"Great Debate" Awakens People As Crisis Nears

The "great debate" over foreign policy is without precedent

of the U.S. ruling class and find their way into public pronouncements. The American people feel the nation drifting rudderless in a swift tide toward military and economic disasters. Truman and Hoover, Taft and Acheson, Dulles and Dewey debate how best to prepare the country for war, searching for the most expedient testingle operations in contract the country for war, searching for the most expedient testingle operations in contract the country for war, searching for the most expedient tactical operations in order to maintain the interests of the rich and powerful. But the people discuss foreign policy with opposite Reject 3-Year

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

security. The capitalist class is committed to one major strategical approach: All their roads lead to war. That is the road of Truman. unions will act this week. That is the road of Hoover. That is the road of Dulles and every other prominent capitalist spokesman. The differences among them are tactical. How, where and when to deploy the armed the government-imposed pact. Dewey for full scale intervention, forces — that is the issue under debate by the political leaders of the American plutocracy.

But the masses of people who are to be the conscripts of war are against the war itself - a war which the Big Business gov

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

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

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

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

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

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The "great debate" over foreign policy is without precedent in Twentieth Century America. It is not an affair stage-managed by the striped-pants diplomats who politely exchange meticulously formulated lies. Fear and perplexity have loosened their tongues. Social crisis, that dread virus, threatens to infect the veins of American capitalism. The disease which has paralyzed all other capitalist countries holds no respect for the fat and wealthy U.S., bastion of private profit enterprise. Global strategy now confronts the U.S. with the prospects of the stronomical costs of another all-out war piled on top of the unpaid back-breaking debt of World War II. Portents of catastrophic cycles of wars and revolutions fill the luxurious inner sanctum of the State Department with apprehension. Uncertainty and consternation gnaw at the self-confidence of the U.S. with the prospects of the state of the U.S. with the prospects of the state of the U.S. with the prospects of wars and revolutions fill the luxurious inner sanctum of the State Department with apprehension. Uncertainty and consternation gnaw at the self-confidence of the U.S. with the prospect of the self-confidence of the U.S. with the prospect of the self-confidence of the U.S. with the prospect of the self-confidence of the U.S. with the prospect of the self-confidence of the U.S. with the prospect of the self-confidence of the U.S. with the prospect of the self-confidence of the U.S. with the prospect of the self-confidence of the U.S. with the prospect of the U.S. with the prospect of the self-confidence of the U.S. with the prospect of the self-confidence of the U.S. with the prospect of the self-confidence of the U.S. with the prospect of the U.S. with the prospect of the U.S. with the prospect of the U.S. with the self-confidence of the U.S. with the U.S. with the prospect of the U.S. with the prospect of the U.S. with the prospect of the U.S. with the U.S. w

Railroad Pact

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

This decision, made in the face of the government's continued "seizure" of the lines, is reported officials. They had not reckoned White House, as well as their lack of confidence in the union officials, led to a recent "unauthorized" strike which Truman broke with injunctions.

RANK AND FILE COMMITTEE

Order of Railway Conductors had men's committees of the unions. Some 125 of the Engineers' chairfavorable settlement." The other

the "three-year moratorium on GM plants. wage movements."



Instead of "containing" the spread of social revolt abroad, the Marshall plan and aid to Chiang Kai-shek succeeded only in weak-ening the financial, political and social structure of the U.S. it-structure of the U.S. it-s scepted the government's formula in an agreement with the carriers. It was subject to

By Emmett Moore

between Hoover, Dulles, Dewey Officials of the various unions and Acheson. While they remain-Engineers, said he did not like animated discussion in all of the

These auto workers have dem-

Next Week

A Great Human Document

"A Voice from Stalin's

Prison Camp"

TOLD FOR THE FIRST TIME

moving story of the heroic life of a Soviet Trotskyist girl who

spent years in and was finally executed in a Stalinist prison

was defiant to the end. Now her voice will at last be heard.

This Is a True Story Told by an Eye-Witness

The Militant is privileged to present in our next issue the

Like thousands of others who did not come to trial, she

interest the foreign policy debate as the GM workers interpreted him that he writes to his son rea or army draft are foremost between Hoover. Dulles Dewey Hoover's speech as a demand to every week and warns him, among those demanding an end recall the troops from Asia they expressed "dissatisfaction" with ed cold to the arguments of have indicated that they support life is more important than any Korea that threatens to lead to James P. Shields, head of the Hoover's address produced put it, "It's too had the son-of-a- Street and the big shots, be on a third world war. gun is a Republican."

WORKERS SEEK ANSWERS The rapid change in the poli-

> Korea has aided class-conscious militants tremendously. Only a like outcasts. The intense red-

maintain silence. Now workers seek out these militants to learn their answers to the big political questions of the day. In Chevrolet up clippings from The Militant auto plants. on the Korean war, and in many cases it was reported they remained up all day.

tical climate brought about by the

crisis of American imperialism in

d up all day.
Class-conscious workers who a DULLES SAYS CAPITALISM FACES few weeks ago were interested primarily in union problems are today thirsting for information CHOICE: DIE IN BED OR IN about America's foreign policy, the colonial uprisings in Asia and the impact of these events on their standard of living at home. These workers are now reading The Militant from beginning to

onstrated that they are sick and | Workers with sons in Korea are your guard and try and come back

in one piece." It is significant

workers.

For the first time the auto that the gigantic war program few weeks ago they were treated is going to drive down their standard of living. They don't baiting campaign forced them to like the idea of still more taxes, sacrifice for a war they want no part of. And they fear the consequences of long layoffs when plants some workers have posted the war contracts come in to the

By John G. Wright

little solace and considerable

embarrassment for both of the

two contending sides in the

"great controversy" over for-

It was promptly repudiated by

Guy Gabrielson, Republican na-

tional chairman, who declared

that "Mr. Dulles did not speak

for the Republican Party." For

spokesmen have maintained a

studious silence about the speech

itself as well as about Dulles'

prior telegram to Hoover, denying

that this speech was intended as

an attack on him as Administra-

Dulles assured Hoover that

eign policy.

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

By Art Preis

If a poll of the American people were taken today, they would vote overwhelmingly to stop the war now and withdraw all U.S. armed forces from Korea at once.

Denied the right to vote on this life-and-death issue, the people jority of letters back him. Most are expressing themselves in a newspapers report overwhelming flood of desperate and bitter let- criticism of the Truman-Dullesters to Congress and their local MacArthur war. newspapers.

The Dec. 28 N. Y. Times, a staunch advocate of Truman's The Charlotte (N.C.) Observer: war policy, admits that "an independent sampling of Congres- then impeach some of the bunsional mail showed overwhelm- glers who caused it to happen." ing public support for the Hoover | The Milwaukee Journal said 50% approach." To most people, "the of its letters contained the theme: Hoover approach" means above all, to immediately end the war at home." A housewife wrote in and "bring our boys back from The Milwaukee Sentinel: "Uncle Korea."

"Even Congressmen from the East, so-called seat of internationalism, find their mail running from 40-to-1 to 90-to-1 and even greater in support of the Hoover program," reports the Times. "Congressional secretaries, trainnications, were convinced that real sentiment be known without ed to look for 'inspired' commuthis outburst was completely spontaneous,"

"noted also that many of the the Korean war. letter-writers were women whose SOUNDING OFF FLINT - The latest events in tired of the bloody Korean war. extremely bitter in expressing viewpoint very well could be in-The Capitalist Road to War

The Lightest events in Everyone you talk to — whether in a two-day discussion in Cleveland and instructed their top officials to go back to Wash-on foreign policy in the top circles is not leading to peace and ington and negotiate a "more workers are following with keen of the troops from Korea Insofar hesitate to tell workers around to the Engineers that "from Korea have brought about a sharp their sentiments. One worker, whose son has gone through the or stand to have in the service."

The Times observes that "from Maine to California, a growing the or stand to have in the service."

The Times observes that "from Maine to California, a growing of Flint auto workers. These workers are following with keen of the troops from Korea Insofar hesitate to tell workers around business men exeramong those demanding an end cising the old American privilege "Don't be a glory-seeker _ your to Truman's "police action" in

> Paralleling the spontaneous to Truman's foreign policy and U.S. troops to this country.

31 N.Y. Times devotes a page to awakening of the American peoa national survey of these letters. ple which may end not merely in itself, which support Truman's that will shake this country to policy, admit only a "slight" ma- its depths.

Typical of the tone of these letters is that of a housewife in "Get the boys out of Korea and "No foreign wars, keep our boys Sam is getting a little too big for his breeches.'

Up to now the American people have not dared to open their mouths because of the intimidation and witch-hunting by the government. They have seized on Hoover's speech as a means through which they can let their being persecuted and denounced as "communists." They hope to use the Hoover policy as a wedge MOTHERS AND HOUSEWIVES with which to drive through The Congressional secretaries their own policy of opposition to

The Times observes that "from of sounding off." But this unprecedented popular debate in the him. As many of these workers medals. This is a war for Wall full-scale war with China and off with a sneer about "sounding

> This debate is deadly serious. barrage of anti-war letters to It discloses a profound popular that these remarks are greeted Congress and the White House is dissatisfaction — indeed a fervid with sympathy by his fellow- an unprecedented increase all opposition — to the martial over the country in letters to news course of American imperialism. paper editors expressing, often It reveals Truman's Korean adworkers here have come to realize in the bitterest terms, opposition venture as the most unpopular war in American history. It lays clamoring for the withdrawal of bare the government's disdain and contempt for the will and deepest This phenomenon has reached feelings of the American people. such proportions that the Dec. It is the beginning of a great Even newspapers, like the Times "sounding off," but in actions

An Asian Revolutionist Speaks for Labor

A two weeks' session of the ILO (International Labor Office) shoulders of the International has not only matched that of the class movement. I take the liberty Plantation Committee was held in December in Indonesia, with Confederation of Free Trade employers but even at times sur- of also warning the ILO that by delegations of workers, employers and government bodies from Unions. Belgium, Ceylon, Cuba, France, India Indonesia, Liberia, the Netherlands, Pakistan, the Philippines, Portugal and the United this Conference have proved it the ICFTU and its chief repre- representation of the workers, it

The Ceylon Workers delegation consisted of P. Velapillai, M.P. of the Ceylon Workers Congress, M. G. Mendis of the All-Ceylon Plantation Workers Union, and Dr. Colvin R. deSilva, of the All- American trade Unionism. Its the workers' group. Ceylon Estate Workers Union.

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

it is necessary to say categorically

Sir, I have asked for the by the plantation workers through rostrum on this occasion because a properly conducted struggle. It is necessary also to say and publicly that the operative publicly and categorically that plemented the fundamental phil- have had foisted on them metro- the Chairman of the Employers' decisions contained in the reports the primary responsibility for before us do not represent even this failure to advance the planta- sentatives in respect to working is a ridiculous position, against ing the workers from "profesthe level of advance which could tion workers' interests adequately class problems. His tenderness which I take this opportunity to sional agitators and Communhave been won at this Conference at this Conference rests on the for the rights of private property protest on behalf of the working

ternationally of the most reac- functioned as an almost open repute. surrender-approach to every basic demand of the employers has been of its maneuvers against every case here on a fighting line.

proach and content only sup- other cases, the colonial workers was taken up more openly by

tionary aspects of European and agency of the employers within

FAKE REPRESENTATIVE

these maleficent activities of the tee into an anti-communist effort to conduct the workers' ICFTU have been facilitated by demonstration. The line was given the fact, that in some cases, the at the outset, characteristically, The speeches of its accredited so-called workers' representatives by the British trade union repreleader, the British trade union are in fact but the representatives sentative with his dark hint about representative, have in their ap- of governments, and that, in "knowing our real enemy." It csophy of the employers' repre- politan trade union officials. This

passed that of some govern- not taking the necessary precau-The activities of the ICFTU at mental representatives. In a word, tions against this sort of fake to be the organised projection in- sentative have in this Conference can only bring itself into dis-

There is a third protest I must publicly lodge. There has been far too much of an effort allround to convert the deliberations of Sir, I am bound to add that the Plantation Workers' Commit-

what different from yours," there was, assuredly, agreement as well group when he spoke of protectcourse. What must have irked the (Continued on Page 2)

as disagreement between them. Indeed, yes. Instead of going down the line

tried to represent.

Foster Dulles, a prominent Re- ist," "defeatist," "appeaser" and publican and a leading official of the like at Hoover. the State Department, provided

FACTIONAL WARFARE

Instead Dulles made an elaborate attempt to inject what he called a "healthy" note into the dispute, which is more and more assuming the character of public factional warfare among the ruling capitalist circles. Whereas a pro-administration Republican like Patterson (former Secretary of War) denounced Hoover as their part, chief administration counselling "discouragement, despair and defeat," Dulles began his talk by demonstratively disassociating himself from such blatant factionalism. He urged the administration to be grateful "to all who, out of wisdom, extion-inspired advance publicity perience and proven idealism (read: Hoover!) help clarify the grave issues.

while his own viewpoint is "some-But what really has thrown consternation into administration ranks was Dulles' attempt to do something no other capitalist politician has thus far had either for the administration policy, the desire, ability or boldness to Dulles associated himself with undertake. And that is, to accept some of Hoover's salient critic- the need for retreat (more acisms of the Truman-Acheson curately, a series of retreats) by American imperialism on the

even more was Dulles' refusal to these retreats and place them The Dec. 29 speech of John hurl such epithets as "isolation- within their historical context. The alternative for U.S. and

illusion.

adminstration and the Pentagon world arena; to try to delimit

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

We see here in black and white a capitalist politician awkwardly phrasing a major premise of the death-agony of capitalism, scientifically formulated long ago by Marxist thought. The dialectic of istory, as Leon Trotsky foretold, is beginning to catch up with the ideologists of American imperialism. As their skulls reel under the blows of events, the mouths of some capitalist politicians start blurting out historical truths, even if in a vulgarized form. Dulles does not deny that

capitalism is old and decrepit. Ignorantly enough, he estimates

(Continued on page 3)

Yugoslavia Seen With Open Eyes: 10

Stalinism, to be able in so short public attempts to placate the upsurge of the masses, broader in the issues of August and a time to execute so decisive a Western imperialists notwith-And to lead a very small and whose Partisans sang a song Europe since the Russian Revo- by John G. Wright in the April very backward country so far on ending with the words: the road of workers' democracy than was ever done before in proletarian countries." modern times? To answer these questions, two decisive factors must be considered, in their inseparable interrelationship: The specific nature of the Communist look on most of the historical and can the pressure of bureaucratic tionale No. 2 - "The Partisan Party of Yugoslavia, and the theoretical problems and tasks specific nature of the revolu- confronting the Communist movetionary upsurge experienced by ment at that time. It used that country since 1941.

degenerated working class parties though Tito succeeded in doing wield it together into a weapon the general counter-revolutionary whose leading bureaucracies what no out - and - out Stalinist of a victorious political counter- role of the Kremlin and the Stalsubordinate the interests of the party can ever achieve, namely, revolution. working class of their respective to wield together a harmonious countries to the interests of the group of party leaders, each with of the mass movement, on the as to what was happening Soviet bureaucracy and the needs his own talents and specific contrary, tends to isolate the specifically in Yugoslavia, and the of the Kremlin's foreign policy — capacities in a specialized field of conservative, nationally narrow- lack of any public delimitation and that has been the classical definition of Stalinist parties ports of Tito before the Fifth in the labor movement, and in general, brought our move given by Leon Trotsky and the Party Conference at Zagreb, to impel to the forefront the more Trotskyist movement ever since contain the usual slanderous and revolutionary and audacious that in that country, too, the 1933 — then it is possible to insulting language against "Trot- elements. Under the constant leadership of the CP had betrayed prove today on the basis of the facts and other material evidence we already possess, which is only part of all the existing material the character of a party. Decisive line again and again, move purely Stalinist party in the above actual role in the class struggle, tionary day-to-day policy. This later that far from strangling sense approximately from the its relations with regard to the revolutionary policy empirically the mass movement in 1945, the time Tito took over its leadership immediate and historical interests arrived at by the CPY enabled CPY developed and extended it

HITLER-STALIN PACT

During the period of the Hitler-Stalin Pact as well as after inist party in the full sense of leadership, as was the case in the setting up of a new prolethe mass development of the resistance movement in Yugoslavia the CPY did not follow the same line as was followed by all other Stalinist parties in Europe Kremlin, and in this process, reacted upon each other, and masses, for the showdown with (including here the Greek CP where the mass movement was the accomplishment of the proleas strong at that time as in Yugo- tarian revolution in its own coun- slavia. slavia.) During the Hitler-Stalin Pact, the CPY continued its genorientation toward "the establishment of a People's Front from below by organizing and waging a struggle against fascism and reaction" (Tito's report to the Fifth Party Conference in Zagreb, October 1940, reprinted in the first issue of the English edition of "The Communist," organ of the CC of the CPY, October 1946, p. 68.)

At the same time the CPY imperialist powers had started the Second World War, whilst denouncing the "pseudo - democratic mask" of British imperialism (Tito's report to the Fifth in Western Europe, attack which was absent at that time from the publications of the Stalinist parties throughout the delegation have refused to fall CP's had made, only because it but did prepare the working class by organization for an armed struggle against the Nazis which it considered as imminent just as it considered imminent the involvement of Yugoslavia in the war - only for these reasons could it raise the banner of mass insurrection as far back as June-

From the moment this insurrection started, the CPY followed the line of destroying the old us do not bring out the true to earlier social relations and state organs, and setting up a significance of the plantation thereby to thrust their labor force new state, based on the People's Committees. It was the only CP tries. From the historical and semi-serf position. in Europe which set up proletarian brigades in the Partisan tations constitute the specific movement, as far back as December 1941. And was severely rebuked for this by Moscow. It was the only CP which consciously bound up goals of socialist emancipation with the goal of national liberation. It was a party eign capital, simply followed in which consciously employed a strategy of civil war in Yugoslavia against the remnants of plantations represent the disbourgeois power, against the fascist collaborators of German earlier forms of social organizaand Italian imperialism and the no less reactionary agents of British imperialism, Mihailovich's | many a case, their personal trans-Chetniks. It was only for that reason that the CPY was able successfully to mobilize the ship. broadest masses in that strug- Here, however, there is an im-

How could it happen? How was | gle, and pursue it to the complete | became strongly accentuated | time by Trotskyists all over the it possible for the leadership of conquest of power in the country, under the pressure of the most world. Witness the articles written a Communist Party, educated for without any major support from important and vital of all in that connection in the Fourth two decades in the school of the Soviet bureaucracy. All its developments; the revolutionary International (International Notes revolutionary turn in its policy? standing, it was the only CP

"America and England will be

held an essentially Stalinist out-

STALINIST METHOD Of course, the CPY leadership

essentially Stalinist methods in | swing over to their side a section | Europe," February 1944.) If we define Stalinist parties as side its own organization; al- of the Communist leadership, and work. The above-mentioned reskyist agents." But all these pressure of the mass movement, elements, important as they are, a given semi-Stalinist party like are not decisive in determining the CPY could tacitly adjust its CORRECT PROGRAM that the CPY was never a is its program of action, its closer and closer toward a revoluthe CPY was indeed not a Stall against its own bureaucratic at the end of the war; completed interests of the Yugoslav work- CPY and the tremendous scope gained and consolidated the conbending more and more toward made possible the victory of the the Kremlin. That we needed

than anything witnessed in

A mighty revolutionary upsurge lack of any concrete information minded and bureaucratic elements by the CPY from Stalinist policy proletarian revolution in Yugo-

While this tendency was present | the Yugoslav revolutionary mass | should be sought for it. But that from the start in the CPY, it movement was understood at the we were able, from the day fol-

in its scope and more powerful November 1942, and the article "The Civil War in Yugoslavia," 1943 issue of the same magazine). Our fundamental explanation Witness the specific articles pubfor the rise of Stalinism is the lished by the underground Trotdefeat of the revolution, the with- skyist press in Europe, though drawal of the masses from the cut off from any source of inarena of history. Only when the formation other than the Nazi masses become weary and passive publications (Quatrieme Internaelements, whose presence is un- Movement in Eastern Europe," avoidable in any proletarian revo- December 1943 and No. 3 "Resolulution, become decisive enough to tion on the Partisan Movement in

> But toward the end of the war, inist parties all over Europe, the ment to the wrong conclusion and halted the revolution.

Events were to show that this

was not true. Events showed of the working class. Judging the mass movement to push more and more, thereby eliminatfrom that point of view, we boldly ahead without first having ing the remnants of bourgeois cannot escape the conclusion that to wage a fight to the finish power still present in the country that term, but rather an organiza- Spain, in Greece, France and tarian state apparatus, and was tion which tried to conciliate the Italy. The specific nature of the ready, only through thus having ing class with those of the of the mass revolutionary upsurge fidence and support of the large some time before we were able to recognize all this, is regret-The importance and depth of table enough, and no excuse

Moreover, Sir, unless this fact

unions can have no real or effec-

employers have insisted here that

every workers' representative

this butcher's approach to the

working class instead of adopting

This also is the reason why,

Sir, the Ceylon Workers' delega-

tion has consistently sought in

this Conference to place such

centre of the picture, instead of

Let it be said for the employers'

representatives here that they

have understood this point beyond

cavilling. As their colleague and

my compatriot on the other side

of the battle line, Mr. J. A. T.

Perera, put it: "there is still such

a thing as private property." How

true! How realistic! How per-

tinent! It is a statement from

the employers' side of a principle

it as the ICFTU have done.



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

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

(Next Week: Permanent Revolution)

How Could The Revolution Happen? Tokyo, Belgrade Report Mao Vying With Stalin

On Dec. 24 the Tokyo censors cow over Korea where each is saddle. observers" at Pyongyang.

ing information, either through mere puppet of the Kremlin. grilling or voluntarily:

THE KREMLIN'S ROLE

got the upper hand in Korea. by men trained in the Soviet the same way: understand the world-historic Union;" a tight Russian control

2. — It was because control

3. - Since their intervention to the N. Y. Times.) in Korea, the Chinese have supplanted with their own men "the it is unquestionable that Peiping Russian-oriented (Korean) Com- is today in control of Korea and who are now being 'played down' all of Asia. This is evidenced by by the new Chinese masters."

grudgingly, to Peiping both con- to rally the Asian peoples to the and "a major voice in the policies and to link the latter up with the of the future Korean Communist | All-Asian struggle against im-

CHINA IN CONTROL

between Mao and Stalin "as far ing just the opposite course. (back) as the end of World War II." At that time Chinese-backed MAO AND ASIAN MASSES Kim Dubong, returning from In this respect Mao's policy Yenan to Korea, formed the Peo- cannot be defined otherwise than ple's Party. Moscow was behind as revolutionary. At the UN the the North Korean Communist Peiping delegation spoke over the Party. The two organizations heads of the assembled diplomats were merged in 1946 into the to the Asian and colonial masses. North Korean Labor Party in The same has been done by outwhich the Yenan representatives standing government and party were squeezed out of control, figures and it has been followed

socialist must have tenacity,"

and freezing temperatures.

the building. Two of us sold

while the other three warmed up

inside the car. As soon as those

"A total of 161 Militants were

ticipating were Paul, Bert, Marge.

all the other members of the

Militant Army, these comrades

meeting, Knight sold seven.

Jack and Esther sold eight copies

of Fourth International, the

theoretical magazine of American

Trotskyism, at a NAACP meet-

ing. This was the issue on "Marx-

ism and the Negro." Lee, Larry

and Stanley sold 15 Militants and

five copies of the "American

Labor Leaders" issue of the FI

at a local union meeting. while

Fred and Bea sold five Militants

Deadline for Militant

Tuesday before the date of

and two FIs.

publication.

sold 17 Militants.

"vying for control." This news is How much of this information vouched for as "authenticated." proves correct, still remains to of the Chinese armies, spoke in The source is "the United Na- be seen. It is noteworthy that the Peiping to a delegation that had tions mission, including U.S. news comes by way of Tokyo just returned from the Warsaw where MacArthur's publicity ma- "Peace" Congress. Chu's remarks, North Korean officials and chine, supplementing the work of given wide publicity, run diamearmy personnel, among them "a the notorious Chiang lobby in this trically opposite to the fraudulent few high-ranking officers" are country, has been picturing, as it and cynical demagogy of these said to have supplied the follow- still does, the Mao regime as a latter-day versions of Stalin's

BELGRADE REPORT

Almost simultaneously with the 1. — At first Moscow easily Tokyo report, similar news came of the various Asian nations to from Belgrade, this time in the After the Soviet armies moved shape of a political analysis. The in the Chinese - trained Koreans | Yugoslav Review of International 'were pushed out of commanding Affairs carried a two-page this, China's new role in Korea jobs in the North Korean Com- editorial which analyzed China's is fast converting Peiping into munist hierarchy and supplanted intervention in Korea in much "The Soviet government started

was established and maintained the Korean war to demonstrate over the Korean policy and armed its leadership in Asia. The plan collapsed as a result of the defeat of the North Korean armies. The over Korea was not in their hands | Chinese Communist government but Moscow's that the "Chinese then moved its troops into Ko- Mao regime into increasingly failed to intervene in the Korean rea. . . The Chinese Communists sharper tensions with the Kremlin war last summer" when the com- have now superseded the Rusmitment of even small forces sians in Korea and the Soviet would have settled the war in government will not succeed in Korea. But that would have getting them out." (Dec. 26 Belmerely intrenched Moscow there. grade dispatch by M. S. Handler

Whatever else may be in doubt munists," including such top playing a role independent of the figures as "Premier Kim Il Sung Kremlin not alone in Korea but a striking difference in policy And, finally, 4. - Moscow has since the Chinese intervention. now reportedly conceded, even if Previously no attempt was made trol over the conduct of the war support of the Korean struggle perialism - in short, a typical reactionary Kremlin line was followed. Peiping has been vigor-The Tokyo report dates the rift ously and demonstratively pursu-

"Leon Trotsky said that a good | J. B. of Seattle says that the

Stone of Chicago. many friends for us" on the

vice. When The Canada, congratulates The Mili-

Militant put out its tant on publishing James P. Can-

special Dec. 4 non's letter denouncing Truman

"STOP THE WAR for plunging America into un-

NOW" issue, a bang- | declared war in Korea. "That

up job was done here leter was sure a good one."

"One of our sales took place stead of the usual \$2 for one

at a Stalinist meeting in the year. The extra money is for

evening. It was so cold that our The Militant's "tireless striving

fingers and feet were numb after for a better world to live in and

standing only ten minutes. We your courageous work in an insane

selling The Militant froze up, two issue. It was wonderful. I could

who had thawed out would not stop until I read it from end

replace us. In this fashion we to end. If enough copies of this

sold at sales, newsstands and at the suicidal foreign policy of our

the office. Among those par- rulers. Enclosed is \$1. Send 17

Gus, Joe, Snow and Elaine. Like 16 copies of the Dec. 4. Thanking

parked a car directly in front of society." Thanks a lot, H. A.

writes Literature Agent Manny main on Yugoslavia "have made

"Our Militant sales campus.

people are trying to

live up to this ad-

in selling it in spite

of very heavy snows

series of articles by Ernest Ger-

J. T. S. of Saskatchewan.

H. A. of Chicago on renewing

C. D. of Pottstown, Pa., writes:

"Congratulations on your Dec. 11

issue and Dec. 4 could be

distributed it sure ought to upset

copies of the Dec. 11 issue and

you and hoping we can yet stop

this damn Third World War."

his subscription made it \$5 in-

with Kim Il Sung emerging as up by the Peiping radio and "head of the Political Bureau propaganda generally. A pact cleared a sensational cable to the which decided" all policies. Today has been recently signed with Ho N. Y. Times reporting "a wide the situation is reversed with the Chi Minh's Indo-China; and ansplit" between Peiping and Mos- Peiping-oriented Koreans in the other reportedly with the Burmese revolutionists.

> On Dec. 24 Chu Teh, commander peace-masquerades of the Thirties. Chu pointedly stressed that China's military triumphs "will push the anti-imperialist feelings a new record height."

This is to the point and absolutely true. And more than the rallying center of the revolutionary struggle of the colonial masses of Asia, and by this token, throughout the world. This not only undermines, to an extent previously unknown in history, the foundations of world imperialism. It will also tend to bring the and ultimately into collision with

SEEDS OF THE RIFT

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

ng center of the Asian antiimperialist struggle that the Chinese revolution is bound to receive its greatest impulsion toward steering a course independently of Stalin and Stalinism.

Home Building Cut 54% in Next Year

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

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

In place of badly-needed housing, the builders expect to make even bigger profits from government "cost - plus" construction, including military facilities and new arms plants.

This is what is happening to the election promises Truman made the American workers in 1948. The "Welfare State" is side-tracked for the garrison state.

Local Addresses **Of Socialist**

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An Asian Revolutionist Speaks (Continued from Page 1) of negotiation which every trade

ists." As a Trotskyist myself, that is to say, as a member of the Fourth International, which, openly declared that the fascist basing itself on authentic Marx ism, fights for the establishment of revolutionary proletarian democracy in every country in the world, I cannot let these remarks pass. Permit me, Party Conference, Zagreb 1940, therefore, to exchange courtesies same, pp. 50, 68.) This same in this matter by pointing out report included an extremely that this type of remark comes sharp attack on Hitler's "new ill from imperialist exploiters, colonial reactionaries or their trade union stooges.

Sir, we of the Ceylon Workers' world. Only because the CPY did for this diversionist maneuver not make the treacherous turn behind which the employers have after the conclusion of the Hitler-sought to displace even the sober Stalin Pact which other European report of the ILO on the condition of the plantation workers. did not white-wash Nazi crimes, We would stress that the enemy in advance by propaganda and be found, not in Moscow or in metropolitan countries. Although, really problems of property rela-Peking, but in the great metro- from the standpoint of technique tions, matters in respect of which America, and in the colonial deliberations have underlined this fact, and the reports before us

PLANTATION ECONOMY

It is a pity the reports before economy in the backward counsociological standpoint, the planeconomic form which foreign capitalism adopted for its intrusion into the pre-capitalist country-side of the colonies. Indigenous capital, in its development under the auspices of forits footsteps.

From the social standpoint, the ruption and even destruction of friends and relatives. tion, the uprooting of the countryfolk from their villages, and, in plantation to new communities dominated by the wage relation-

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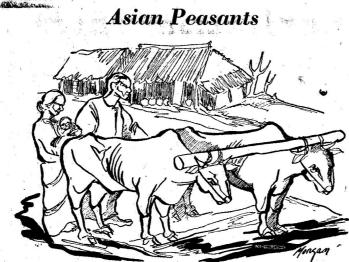
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portant distinction to be made is why the apparent problems of of the plantation workers is to from the similar process in the labor relations turn out to be politan centers of Europe and and organization, the plantations it is impossible for workers to represent nothing but the intro- rely on the "impartiality" of the regions which they directly or duction of the factory system of state. indirectly dominate. Our joint industry into colonial agricultural roduction, nevertheless, the plantation owners, operating, as they often do or have done, amidst societies of a pre-capitalist character, have been able to keep the wage relationship anchored down into a substantially serf or that, like every butcher, they

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

Sir, if the problem is regarded issues as the right of entry and in the above background, it will meeting, the claim to tenancy readily be seen that the funda- | rights, and the like, in the very mental question before the plantation workers is not one simply mere social amenities. The planof more humane recruiting tation worker requires most to achieve it! methods, better housing and be free and not merely fat! He medical attention, and the like. It | must be free to order his life as s a question of fundamental he wills, to organize for his needs. human rights achievable only in to fight for his rights. Labor the political field. That is why which is on a semi-serf or serf even the most "moderate" of footing must necessarily make plantation workers' trade unions that the primary issue - and nois also automatically political; one who fails to grasp this can and it is therefore pointless to correctly conduct the plantation denounce that fact. And that too workers' struggle.

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

such, who find in us obstacles in is firmly grasped, the trade the way of their getting little tive reply to the employers. The who are obstacles but yourselves they have already gone ahead action by the employers in your with the provision of medical and favor lest the Communist replace other amenities. But what does you. The working class is not the claim really amount to? Only here, or anywhere alse for that matter today, begging for favors; fatten their cattle for the it is here, as elsewhere, to fight slaughter! The point, however, is for its objectives. And that obnot the fattening - the issue is jective, in the case of the plantathe slaughter! And that is why tions, is not crumbs from the worth the name must repudiate but the plantations themselves.

> and we can recognize a plantation when we meet it. For the power. Their demand is not the pretty good distributions this or no definition, the workers will



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unionist should grasp, viz. no negotiation on principles, but only on their application! In other words, no abandonment of the class struggle, which is precisely a struggle over the question of perpetuating private property in the means of pro-THE MILITARY Sir, we of the Ceylon delega-

conciliatory we answer: it is necessary to be intransigent on principled questions, we have never ruled out negotiations on other things. And to the trade unionists pure

and simple, if there be indeed concessions, we say: it is not we who pathetically plead for urgent tables of the plantation-owners

I understand that the employers have made a persistent drive for plantations to be defined. It is sufficient for us that both they workers seek, not favors, but rationalization of the plantation economy, but the nationalization of the plantations. And, definition



The deadline for articles and ads for The Militant is the

have demonstrated that they are not just fair-weather socialists." Stocks Up Despite From Detroit, Literature Agent Howard Mason reports "some **Excess Profits Tax**

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

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

The temporary readjustment difficulties, which have resulted governmental favors to

past week." At a small forum Despite the hullaballo about sponsored by two union locals, Fred sold six Militants and a sixmonths subscription. At another

"optimism" is the fact that the

ed in mass layoffs of auto workers, have not affected stocks. The financiers see ahead another lush period of wartime profiteering and uncheckSTILL AVAILABLE

ing room. Only \$4.50.

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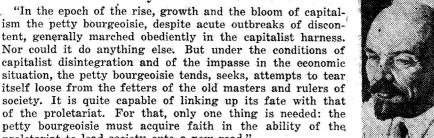


TROTSKY

"In the epoch of the rise, growth and the bloom of capitalism the petty bourgeoisie, despite acute outbreaks of discontent. generally marched obediently in the capitalist harness. Nor could it do anything else. But under the conditions of capitalist disintegration and of the impasse in the economic situation, the petty bourgeoisie tends, seeks, attempts to tear itself loose from the fetters of the old masters and rulers of society. It is quite capable of linking up its fate with that of the proletariat. For that, only one thing is needed: the

On Labor's Way to Win Middle Class

proletariat to lead society onto a new road." - Leon Trotsky, Political Programs of the Petty Bourgeoisie, 1932



LENIN

No Voice for Labor

We are informed by the daily press that a "new" Congress took over on Jan. 6. The term "new" is misleading, if not false altogether. A few new faces have been added, a few old ones discarded. There are a few more Republicans, a few less Democrats.

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

Of course, the Trumanite union leaders and liberals shake their heads mournfully and warn us that this Congress is likely to be "worse" than the last. They mean that it won't contain quite as many Democrats. But it's hard to imagine a Congress much worse than the one that just finished its sessions by steamrollering through another \$20 billion for war and an excess-profits tax that will nibble little more than \$2 billion from the \$45 billion the corporations are expected to rake in this fiscal year in gross profits.

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

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

> ests of the rich. In one thing especially this Congress will be no "worse" than the others. The 82nd Congress will contain not one single genuine spokesman for labor. No voice will speak there for the working people. Only the exploiting minority, the powerdrunk militarists, the predatory scum of our society will be spoken for in this Congress. And that's really no different than it's been.

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

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

> toil" it means speed-up and more speed-

up to the workers. When he and all the

other top capitalist spokesmen speak of

"sacrifice" they mean the wage-freeze,

and a lower standard of living for the

And when these capitalist politicians

try to soften these blows with talk of

"equality of sacrifice" they lie. This

phony slogan, lifted out of Roosevelt's

too threadbare today to convince workers

sacrificed nothing. Cost-plus war con-

tracts further enriched the billionaire

class; Roosevelt's promised \$25,000 sala-

ry freeze was never effected; but wages

were frozen and prices soared. The gov-

ernment built plants and turned them

over to the monopolists; the scramble

for profits and ever greater profits was

Not only the mine workers know that

"war is a rich man's game." World War

II taught this to millions. No one expects

this coming war to be different. As the

full effects of the all-out war mobiliza-

They remember that last time the rich

masses of people.

never checked.

Who Will Sacrifice?

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

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

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

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

As always under capitalism, the workers will bear the burdens of war. As the United Mine Workers Journal stated in

richer and the poor get poorer."

tion are felt, the American workers will its last issue, "War has always been a show their wrath against this "game" of toil and sacrifice for the laboring rich man's game by which the rich get poor and plunder and pleasure for the

When Dewey speaks of "toil and more.

Truman's Support for Franco

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

U.S. Moves to Restore WHEN THE GIS DECIDED Japan's Military Power

By Joseph Keller

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

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

SEPARATE TREATY

This note not only asserted Washington's intention to impose its own separate peace treaty on Japan, but that "irresponsible militarism" would "make it reaswith the United States and other nations in arrangements for inand collective selflividual efense. .

The effect of such a treaty, which U.S. officials hope to conclude within six months, would aims of America in the second be to "allow the Japanese Gov-Japanese armed forces." (N. Y. Times. Jan. 1.)

Gen. MacArthur, the madlyambitious dictator of Japan who the rearming of Japan. Gordon dreams of being the conqueror of all Asia, made explicit the aim respondent of The Christian which was merely implicit in the Science Monitor, wrote last week State Department's note to the from Tokyo: "Any realistic ob-Soviet Union. In his New Year's server here who listens to the message to occupied Japan, he

FORCE TO MEET FORCE

"Your constitution renounces war as an instrument of national policy . . . the highest ideal the modern world has ever known. . . tion, and it will become your duty public opinion. . ." within the principles of the others . . . to mount force to plied this "suitable appeal."
repel force."

Hanson W. Baldwin N

remarkable thing about capital-

historical span, which is brief in

comparison to the preceding

societies (feudalism, slavery), but

rather the fact that it has become

outlived and anti-social more

swiftly than any other previously

known economic and political

So bankrupt, in fact, has capital-

ism become that its champions

are left without any ideas of

their own to bring to its defense.

And so a Dulles has the gall to

plagiarize from the arsenal of

Marxism one of its noblest ideas

and ideals, namely: Marx's for-

mula for the Communist society

of the future: "From each ac-

cording to his abilities; to each

according to his needs." After

outrageously falsifying the entire

postwar period. Dulles, almost as

an after-thought, adds that "our

capitalistic society has come to

approach . . . the ideal of produc-

tion according to ability and

distribution according to need"

Again, it is historical necessity

To commit his plagiarism from

system.

DULLES SAYS CAPITALISM FACES CHOICE: 'DIE IN BED OR IN BATTLE thim - and the administration line in Asia not only likely but un

most outspoken.

especially the backing up of Mac- divided, frightened and self-Arthur, makes the spread of war destroying capitalist rulers.

arsenal of duplicity which he used to that it is "1,000 years old"; which in some respects he holds avoidable. Dulles not only admits which first saw the light of day in the Fifteenth Century. The gamble of "limited war" in Asia that anything we now do will, in and the almost equally risky fact, prevent the awful catasremarkable thing about capital gamble of reviving Nazi German trophe of a third World War," is UNION METHODS UTILIZED BY TROOPS military might in Europe. And one way in which he put it. once again, Dulles is by far the

FULL SCALE WAR

"We cannot be sure!" The



GEN. MacARTHUR

MacArthur, whose own highest ideal is ever to "mount force," for once looked graciously upon its note to the Kremlin a "honey." Only three years ago, on a similar occasion, MacArthur had declared that to permit the slightest rearming of Japan would be to "backtrack" on the professed world war - a war which cost ernment to go ahead promptly the American people several with the reestablishment of hundred thousand casualties in

the Pacific alone. But there has been no waiting on a peace treaty to set in motion Walker, Chief Far Eastern Cormounting debate over the question of Japanese rearmament and who witnesses the gradual buildup and training of the new national police reserve has little choice but to say that rearma-

ment of Japan - however limited - already is under way. The

MacArthur, three days later in Hanson W. Baldwin, N. Y. war machine once more.

Times military analyst, flatly asserts that "rearmament of Japan actually has started . this is the real meaning of the creation last summer by the Japanese government, under Gen. tional police reserve in Japan. . Virtually all of the enlisted men pool of trained leaders was made | Pentagon was saying. available."

Baldwin - whose views undoubtedly reflect the administration's opinion — asserts that of tomorrow in the Western Pacific," that "a strong Japan is Orient" and that "Japan as a onable for Japan to participate the State Department. He called tarily - is essential to any longterm stabilization program in the Orient."

AN IMPERIALIST POWER

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

But for American imperialism as Baldwin argues, there is "no way out" other than to rearm the imperialist rivals whom it con quered in 1945. It needs the power of those great industrialized countries, Japan and Ger many, if it hopes to carry through (But) it is inherent that this only thing missing has been its program of world domination deal must give way to the over- formal publication of the fact And, as in the case of Western whelming law of self - preserva- preluded by suitable appeals to Germany, it is determined to force on the highly reluctant Japanese people the "duty," as MacArthur United Nations in concert with his New Year's message, sup-termed it, of carrying the in tolerable burden of an imperialist

TO COME BACK HOME

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

In recent years it has become fashionable for Congressmen and capitalist publicists, in referring to the demobilization demhave had military training and onstrations, to darkly hint or openly insist that they were "comwhen the occupation's 'purge munist-fomented." That is both a slander of the GIs and credit bans' on several thousands of for the Stalinists that they don't deserve. The Daily Worker's real former Japanese non-coms and position at that time was for demobilization of all the troops "exofficers was lifted last fall, a cept those essential for occupation" - which was exactly what the

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

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

FIRST BIG ACTION IN PHILIPPINES .

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

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

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

Thus the demonstrations had great political effects all over corral the people into World War II, is adding some 500 years to the too risky and adventuristic. But this, but also that the outbreak the world — exactly how great we may not learn until the files genealogy of this social order on the whole Dulles leans to of the world war itself may be of the State Department and Pentagon are thrown open. But as we look back at the events today we can justly say that their social significance was just as great

The capitalist class had expected that a strikebreaking force of some magnitude could be recruited from among the veterans, American people must make sure whom they had sought to arouse against strikers during the war. that the fateful issues now up But things turned out quite differently. Veterans were in the forefor decision are decided by them front of the strike wave that followed V-J Day, and what was in-The administration policy, and not left in the hands of these finitely more shocking from the viewpoint of Big Business and its government, even the soldiers in uniform, many of them still in their teens, were adopting strictly labor methods and techniques to dramatize their grievances.

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

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

COURAGE AND TIMING SHOWN BY GI'S

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

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

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

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

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS By LEON TROTSKY

that puts such hitherto unthinking the Soviet Union against imble words on the lins of this arch perialist attack. conservative Republican, who has fought every single pro-labor The Permanent Revolution measure and who still voices The author's famous thesis on revodispleasure at "our own social lutionary policy in the colonial and changes" as having gone "too

Marx, Dulles has to resort to two whopping lies. First, he takes the Revolution. "Communist world" of Stalin which is neither a "world" nor Communist - as the yardstick for his comparison. Second, he Stalinism. paints up the misery and degradation of the bulk of humanity Stalinism and Bolshevism n the first instance the billions who live in the Asian and other

chase of its development. LIMITED WAR

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

colonial hell holes - at whose

expense capitalism here and

abroad has achieved every single

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

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

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

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

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

belonging to a union having an escalator clause gets nome from the factory and instead of taking time out to puree food for the kid, sybaritically torgot to include diaper service." In case you lower class readers don't get it, the editor was here also indulging in devestating irony.

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

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

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

Nehru Marx

By Tom Conlan

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

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

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

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

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

It was the rulers of the British Empire who defined politics as the "art of compromise." This admirably serves the interests of the British imperialists, as well as those of their European colleagues and rivals, not to mention the Indian

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

Stalinism transplanted the same search for compromise to the world arena. For the sake of p.m., Jan. 11, at the spot where temporary deals with this or that group of imperialists, the Kremlin has spread the lie that the Soviet Union could abide in peace and har- New York. Flowers will be laid mony with its capitalist environment; Stalinism where he fell, and friends will reproduced and multiplied manifold every one of speak briefly. the blunders, crimes and betrayals of classic reformism.

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

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

CARLO TRESCA

THE MILITANT

VOLUME XV

opens a jar of baby food and after that, without even a thought of the inflationary consequences for our economy, heats up some frozen tood for her husband. He, no doubt greedy, like all the workers, abets her in this because he's hungry. But the worst is not yet. With the prospect on millions of lower class women going into war plants further excesses will probably take place. As the editorial says in its punch-line: "The BLb torgot to include diaper service." In case you

Committee Bares Further Clues to Tresca Assassin

NEW YORK CITY - Fresh hope that there may be an early solution of the Carlo Tresca tee, in recent action by the District Attorney's office and the city police, involving Carmine

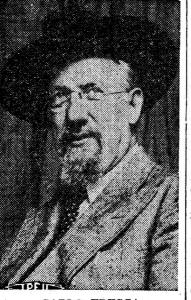
Certain significant circumstances in the officials' actions were pointed out by Norman Thomas, the committee chairman. in announcing plans for honoring Tresca, courageous editor of the italian anti-Fascist journal Il Martello on the eight anniversary of his death.

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

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

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

This year the memorial committee will honor Tresca at 1 he was slain - the corner of Fifth avenue and 15th street in



Discuss Wage Freeze



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

CP CONVENTION OFFERS **FAKE PEACE PROGRAM**

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

the convention. Resolutions and elections had been decided long | job with the Veterans Administradelegates were assigned the role in the SWP. Despite all the windy of yes-men to cheer at the appropriate time.

Persecution of the Stalinist siderably curtailed the usual welstaged for the delegates. Police and press intimidation made it difficult for the Stalinists to secure meeting halls for the public welcoming meetings.

The resolutions passed at the the current party line. Resolutions for peace of a pacifist type tion to the war-makers was found in resolutions or speeches.

the Smith Act and the McCarran Law. In this they tried to picture ican capitalists, played down and ders of the civil liberties of the American people. No reference was made to their record during the last war when they hailed the persecution and conviction of 18 laid on the subject at this con-Socialist Workers Party and vention that the CP plans to Minneapolis CIO members under direct a major part of its activity the Smith Act, the first convic- to work among the Negroes in tion under this thought-control the coming period. In this decilaw. In refusing to defend the sion they are banking not only civil rights of the 18 Trotskyists, on the fact that the Negro comthe Stalinists greased the rope munities have not been infected for the conviction last year of with the witch-hunting mania as their own 11 top leaders under well as the hope that short the same law.

the convention of the CP's refusal The re-elected National Comveteran who was purged from his Act.

civil rights of the American people, the CP convention left unparty by the witch-hunters con- changed the party's position of aerending only the rights of Stalmists and attacking the civil rights of the working class political opponents of Stalinism. Speecnes and resolutions de-

nounced the "National Emergency" preparations to regiment ness and the two capitalist parties urgency." American labor and cut its living conclave were reaffirmations of standards. These speeches had a liberties, smash the labor movevery false ring coming from the fips of those who just a few echoed Kremlin demands for a years back were strikebreakers, deal with U.S. imperialism. No nigh-pressure salesmen of the trace of the Leninist conception of no-strike pledge and informers military dictatorship in the couna revolutionary socialist opposi- to the FBI against union mili-

elves, the Stalinists denounced these same people, "in the interests of unity" with the Amerequality.

NEGROES AND CP

It is apparent from the stress memories will have made their Nor was any mention made at former scabby role forgotten.

to support the civil rights fight mittee includes all of the 11 of James Kutcher, the legless leaders convicted under the Smith

worker by trade, and long active in the struggle of labor and the Negro people, was chosen last night by the Chicago local of the Socialist Workers

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

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

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

to halt the war drive.

"If elected to the City Council," Beinin continued, "I will raise my voice in that body to leadership, a new program for mobilize the people against the the fight against war. We address war program. I will expose the our campaign to this section of organized campaign of big busi- the population with special to destroy our traditional civil ment, drive down the workers' standard of living, and further oppress the Negro people; a cam- the White City, the Hardy and paign intended to establish a

'The crucial question for voters Similarly did the many speeches of the 5th Ward is not the conand references to the struggle of struction of super highways or the Negro people have a hollow the development of better parking every working class home in the Under harsh persecution them- ring. Throughout World War II regulations, but rather the vital 5th Ward. We intend to camissue of capitalist war versus socialist peace. The SWP has University of Chicago student decided to intervene in the 5th themselves as the foremost defen-sabotaged the fight for Negro Ward election campaign in order the threat of permanent milito give its voters an opportunity tarization and the curtailment of to express their opposition to the Government's war drive and the threat of atomic destruction.

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



IRVING BEININ

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

"The Progressive Party is now a hollow shell; its former non-Stalinist supporters who looked to it to spearhead the anti-war sentiment in the country have been betrayed. Those who are not disillusioned are looking for new

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

In conclusion, he stated, "The Chicago SWP is making extensive paign actively among the large academic freedom facing them, we expect wide support and interest from the student ranks."

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

The main slogan of the cam-

John Carmody

By John G. Wright

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

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

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

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

Jack migrated to the United States in 1922. Here he worked differed on various questions with in the merchant marine, the hotel us, he always remained faithful and restaurant trade, chemical to the basic ideas of Trotskyism. plants and other industries. and working conditions.

It was in the nature of things that John Carmody should have found his way to what was then the pioneer Communist move-

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

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

devotion. Primarily because of his physical condition, in later days Jack did not participate in the movement. Although from time to time he

"Jack must have been born Everywhere he participated in with the heart of a Socialist the struggles of the workers, fighter." These are the words of fighting shoulder to shoulder with the closest companion of his last them to defend their interests and years. These are true words. That rights, to improve their living heart John Carmody carried with him to his grave.

Reasonable Demand

ers got their escalator clause which advocated and fought for provide for periodic automatic the program of the sliding scale of wages to meet rising prices was the Socialist Workers (Trot-

inist) Party throughout the World War II and post-war period of continuous inflation bit-The Militant unceasingly urged contracts. the unions to adopt. To this day, the Stalinist party and its press assail this "Trotskyite" policy.

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

independent machinists and non- workers the number of dollars war inflation.

wage increases to compensate for rises in the cost of living.

for increases in real wages. In rise in living costs, as any com-

Seldom has the labor movement raised a more modest and auto, do not really keep wages justifiable demand. It is so abreast of rising prices, but Both the top leadership of the reasonable and so just that the merely slow down the rate of unions and the Communist (Stal- | Truman administration, the decline in real wages. They are capitalist press and the corpora- rlways three months behind prices tions are finding it extremely dif- | because they are usually adjusted | ficult to openly attack the only quarterly in line with escalator clause. At the same previous living cost increases. The terly attacked the sliding wage time, they are very fearful of its U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics the gathering. Wechsler, liberalscale policy which the SWP and widespread incorporation in union price index, on which most

> fact, most of the union leaders parison of local grocery store are ready to accept and to help prices and rents will prove. enforce a wage "stabilization" real wages. They are willing to while maintaining the huge pro-

A million CIO auto workers are only that an employer pay adequacies, is the least the unions now protected by escalator clause throughout the life of a contract can demand to keep living contracts. Following their lead the full real wages agreed upon. standards from being swiftly the officials of the CIO, AFL, He is bound merely to pay the sliced to subsistence levels by

Until a year and a half ago operating railway unions have which have the purchasing value when the General Motors work- declared through their United of the wages obtaining at the Labor Policy Committee that time the contract is signed. He they are opposed to any wage agrees not to reduce wages by contract, the only organization in "stabilization" which would ban swindling the workers with deprethe American labor movement clauses in union contracts that ciated currency. Can anything be more just and fair than that? Indeed, even the escalator

> clauses that have been written into union contracts, primarily in escalator clauses are based, For labor is not here asking notoriously understates the real

But to pay the cost of the war which includes the freezing of mobilization and preparations, have the government put a rigid fits of the corporations, the govceiling on the workers' purchasing ernment needs to drastically power. But the pressure of the slash mass purchasing power, to ranks compels them to endorse a grab a big portion of workers' measure to prevent the cutting of real wages. Thus, the escalator real wages by rising prices. clause in all union contracts, The escalator clause requires despite its limitations and in-

LIBERALS OFFER AMERICAN YOUTH A FUTURE OF WARS AND DESPAIR cheerfully added, "that the Rus- of the A-Bomb in "the present

By Ben Reifman

On the day after Christmas, "liberal" student group, held its detail." annual State Convention at Columbia University. One theme ran through the entire two-day affair - hopelessness. No hope for the youth, no hope for the future, no hope for peace. . .

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

PROGRAM OF WAR

Then he got down to business. to the millions of youth whose lives are being broken up by the draft, he offered a program of is a "calculated risk," he criminal sanctioning of U.N. use

sians won't fight if we're strong. crisis" met with almost no opthe SDA (Students for Demo- If that's wrong, I don't care to position. The same amendment cratic Action), a self-styled discuss the outcome in any great was added to a statement that

PERIOD OF TENSION

tion" adopted the next day was drums for the war drive, it spoke of the need to "mobilize" for "a period of tension and anxiety," but offered the hope "that a third world war may be ultimately avoided by skillful diplomacy."

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

There was a good deal more enough to convince the most war, continuing crisis, and "cal- rabid McCarthyite that the SDA culated risks." "Life won't be was 100% behind the war drive easy for many years to come," he A clause stating that the A-Bomb promised, and to make sure of should not be used "in the this he outlined a plan of spread- present crisis" was amended to ing American military and eco- read "without the approval of the nomic power all over the world. U.N. General Assembly." This

the "U.N." planes should not bomb territory outside the Korean borders. Thus SDA leaves the The "Foreign Policy Resolu- question of Atomic destruction in the most important action taken single enemy of peace, the at the convention. Beating the American-run United Nations.

This Convention is one more proof of the bankruptcy of liberalism, and of the urgent need for a socialist youth program - one with the perspective of understanding and fighting for

working - class society in America. Only on the basis of a socialist America in a socialist world can those who are young today win a decent future.

CHICAGO Socialist Workers Party Hdqs. 5th Ward - 5558 Ellis IRVING BEININ

SWP Candidate