealously guarded secret. But the N. Y. Times editors provide, perhaps inadvertently, a tell-tale clue of what Spofford has been instructed to demand.

They say that Washington is "prepared to help . . . far beyond the \$1,222,500,000 already appropriated for the second year of foreign military aid, up to an additional \$5 billion if that much can be used efficiently and effectively."

This means that the Pentagon strategists want to finance the diversion of up to 5 billion dollars' worth of West European produc-

tion into armaments, provided the "Atlantic Allies" make a "proportional effort," i.e., themselves finance additional billions of arms production.

It would take us too far afield to go into the many obstacles in the path of this vast project, in particular, just how bankrupt capitalist Europe can possibly undertake such a course even with all-out U. S. backing.

### DETERRENT FACTORS

Suffice it to point out that the military expenditures of most West European countries already devour up to one-fourth and more of their entire budgets and that in no country have prewar living standards been regained. Many sectors of European economic life have still to recover from the destruction and ravages of the last war.

The French budget, for example, is still deeply in the red, and therefore France's whole fiscal system is shaky. What the new European "austerity program" for the sake of expanded arms production will mean in terms of lower living levels can be measured by the single fact that the projected European arms expenditures, "small" on American scale, are far above the total revenues of the whole British Budget. But these considerations, a deterrent to the European capitalists, will not deter the American imperialists.

The second most secret item on the agenda for Western Europe is the rearming of Germany, whose plants and manpower remain the greatest single military potential on the continent. The rearmament of Europe is inconceivable without it.

### MORE TROOPS

Finally, arms production, even if on a far less grandiose scale than that immediately envisaged by the Pentagon, means little without a simultaneous expansion of European armed forces. Where will these new soldiers come from?

"This manpower," affirms Hanson Baldwin, military expert of the N. Y. Times, "can come only from two principal sources — Japan and Germany." Hence he favors the immediate organization of a "Western German police force or army, under Allied control." In addition, he advocates the formation of "foreign legions of Germans, Japanese and other foreigners under U. S. or allied high command." The question of manpower — this is the third top-secret item of the new U. S. master economic plan for Europe and the whole world.

This plan itself flows from the fact that the shift to war economy at home is inseparable from a vast rearmament of Western Europe. Heedless of the obstacles, the full pressure of the war-mad American imperialists is being and will be exerted to carry it out.

## BELGIAN TENSION RISES AS LEOPOLD RETURNS

By Charles Hanley

The slim majority of the Social Christians (Catholics) in the new Parliament has allowed King Leopold to return to Belgium. It was a strange homecoming — this ruler has 50% of the population against

him. From the airport he was rushed to the palace in a Brussels suburb early in the morning when no one could see him, escorted by armored cars and 17 trucks full of state police. The whole city of Brussels was completely cut off and guarded by strong police units, heavily armed. Even Hitler did not have to take security measures so obvious and severe!

The Socialists are boycotting the Leopoldist regime. The Socialist ministers of state ("elder statesmen") did not participate in the Crown Council which Leopold convened in his palace, and the Liberals walked out in protest when they learned that the king would only read a declaration and that they would have no opportunity to submit demands for his abdication. So only the Catholic politicians were left. This is a farcete of the new state of affairs.

### SPREAD OF STRIKES

Strikes have broken out in Wallonia and will undoubtedly spread and gain in importance. Belgian labor strongly opposes the profascist king of the capitalists and the Church, the man who shook hands with Hitler at Berchtesgaden. But once again — in Liege, Mons, Tubize, Charleroi, — the workers' first actions after Leopold's return have been spontaneous.

The Socialist Party and union leaders had repeatedly promised an immediate general action in case of Leopold's return, and indeed this is the only means of effectively resisting the forces of clerical reaction. Yet now that the moment for action has come, the blustering reformist bureaucrats suddenly become hesitant — hostile, as they have always been, to any revolutionary upsurge of the masses. They don't talk any more about a general strike, but only of a "wave of strikes" and of "remaining the sole masters of their own tactics."

The workers, however, will certainly press their leaders to go forward, to keep their promises. They are determined to resist. And the bureaucrats cannot completely ignore the workers' mood without losing the prestige which they were able to gain by a more militant attitude in recent months.

### Corporations Pay No Taxes — Simply Pass Them On

Do the billionaire monopolies pay any taxes or simply pass them on to you and you and you? Here is what Senator Malone of Nevada said the other day:

"For many years the Congress of the U. S. had used the corporations as tax-collection agencies. The corporations have simply transferred such taxes to their product, the sale of which makes up the taxes to go into the U. S. Treasury. The people who buy the product, whether it be bread, a suit of clothes, a woman's hat, or any other product, pay the taxes. For a long time the folks were fooled. I doubt that they are fooled now."

They have to take the masses into account. The tension is bound to increase; the strikes will spread, even open clashes are not excluded. For Belgium labor knows what is at stake and will not sleep while its enemies take over.

### U. S. OPINION

That's why the American bourgeoisie would like King Leopold to abdicate, as editorials in the N. Y. Times and the Herald Tribune clearly indicate: they do not want to risk a civil war in a Western European country which, because of its situation, moreover, is the crossroads between Germany, Holland and France, and contains important mines and industries and the key port of Antwerp. A Belgian civil war would be a blow to Wall Street's European system. And the American capitalists don't think the flighty Leopold is worth that much.

But the Belgian capitalists seem to be determined to risk almost anything for an anti-labor government in this period of economic difficulties. Only a crushing offensive by labor can make them fall back.

# "We Don't Know Who Enemy Is"

(Continued from Page 1)

cepted principle that guerrilla warfare cannot endure if the lower levels of the populace support the Government in power."

The people in South Korea don't support the government in power. They hate the Syngman Rhee regime. They support the "enemy." That's why the American lines are "infiltrated" so easily and guerrillas are springing up everywhere, days ahead of the advance of the North Korean army and scores of miles to the rear of the American troops.

Here is what the American troops found in the Taejon area, from which they were driven, as described by the front-line dispatch of Walter Sullivan in the July 18 N. Y. Times:

### "WE DON'T KNOW"

"The soldiers said they felt the entire Korean countryside was either passive or actively hostile."

"We don't even know who the enemy is," one soldier said. ". . . Few women and children are seen. Sniping from the rear is frequent. Villagers and peasants who remain refuse to direct Americans toward Red hiding places or give them food, the soldiers said."

And the same day, reporting the unopposed landing of American forces on the east coast 150 miles away, the Times dispatch relates:

"Korean townspeople and women gazed at us apathetically, perhaps sullenly, from behind shop fronts and upper windows. There was no cheering as the United States troops moved into the little town . . . an attitude in strange contrast to that of occupied Japan (where) Japanese

vessels dipped their ensigns to the United States flag flying from the warships. Fishermen and women waved wildly. In Korea no such demonstration was seen."

### GUERRILLA ACTIVITY

Naturally, the Koreans are not yet a conquered people. In fact, their attitude to their "liberators" is more than "apathetic" and "sullen." Marguerite Higgins, Korea correspondent of the N. Y. Herald Tribune, reported, "there is also definite evidence that many of the white-clad peasants who wave their hands to the Americans along the road change at night into guerrillas. When they see American troops in difficulties they come in for a kill."

These guerrillas are omnipresent, the dispatches now disclose. Lindsay Parrott writes in the July 22 N. Y. Times that "the American GI is now beginning to eye with suspicion any Korean civilian in the cities or countryside. 'Watch those guys in white!' — the customary peasant dress — is the cry often heard near the front."

These "guys in white" are not merely "infiltrating North Koreans." We learn from the July 25 N. Y. Times, under the revealing headline "Guerrillas Rose Before Army Came," that before the North Korean tanks and infantry reached Mokpo, southwest seaport in Korea, "local guerrillas emerged from hiding in the countryside and became active."

### STRIKE ACTION

The director of a U. S. government agency in Kwangju "told today of emergence of a Communist underground in that city," which is inland from Mokpo. He said

these guerrillas from among "the students and textile workers began to come into the open early last week . . . (when) Red tank and infantry teams were then still sixty miles away." They called a general strike, he said, and "the manager of the mill (with about 4,000 workers) was stoned by the workers and fled early next morning."

This "pattern of events," the article reports, is now so widespread that "one of the problems facing the United States leaders is to estimate how much of a threat this represents in the two cities still in their hands — Taegu and Pusan." It adds, with perhaps

unconscious irony, that "at least in Pusan they do not consider it serious."

Such a "pattern of events" is what is known as a revolutionary war. It is a whole populace rising in arms to throw out their native and foreign exploiters. That is what has confused the American troops most of all. They were told they were going to fight a "Communist aggressor" army, "North Koreans" attacking "South Koreans." They are facing instead an aroused people, numbering 30 millions, battling unitedly against imperialism for their national liberation and a new way of life free from exploitation.

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Mr. and Mrs. Ernest R. Tomlinson of Oakland, Calif., are stunned by grief as they hold War Department telegram notifying them of loss of their son, Lt. Charles R. Tomlinson, in South Korea.

## Union Leaders Join Move For Witch-Hunt in Maritime

Top officials of all but two of the country's maritime unions have signed a statement recognizing and accepting the authority of the government, through the Coast Guard,

to dictate who shall or shall not

be employed on merchant vessels during the Korean "emergency."

These officials, including leading representatives of the CIO National Maritime Union and AFL Seafarers International Union, have agreed to "immediately furnish a replacement" for any man rejected for employment as a "bad security risk" by the Coast Guard.

The plan agreed to by these union leaders will set in motion a vast witch-hunt on the waterfronts to "weed out" so-called "subversives." The Coast Guard, acting on "information" from the FBI and Naval Intelligence, will refuse passes to piers and ships to all workers, both sailors and longshoremen, whom they choose to call "communist" or "subversive."

### FIRE FIRST POLICY

Although the statement calls for a review board and the right of appeal in the case of any one rejected by the Coast Guard, the policy will be to fire the worker first and "review" the case afterward.

The statement declares that "no ship will be delayed" because of any men "rejected by the United

States military or proper government authorities as a bad security risk," including "Communist Party card carriers, subversives, or (those) who are notorious as consistently carrying out policies of the Communist Party."

The Coast Guard could reject anyone it pleased as a "subversive," including and especially militant union members. The statement is supposed to cover the latter case by a clause claiming that "no man shall be classified as a bad security risk as a means of discrimination because of union activities." Anyway, they can "appeal" after they've been rejected.

The union officials also agreed to break strikes and "keep the vessels sailing" if any "union or organization not here signatory by phony demonstrations, bogus picket lines, etc., endeavor to delay or obstruct vessel movements." This is aimed first of all at the CIO International Longshoremen's Union, headed by Harry Bridges, and the CIO Marine Cooks and Stewards, which were not invited to the meeting called by Secretary of Labor Tobin and Secretary of Commerce Sawyer at which the agreement was adopted.

# Storm in Asia

By Paul G. Stevens

Washington's rude rejection of Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru's mediation efforts in the Korean war has raised a new storm of anti-U. S. feeling all over Asia. The sentiments of the awakened masses of that continent are only weakly reflected in the capitalist press. Yet, the N.Y. Herald Tribune's correspondent reports on July 20, "India's press today almost unanimously condemned the American refusal to follow... Nehru's recommendations for peace in Korea."

Full texts of the diplomatic notes between Nehru and Acheson still remain undisclosed. But it is known that in substance Nehru's rejected proposals are as follows: A peaceful settlement of the Korean war is impossible without the participation of Asia's largest nation — China. That nation has a new government, that of Mao Tse-tung, which Asians know enjoys the overwhelming support of the people while the old government of Chiang Kai-shek has been driven out forever and is completely discredited. The long-overdue replacement of the Chiang regime by that of Mao in the UN councils would end the reason put forth by the USSR for its boycott of the UN, Nehru contends, and a settlement of the war could be worked out in the UN on the basis of a UN-controlled election for a unified Korea.

It is obvious that what Nehru wants to do is bolster anew the fiction of the United Nations which has been so badly shattered in the eyes of the millions in Asia by American imperialism's action in the Korean crisis, an action that Nehru's government ineffectively helped to rubber-stamp by the UN resolutions against "aggression." Nehru's attempt flows from the policy required by the Indian bourgeoisie and its counterparts elsewhere in Asia — who are caught between the anvil of dependence upon Anglo-American economy and the hammer of growing mass insurgency against all foreign domination. He hopes, and not unreasonably, that the needs of insurgent China will give rise to differences between Peiping and Moscow that will allow his government room for maneuvers in the new Asia, and banks upon Stalin's desire for an all-around diplomatic deal, for which the Kremlin is prepared to pay with all kinds of sell-outs of the masses.

But the mad and desperate protagonists of the American Century will not tolerate anything less certain than an outright rubber-stamp character for the UN. Even the thought of a UN-controlled

election — a strategem they were able to use in Greece a few years ago — has become anathema to them for Korea. They intend to rely on brute force above all else in carrying through their dream of world domination. They thought that the American Century would merely be a more glorified replica of the British Century; that superior military equipment would enable them to send a small task force to subdue unorganized millions of colonials. The events in Korea have demonstrated that successful colonial expeditions of the type that made British imperialism a world force are long outdated. To carry out their imperialist plans of conquest they must mobilize the entire American people and shed oceans of blood. The statesmen and generals in Washington do not shrink back from even such a perspective; they seek only a convenient cover.

All of the thinly-veiled camouflage of the UN with which Truman, Acheson and Co. hoped to cover up their power drive is quickly being torn to shreds by their arrogant response to the Nehru proposals. Thus, the Indian press, which had begun to give lip-service to the UN mummery on Korea, has been forced to a sharp about-face. The correspondent already quoted reports the following comments on Acheson's reply to Nehru:

It expresses a "profound misreading of the Asian mind, which resents any attempt to make this area of the globe a happy hunting ground for power politics." (Madras Indian Express.)

The U.S. "has taken over seriously the white man's burden from Britain and is constantly rattling her sword. United States action (in Korea) is not only no guarantee of world peace but it is a definite threat to it and the sooner the world realizes it the better. All this talk of freedom and liberty of small countries is mere propaganda and must not be taken at face value." (Lucknow Herald).

The American reply "breathes fanatic faith in the omnipotence of force, till now associated only with totalitarian regimes." (New Delhi News-Chronicle).

If this is the way the polite and usually subdued voice of the ruling class sounds, it can be assumed that the voices of the millions who have suffered most from colonial oppression must be rising to a veritable thunder of wrath against American imperialism. The American workers must give heed to the warnings from awakened Asia, even if their power-mad rulers do not.

## Notes on Yugoslavia

According to Fitzhugh Turner, Washington correspondent of the N.Y. Herald Tribune, the Yugoslav government, through Premier Tito, has again protested to the State Department against the continued delay in the long promised loans from the World Bank, which is dominated by the U.S., and the Export-Import Bank, which is a direct U.S. government agency.

The actual sums involved are relatively small, amounting to \$25 million from the World Bank and a similar sum from the Export-Import Bank. These funds are to be used for the purchase of industrial equipment, primarily mining machinery. Fitzhugh asserts that Premier Tito has charged deliberate stalling on these loans and stressed that this delay "jeopardizes economic survival" of Yugoslavia.

The pretext for the delay by the World Bank is that Yugoslavia must first settle "private loans" incurred by the prewar Yugoslav monarchy to America, French and English bankers. This amounts to "\$56,000,000, plus 1,800,000,000 French francs, plus 170,000 pounds sterling," i.e., many times more than the promised loans.

The Export-Import Bank is "still investigating... what it (the U.S.) can and ought to do at this time."

Back in February the Yugoslav government charged that the delay was deliberately designed to force Yugoslavia into the imperialist camp. That was the tenor of Tito's remarks made in the course of a public speech where he pledged that his government would not yield to political pressure from either Washington or Moscow.

There can be no question that the continued

delay of Yugoslav loans is being used by the State Department to reinforce the political pressure against the Yugoslavs.

The July 13 Tanjug daily bulletin issued in France reports that "recalcitrant" Hungarian soldiers and workers are being arrested and deported en masse in sealed trains from Hungary to unknown destinations eastward. One such sealed train passed through the Hungarian towns of Arad and Timisoara on the night of June 25.

"In it were arrested Hungarian workers and soldiers. At the stations through which they passed the prisoners begged those who were on the platform for water, cigarettes and bread, but no one was permitted to come near the train. Every car was surrounded by strong armed guards."

"It is known in Budapest that this train contained a group of workers and soldiers who had refused to obey orders of the Hungarian authorities to dismantle certain factories for removal to the Soviet Union. When the workers refused to dismantle their factories, the Hungarian authorities called out the troops. But the soldiers solidarized with the workers who refused to obey. It was then that the Russians came to the rescue, incarcerated the "recalcitrant" workers and soldiers in the sealed train and carried them off to an unknown destination."

"It has also been learned that in the recent period dismantlings have occurred in sections of the Mavag light industry plants, of still another plant at Szeged and several more."

# Socialist Program for America

(Continued from Page 1)

from the Democratic Party only to the extent that it claims it can serve capitalism better.

The Republicans claim they can run the war in Korea better, conduct "loyalty" purges better, break strikes better and safeguard the profits of Big Business better.

What other party can the American people look to?

Henry Wallace came along two years ago and said he was against war. But when the guns started to go off in Korea, Wallace was silent. He remained silent for three weeks — and then this millionaire demagogue came out in support of Truman's undeclared war.

### STALINIST AIMS

The American Communist Party — the Stalinists, with whom Wallace has cohabited — shout loudly for "peace." But they would sell out Korean independence tomorrow for a deal between Washington and Moscow. They are interested only in furthering the reactionary, anti-socialist policies

of the Stalin bureaucracy in the Soviet Union.

As for Norman Thomas and his mis-named Socialist Party — they supported the last world war of American imperialism and promptly endorsed its latest war in Korea.

All these parties — Democratic, Republican, Wallaceite, Stalinist, Norman Thomas — Socialist — are parties of broken promises and betrayals. They can lead the American people only to catastrophe.

But I speak for a totally different kind of party. The party which I have the honor to represent — the Socialist Workers Party — is a genuine party of the working people, the oppressed racial minorities, the poor farmers. We are the party of international socialism.

### OUR APPEAL

We say that the only way to end wars, to end depression and inflation, to halt the drive toward totalitarianism is to get rid of capitalism. We call on you, the American workers, the Negro people, the farmers, to take the destiny of this country into your own hands.

The way to do this is to build a party of your own, take political power away from the capitalists and set up a Workers and Farmers Government.

That government — your government — would immediately put an end to the private monopolies. It would declare all the basic means of production and distribution to be the property of the whole people. No longer would a handful of fantastically rich capitalists run the country for

their own exclusive benefit and profit.

### HOW IT WOULD WORK

The workers of mine, mill, factory and railroad would operate the means of production and distribution under their own democratic control, without private profit. They would end the chaos and planlessness that exists under capitalism. They would organize production and distribution on the basis of an over-all, scientific plan.

They would invite the peoples of the earth to join in this planned economy on a world basis — thus ending the competition and conflict that inevitably brings war under the private profit system.

Every invention, every technological improvement would be promptly and fully utilized, to produce more and more goods. There are already available improved machine tools that would make obsolete 90% of those now in use. Socialism would use these improved tools, instead of concealing them as today's profiteers so often do. Electronic control devices could eliminate virtually every factory assembly line within 10 years.

### WHAT WE COULD DO

Socialism would use these devices to improve life for the working people. Atomic energy would be developed for peacetime production, instead of H-Bomb and A-Bomb annihilation. Atomic energy, properly developed and utilized, could raise industrial power a hundred-fold almost overnight. Socialism would use that power to help provide people the things they need.

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# THE MILITANT

## Coover Hall Is Dedicated at Mt. Spring Camp

WASHINGTON, N. J., July 23 — A record crowd witnessed the dedication of Coover Hall at Mountain Spring Camp today in an inspiring meeting climaxing the first annual Oscar Coover Memorial Weekend.

In an address of tribute to the man whom he had known and worked with for 17 years, Farrell Dobbs, National Chairman of the Socialist Workers Party, characterized Coover as "the living, walking personification of the great rank and file that is going to transform the world and make it a better place to live."

Other close friends and associates told of Coover's years of militant participation in the American labor and socialist movements. They described the qualities of integrity, responsibility, understanding and humor which characterized his entire life, including his last two years, spent in the construction of Mountain Spring Camp as a place where workers and their families may enjoy facilities for rest, recreation and education in beautiful surroundings.

### PLAQUE PRESENTED

Arne Swaback, who presided at the memorial meeting in the spacious dining hall constructed under Coover's supervision, presented the plaque to be mounted on its walls.

The chairman also introduced the first two recipients of a free vacation provided by the Oscar Coover Memorial Fund, a young worker from Harlem and a grandmother known for her militant trade union activity.

The meeting concluded with adoption of a resolution to send a message to Oscar Coover Jr., informing him that the friends "gathered today at Mountain Spring Camp take this occasion to honor the memory of your Dad who did so much to lay the foundation stones for this camp, as he did for the cause he served so well. His selfless and loyal work helped to assure a bright future for this camp; his selfless and unflinching devotion to principle and to duty stands out as a splendid example for all of us. The memory of Oscar Coover Sr. will live as long as men and women fight for a better world; it will live in that world when it has been finally won."

### Arrested on \$20,000 Bail For Having 'Peace Petitions'

Two New Yorkers were arrested in Philadelphia on July 25 and held under \$20,000 bail. The formal charge against them was "disorderly conduct and resisting arrest." The real reason was that their automobile contained briefcases with "peace campaign" petitions and handbills calling for an end to the war in Korea.

## On New York SWP Slate



HARRY RING  
For Comptroller



GLADYS BARKER  
For Lt.-Governor

## DETROIT SWP PROTESTS BANNING OF CP PAPERS

DETROIT, July 24 — Howard Lerner, chairman of the Detroit Branch of the Socialist Workers Party, today issued a statement condemning the municipal ban on the street sale of Communist Party newspapers. A wire of protest was also sent to the mayor and the City Council. The full text of the Lerner statement follows:

I wish to publicly protest the ban on the street sale of so-called subversive literature by the city administration. It violates the democratic principle of a free press.

The Stalinist papers were chosen first because they are so justifiably discredited and unpopular among the working people. They can arouse no mass support. The Communist Party richly deserves the lack of confidence which it enjoys among the rank and file workers because of its long history of company-minded practices. These include active strike-breaking and advocacy of speed-up during World War II, as well as support of capitalist politicians.

Their present claims as labor representatives are hypocritical and insincere. They don't have a single labor or revolutionary principle to stand on. They would willingly sell out the workers if Stalin could conclude any type of deal with Wall Street. But in spite of their crimes their rights must be defended if we are to retain our own.

### DANGEROUS PRECEDENT

Mayor Cobo and the City Council are using them only to set a

precedent against any legitimate labor protest. Cobo and the Council aim to whittle away at the rights of the people. The only effective way from labor's viewpoint to fight the Communist Party is to demonstrate that its program and practices run counter to labor's needs. This can easily be done by an extension of democratic rights and a free press.

An alternative program which can bring labor a better life must be offered. This neither Cobo nor any capitalist politician has to offer. In World War II, when the Communist Party advocated and practiced collaboration with management, the sale and distribution of their papers was encouraged.

Organized labor cannot defend the living standard of its members without a free press! This ban will be extended to every protest against high prices, speed-up, profiteering, discrimination, rent-gouging, and imperialist militarism. Every labor-baiting, Negro-hating, war-mad paper enjoys a free press. Any limitation whatever on a free press will give the profit hogs and the brass a field day. Labor must oppose this ban with all its strength!

## Flint UAW Members Cheer Appeal For Return to Democratic Bargaining

By Emmett Moore

FLINT, July 23 — A UAW Chevrolet Local 659 banquet sponsored by the Educational Committee here heard key addresses by leaders of the national left wing caucus

in the UAW. The local union members, who had just completed a series of educational classes on union bargaining, applauded Ken Forbes, president of the GM Saginaw Malleable local and national chairman of the left wing caucus, after his speech criticizing the five-year GM contract and pointing the way toward prevention of a repetition of the five-year contract.

In the main address of the occasion Forbes, former UAW Executive Board member from the Saginaw-Bay City area, stated that some glaring problems are brought to light by the five-year GM contract. The AFL Pattern-makers have concluded negotiations for a 21 cent wage increase while UAW workers with equal and even greater skill than pattern makers are receiving 12 cents less for the same type of work.

The major and most important part of Forbes' speech dealt with the answer to the problems of the bureaucracy in the UAW and its specific effects on the GM workers. He requested that top officers of the UAW live up to the International Constitution and return all bargaining to the corporation union councils. This is a slap at the bargaining procedure today, which is conducted by half a dozen people in the higher echelons of the UAW who cannot possibly know in all cases the multitude of problems of workers in Chrysler, GM, Ford, Briggs and other sections of the UAW.

Under the UAW Constitution it is required that negotiations be conducted by the workers from councils. (Today these councils are nothing but figureheads, with all real bargaining taken out of their hands.) This set-up would restore democracy back to the shops and would be a wholesome step toward involving the broad

ranks of the UAW in contract negotiations and thus help prevent 5-year contracts and similar rotten deals.

To facilitate this in General Motors, Forbes proposed that the time has come for the formation of an outstate council of GM workers concentrated in the GM cities of Flint, Pontiac, Saginaw, Bay City, Lansing, and Grand Rapids — which represent half of the 250,000 GM workers.

### RELIVE STRIKE HISTORY

Paul Silver, Detroit leader of the left wing caucus, referred to the traditions of the Flint UAW workers that provided the inspiration for the many battles that brought unionism finally to the auto industry. As a teacher of the bargaining class he stated that workers throughout the country look to Flint; and the best lessons of bargaining could be learned in the sitdown strikes of 1937 and the 1939 tool and die strikes. With great feeling he said the best way to learn how to bargain collectively would be to relive the history of these two strikes.

The chairman of the Education Committee, Lawrence Jones, opened the program by declaring that the labor movement faced many problems in the days to come. Already plans are being made for a no-strike pledge. He stated it is the intention of the Chevrolet Educational Committee to bring workers together to discuss these and other important issues and the Education Committee is confident that through democratic discussions correct decisions would be made.

Chevrolet workers also heard from Flint Regional Director Don Chapman, who agreed that democratic discussion was the only way to meet the problems such as the no-strike pledge.

## Friends Asked To Help in N.Y. Petition Drive

NEW YORK, July 25 — The New York State Committee of the Socialist Workers Party today announced the date when its election petition campaign will open and the fact that it has placed Arthur Preis, Labor Editor of The Militant, in nomination for the office of Attorney General.

With the nomination of Preis, the party is now contesting all five state-wide offices in this year's election. The other candidates are Joseph Hansen for U.S. Senator, Michael Bartell for Governor, Gladys Barker for Lieutenant-Governor, and Harry Ring for Comptroller.

Collection of the petitions to qualify the SWP for a place on the state ballot will begin on Sat., July 29. The New York laws are designed to make it extremely difficult for minority parties and independent candidates to obtain a position on the ballot. In order to be certified, minority parties must secure at least 12,000 valid petitions, with a minimum of 50 from each of the 62 counties in the state, except one.

On this point the SWP committee said: "The membership of our party is fully determined that we shall have a place on the ballot this year, so that the workers of New York State will have the opportunity to cast their votes for a program of opposition to

capitalism and its imminent threat of atomic destruction. We will get the required number of signatures, and will in fact demonstrate the attractiveness of our socialist program by obtaining double the required number."

In announcing the nomination of Art Preis, the committee said: "We are proud to add to our slate a man whose role in the labor and socialist movement is so outstanding. His long record of activity in union and unemployed struggles, as well as his many pamphlets and articles on the problems of the American labor movement, constitute an impressive record. We are confident it will help win the support of militant workers in this state who want to vote for candidates capable of leading an effective struggle against the capitalist class and its stooges."

The SWP committee has also issued an appeal to all supporters of the party to actively assist in the petition drive. Copies of the petition can be secured by writing or visiting the Socialist Workers Party State Campaign Headquarters, 116 University Place, New York City 3.

## Stalinists Cover Up Reason For 'Shocking' Wallace Shift

By Albert Parker

On every day during the week following Henry Wallace's public shift into the war camp, at least one article attacking Wallace appeared in the Daily Worker. The Stalinists knew they had some fast talking to do to explain what they called "his shocking switch to the side of Truman's undeclared war."

For no one was more "shocked" than the readers of the Daily Worker, who have been told a thousand times in recent years that Wallace is the champion of peace and who have been "educated" by numerous Stalinist articles and editorials defending Wallace against the criticisms and analyses of the Trotskyists, who warned that Wallace would do precisely what he has done.

"By giving his full support to the armed war against the Korean people, Henry Wallace has betrayed the cause of peace and the trust placed in him by millions of common men and women all over the world. By so doing, he has also betrayed his own principles." That is how Gil Green, state chairman of the Illinois CP, began his series of articles "explaining" the "shocking switch" in last week's Daily Worker.

Green neglects to mention that the main reason why many have placed their trust in Wallace is that the Stalinists persuaded them to do so, employing pseudo-Marxist arguments and covering up the truth about Wallace's real principles. That is why the people most "shocked" by Wallace's present stand are the ones who were most influenced by Stalinist propaganda, especially in 1948.

But in addition to shame-faced evasion, Green is guilty of brazen falsehood. It is a lie to say that Wallace "has betrayed his own principles." On the contrary, he has stuck to his principles. In an interview with the N. Y. Times, printed on April 25, 1948, he was asked: "If there were a war, would you support the United States' war effort regardless of your present opinion on the present U. S. foreign policy?" Wallace answered: "Certainly."

### STILL SUPPRESSED

Green doesn't mention this expression of Wallace's principles, committing him to support of any war U. S. capitalism embarked on. And the Stalinist press never mentioned it in 1948 either. They suppressed this information because it conflicted with the false picture they were then manufacturing about Wallace as the "symbol of the peace aspirations of the American people."

It would be better for Green and the other Stalinist bureaucrats if they did not talk about "betrayals." Because it is they above all who have played that role, while Wallace at least has remained consistent in the sense that he is fulfilling his publicly made promise to join the war camp whenever U. S. imperialism gave the signal.

But why did Wallace "step out of the fight for peace," as the

HAPPENED BEFORE

"Here," says Starobin, "was the moment of crisis against which he (Wallace) had warned. And millions were encouraged by that warning... Instead of giving the lead that can help our people turn the tables on the war-makers, Mr. Wallace goes the way of so many 'progressive capitalists' before him. It has happened before in our country's history and in the tragic record of other peoples."

Yes, it has happened before and it will happen again. "Progressive capitalists" — all of them, not merely "so many" of them — turn up on the side of capitalism every time that the profit system faces a crisis. No matter how liberal or progressive or anti-imperialist or anti-war they talk, when a showdown comes the "progressive capitalists" always wind up supporting their conservative, reactionary, imperialist, pro-war brother capitalists. For as capitalists their fundamental allegiance is to capitalism and not to "progress."

That is what we Trotskyists have been warning all along. We opposed the whole People's Front conception peddled by the Stalinists ever since 1935 because that conception is based on the subordination of the labor movement to the "progressive capitalists." That is why we opposed the Progressive Party, which the Stalinists supported might and main in preference to a Labor Party, based on and controlled by the union, Negro and other mass movements.

In 1948 the Stalinists piously disavowed Wallace's "progressive capitalist" principles — but each time they hastened to add that acceptance of "progressive capitalism" was no obstacle on the road to peace, and that they would continue to collaborate with its advocates.

And that is still their policy. (Even Starobin's incautious statement refers only to "so many 'progressive capitalists'" — meaning that some of this breed are all right.) Right now their whole program for opposing war is based on building a new People's Front which will be headed by some other "progressive capitalists" still to be found, whom they will lie about and cover up as they did Wallace.

Then, when the substitute for Wallace inevitably goes the way of all "progressive capitalists" before him, they will again express "shock" and indignation at having been — "betrayed." No, we repeat, the Stalinists would be smarter if they never used that word.

Next Week:  
**The 1950 Election Platform of the Socialist Workers Party**  
(adopted at last month's National Legislative Convention in New York City)