

"Great Debate" Awakens People As Crisis Nears

By The Editors

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Capitalist Road to War

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

An Asian Revolutionist Speaks for Labor

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

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

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

Following is deSilva's speech:

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

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"Bring Troops Home!" Mail Floods Congress and Press

Engineers Reject 3-Year Railroad Pact

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

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

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RANK AND FILE COMMITTEE

Top representatives of the Engineers, Brotherhood of Railways Trainmen, Brotherhood of Firemen and Enginemen and the Order of Railway Conductors had accepted the government's formula in an agreement with the carriers. It was subject to ratification by the general chairmen's committees of the unions.

Some 125 of the Engineers' chairmen met in a two-day discussion in Cleveland and instructed their top officials to go back to Washington and negotiate a "more favorable settlement." The other unions will act this week.

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

These auto workers have dem-



Plant Discussions Show Strong Anti-War Feeling

By Emmett Moore

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

These auto workers have dem-

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

WORKERS SEEK ANSWERS

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

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

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

FAKE REPRESENTATIVE
Sir, I am bound to add that these malevolent activities of the ICFTU have been matched only by the persistence of its maneuvers against every effort to conduct the workers' case here on a fighting line. The speeches of its accredited leader, the British trade union representative, have in their approach and content only supplemented the fundamental philosophy of the employers' representatives in respect to working-class problems. His tenderness for the rights of private property

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

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

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

This phenomenon has reached such proportions that the Dec. 31 N.Y. Times devotes a page to a national survey of these letters.

Even newspapers, like the Times itself, which support Truman's policy, admit only a "slight" ma-

chine retreats and place them within their historical context.

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

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

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

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

By John G. Wright

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

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

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

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

even more was Dulles' refusal to hurl such epithets as "isolationist," "defeatist," "appeaser" and the like at Hoover.

FACTIONAL WARFARE

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

But what really has been thrown consternation into administration ranks was Dulles' attempt to do something no other capitalist politician has thus far had either the desire, ability or boldness to undertake. And that is, to accept the need for retreat (more accurately, a series of retreats) by American imperialism on the world arena; to try to delimit

(Continued on page 3)

Yugoslavia Seen With Open Eyes: 10

How Could The Revolution Happen?

By Ernest Germain

How could it happen? How was it possible for the leadership of a Communist Party, educated for two decades in the school of Stalinism, to be able in so short a time to execute so decisive a revolutionary turn in its policy? And to lead a very small and very backward country so far on the road of workers' democracy than was ever done before in modern times? To answer these questions, two decisive factors must be considered, in their inseparable interrelationship: The specific nature of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, and the specific nature of the revolutionary upsurge experienced by that country since 1941.

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

HITLER-STALIN PACT

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

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

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

Here, however, there is an im-

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Tokyo, Belgrade Report Mao Vying With Stalin

By Fred Hart

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

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

THE KREMLIN REPORT

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

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

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

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

CHINA IN CONTROL

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

BELGRADE REPORT

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

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

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

MAO AND ASIAN MASSES

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

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

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

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

SEEDS OF THE RIFT

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

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

Home Building Cut 54% in Next Year

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

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

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

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

THE MILITANT ARMY

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

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

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

From Detroit, Literature Agent Howard Mason reports "some pretty good distributions this past week." At a small forum sponsored by two union locals, Fred sold six Militants and a six-months subscription. At another meeting, Knight sold seven. Jack and Esther sold eight copies of Fourth International, the theoretical magazine of American Trotskyism, at a NAACP meeting. This was the issue on "Marxism and the Negro." Lee, Larry and Stanley sold 15 Militants and five copies of the Dec. 11 issue and 16 copies of the Dec. 4. Thanking you and hoping we can yet stop this damn Third World War."

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

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

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

C. D. of Pottstown, Pa., writes: "Congratulations on your Dec. 11 issue. It was wonderful. I could not stop until I read it from end to end. If enough copies of this issue and Dec. 4 could be distributed it sure ought to upset the suicidal foreign policy of our rulers."

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SEATTLE—Workers Educational Center, 20 St. Stuart St. Open Tues., 5:30-9 P.M.

DETROIT—Militant Forum, 129 Main St., 2nd fl. Open every afternoon except Sun. 12-1 P.M.

CHICAGO—166 W. Washington St., Rm. 312-314. Phone Dearborn 2-4767.

CLEVELAND—Peeck Hall, 1446 E. 82nd St. (off Wade Park Ave.), every Sun., 9 P.M.

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Monday, January 8, 1951

On Labor's Way to Win Middle Class

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

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

TROTSKY



LENIN

No Voice for Labor

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Who Will Sacrifice?

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

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

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

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

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

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

When Dewey speaks of "toil and more

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

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

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

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

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

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

Truman withdrew ambassador to Spain, Norman Armour.

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

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

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

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

By Joseph Keller

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

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

SEPARATE TREATY

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

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

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

FORCE TO MEET FORCE

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

Hanson W. Baldwin, N. Y.

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

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

AN IMPERIALIST POWER

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

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

Hanson W. Baldwin, N. Y.

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

(Continued from Page 1)

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

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

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

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

LIMITED WAR

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

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

FULL SCALE WAR

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

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

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

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Baby Food Upsets Editor

By George Lavan

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Nehru on Marx

By Tom Conlan

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

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

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

At all events Nehru's reference applies to the two false "interpretations" of Marxism still holding sway in the world labor movement, namely: Stalinism and Social Democracy. So far as Marx personally is concerned, he had the occasion in his own lifetime not to become astonished but, on the contrary, to explain, denounce and combat a whole number of attempts to palm off under the label of Marxism anti-working class policies and programs. "If that is Marxism, then I am not a Marxist," was the way Marx once put this lifelong struggle against revisionists, vulgarizers or falsifiers of his teachings.

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

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

leagues and rivals, not to mention the Indian bourgeoisie.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The escalator clause requires only that an employer pay throughout the life of a contract the full real wages agreed upon. He is bound merely to pay the workers the number of dollars sliced to subsistence levels by war inflation. It is a "calculated risk," he

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SWP Candidate In Chicago Takes Strong Anti-war Stand

Committee Bares Further Clues to Tresca Assassin

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

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

Galante was brought by detectives from his Brooklyn home to Manhattan on Dec. 16 and was questioned for hours in the district attorney's office.

HOMICIDE BUREAU

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

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

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



CARLO TRESCA

Discuss Wage Freeze



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

CP CONVENTION OFFERS FAKE PEACE PROGRAM

The American Communist (Stalinist) party held its national convention in New York City over New Year's weekend. As was to be expected no surprises came out of the convention. Resolutions and elections had been decided long ago by the leadership and the delegates were assigned the role of yes-men to cheer at the appropriate time.

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

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

CIVIL RIGHTS

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

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

former seedy role forgotten.

The re-elected National Committee includes all of the 11 leaders convicted under the Smith Act.

NEGROES AND CP

It is apparent from the stress

and references to the struggle of the Negro people have a hollow ring. Throughout World War II these same people, "in the interests of unity" with the American capitalists, played down and sabotaged the fight for Negro equality.

LIBERALS OFFER AMERICAN YOUTH A FUTURE OF WARS AND DESPAIR

LIBERALS OFFER AMERICAN YOUTH A FUTURE OF WARS AND DESPAIR

By Ben Reifman

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

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

PROGRAM OF WAR

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

cheerfully added, "that the Russians won't fight if we're strong.

If that's wrong, I don't care to discuss the outcome in any great detail."

PERIOD OF TENSION

The "Foreign Policy Resolution" adopted the next day was the most important action taken at the convention. Beating the drums for the war drive, it spoke of the need to "mobilize" for a period of tension and anxiety...

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

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

skillful diplomacy!

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

of the A-Bomb in "the present crisis" met with almost no opposition.

The same amendment was added to a statement that the "U.N." planes should not bomb territory outside the Korean borders. Thus SDA leaves the question of Atomic destruction in the hands of the most powerful single enemy of peace, the American-run United Nations.

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

CHICAGO

Socialist Workers Party Hdqs.

5th Ward — 5558 Ellis

for

IRVING BEININ

SWP Candidate

Open Weds. from 7 to 10 p.m.

CHICAGO, Jan. 4 — Irving Beinin, a sheet metal worker by trade, and long active in the struggle of labor and the Negro people, was chosen last night by the Chicago local of the Socialist Workers Party to be its candidate for the post of 5th Ward Alderman in the February 27 city-wide election. Because of election laws, Beinin will file as an independent candidate, but will run on the program of the Socialist Workers Party and will receive the active support of its members and friends.

At last night's nominating meeting, Beinin declared, "I am entering the race for 5th Ward Alderman as a Socialist anti-war candidate. The central problem facing the people in the 5th Ward and in every ward is the war question. There has been a groundswell of popular resentment against the intervention of American troops to suppress the progressive struggles of the colonial peoples for independence.

The American people do not want a third World War. It is the main task of every government official to express and to mobilize the anti-war sentiment of the people to halt the war drive.

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

The people of Chicago want to prevent it from dropping!

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

"Similarly did the many speeches and references to the struggle of the Negro people have a hollow ring. Throughout World War II these same people, "in the interests of unity" with the American capitalists, played down and sabotaged the fight for Negro equality.

NEGROES AND CP

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

In refusing to defend the civil rights of the 18 Trotskyists, the Stalinists greased