

GOP, Democrats Row Over Korea In Sham Debate

Leading Republican Senators have opened fire on the Truman administration over the Korean events. A big debate is promised between the two major parties on who is responsible for what has happened in Korea and why.

A manifesto was issued on Aug. 13 signed by Senators Alexander Wiley, H. Alexander Smith, Bourke B. Hickenlooper and Henry Cabot Lodge Jr. — the entire Republican membership of the powerful Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg, Republican foreign policy leader, said he is "in agreement."

CHARGE "BUNGLING"

They charge the Democratic administration, by its "bungling," "blindness," and "blunders" since the time of the Yalta conference in 1945, with giving a "green light" to the Kremlin.

From now until after Nov. 7 the air will be red, white and blue with charges and counter-charges over the Korean war. But it is certain that neither party will contribute any real clarity.

For clarity on the war issue is the least thing desired by either party. The Republican purpose is to make the Democratic Party a scapegoat for the unexpected difficulties U. S. imperialism has encountered in Korea and the Far East and to gain some election capital.

ELECTION ISSUE

For months the Republicans had been seeking an effective campaign issue which would somehow distinguish them from the Democrats. All they could come up with was the unsavory rantings of Senator McCarthy about how the Democratic administration is harboring "communists." They have finally been forced to resort to the setbacks in Korea.

On the surface, the bi-partisan coalition seems to be disrupted. But that is just the appearance. When it comes to a program, the Republicans can offer nothing fundamentally different from what Truman himself is doing. In fact, their statement winds up lamely with a call for "united

Union Chiefs Find ECA Benefits Only Europe's Wealthy

The truth about the Marshall Plan is coming out little by little. The latest eloquent testimony comes from a top trade union leader who participated in forcing the Marshall Plan on the unions as "CIO Policy" and in purging those who opposed it. He is John W. Livingston, vice-president of the UAW-CIO who headed a delegation of top union officials on a six-week tour of automotive and aircraft plants in Italy, France and Germany. Livingston's conclusion is that the Marshall plan is a "miserable failure."

CAPITALISTS ENRICHED

The funds, he said, have gone to enrich the native capitalists while the working and living conditions of the European workers have been depressed to subsistence levels.

Livingston vouches that factories rebuilt with ECA funds now contain more modern equipment and yield higher production than in prewar days, hugely swelling the corporation profits. The employers "continue to expand production or pocket profits but refuse to grant economic gains to the workers."

PAUPER'S WAGES

The French workers average \$25 to \$40 a month which does not suffice for the barest essentials. West German workers, said Livingston, must work five to six times longer than American workers to buy "necessary commodities." An hour's wage of an Italian worker will buy less than an ounce of butter. Livingston estimates that a "high wage" for a skilled worker in Western Europe is the pauper's sum of \$12 to \$15 a week. Such is the paradise created by the Marshall Plan.

In addition Livingston reported widespread resentment among West German workers over the

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U. S. Authorities Free Nazi Big-Wigs

U. S. occupation authorities have just announced the release from prison of eight more of Hitler's top-flight accomplices. Heading the group are: Otto Dietrich, Hitler's press chief who specialized in anti-Semitism; Richard Darre, the Fuehrer's Food and Agriculture Minister; Friedrich Flick, owner of the largest German coal and steel company, convicted at Nuremberg of "using slave labor" and looting occupied territories; and Karl Rasche, former head of the Dresdener Bank, another slave laborer.

Rounding out the group are Fritz Ter Meer, one of the top IG Farben officials; Gen. R. Lehman, Wehrmacht judge advocate; Kurt Rothenberg, State Secretary; and Heinrich Lehman, boss of slave laborers at the Krupp works.

the fabulous loot in the coffers of the billionaires but — hold on to you hat! — to individuals "receiving an increase in wages or salary."

What these gentlemen are contemplating is a measure to take away up to 85% of any wage raises that the hard-pressed workers may fight to obtain before a wage freeze is decreed.

FLUNKY'S OF RICH

The fact that such a proposal could even be brought up points up to what extremes these capitalist politicians are prepared to go in order to destroy the living standards of the workers while protecting tooth and nail the sacred profits of the rich.

There will be no remedy against these tax-gougers any more than against the price-hogs until the workers stop sending capitalist politicians to Washington and begin instead to send their own representatives.

SWP PROGRAM

The candidates of the Socialist Workers Party in the coming state and Congressional elections are now asking the workers to carefully study and support their party's election program. With specific reference to taxes, the SWP offers the following plank:

Repeal all payroll taxes. Abolish all sales taxes. No taxes on incomes under \$5,000 a year. A 100% tax on incomes over \$25,000 a year. Tax the rich, not the poor.

WASHINGTON READIES SOAK-THE-POOR TAXES

Direct taxes, not to mention the indirect ones which increase in proportion with the higher direct taxes, will bite deeply into the living standards of the American workers, matching the savage inroads of rising prices. This has been made clear by the tax bills now being readied by Congressional committees.

Workers' taxes are to go up by at least one-fifth beginning with October 1. For every dollar previously paid in taxes each worker must henceforth pay \$1.20. While workers are saddled with such a drastic tax, the rich will hardly feel it.

MOST FROM POOR

If you doubt our word, listen to the Washington dispatch of Joseph A. Loftus of the N. Y. Times, Aug. 12:

"The higher the income the less the tax percentage," reports Loftus. "The Treasury estimated that about 55% of the new revenue from personal income comes from taxpayers with net incomes under \$5,000. This group, the Treasury said, now accounts for 91% of all the taxpayers and for 69% of net income of taxable individuals before exemptions."

While corporation after corporation reported record-breaking profits even before the Korean events and the ensuing price boosts, the representatives of the billionaires in Capitol Hill and the White House, refuse even to consider excess profit taxes "before sometime next year."

TAX WAGE RAISE

When "excess profits" did come up for discussion in the Senate Finance Committee, this august body immediately instructed its staff to study "the possibilities of applying such an impost" not to

By Joseph Hansen
SWP Candidate for Senator from New York

To the Rank and File Members of the Progressive Party:

The general feeling in the ranks of the Progressive Party over the resignation of Henry A. Wallace can be summed up in six words, "Where do we go from here?"

Finding the correct answer to that question is of vital importance not only to you but to everyone seeking a program, leadership and party capable of uniting the American people in effective struggle against a Third World War.

GREAT HOPES

We of the Socialist Workers Party have followed the development of your movement with great interest. It was clear to us from the beginning that you were fed up with both the Democrats and Republicans and understood they were nothing but the tools of Big Business.

Many of you wanted to build a new party that would point the way to a world of peace and

plenty, a world of friendship, solidarity and united effort among peoples and nations instead of hatred, bloodshed and destruction.

You have not changed your beliefs about these things but certainly your confidence in the Progressive Party as a means of struggling for them is not what it was on July 25, 1948, when the new party was officially launched.

Your hopes then were much brighter. The Wallace banner appeared capable of bringing together the most varied kinds of people in common struggle against militarism, war, and monopolist rule.

POOR LEADERSHIP

However, the Progressive Party began losing influence even before its setback in the 1948 elections. And the leadership proved that it was not made of the material that stands up well in adversity.

Vice-presidential candidate Glen Taylor tried to make his peace with the Truman machine immediately after the 1948 election. He whimpered and whined in the Democratic dog-house until finally

Government Seeks To Jail CP Heads For Korea Views

Washington is seeking to make opposition to Truman's undeclared war in Korea grounds for imprisonment. It is for this reason that Truman's Attorney General McGrath has called for revocation of bail and immediate jailing of the 11 Communist Party leaders who were convicted under the Smith Act for alleged "conspiracy" to "advocate" the "overthrow of the government by force and violence."

The Stalinist leaders, who have been at liberty on bail of \$20,000 to \$30,000 each, have been ordered to appear in Federal District Court in New York City on Aug. 17 to "show cause" why they should not be imprisoned pending their appeal to the U. S. Supreme Court.

CRITICIZE FOREIGN POLICY

McGrath's demand to the court said the present activities of the Stalinist leaders are "dangerous to the public welfare and national security." As evidence, his statement cites various articles in the Daily Worker criticizing U. S. intervention in Korea and opposing aid to "Wall Street's puppet regime" in Korea, Formosa, Vietnam.

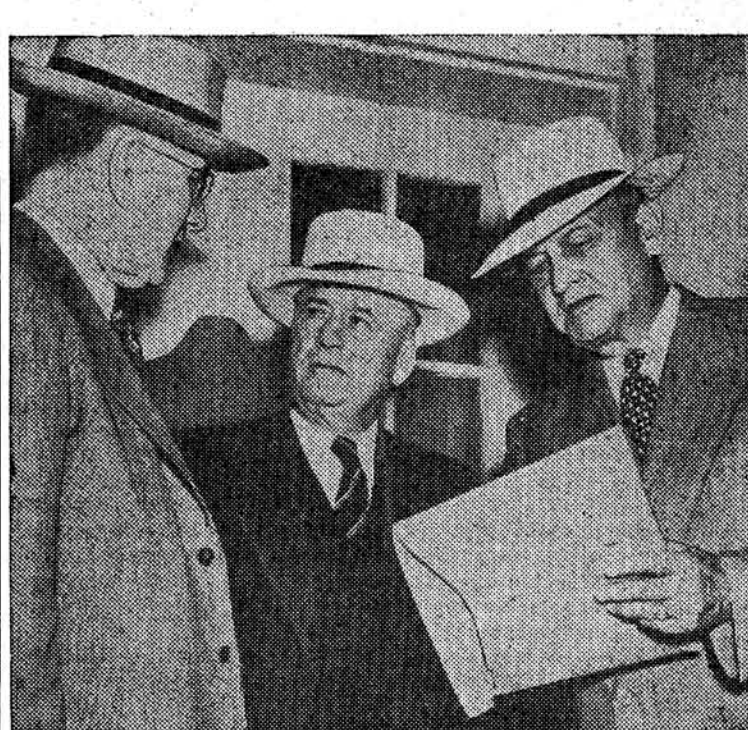
A precedent for this move was set with the recent jailing of Harry Bridges, CIO Longshoremen's Union leader. His bail was revoked on similar grounds of "danger to national security" and he was imprisoned indefinitely pending his appeal on a frame-up perjury conviction.

ANTI-UNION REPRISALS

As the mighty U. S. government moves to make sure that the already-convicted Stalinist leaders, who are under constant FBI surveillance, don't endanger "security," the House of Representatives struck its own blows to terrorize dissident political opinion. It cited for "contempt" prosecutions 56 persons who dared to stand on their Constitutional rights in refusing to tell the House Un-American Activities Committee whether or not they are "Communists."

Several of those cited are representatives of the Stalinist-controlled United Electrical Workers and 39 are Hawaiian members of the CIO Longshoremen. The latter evoked Congressional reprisal because of their participation in the militant Hawaiian strike last year and the current series of Hawaiian demonstrations and strikes protesting Bridges' jailing.

Plan Police-State Bills



Democratic Congressional leaders leave White House after conferring with Truman on police-state bills to silence anti-war opinion. (L. to r.) House Majority Leader John McCormack, House Speaker Sam Rayburn and Senate Majority Leader Scott Lucas.

KOREAN BOMBINGS NOT WINNING U. S. FRIENDS

By Joseph Keller

The American press is voicing concern about the growing unpopularity of Truman's undeclared war in Korea. "Misunderstanding" and "lack of understanding" of Washington's "noble aims," it seems, embraces such widely different groups as the American troops in Korea, the people of Asia generally and the very Koreans who are being "defended" from "aggression."

For instance, there appeared side by side on the front page of the Aug. 13 N. Y. Times the headlines: "G.I.'s in Korea Handicapped by Unawareness of Mission" and "Anti-U. S. Feeling Is On Rise in India."

The first dispatch complains that "the average G. I. seems not to know why he is fighting in Korea. . . The recruiting posters didn't say anything about this, one young infantryman said as he moved toward the front. 'I'll fight for my country, but damned if I see why I'm fighting to save this hell hole.' 'I'll tell you what I'm fighting for, a veteran of the Bulge said. 'I'm fighting for my life. . . 19-year old corporal recounting his experiences after his position had been overrun: 'I keep asking myself what I am

doing here. The funny thing is I can't answer my own questions.'

INDIA INDIGNANT

If American troops in Korea are in doubt about U. S. aims there, we can well understand the attitude of the 350 million people in India. "Anti-United States feeling in India never has been so widespread as it is now. With every day of the Korean war bringing more news of bombed cities and flaming villages, the unpopularity of the United States is growing," writes N. Y. Times correspondent Robert Trumbull from New Delhi.

He is disturbed that the people of India "do not share the United States sense of urgency in the Communist crisis" and "refuse to appreciate the harsh facts of the war." "Accounts of repeated bombings of Seoul by United States aircraft and reports of villages left in flames as United

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Both Parties Vie to Put Own Label on Police-State Law

Truman's demand for further "security" police-state legislation has speeded up Congressional action to repress minority political opinion and outlaw the Bill of Rights.

Promptly following the President's call for "strengthening" the "internal security," the Senate on Aug. 9 unanimously passed three drastic measures in line with his proposals. Not one Trumanite and "Fair Deal" Democrat dissented from these harsh bills.

CIO Gives Rating To Voting Records In 81st Congress

One of the most curious political documents of recent years has been issued as a 12-page supplement to the Aug. 14 CIO News. It is headlined, "How Congress Voted," and contains the voting record of every Senator and Representative on 13 "key" measures between Jan. 1949 and June 1950.

Each vote is graded "right" or "wrong" according to whether it conformed to the position of the CIO leaders. A summary of the record shows that 17 Senators and 113 Representatives voted "right" on all issues and the rest voted "wrong" on one or more.

A close study of the "test" issues selected and the voting records as listed and graded by the CIO leaders reveals more about the political record of these union officials than of the members of Congress. That is what is so curious about this CIO News supplement.

OMIT INJUNCTION BILL

First of all, we are struck by what the CIO officials chose to include and omit from the voting record. For instance, they include the vote in the House on the Wood bill substitute for the Taft-Hartley Law. The Wood bill was correctly described by the CIO as "just as bad, if not worse" than T-H and a majority of Democrats voted against it. But it would be enlightening to know why the CIO chart does not include the vote on the Sims bill, an administration-sponsored measure to permit the use of strike-breaking injunctions. This bill was backed by a majority of the Democratic "Fair Dealers."

Similarly, the record is listed on the McConnell Amendment to the Fair Employment Practices Bill in the House. This amendment, which was passed, took the

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One would permit the government to exclude from the country any non-citizen, including the highest diplomats of other countries, whom government authorities claim have a "principle" or even an "incidental" intention to "endanger the welfare and safety of the United States" or to work against "the public interest."

Other foreigners, outside of ambassadors and ministers, would be debarré for alleged association with any "Communist party" or "totalitarian organization" or even "the direct predecessors or successors of any such group," or for merely advocating "the economic, international and governmental doctrines" which any of the proscribed groups might be said to hold. And any country which refused to accept the return of such an alien would have all its nationals automatically barred.

If this bill passes, it will be the first ever enacted in this country making mere membership in a political party or advocacy of its alleged views grounds for exclusion and deportation.

A second bill makes the death penalty applicable to "espionage" in peacetime as well as during an actually declared war. No civilized country in the world, outside of fascist dictatorships and the Stalin bureaucracy, have ever put such a measure into effect.

A third bill empowers the heads of so-called "sensitive" government agencies to fire without charges or trial any employee they consider to be a "bad security risk," even if not deemed "disloyal." The bill empowers the President to list any agency as "sensitive" and specifically abrogates the ordinary civil service regulations protecting job security of federal employees. This bill would legalize the "loyalty" purge which Truman has been carrying out for the past three years.

PARTIES COMPETE

While these measures passed the Senate, other bills were shoved into the hopper as Democrats and Republicans vied with each other in trying to put over "security" measures bearing their own party labels. Chairman Pat McCarran of the Senate Judiciary Committee, Nevada Democrat, combines the essentials of Truman's proposals, the Mundt-Nixon bill and several other measures into an omnibus measure that would turn America into a prison camp for political dissenters. McCarran said Truman's message was a "token of encouragement" for his bill.

Nobody in Congress is taking seriously Truman's hypocritical talk about not going to "extremes" and "preserving" the Bill of Rights. Administration supporters in both houses are reported to be working on "security" bills which go far beyond the specific proposals of Truman, close as these latter are in actual content to the infamous Mundt-Nixon and McCarran bills.

The bill which the Truman Democrats are preparing is expected to differ from the Republican-sponsored measure largely in wording. The intent is a "compromise" with the Mundt-Nixon bill in which the basic difference would be only in the party label attached to it. While the Democrats have been yelling about McCarthyism, they are moving with all possible speed, but with a great deal more hypocrisy, to put over Senator McCarthy's witch-hunt, police-state program.

An Appeal to Progressive Party Members

By Joseph Hansen
SWP Candidate for Senator from New York

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sentence of political death was carried out on him in the Idaho primaries a few weeks ago.

Wallace, the Presidential candidate, did not prove much sturdier. Within a bare two years he threw in the towel.

CHOICE OF EVILS

The Progressive Party is now split wide open, with Wallace and others going over to the State Department in opposition to the Stalinist wing. These offer you only a choice between two evils — either the reactionary policies of Moscow's hated police regime or the catastrophic war program of American imperialism.

What a fondering of hopes that represents!

Wallace has even announced that he has changed his mind on using the atom bomb. As you know, he formerly held that the first to use it should be declared "an outlaw." Now "in view of the enormous land armies of Russia and her satellites in China, I think we have to hold the atom bomb in reserve — and since the Korean affair — that's June 25 — I have reversed my position with regard

to the atom bomb." (Mutual Broadcasting System, August 10.)

No doubt you have asked yourself whether the choice is limited to the road back to Washington taken by Wallace or the road to Moscow which the Stalinists insist is the only alternative.

Is it Moscow and its brutal totalitarian regime or Wall Street and conquest of the world at the risk of atomic annihilation?

NEEDS FIRM BASIS

Isn't it possible to build a movement really dedicated to truth and decency, freedom and the brotherhood of man?

Our answer is, yes, such a movement is possible. Millions of people wish for it. Its final victory is inevitable. But it requires a firmer foundation than that of the Progressive Party.

Your experience in the Progressive Party can help speed its development if you are ready to draw certain conclusions that seem to us inescapable.

PREDICTION CONFIRMED

In the May 10, 1948, Militant, James P. Cannon, National Secre-

tary of the Socialist Workers Party, made the following observation: "Far from being a serious anti-war movement, as demagogues proclaim and millions believe, the Wallace party is in fact a part of the mechanism preparing the people for war. By seizing hold of the mass sentiment against war and diverting it from the struggle against the basic cause of war, the Wallace party sterilizes the anti-war movement and prepares it for collapse when the first shot is fired or the first bomb dropped."

At the time, this view was considered by many a wrong estimate of the Wallace movement. Today its realism has been demonstrated by events. The "Gideon" turned out to be a judas-goat headed toward the slaughter pens of World War III. People sincerely opposed to imperialism were diverted by Wallace from effective action for two precious years.

CP SHARES BLAME

Wallace, of course, is not alone in sharing the blame. The Stalinists by their support of Wal-

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Leon Trotsky--His Ideas Live On

Socialism and Freedom Vs. The Kremlin's Dictatorship

By George Clarke

The favorite method of Stalinism is to falsely attribute its own crimes to its opponents. Backed by a powerful state with a totalitarian propaganda machine at its disposal, this frame-up system has often seemed mightier than the truth. In this way Stalin eliminated all the leaders of the great October Revolution, all of Lenin's friends and co-workers, first destroying them politically by slander, then liquidating them physically by execution or assassination. Eventually, however, the logic of events and of the class struggle will prove stronger than the totalitarian lie and will de-throne its perpetrators.

Today, ten years after one of Stalin's henchmen drove a pickaxe into Trotsky's brain, we are provided with an excellent illustration of this process. During the 17 years of his monumental struggle against Stalinism, Trotsky repeatedly insisted that progress toward socialism could best be measured by the growth of personal freedom and the decline of the coercive powers of the state. By that yardstick, Trotsky demonstrated that the growth of a monster police state in the Soviet Union was the unerring hallmark of degeneration, of a retrogression toward capitalism, far removed from socialism and a classless society.

STALINIST SLANDER

Trotsky's analysis was an application to the specific conditions of the Soviet Union of the classic precept of Marx and Engels that the state "withers away" under socialism. For this he was reviled and denounced by Kremlin hacks all over the world as "anti-Marxist" and "anti-Leninist." The works of the Marxist masters were twisted and distorted, quotations were ripped out of the context of their writings to conceal Stalin's revision and betrayal of the principles of Marxism.

Events have punctured this lie full of holes. Marx's teachings on the state are becoming a danger to the power, privileges and revenue of the Soviet bureaucracy. Therefore these principles must be repudiated openly, proclaimed

"subversive" just as they are in capitalist countries. This is the meaning of Stalin's pronouncement, in the magazine *Bolshevik*, reported in a UP dispatch from Moscow on Aug. 1, that the fundamental conception of scientific socialism of the withering away and disappearance of the state is not applicable to the Soviet Union.

STALIN'S ADMISSION

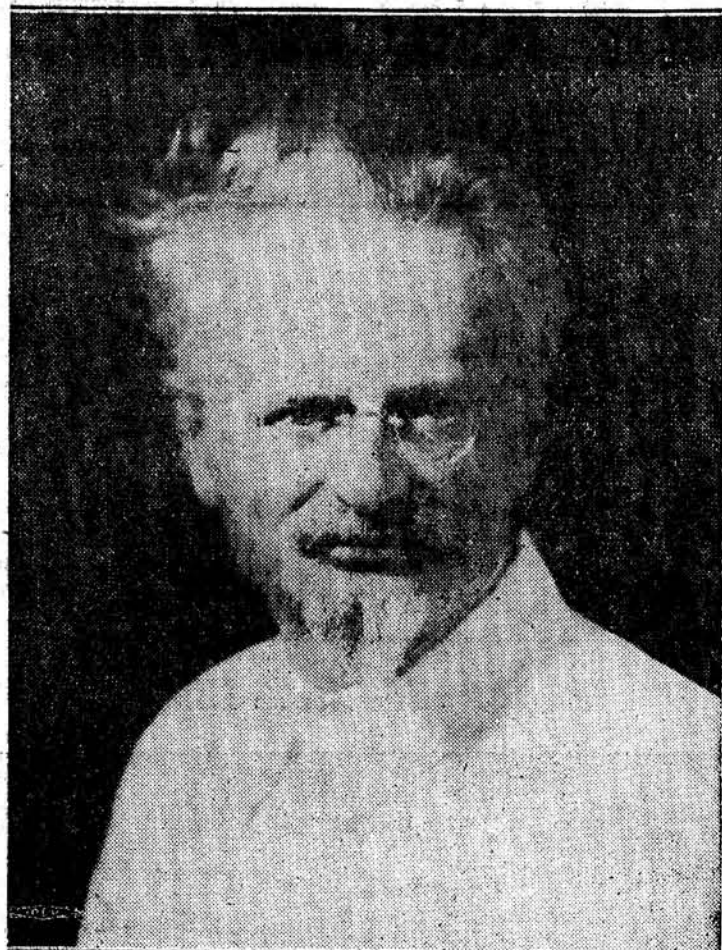
Stalin denounced as "exegeses and Talmudisms" (religious doctrines) those elements "in our party and in our country" who, basing themselves on Marx, Engels and Lenin, "have begun to demand that the party take measures for the speedy withering away of our state, that organs be dissolved, that the permanent army be eliminated."

This is the first open indication since the end of the war of the existence, despite ruthless terror, of opposition in the Soviet Union to the plundering and parasitism of the bureaucracy and to the police state which protects it. It is a sign that the Kremlin is running into difficulties with its lie that Stalinism is synonymous with Marxism and Leninism. Finally, it is evidence that the Yugoslav revolt and their dramatic turn toward workers' democracy is beginning to find receptive ears and sympathy behind Stalin's iron curtain. The regime of slander and frame-ups, as Leon Trotsky predicted, is beginning to crack—possibly far more than we know.

THE ALIBI

For the moment Stalin is obliged to treat the real Marxists—those who insist that socialism means freedom and equality—somewhat gingerly. When he thinks the time is ripe, the "exegeses and the Talmudisms" will be denounced as "fascists" and "spies for American imperialism" and rushed to the execution chambers. But meanwhile Stalin is forced to explain his open repudiation of Marxism.

"On the basis of a study of the world situation in our time," he says, when the Soviet Marxist revolution occurs in only one country, and capitalism reigns in all other countries, then the country where the revolution triumphs



LEON TROTSKY 1879-1940

ed must not weaken, but must do its utmost to strengthen its state, its state organs, its intelligence organs and the army if this country doesn't want to be crushed by capitalist encirclement."

This threadbare alibi for the counter-revolutionary police state in the Soviet Union was torn to ribbons by Tito in his celebrated speech "The Factories to the Workers." His answer, entirely in the tradition of Trotsky's attack on this Stalinist fraud when it was first advanced in 1939, follows:

TITO'S REPLY

"To say that the functions of the state as well as the armed force, embracing not only the army but also the so-called organs of repression, are directed exclusively externally, is to say something which has nothing in common with reality and especially with the present reality in the Soviet Union. What is the purpose of the immense bureaucratic apparatus? What is the purpose

of the NKVD and the militia? Are their functions directed externally? Why are they deporting citizens of various nationalities to Siberia and the far North? How can they say this is being done against the class enemy when the class doomed to extermination embraces entire peoples? Who prevents and hinders the struggle of ideas in the Soviet Union if not a centralized and bureaucratic State apparatus which has nothing in common with a state apparatus which is in the process of withering away?"

Thus ten years after the criminal in the Kremlin believed that he had murdered Trotskyist ideas by killing Lenin's co-worker, they are finding unexpected support from powerful quarters. Having penetrated the mass, said Marx, the idea becomes a power. Under its force, the lie that socialism means bureaucracy and tyranny—disseminated by Stalinism and capitalism—will perish. That will be the great vindication of Leon Trotsky.

"We Can and We Must Find Way to the Colored Races"

By Art Preis

The Korean War is bringing home to the American workers the reality of the most titanic development of world history since the Russian Revolution. That is the revolutionary upsurge of the billion colonial people of Asia. The power of that upheaval is being impressed upon us by the terrific and, thus far, successful struggle of the Korean peasants and workers in arms against the mightiest force of world capitalism, U.S. imperialism.

One of the profoundest expressions of the genius of Leon Trotsky was his comprehension of the decisive role that colonial uprisings for national independence, particularly in Asia, would play in our epoch of the decline and decay of world capitalism. He foresaw long in advance of World War II, whose outbreak he predicted, that the imperialist slaughter would set in motion an irresistible revolutionary tide in Asia.

HAILED MOVEMENTS

Trotsky did more than predict these impending colonial uprisings. He hailed them in advance as of the greatest progressive significance for the emancipation of the workers of the world, particularly the masses of the advanced capitalist countries. Every blow of the colonial peoples against foreign imperialist domination, he never tired of repeating, weakened world capitalism and strengthened the position of the workers in the advanced countries against their own capitalist exploiters.

"The movement of the colored races against their imperialist oppressors is one of the most important and powerful movements against the existing order and therefore calls for complete, unconditional and unlimited support on the part of the proletariat of the white race," he wrote in October 1937.

PREFACE TO MANIFESTO

This statement, significantly, is part of the preface Trotsky wrote to the first edition of the "Communist Manifesto" of Marx and Engels ever to be published in the

Afrikaans language in South Africa, a task undertaken by the South African section of the Fourth International on the 90th anniversary of the founding document of modern scientific socialism.

The publication of this work with Trotsky's preface symbolized his conception of the nature and meaning of the colonial struggles. They were, for him, an integral part of the world struggle for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of socialism. The workers of the advanced countries could not win socialism without the victory of the colonial peoples; the colonial peoples could not free themselves from imperialism unless their struggles developed into a battle for socialism.

STRATEGIC CONCEPT

To tie these two struggles together—the class struggle of the workers in the oppressor capitalist countries with the fight for national freedom of the colonial peoples—was Trotsky's great strategic concept for the victory of world socialism. Thus, in the early stages of the founding of the international Trotskyist movement, he addressed a special letter of advice to the movement's International Secretariat on June 13, 1932, stating:

"We can and we must find a way to the consciousness of the Negro workers, the Chinese workers, the Indian workers and all the oppressed in the human ocean of the colored races to whom belongs the decisive word in the development of mankind." (Fourth International, Aug. 1945.)

Trotsky did not limit himself to mere expressions of abstract sympathy for the struggles of the colonial peoples. As the chief organizer of the greatest revolution in history, the Bolshevik revolution in Russia, he brought all his knowledge and experience to the elucidation of the way in which the colonial peoples must carry out their struggles to bring them success.

A great body of his writings is devoted to this question—how the colonial revolutions must be fought. His starting point was China and the tragic defeat of the proletarian revolution there in 1925-27. In a series of articles and books (*The Problems of the Chinese Revolution*) he explained with deepest insight why the Chinese workers were defeated by war-lord Chiang Kai-shek and subjected to his bloody dictatorship.

He showed that this defeat was due to the treacherous policy of Stalin who put forth the theory of subordinating the working class revolutionary party to the party and program of the capitalists and landlords, the Kuomintang. The latter turned on the workers in the decisive hour and crushed them.

ROLE OF WORKERS

Only the working class—young and small as it is in countries like China—is capable of leading the successful struggle for land reform and national independence because "from its very first steps, the proletarian class stands opposed not only to the foreign but also to its own national bourgeoisie," Trotsky wrote in his famous introduction to Harold Isaacs' book, *The Tragedy of the Chinese Revolution*.

Trotsky called for support to every manifestation of anti-imperialist struggle in the colonies, even if temporarily led by bourgeois elements, but he stressed that ultimate success can be assured only if the fight is led by a genuine proletarian revolutionary party and is directed against the native exploiters as well as the foreign imperialists.

He himself, through the Fourth International, laid the foundation for such parties throughout the colonial lands, in China, India, Ceylon, Africa, South America. Today, among the most oppressed peoples revolutionary organizations are spreading the ideas of Trotskyism. These heroic parties, in the forefront of the anti-imperialist struggle, constitute the living and growing evidence of the validity and vitality of Trotsky's program.

NEW BOOK ON STALIN FRAME-UP SYSTEM

By Paul Abbott

Stalin's Frame-Up System and The Moscow Trials, by Leon Trotsky. Foreword by Joseph Hansen. Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, New York. 168 pp. \$1.

In observance of the tenth anniversary of Leon Trotsky's death, Pioneer Publishers has republished a speech of the martyred revolutionary leader which has long been out of print.

All of Trotsky's speeches have a fire and life that give them extraordinary interest even when they deal with the most difficult problems facing mankind. This speech, however, delivered before the John Dewey Commission at its hearings in Coyoacan, Mexico, in 1937 will forever stand in a place all its own in Trotsky's works. It marked a culminating point in the struggle to bring the truth to the world about the Stalin police regime.

BEGUN BY LENIN

Lenin began the struggle against Stalinism but his untimely death made it possible for the propaganda machine of the bureaucracy that usurped power in the Soviet Union to re-write history. They painted the sinister Stalin as an outstanding leader of the revolution and the faithful guardian and continuator of Lenin's program.

Trotsky continued the struggle against Stalinism; however his efforts were virtually unknown or greatly misunderstood outside the Soviet Union. Only a few learned what was happening.

Stalin began the destruction of the Bolshevik party. At first its outstanding figures were demoted. Presently the slander and lies spread by the Stalin machine grew in virulence. Famous leaders of the revolution were hounded, thrown out of office, exiled.

The persecution of Trotsky as the main representative of the tradition of Lenin was particularly ferocious. He was first exiled to distant Alma Ata, and then banished from the Soviet Union. Many people thought his cause hopeless. But Trotsky did not give up. His fight was for a better world, the highest cause to which a person can devote his life.

As Stalinism became entrenched it began to reveal more and more its true character. Blood flowed. Stalin's secret police rounded up everyone who could be remotely considered a possible center of opposition. Nationwide purges were staged one after the other.

MOSCOW TRIALS

To justify these monstrous purges, Stalin organized a series of trials of some of the greatest leaders of the Bolshevik revolution. They were accused of having become agents of Hitler and the Mikado and betraying their country.

These trials were frame-ups. But so powerful was the totalitarian Stalinist regime by this time that many people thought they were genuine. It seemed as if the lie had grown all-powerful.

Trotsky in exile was hounded from country to country, his life in constant danger from Stalin's gun men. No capitalist power wanted to grant asylum to the co-leader of the first successful working class revolution in history. In Norway the government even cooperated with the Kremlin to silence Trotsky so that he could not answer the infamous charges leveled in Moscow even though he was the principal target.

It was not until he reached Mexico, that an opportunity was given Trotsky to take the floor. A commission of well-known liberals and labor figures headed by the philosopher and educator John Dewey decided to make an impartial investigation of the charges in the Moscow Trials. As part of their work they sent a committee to hear Trotsky.

For days these representatives of world public opinion cross-examined Trotsky and then they listened to his summation, the speech which came from Trotsky's lips but which sounded like the voice of truth itself. When Trotsky had finished, the whole structure of slander, lies and frame-ups fashioned by Stalin's secret police lay in ruins. The Dewey Commission completed its arduous investigation and brought in its famous verdict, announcing Trotsky's innocence

and condemning the trials as frame-ups.

Stalinism never recovered from this moral blow. But it took its revenge.

STALIN'S REVENGE

An agent of Stalin's secret police managed to gain entrance to Trotsky's household. To do this, he followed the pattern sometimes used by the Czarist Okrana agents who penetrated the Bolshevik party. He married a loyal follower of Trotsky, hiding his real identity even from his wife in order to gain acceptance.

On August 20, 1940, this emissary of the Kremlin, standing behind the back of the seated Trotsky who was reading a short article submitted for his opinion, raised a pick-axe and sank it into the skull of the man who had dared lead the Marxist opposition to Stalin's dictatorship.

For some hours it appeared that Trotsky might be saved but even his iron will could not overcome such a blow. On the following day he died.

Stalin succeeded in assassinating Trotsky. He could not wipe out the effect of Trotsky's exposure of his frame-up system. Nor could he destroy the program of socialist revolution which Trotsky represented.

Today the truth about Stalinism is seeping into every corner of the world. And we see in the rise of the new Yugoslavia and the great mass revolts in the Far East a bright harbinger of the rebirth of the world socialist revolution for which Trotsky lived and died.



TROTSKY, WAR MINISTER 1923

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Trotsky's Answer to Stalin's 2 Big Lies

By John G. Wright

It was Leon Trotsky who followed, analyzed and clarified the nature and role of Stalinism from its inception in 1923 in the Soviet Union and its subsequent rise to power. He recognized from the very beginning that Stalinism was not a new historic force destined to create and propagate a new social order and its institutions. On the contrary, it was a parasitic, counter-revolutionary and transitional formation, capable of playing no independent role and concerned exclusively with the perpetuation and extension of its own bureaucratic status, powers and privileges.

THE TWO LIES

As a system of ideas, Trotsky pointed out, Stalinism represents nothing more than outright vulgarization and falsification of Marxism. The keystone of Stalinism is the so-called "theory" of socialism in one country. This "theory"—actually a rationalization of the needs and aspirations of the Soviet bureaucracy who usurped the conquests of the Russian revolution—was predicated on two fantastic lies.

First, that it was possible for the Soviet Union, with its own forces and resources, to achieve economic and political self-sufficiency, attaining socialism and even the highest stage of all, namely, communism.

Second, that while accomplishing this the Soviet Union could live in peace with its capitalist environment.

Stalinism, after its reign of 27 years, has brought neither socialism nor peace, least of all to the peoples of the Soviet Union. Up to now the Kremlin seems to have escaped scot-free. Its lies and crimes seem only to have made it more powerful and secure than ever. But is that really so?

A sensitive gauge of social progress is the living standard of the masses. And Soviet living standards, as everybody knows, remain far below not only those in the advanced countries but even those in the Soviet buffer zone, despite the ruthless pillage and exploitation of these "Peoples' Democracies" by the Kremlin bureaucracy. As a matter of fact, the Soviet living standards are today still below the prewar Soviet levels, meager as those

were. This is no academic question. For the Soviet masses it is a source of profound misery and therefore discontent.

And instead of any gradual improvement in their conditions, these same masses are being confronted, as are the masses throughout the world, with the immediate prospect of savage reductions in their living levels in the frenzied world-wide arms race for the next world war and then the war itself. Against whom will their anger turn?

MILLIONS DISILLUSIONED

The Soviet peoples, who in the last 45 years have made three revolutions and fought victoriously against the onslaught of Nazi imperialism, are neither the obedient sheep nor fools the Stalinist bureaucracy takes them for. The fraud and the lie of "socialism in one country" is becoming more and more apparent not to small detachments of the Soviet proletarian vanguard as was the case in 1923-27, but to millions of rank and file workers. Fed by the personal experience of countless Soviet soldiers and civilians who have in the course of the last war

and in the postwar period come in contact with the outside world and its higher culture and living conditions, this mass disillusionment bears with it no minor threat to the rule of the bureaucracy.

LARGE WORKING CLASS

Furthermore, it should be borne in mind that it was one thing to spread the lie and the illusion of "socialism in one country" in a predominantly peasant and agricultural country such as the Soviet Union was in the Thirties and even on the eve of World War II. It is something else again to peddle it today. For the first time in Russian history the urban population exceeds those still on the land; and even in the countryside, the number of agricultural laborers—the rural proletarians—has vastly increased.

As a result of the last war the Soviet bureaucracy has experienced a lush growth in its power, privileges and numbers. But the decisive power in the Soviet Union—the Soviet working class—has meanwhile increased its specific weight on a much greater scale. And this has brought the day of reckoning for the usurpers in the Kremlin far closer than they suspect.

But what must greatly speed this day of reckoning is the complete bursting of the Kremlin's bubble of peaceful cohabitation with the capitalist world. In this connection, the Soviet masses have passed through a tragic but rich

school. They have watched the Kremlin over the years in its frantic search for "peace-loving" capitalist allies—from Chiang Kai-shek to Henry Wallace. They have not forgotten the days of the Franco-Soviet pact, the shameful farce of the League of Nations which culminated first in Munich and then in Stalin's pact with the "peace loving" Hitler.

The debacle of the alliance with the "democratic" Allies, then of the cold war and especially the eruption of the international crisis over Korea—all this is bound eventually to have its deepest repercussions inside the Soviet Union. Because the illusions of peace have been so deeply sown by the bureaucracy itself inside the USSR, all the more explosive is bound to be the revolution of the masses.

The main issues bound up with Stalin's "theory of socialism in one country" have thus not receded but, on the contrary, have come more and more sharply to the fore in the ten years since Leon Trotsky died at the hands of Stalin's assassin. It is precisely the two main lies wrapped up in Stalin's "theory," which served to promote his dizzy rise to power, that will in the end bring about his own downfall and that of the monstrous bureaucracy on whose shoulders he rose to become an uncrowned Czar of all the Russias.

Articles on Trotsky in F.I.

The July-August Fourth International, entitled "Trotsky Memorial Issue," is largely devoted to the work and teachings of the great modern Marxist.

"Leon Trotsky—A New Vindication" by George Clarke is an analysis of the post-war events in Eastern Europe, the crisis of Stalinism and the Yugoslav revolution in the light of Trotsky's predictions and writings on the nature of the Soviet bureaucracy and the theory of the Permanent Revolution.

"Stalin's Frame-Up System," contains most of Joseph Hansen's introduction to Pioneer Publisher's new edition of Trotsky's summary speech before the Dewey Com-

mission of Inquiry into the Moscow Trials. Hansen brings the workings of the frame-up system up to date with a review of the purge trials in the Balkans and a searching exposure of the GPU pamphlet, "The Great Conspiracy."

"The Test of Yugoslavia" by Gerard Bloch deals in part with the applicability of Trotsky's teachings to Yugoslavia. It demonstrates how those who broke with Trotskyism are unable to find their bearings in this great new development.

"How Lenin Studied Marx" is a chapter of Trotsky's unfinished work on Lenin published for the first time in the U. S.

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TROTSKY

"In time of reaction it is more convenient to lean on the (Stalinist) bureaucracy than on the truth. But all those for whom the word socialism is not a hollow sound but the content of their moral life — forward! Neither threats, nor persecutions, nor violations can stop us! Be it even over our bleached bones, the truth will triumph! We will blaze the trail for it. It will conquer! Under all the severe blows of fate, I shall be happy, as in the best days of my youth, if together with you I can contribute to its victory! Because, my friends, the highest human happiness is not the exploitation of the present but the cooperation of the future."

— Leon Trotsky, I Stake My Life! 1937.



LENIN

The Choice Before Mankind

Leon Trotsky had no confidence whatever in the future of capitalism which has nothing to offer mankind but an endless series of economic, political and military calamities. As for Stalinism, Trotsky denied that it had any future at all and predicted the downfall of this usurping bureaucracy which stops at nothing to defend its own interests, power and privileges. Trotsky placed all his confidence in the socialist future of mankind and in the power and ability of the world workers and the oppressed masses to realize socialism in life.

Ten years have elapsed since Trotsky's murder at the hands of Stalin's hired killer. In the course of these ten years there has been no lack of those who predicted a glorious future for capitalism, above all American capitalism; there were just as many who were awestruck by Stalinism and its "successes." The only "realistic" choice appeared to be the "American Century" or Kremlin domination.

What price the "American Century" today? Capitalist Europe remains an insolvent debtor despite the billions of U. S. loans, grants and ECA funds. The recent eruption of the Belgian masses over the return of the fascist King Leopold shows how strong the fires of revolution still burn in Europe.

The whole of Asia is literally up in arms resolved to end forever colonialism, both the rule of Western European capi-

talists as well as the pretensions of their would-be successors from Wall Street. Africa is a huge tinder box that may flare up any time. The rest of the colonial and semi-colonial world is ready to follow the Asian example. And amid this upsurge of the bulk of mankind, the American imperialists have nothing to offer except support of capitalism and colonialism and of the most reactionary and corrupt regimes plus a program of "guns not butter" at home and for all its allies abroad.

What price today the dizzy successes of the Kremlin?

These very successes have plunged Stalinism into a fearsome internal crisis, of which Yugoslavia is simply the sharpest expression to date. The interminable purges and "treason" trials among the East European satellites and the dissidence in every Stalinist party throughout the world testify to how deep-rooted and incurable this internal crisis is.

Hundreds of millions all over the globe, especially the peoples of teeming Asia are neither opposed to nor afraid of the most radical solutions: On the contrary they gravitate toward them as the only way out of their misery and degradation. They abominate imperialism. Stalinism has no program to win them, either. They will resist the Kremlin's perfidy, dictation and arbitrary rule just as resolutely as have the Yugoslavs. Their future, toward which they are now marching, lies, as Trotsky said, with Socialism.

Embarrassing Precedents

Senator Scott Lucas of Illinois recently tried to justify Truman's undeclared war in Korea by citing historic precedents. According to his claim, Presidents have taken America into such situations no less than 162 times.

If this is the fact, it seems rather strange that the war propagandists do not hammer home these precedents. Instead they insist that American troops are in Korea as part of an unprecedented action undertaken by the United Nations.

The effort of Lucas to justify Truman's intervention in Korea on the ground of precedent thus serves to expose the role of the United Nations as a convenient cover for American imperialism.

There is good reason why the warmongers do not care to dwell much on previous cases where Presidents have initiated undeclared war. The record would reveal too clearly the real character of Wall Street's aims in Korea. Three cases will serve to show this.

In 1906 Theodore Roosevelt sent American troops into Cuba. The reasons? To

halt a revolutionary uprising of the people against a corrupt government. To assure Wall Street domination over the island.

In 1914 Woodrow Wilson sent troops into Mexico ostensibly to avenge an "insult" to the flag and to pursue "bandits." Real reason was to back the American oil companies in their imperialistic grab of Mexico's oil resources.

In 1926 Calvin Coolidge sent troops into Nicaragua. The aim was to enforce collection of debts owed Wall Street financial interests.

These brazen imperialist thrusts into Latin America aroused the bitterest indignation and hostility throughout the lands south of the Rio Grande. And at home too the undeclared wars aroused hot protest.

Senator Lucas is quite right when he says that the undeclared war in Korea has its precedents. But the precedents speak against him and his crude attempt to justify this latest effort of American imperialism to extend its sphere of influence by armed intervention in a foreign land.

Marxian Socialism--Next Target

"Marxian Socialism along with Communism and Fascism are ideologies to be fought and condemned by all honest American trade unionists. Each of these so-called forms of government holds man to be a slave of the state. Each looks upon religion as an opiate of the people. Each makes a mockery of our Constitution. . . The American trade unionist has not yet come to recognize or understand the presence and threats of Marxian Socialism. That the threat is present is becoming more obvious."

The above lines are excerpted from an editorial in *The Wage Earner*, a paper published by the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists. They are written in commendation of a resolution adopted by the Detroit Newspaper Guild condemning "Communism, Fascism and Marxian Socialism." The paper also points out that the reference to "Marxian Socialism" was deleted in the *Daily Worker* account of the meeting and replaced by the words "and other un-American groups" in the report published in the *Michigan CIO News*.

It is quite understandable that the *Daily Worker* should have omitted the reference. They have consistently attempted to suppress the fact of the existence of a Marxist movement as separate and distinct from Stalinism. In this

case, as in so many others, their silence represents a refusal to defend their revolutionary opponents from the attacks of reaction.

The omission in the *Michigan CIO News* is far more serious — and alarming. It is a cowardly cringing by the Reutherites before a totalitarian attack inspired by the Vatican in Rome. It was obvious from the start that the purge of Stalinists was only the beginning of a general drive against all radical and dissident opinion in the unions. But the Reutherites assured all and sundry that there would be freedom for everybody but the Stalinists.

Reuther's allies, however, had no such reservations and today they are pressing the offensive to the next stage. For the ACTU, the designation "Marxian Socialists" is even more sweeping than the words indicate. To them, it means at a minimum, all opponents of the nest of reaction in Rome. To the Vatican, it means all opponents of Franco. To Franco, all militant trade unionists. To the corporations, it is an acceptable designation to cover all militant and radical workers.

Beware! This was the way the Swastika triumphed over Germany. "Marxian Socialism" was Hitler's main target — and it included even the Reutherites.

French Ask U.S. Send Army to Europe Now

By Charles Hanley

The day of illusions is fast coming to an end. Replies to Washington inquiries reveal that there is no army in Western Europe, and no combination of armies, now capable of defending capitalism on the continent. Without millions of American troops, European diplomats and military staffs now frankly admit, their rotten, dying system cannot survive. Nothing less than a gigantic eruption of American militarism, as Leon Trotsky phrased it, will be able to cope with the vast world problems that beset Washington and its European satellites.

After one year of Atlantic Pact measures, the military strength of Western European capitalism has not been notably increased, as the Pentagon strategists had originally expected. A unified general staff has been set up at Fontainebleau (near Paris), but there is not much behind it. Except for the British army, none of the other Western European armies amounts to much.

FRENCH ARMY SMALLER

The French army is considerably smaller than before World War II, and although its equipment has been modernized, it is weak for many reasons, among them: the defeatist moods among the war-weary masses, the enormous sums and efforts being expended in the unsuccessful war against the people of Indo-China; the incapacity and corruption of the military bureaucrats and, finally, the general weakness and shortcomings of the French industry.

The Belgian army has been completely modernized after the British pattern, but it is small and could hardly defend Belgium's territory in case of war. As for the armies of Holland, Italy, Norway and Denmark, thus far they practically do not count.

Having initiated their own shift to a full-scale war basis, the American militarists realize that much more is needed to make the Atlantic Pact work. With this in mind Washington has been pressuring the Western European powers to greatly strengthen their military machines, especially in terms of man-power.

EUROPEAN ARMY

Churchill, Spaak, Tsaldaris and other representatives and agents of the European capitalists are now proposing the formation of a European army. The "Consultative European Assembly" at Strasbourg has favored this project. But even assuming an effective coordination of the general staffs, a complete standardization of armaments and a better distribution of special units, such an army would not actually solve

the basic problems of Western European "defense" because of the military weakness of France.

For European capitalism, there is no way out of the impasse created by the decline of French military power except through the complete remilitarization of Western Germany.

GERMAN REARMAMENT

The Pentagon along with Churchill and even General de Gaulle know this and that is why they are such fervent advocates of German rearmament. They want a strong German war industry and a new Wehrmacht controlled by a European Army Command (in which Churchill wishes the British to play the leading role, de Gaulle wants it for the French and the Pentagon hopes to keep the leading strings in its own hands).

But rearming Germany is easier said than done. To be sure it affords the German bourgeoisie an opportunity to become once again an important power. But the opposition of the German masses to a rebirth of militarism is so strong that the Adenauer government and the top German ruling circles are going slow on this question and have thus far abstained from any militarist propaganda.

Whatever the Bonn administration may eventually do, the vast majority of the German people do not want a new Wehrmacht, and the Western European bourgeoisie have to take this into account. Moreover, the major German arms plants have been dismantled and it will take time before plants are reconstructed, new ones built and a shift of others to military production can be accomplished. Besides, the present French government, contrary to de Gaulle, does not favor a resurgent Germany.

WANT U. S. TROOPS

All these facts help us understand the French reply to Washington concerning its future military plans. Its gist is that the government of capitalist France cannot be carried out without the protection of an American army plus British troops stationed on the European continent.

This is not only an admission that it is impossible to make the French army sufficiently strong but also that the French capitalists fear they cannot impose on the French workers and peasants the drastic new sacrifices and lower living standards (to which the "guns not butter" policy of the U. S. is now compelling its allies) without the military pressure of American troops on the scene.

Max Werner, the military expert of the *Compass*, writes acutely on Aug. 13: "Since no strong land force can be expected from Great Britain, the French appeal for a sufficient number of divisions is obviously addressed to Washington. . . On the basis of the French demands and the overall global commitments, 50 divisions for the U. S. peacetime Army and 200 divisions for the U. S. war strength would be a rather conservative estimate. The rejection of the French demand will kill the Atlantic Pact. Its acceptance will require immediate and sharp upward revision of American land rearmament, far beyond any suggestions and plans coming from the Joint Chiefs of Staff and from the Army." And Werner is not exaggerating.

In other words, a standing army of not less than 200 divisions or approximately 4 million men (in addition to other millions in the air and naval echelons) is a minimum requirement if the U. S. wants to defend capitalism in Western Europe and colonialism all over the world.

TOTAL MOBILIZATION

To carry out such a policy the American imperialists will have to resort finally to total military and economic mobilization on the homefront. It will mean the establishment of absolute militarism on a scale that will far surpass anything ever done in Germany and the rest of Europe under the Kaiser or Hitler. The effort will be far greater than during the last war because then the U. S. was allied to the biggest land army in the world and did not have to fully mobilize or strain its own forces and resources.

This is indeed a grim perspective for the American people. All-out production for war, unbridled militarism on the super-Prussian model, millions of American soldiers in every nook and cranny of the globe and drastic reductions of living standards at home. All this plus the threat of atomic destruction on a global scale.

And all this in order to defend the capitalists of France, Italy and other countries, in order to maintain corrupt and unpopular regimes against the will of the toiling masses and against the interests of the bulk of mankind, in order to save tyrants like Franco, Chiang Kai-shek, Syngman Rhee and Bao Dai! All this to make a world acceptable to Wall Street!

Only by consistently opposing this policy of Wall Street and its government in Washington can American labor avoid being conscripted and then crushed for the sake of a crusade of world reaction, for the preparation and unleashing of the atomic war.

ANTI-WAR STRUGGLE AND YUGOSLAVIA

By George Clarke

The main axis — and the main fallacy — of the Program for Peace adopted on July 17 by the Yugoslav National Committee for the Defense of Peace is a policy based on the United Nations and on its reform.

The program calls for the settlement of "all outstanding questions in accordance with the spirit of the United Nations Charter, with the participation of all the countries concerned, and under no circumstances through deals of the great powers at the expense of small countries, such as the division of the world into spheres of interest." The Program opposes the transformation of the "United Nations into an instrument to further the policy of either of the great powers, favoring a consistent acceptance of the principles of the UN Charter."

It is quite understandable that the Yugoslav government — caught in a pincers between the Kremlin and American imperialism — should attempt to maneuver between the two great powers, utilizing the diplomatic arena of the UN for this purpose. The Bolshevik government under Lenin and Trotsky many times employed similar expedients, although they rarely missed the opportunity of using such world conferences as a sounding board to address the masses of other countries — a tactic not yet followed by the Yugoslavs in the UN.

The UN Cannot Be Reformed

But the attempt to convert such diplomatic expedients into a program for mobilizing a world anti-war movement is hardly worthy of the leaders of a workers' revolution. The United Nations Program describes never existed and never will, at least as long as capitalism remains a power in the world. Founded in 1945, the UN corresponded to the balance of power at the end of the war between the Soviet bureaucracy and western imperialism, and not at all to any dream of peace or ideal of world government. It was that UN which sanctioned the division of the world into spheres of influence, the partition of Germany and Korea and the crucifixion of the Greek people.

In brief, the UN was the site of an unstable truce, destined to change as soon as the relationship of forces on which that truce was based ceased to exist. With the Marshall Plan, the Atlantic Pact and US intervention in Korea, the UN has more and more openly become the tool of American imperialism. Whatever changes the UN may undergo in the future, one thing is certain: Small nations, colonial peoples or revolutionary workers and peasants can never expect any justice from it. The Kremlin may exploit the cause of the Korean people against the opposition of the Anglo-American imperialist bloc. Or Washington may toy with the defense of Yugoslavia against Stalinist invasion. Or they might combine to settle their differences at the expense of Korea, Yugoslavia or both.

Only Effective Anti-War Struggle

But to think that the UN can change its character without a fundamental change in the character of the governments which compose it is sheer utopianism. Worse yet, to organize a movement for this purpose is to mislead thousands of workers into a futile, quixotic venture. The foreign policy of states is the continuation of domestic policy by other means and can only be seriously and permanently altered by a change in class rule in those states. Thus the overthrow of the Czar and the feudal-capitalist regime reversed the foreign policy of Russia; the overthrow of King Peter and his reactionary gang of parasites did the same for Yugoslavia.

The Yugoslavs can comb through the long and fatal history of class collaborationist "peace" movements — including the tragic cases of Ethiopia and Spain — but they will not find a single instance of a vital change effected in the foreign policy of any government. On the contrary, such "peace" movements have succeeded only in diverting the masses from the real struggle, deluding them with false hopes and then betraying them at the outbreak of war.

It may be that the Yugoslavs understand this with regard to imperialism but delude themselves into thinking that the Kremlin will be more susceptible to the pressure of a middle class "peace movement." Fatal illusion: first because the masses will follow the biggest and strongest force when it comes to "easy," opportunist schemes. Second: because the workers in Western Europe at least are more concerned over the threat of war from their own and U.S. imperialism than they are from the Kremlin. Third: because the foreign policy of the Soviet bureaucracy is based on the protection of substantial privileges which it will never yield by persuasion — it must be ejected from them.

Above all, the "Program for Peace," repeated not merely on diplomatic levels but in all Yugoslav circles and publications, reveals that the leaders of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia lack a revolutionary world strategy. In this they are far from the audacity of Lenin whose strategy to overcome the backwardness of the Soviet Republic and its capitalist encirclement was directed toward the creation of a Socialist Europe and first of all of a workers' state in industrially advanced Germany. For this purpose, he created the Third International, the antithesis of the capitalist international, the League of Nations.

A Strategic Policy for Yugoslav Communists

Yugoslavia cannot stand alone indefinitely without degenerating, or more likely being crushed. The strategy of the Yugoslav Communists must be based on breaking out of this isolation by reviving the revolutionary labor movement in Western and in Eastern Europe directed both against capitalism and Stalinism. That alone can stop Stalin — indeed it would spell his finish. Despite the apparent strength of Stalinism, the forces for such a strategy are present by the millions in Europe among the workers who hate capitalism and distrust the treachery, the parasitism and brutality of the Kremlin regime.

Not maneuvers — but confidence in the masses and in their independent strength is the prerequisite of such a program. The Yugoslavs will not find the road to peace through the UN — the international of counter-revolution and war — but through unification with the revolutionary workers of Europe and the colonial masses. Any other road, despite its temporary allure, will lead to defeat and disaster.

In his speech to the Yugoslav National Assembly submitting the law on workers control of the factories Tito explained the delay in taking this measure as follows:

" . . . up to the publication of the famous Cominform resolution (in 1948), our party harbored too many illusions due to its accepting with very slight criticism and transplanting to our soil everything that came from the Soviet Union, even when these carry over did not correspond to our special conditions or were out of accord with the Marxist-Leninist science. They were ready-made recipes which were imposed on us or which we went looking for ourselves, for there has always been a tendency in our ranks to follow the line of least resistance."

It is to be hoped that the Yugoslav Communist Party will learn in time that its policy on the great international questions must also be stripped of Stalinist "illusions," "ready-made recipes" and the "line of least resistance" with which it is now saturated.

MOSCOW SLANDERS ON WORKERS CONTROL EXPOSED BY BELGRADE

BELGRADE, Aug. 2 — An article in the newspaper *Politika*

states that of all the western Cominform press only the *Milan* edition of *Unita*, organ of the Italian Communist Party, has had anything different to say from the official Cominform position on the new Yugoslav law on workers' management of the factories. While in Eastern Europe, the position is determined by the police, this is much more difficult in the communist parties of other countries because it is impossible to prove the Cominform allegation that this revolutionary law is "pure fascism, a fascist-Trotskyist and anarcho-sindicalist method of deception."

In regards to the argument in *Unita* that this law is an "obvious hoax after the slightest examination of the real facts," *Politika* declares:

ACID TEST

Leaving aside the motives which led the *Unita* writer to separate real from fancied facts, we advise him to put his notions to the test. If workers' management is really a hoax this should become obvious on close examination. Such a test would require that all those who want to discover the hoax in the Yugoslav law examine it where it is really being applied, that is in Yugoslavia. It would follow, therefore, that *Unita* should issue an appeal to all Italian workers who wish to know whether a hoax is being perpetrated to go to Yugoslavia themselves. But this is just what *Unita* has been trying to prevent, even with the help of Scelba (the anti-communist Minister of the Interior).

MARXIST THEORY

What are the "real facts" cited by *Unita*? First that "the workers' councils are an application of anarcho-sindicalist theories already tested and proved negative in the USSR itself."

Finally *Unita* asks: "How will the workers who are supposed to elect their managers themselves know who is qualified for this position?"

The law does not provide for the election of managers in the manner described by *Unita*, but the idea expressed indirectly by the paper is this: the competence of a candidate for the position of manager can be judged much better by bureaucrats at the top than by the workers. This idea obviously derives from the same source as the one which justifies the appointment of a member of the Political Bureau of the Polish party by a decree from the Kremlin.

Another Yugoslav newspaper, *Borba*, analyzing the same article in the Italian Stalinist paper, concludes as follows: "Today in the Soviet Union, more than three decades after the October Revolution, the working class not only does not manage production, but what is more it has been reduced to an inferior position while all power is concentrated in the hands of a privileged bureaucratic caste which possesses the monopoly over all branches of life and is alone empowered to direct the production of the working class."

CAPITALIST ARGUMENT

Second, according to *Unita* "this law is fatal for the working class because it subordinates specialists and technicians as well as functionaries to the workers."

This is the first time we have encountered men who pretend to be communists declaring that specialists are not part of the working class, that the workers are not capable of management, that such an attempt would prove fatal. True we have heard this from other sources, but not from communists. This was the agitatorial slogan employed by all types of exploiters against the modern workers' movement and against the revolutionary organization of the working class.

However, if what is meant by the "working class" is the bureaucratic apparatus and the monopolist bureaucrats, then the fears of *Unita* seem to us in large measure justified.

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(The above is excerpted and translated from the daily French bulletin issued by The Yugoslav News Agency.)

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Class Terror in Bolivia

By J. Gomez

Additional information has arrived in this country concerning the general strike which took place in Bolivia during the month of May and which was so ruthlessly and bloodily crushed.

As we reported in the June 19 issue of *The Militant*, the strike struggles arose as strictly defensive economic measures because the native capitalist rulers, without any regard for the minimum human needs of the working people, sought to unload upon them all the burdens and difficulties of the Bolivian economy. The already semi-starved and desperate masses resisted.

When the government turned a deaf ear to all the pleas to remedy their cruel plight, this mass resistance first took the form of partial strikes which were later extended into a general strike which was ruthlessly crushed by the police and military forces. The government issued a decree outlawing the strike and then ordered the immediate arrest of the leaders of the Coordinating Committee.

This committee which led the strike was organized by all the unions of the country, among them the Miners Federation, Railway Workers Federation, Factory Workers Federation, Union of Industrial and Commerce Workers, Federation of Bank Employees, Teachers Federation, Chauffeurs Union. Representatives of college students, artisan groups and women's organizations likewise participated — and were also arrested.

The workers and popular masses spontaneously organized a huge mass demonstration in protest against the arrest of their leaders (which occurred on May 18). The government broke this up by firing upon the demonstrators, killing many workers.

To defend themselves against the naked terror of the army and the police, the workers erected barricades in their neighborhoods.

On May 19 the police and seven army regiments encircled the factory district of Villa Victoria. Machine guns, artillery and planes were used to destroy the inhabitants and their homes. The exact number of workers killed in this savage class massacre still remains unknown, but it is certain that a great many died. Victor Paz Estensoro, leader of the National Revolutionary Movement, estimated that more than a thousand were killed.

In addition more than a thousand men and

women were arrested. They are being tortured to death in the jails. Incarcerated in the concentration camp on the island of Coati (Lago Titicaca) are 104 victims, most of them the leaders of the various organizations participating in the strike.

These prisoners declared a hunger strike which lasted for seven days, from May 17 to May 25. As a result of this hunger strike, 34 of them had to be transferred to clinics. Among the patients is the courageous and militant working class fighter, Villegas, a leader of the Bank Employees Union. Brutal beating by the police and the subsequent 7-day hunger strike left Villegas at death's door.

Of the remaining strike leaders, 16 have been exiled.

But there is a sequel to the crushing of the strike and the massacre. It has not brought to the end the persecution and terror unleashed by the feudal-capitalist oligarchy against all workers and popular mass organizations.

Within less than a week two new "plots" have been "uncovered." On July 6, the government announced the arrest of five leaders of the POR (the Bolivian Trotskyists) and the MNR (National Revolutionary Movement). Among the arrested is Guillermo Lora, leading Trotskyist. On July 12 still another "plot" to overthrow the government was proclaimed, leading to the arrest of 42 more leaders of POR, MNR and PIR (Party of the Revolutionary Left).

There is only one explanation for the bestial repressions and terror of the government and its incessant discoveries of "plots." The social unrest in the country is so widespread and deep-rooted, the conditions and moods of the masses are so desperate that the ruling class can find no other "solution" except to suppress in blood every attempt of the popular masses to improve their lot, and to brand as a "plot" every aspiration for a more decent existence.

Such a regime can only be condemned. And those who struggle against it are worthy of the highest honor and glory. Glorious indeed has been the role of the vanguard party in Bolivia, the POR, which took its place in the forefront of the general strike and participated in a leading capacity in the Coordinating Committee as well as in the ensuing battles.

Curran Machine Fingers Militants to Coast Guard

The Curran administration is tightening the bonds of police unionism tighter on the National Maritime Union than ever before. Not only has this corrupt gang endorsed the Coast Guard purge of seaman on board ship (reported in last week's *Militant*) but it has taken on itself the shameful role of fingerman for the anti-union brass hats.

"The National Council (of the NMU)," Curran reports in the *Pilot*, Aug. 10, "unanimously took the position that those Hacks and other stooges who are known and who have taken open public positions — such as they did in our last convention — against supporting our Country in time of war if the Soviet Union should be on the other side, should be pulled off the ships and the Coast Guard should revoke their papers."

COPS DECIDE

It is obvious that this proposal is a compromise with one which proposed that opposition delegates at the last convention should be expelled from the union. The National Council couldn't find the power in the NMU constitution to purge seamen who exercised their

democratic right to vote as they saw fit at a union convention. So Curran and Co. decided to call in the Coast Guard cops to take care of the problem for them.

This is a far more brazen, treacherous action than even an outright violation of the constitution. It gives the Coast Guard the deciding vote on all questions before the union. No member of the NMU, who values his livelihood will dare oppose the bureaucrats on anything, no matter how minor for fear they will turn him over to the Coast Guard for "purging."

DELIBERATE TRAP

The resolution at the convention referred to by Curran was deliberately worded to catch opposition delegates in a trap. Many of them voted against it, not for the reasons given, but because it gave a blank check to the foreign policy of the Truman administration. For many it signified a "Ja" vote for Curran and Co. and they refused to be regimented. But it is quite obvious from Curran's remarks that the resolution was only a pretext and he would have fingered oppositionists for some other reason if it had not existed.

Union Chiefs Find ECA Only Benefits Europe's Wealthy

(Continued from Page 1)

appointment of former high Nazis to executive positions in the plants.

WARNS OF UPHEAVAL

He warned of an "upheaval unless there's a change." Degraded living conditions and extremely low wage levels have lowered the morale of the workers to make "effective and convincing communist propaganda," declared Livingston.

All this Livingston views as a "misuse" of ECA funds and he offers an easy solution. "The basic point," he explained, "would call for a revision of Marshall Plan administration to permit certain regulatory conditions to be imposed that would provide for a larger share of aid moneys going directly to the worker."

FUNDS "MISUSED"

Livingston and the rest of his delegation then hastened to add that their criticism was "directed at the failure to use ECA funds properly and not at the original purpose of the Marshall Plan." This is a shabby evasion.

How can any plan, let alone its "purpose," be judged if not by its actual results? We warned from the outset that the Marshall Plan was not at all the humanitarian or philanthropic project its sponsors and supporters so deceitfully claimed. It was intended solely for the benefit of the European capitalists, to help prop up their bankrupt system in or-

der later to turn Western Europe into an armed camp. The welfare of the workers and of the mass of the people generally never even entered into the calculations of the Marshall Plan sponsors. The unwilling testimony and belated criticism of Livingston and his delegation are irrefutable proof of it.

On the other hand, the pretext that the ECA funds have been simply "misused," a difficulty which can easily be remedied by a few "specific recommendations," flies in the face of the publicly proclaimed intention to henceforth directly tie ECA funds with European rearmament.

GLARING MISUSE

There is one glaring misuse, however, that Livingston and his friends forgot to mention. They proclaimed support of the Marshall Plan "CIO Policy." They expelled from the CIO unions numbering more than a million members, whose leaders had opposed the Marshall Plan. Right now they are preparing to expel several more unions on the same grounds.

All of this has been done at the behest of the State Department which, in return for the right to interfere in the internal affairs of the unions, hired the labor bureaucrats to sell the Marshall Plan to European workers. Livingston's admission — a confession of guilt — demonstrates what a rotten bill of goods the labor bureaucrats sold the union move-

This is clear from a letter addressed by Curran to all port officials concerning the statement of a seaman who abstained on the convention resolution and is now trying to recant. "You are being told," he wrote, "to accept these Trotskyites and Communists and so-called independent coalitionists as 'reformed.' We cannot take these chances."

The role of an NMU official today is that of stoolpigeon, and no hesitation will be permitted — that is the meaning of Curran's letter.

CIO Gives Rating To Voting Records In 81st Congress

(Continued from Page 1)

teeth out of the original bill. Most of the "Fair Dealers" voted "right" by opposing this amendment. But the CIO News doesn't tell us that a majority of Democrats voted in favor of the amendment and the others didn't put up a real fight for it.

It can be seen from these examples that the CIO chart is based only on those few selected votes which show the highest possible number of "right" votes for the Democrats as against the biggest number of "wrong" votes for the Republicans.

AID TO FRANCO

But what do the CIO leaders consider a "right" vote? For instance, a vote for the Korean Aid Bill to give the Syngman Rhee dictatorship in South Korea \$150,000,000 is listed as "right." On the other hand, the record of the Senate vote on a loan to Franco is not listed. This would have considerably reduced the Democratic "right" votes.

Although there is a great deal of comment in the supplement about the record of the 81st Congress, it does not include any summary of the voting records. A summary would have brought attention to the fact that only 17 Senators and 113 Representatives cast no "wrong" votes so far as the listed issues are concerned. Only 15 out of 53 Democratic Senators were strictly OK according to the CIO record and only 112 out of 259 Democrats in House.

BANKRUPT POLICY

The one wrong vote was usually against FEPC or for the Kerr Gas Bill to let the oil interests loot \$200 million from consumers. Even if you overlook the tricky way the CIO chart is slanted and the standard for "right" and "wrong," the record is a monument to the bankruptcy of the union leaders' political policy. Out of all the Democrats they asked labor to vote for in 1948, they can find only a small minority they can still point to as "right."

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THE MILITANT

New York SWP Nears Goal in Petition Drive

By Ben Stone

NEW YORK, Aug. 16 — The campaign to place the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party on the ballot in New York state, moved into home stretch this week as the petition work in 57 out of 61 counties was completed. The legal minimum of 12,000 signatures has already been secured and all that remains is to obtain an additional 4,000 signatures in order to assure a safe margin of protection against any attempt to disqualify the petitions and rule the SWP off the ballot.

The SWP candidates for N. Y. State are Joseph Hansen for U. S. Senator, Michael Bartell for Governor, Gladys Barker for Lt. Governor, Arthur Preis for Attorney General, Harry Ring for Comptroller.

VACATION PRIZE

The N. Y. Local of the SWP this week expressed its recognition concretely of the work done by the upstate crews by sponsoring a free vacation week-end at Mt. Spring Camp for the hard-working petition crew workers. A special fund for this purpose was initiated by several N. Y. members, among them comrade Zog who contributed \$100 to the fund. The vacation prize also includes the two leading pace-setters in N.Y.C. where mobilizations are being held twice weekly.

The petition campaign which turned out to be a battle against the reactionary alliance of the local authorities and the neo-fascist elements, is now definitely won. It was the toughest assignment ever undertaken by the SWP in this state and now stands successfully consummated.

Special mention should be made of those who made outstanding contributions to the campaign. Foremost among these is Mary L. who outstripped the most seasoned campaigners in the upstate work. The Buffalo branch of the SWP completed petition work in nine counties and then put the finishing touches on petitioning in conservative Yates county. This was the county where the D.A. warned the crew to leave town or be beaten up and jailed. Thanks are also due to the many workers who must remain anonymous or who cannot be mentioned for lack of space.

SPECIAL TRIBUTE

The tribute was best put by a Socialist Party member who aided the SWP petition campaign in the absence of any SP state ticket this year. He writes:

"The work of the comrades here in Suffolk yesterday was the most effective I have yet witnessed exceeding not only previous Socialist Party ventures but even that done by five of us for the Liberal Party in 1946. No words of mine can pay adequate tribute to these wonderful people. I can only say that it was a great pleasure to have been able to work with them and I hope that we may join together again during this campaign and many more to come."

Korean Bombings Not Winning U.S. Friends

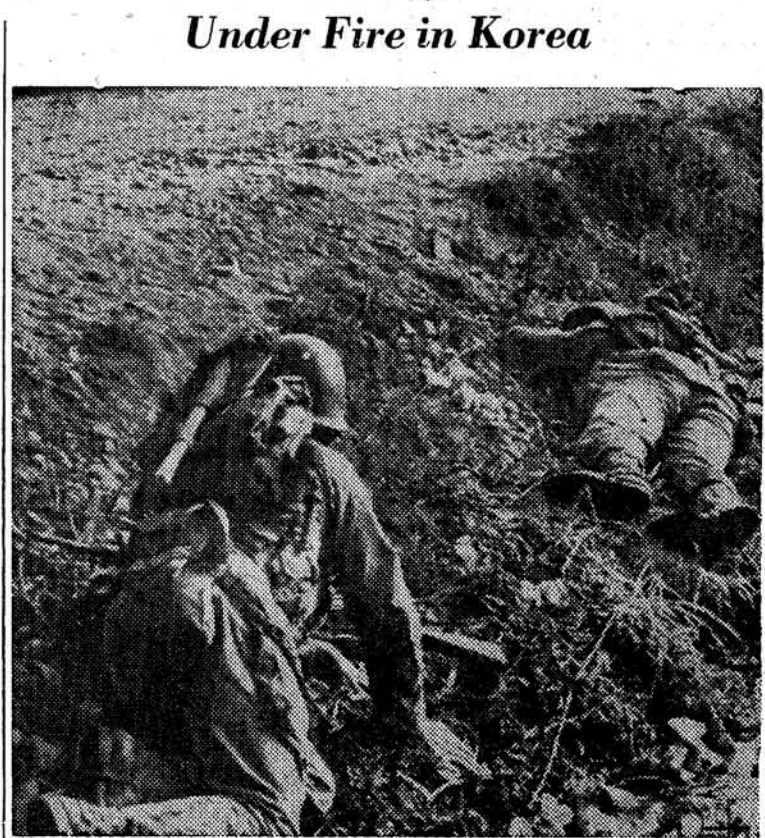
(Continued from Page 1)

States troops withdraw arouse indignation here."

If the Indian people don't "appreciate the harsh facts of the war," we can well imagine what the Koreans think about the American invasion. Korea is being systematically blasted and burned by huge fleets of U. S. bombers dropping not only high-explosives but the napalm fire bomb — the same fiendish weapon that is credited with killing more people in one night in Tokyo than the first atom-bomb at Hiroshima.

From both press dispatches and Gen. MacArthur's daily official war communiques, we can piece together an appalling picture of towns and villages with their civilian inhabitants wiped out. An Aug. 3 United Press dispatch tells of "powerful air strikes" that "set fire to scores of villages along the enemy front lines." Describing a U. S. Navy bombardment of the coastal area around Yongdong in South Korea, an Associated Press dispatch says: "Four towns were listed as destroyed and six heavily hit. This is a tragic business for the few members of the local population who have not evacuated in advance of the Red columns."

Here are a few samples from MacArthur's communiques from Aug. 8 to 13. "Flying his sixty-



American soldiers in Korea huddle in roadside ditch as bullets and mortar shells scream overhead. Dispatches in U. S. newspapers report troops like these are bitterly asking, "What are we fighting for?"

APPEAL TO MEMBERS OF PROGRESSIVE PARTY

(Continued from Page 1)

lace's demagoguery and their bitter opposition to formation of a labor party are equally guilty.

Wallace's course could be predicted well in advance because it flowed logically and consistently from his basic program in favor of capitalism.

This was pointed out by James P. Cannon in the article already mentioned. And when the acid test came, Wallace, the prophet of "progressive capitalism," dropped the "progressive" in order to retain capitalism, thereby confirming the Marxist analysis which showed that at bottom he stood on the same ground as the tycoons of Wall Street.

This is the most important lesson to be drawn from the fate of the Progressive Party, for it points the way to a correct answer to the question, "What next?"

The plagues of depressions, fascism, oppression of minorities, war and the threat of atomic destruction are products of the capitalist system.

Consequently the basic task facing humanity is to replace capitalism, to modernize economy by integrating our industries and resources and bringing them under rational planning so that they can be operated in the interests of the people instead of a handful of billionaires. The end of capitalist rule means the beginning of enduring peace.

This is the socialist program, the program and aim of the Socialist Workers Party.

Stalinism blocks the road to socialism. The American representatives of the Kremlin follow a line designed to further the power and privileges of the bureaucracy that has usurped power in the Soviet Union. Their

faction in the Progressive Party serves that sordid aim. That is why they act as if the Progressive Party were Moscow baggage.

The party of the future, the party of the American working people destined to guide the way to a Workers and Farmers Government, will be built in opposition to both the Stalinists and "progressive" capitalists like Wallace.

Those who see this most clearly today are in the ranks of the Socialist Workers Party. Your place is there with us too. We invite you to join us in building the only movement capable of ending the horrors of capitalism and establishing universal peace through world socialism.

French CP Hits Plea For China UN Entry

An "Appeal for Peace" is now being circulated in France calling for the immediate admission of the People's Republic of China into the UN. It is signed by outstanding French educators, writers and deputies to the French parliament, among them Andre Gide, J. P. Sartre, Jean Guhenno, Daniel Guerin, Claude Bourdet and others. Mild in character, the appeal criticizes the action of the majority in excluding 450 million peoples as "unjustifiable." It chides Malik for not having taken a "more realistic attitude" and it calls upon the French UN delegates to help decide the question by voting in favor of Peking's admission.

The Stalinists refused to sign the appeal and their paper *L'Humanite* denounced it as the "Thesis of the 'Trotskyists' sponsored by 'die-hard Titoists' among others."

Under Fire in Korea

Inflation Starts Slashing Wages, Living Levels

By John G. Wright

By more than doubling its military budget in the brief space of nine weeks — with additional huge military expenditures still in the offing — the Truman administration

has started a switch of the domestic economy from a civilian to a war basis. The major problem of finding domestic and foreign outlets for peacetime production must henceforth give way more and more to the problems of meeting, supplying and financing the bottomless needs of war.

The inherent contradictions of capitalism do not thereby disappear, they simply reappear in a different form. The crises of peacetime capitalist production assume the general form of deflation (falling prices, declining production, growing unemployment). The crises of capitalist war economy take the form of inflation (soaring prices, acute shortages of necessities and consumer goods, debasement of currency, shattering of the fiscal system).

HIT BOTH WAYS

So far as the workers and the mass of the people generally are concerned, they are hit equally hard by both deflation and inflation. In either case, their living standards suffer catastrophically. The effects of crises of devaluation have been fully experienced by the American people, especially in the course of the great collapse of the Thirties. But this country's experience with inflationary crises has been up to now comparatively limited, far short, for example, of what the European masses underwent during and after the last two world wars.

On the basis of the former prices, conservative capitalist economists have estimated that a shift to full-scale war production, entailing a military budget of \$50 billion annually, would mean a 20% reduction in living standards. At peak war production, or with military budgets of \$100 billion and more, the living standards, they calculate, would fall to the levels of 1931-32, that is, the bottom of the last depression.

But these projected military budgets will provide only a fraction of what was originally hoped for. This means far bigger arms budgets than any hitherto calculated. What they will finally be no one knows. Meanwhile the inflation is on. The rate at which it will spiral remains indeterminate. It depends on many factors, among them the nature of government controls that are imposed. But its ultimate effects can be confidently foretold. The threat of a peacetime depression has been replaced by the scourge of inflation whose tendency will be to unfold on a scale never experienced before by the workers of this country.

Depression Level

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