

# LABOR ACTION

Independent Socialist Weekly

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FIVE CENTS

PRESENTING —

## SOCIALISM AND WAR THE INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST VIEW

For May Day 1951, this issue of LABOR ACTION departs from its regular news articles, features and columns to present an over-all sketch, in six articles, of the views of Independent Socialism on the war situation today and the threatened Third World War.

Like last year's special May Day issue (on the Principles and Program of Independent Socialism) the present contents virtually constitute a pamphlet on the question. Extra copies are available.

# Shall It Be War or Peace?

## Neither Washington nor Moscow — For the Third Camp Against War!

By GORDON HASKELL

The war in Korea has brought the world face to face with the great question of our time: Shall it be war or peace?

In Congress, in the press, and throughout the nation a "great debate" over foreign policy rages. This war has shattered the bipartisan unity on foreign policy which has kept the most vital questions out of the political arena in the United States for over a decade.

**And the peoples of the world look anxiously across the oceans toward the United States. For to many of them it seems that it is here, in this rich and powerful country, that this question will be decided. It is the American government, they feel, and the American people who hold it in their power to decide.**

Yet as long as the argument is left to the two major political parties, to the newspapers and other "official" molders of public opinion, the question can only be decided in one way. It matters not that the Democrats are now parading as the party of "peace"—by which they mean merely "restricted warfare." It is of secondary importance that the Republicans vacillate between those who would widen the war in Asia and those who would pull American troops back to the Western Hemisphere and its auxiliary airstrips in Britain and Japan.

As long as the United States is run by these parties and by the social and economic groups which dominate them, sooner or later World War III will break out in all its civilization-destroying fury. For none of them has any answer, in the long run, to the spread of Stalinism—except armed force used to the utmost.

### THE BASIC PROBLEM

The present phase of American foreign policy started with the proclamation of the "Truman doctrine." Since then it has been modified and its emphasis has been shifted here and there.

But in essence, the basic idea has remained the same: Contain Stalinism wherever it shows a tendency to expand. Contain it with Marshall Plan aid or its equivalent where possible. Contain it by propping up governments, even reactionary or fascist governments, with economic aid or arms, or both. And contain it with

military force where no other method shows promise of success.

The very terms in which this policy is put reveal the basic problem.

**Stalinism is an expansive force. It expands not only by Russian or satellite invasion, though it expands most rapidly and easily where these are used or stand immediately in the background. It has its mass movements everywhere, in varying degrees of strength. It makes a powerful appeal to all the wretched and exploited of the capitalist world—that is, to all those who are not made wretched and exploited by Stalinism itself.**

And although Russia and her satellites cover a vast area with great natural wealth and tremendous populations, it is clear that the economic, industrial and hence military potential of the United States and her allies is so much more powerful than that of Russia that, if it were not for this expansive appeal of Stalinism to the peoples of the world, the totalitarian masters of the Kremlin would not dream of risking war now.

But cannot the United States, with its high standard of living and its political democracy, have a superior appeal to the peoples? Can't it counter the political movements of Stalinism,

which represent a new form of slavery for man, with much more powerful popular movements which fight for man's political and economic emancipation, for democracy and freedom and plenty? Why can it hope to "contain" Stalinism only through military force?

The answer to these questions lies on the battlefields of Korea and Indo-China, in the struggle in Malaya, in the "neutralism" which is so powerful in Europe, in the hesitations of the governments of India and even Britain to accept the policies of the American government.

**The American government cannot defeat Stalinism politically because throughout the world it seeks to maintain capitalism. Yet outside the United States, the masses of the people nowhere want this social and economic system.**

To the peoples of Asia it means the landlord, the usurer, the tax collector, the foreign imperialist. It means poverty without hope, degradation without end.

To the workers of Europe it stands as a symbol of exploitation, oppression, a denial of human dignity.

To the peoples of Africa, the Middle East, Latin America it means the imperialist master allied with the brutal native ruler, the foreigner

living off the resources and the sweat and toil of the people. They don't want it or any part of it. It has no appeal to them, it cannot rally them. When they hear the word "democracy" and see that those who mouth it most loudly really mean "capitalism," they look elsewhere for their salvation.

But Stalinism . . . is that any better? No, it is worse. But Stalinism has this weapon: It is against the known oppressors and exploiters of these peoples. It promises them land, and at first often gives it to them. It is against the landlords and capitalists and tax collectors as they are. Tomorrow, when it has power, it will impose a new landlord, a new oppressor, a new tax collector. These will be totalitarian state bureaucrats who exploit the people and oppress them in the name of the master state. But all that is tomorrow. Today it leads them against their immediate enemies.

The whole of Asia is in revolt against the social, political and economic conditions of the past century. Stalinism fosters and distorts this revolt and rides its wave. The United States tries to dam it and hold it back while preaching the glories of "democracy" and capitalism. In Europe, where the workers have been socialists for decades, their socialist aspirations and hatred of capitalism has never been so near unanimous as today. The Stalinists cry: We too are against capitalism, and see—we destroy it wherever we

(Turn to last page)



DEMOCRACY The Fate of Civil Liberty in Imperialist War—

Democratic Rights Are the First Casualty

By MARY BELL

This year May Day again sees a "Loyalty Day" parade, sponsored by the Veterans of Foreign Wars and headed in New York by General Douglas MacArthur. Again the Stalinists mimic old-fashioned May Days with a parade of the Fur Workers and the Faithful. It also sees the narrowing of the standards of loyalty for federal employment from "reasonable grounds" to "reasonable doubt." And the right to a judicial hearing before an organization can be determined as "subversive" just squeezes through the Supreme Court, while concentration camps are still provided for under the McCarran Law.

We are "viewing with alarm" the alarming things that are happening to democracy in the United States. It is true there are some signs in an opposite direction, notably the retention of the right to strike at the recent UAW convention. But the conspicuous mood of the country is reactionary. It is a mood vocalized by McCarthy, Jenner, Wherry, Nixon and Mundt, by Taft and MacArthur. It is characterized by fear of war, flirtation with atomic attacks, witch-hunt.

Is this mood temporary? Will it be the temper of the times to come? What is the condition of democracy and democratic rights? What is the trend?

All questions today are bound up with one big question: World War III. Democracy and democratic rights are no exception. The question of democracy is as important a question as any, especially since for the third time it is declared that "democracy" is girding itself again against totalitarianism.

DEMOCRACY'S BASIS

For the liberal, the Norman Thomas socialist, the Democrat, the Republican, Senator McCarthy, General MacArthur, the labor leader, democracy is an anonymous, unqualified changing, with its private meaning to each. But beneath this label what unites all of them is the basic identification with United States capitalism in the coming war. For MacArthur it can mean the right to flout the civilian authority, to advocate the third world war now. For Norman Thomas it means the attempt to sell to the Indian people the idea that the United States is an innocent peace-loving democracy and not an imperialist nation.

The common error of all these viewpoints is their common allegiance to United States capitalism. For the Marxist socialist, with his analysis of the entire social system and its economic organization, the task of definition is easier. It is the economic basis of a social system which differentiates one from another, and which permits socialists to distinguish capitalist democracy based upon the capitalist mode of production from (say) Athenian democracy which was based upon slavery. It thus permits the socialist to understand the extent and limitation of democratic rights which correspond to a society where monopoly dominates economic life.

LIBERTY IN HOCK

We are confronted today with an American capitalism which is wealthier than at any time in its

strike, etc.

But, if these are the more or less usual wartime controls, it must be remembered that the loyalty and security checks which are also usual wartime controls have become the rule during the pre-war period. They can only become intensified as the war nears.

To ascertain the trend, we can look at the period of World War II, the most recent war of "democracy" against totalitarianism. Controls by the government and restriction of liberties were effected then, too. The fact that the United States did not become totalitarian in the course of combating a totalitarian force would not lead to the mistake of assuming that the trend was not there.

Russia, the present "enemy," was then the ally. The brakes were on so far as persecution of the Stalinist puppet party in this country went. The labor movement, by virtue of its support to

vided by Truman himself when he instituted the loyalty program. The "subversive list" was drawn up by his own attorney general. A reactionary Congress passed the McCarran Act, which "democratized" the government procedure by providing for a court hearing and whose passage was completed with the "liberal" Democrats attacking the concentration-camp rider. A macabre comedy!

Yet democratic traditions remain strong in the United States. But they have undergone a sea-change. Consider a basic Jeffersonian tradition of civil liberties, as contained in the latter's inaugural address:

"If there be any among us who wish to dissolve this Union or change its republican form, let them stand undisturbed as monuments of the safety with which error of opinion may be tolerated where reason is left free to combat it."

And consider the actuality!

the "progressive" ones, are caught in the same trap. There have been outstanding cases in the labor movement, most recently the Schuetz case, described in last week's LABOR ACTION, where the labor officialdom has been reluctant or unwilling to act on behalf of the democratic rights of one of its representatives.

This atmosphere of fear and persecution is supposed to help defeat Stalinism at home and prepare for its military defeat in the war to come. "No civil liberties for those who are against civil liberties," is the justification of the totalitarian liberals. But all concede that if any war is an "ideological" one, it is the one shaping up between "democracy" and "totalitarianism." It is sometimes referred to as a war of ideologies.

It is undoubtedly true that the Stalinist ideology preys upon the weakness of capitalism and that its anti-capitalist ideology has an appeal. But capitalism displays its weakness today most openly where it resorts to force—to police measures at home and military measures abroad—in its struggle against Stalinism.

The weakening of democratic rights and the resort to violence may defeat Stalinism, but only in a reactionary way. The extension of democracy and democratic measures—freer speech, freer assembly, greater civil liberties at home and the stimulation of democracy abroad are the only means to a genuine, progressive and lasting defeat of Stalinism.

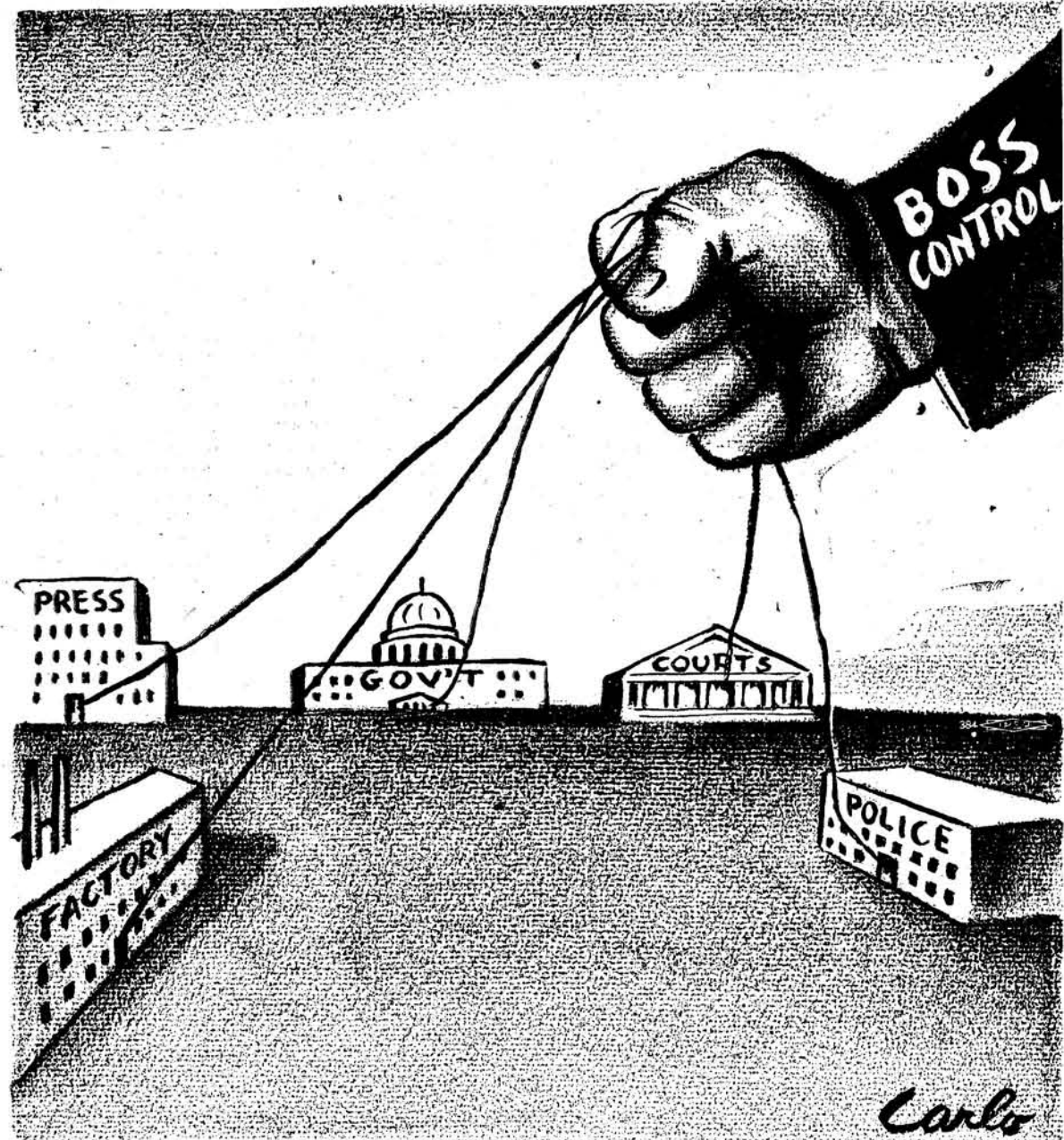
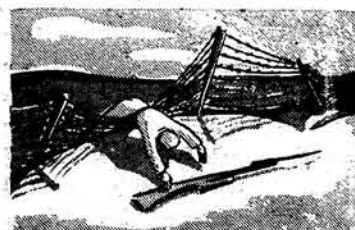
THE SOCIALIST ROAD

Given the inability of capitalism and its parties to extend democratic measures, it is doubly the duty of the labor, liberal and socialist movement to press for them. The struggle for democracy and socialism is continuous and interlinked. The early socialists and the leaders of scientific socialism, Marx and Engels, welcomed the extensions of democratic rights which came in with the rise of the young capitalist system. Socialists have always jealously guarded democratic rights under capitalism and sought their extension. They have had to seek their extension because no capitalism, however democratic, is a genuine democracy at bottom, based upon and responding effectively to the will of the people.

The United States, founded upon revolutionary rebellion from foreign tyranny and without a feudal past, is often considered the apogee of the democracies. But it has always been a class democracy, based upon economic inequality. Today, more than ever, with its unmatched wealth, it is an aristocratic democracy, a monopoly democracy, a dollar democracy.

Where economic inequality exists, political inequality also exists. The limited democracy of this capitalism, however, is shrinking still further, given the war, the present political hysteria, the strategy of force in combating Stalinism. Incredible alternatives are posed for humanity today: Stalinism or atomization! Both are barbarous and inhuman.

Everywhere in the world where we may still protest the growing infringements against our freedom, we must call for a third, human, life-preserving alternative, the security and peace of world socialism, the first truly democratic and therefore human society.



past or than any other country. It is, in fact, the only prosperous capitalism in existence, a fact which afflicts many of its liberal and labor adherents with nationalistic myopia. The Western bloc, its allies, is composed of dying systems, which look to the United States for economic and military assistance.

Furthermore, this wealthy, booming society is based on a permanent war economy, in which more and more of its butter must be exchanged for guns. It is just beginning to make the transition to a total war economy.

The war aspects of the economy bear an important relationship to the problem of democratic rights. The specific weight of the military in economic matters reflects itself in political matters. Just as in the last war, government controls of production will bring in tow government controls over manpower, wages, the right to



STALINISM Rival of Capitalism, Oppressor of Labor, Enemy of Peace—

The Roots of Stalinist Imperialism

By MAX SHACHTMAN

What is Stalinism?

When the defenders and journalists of capitalism speak of Stalinist Russia as a "socialist state," they have, from their standpoint, two good reasons for saying so. One reason, the product of ignorance if not malice, is to discredit the cause of socialism in the mind of workers by identifying it with the oppressive police rule of the Stalinist state.

The other reason results from their sound class instinct. They have never concerned themselves with the positive aspect of socialism, which is the liberation of the working class from all forms of oppression and exploitation and the assurance of abundance and freedom for all. Their idea of what socialism is, is simple enough. It is the threat to the profits and privileges they derive from their ownership of the means of production and exchange which socialism would abolish. And since Stalinism also abolishes capitalist private ownership wherever it establishes its rule, it does no less to the foundations on which the capitalist class rests than socialism would do.

That is reason enough for the capitalist class to equate Stalinism with "socialism," or at least with "socialism of some kind or another."

It does not follow, however, that this is reason enough for the workingman or the socialist to adopt the same view of Stalinism.

Socialism is uncompromisingly opposed to capitalism. But if it were merely an anti-capitalist movement and nothing else, it would be exceedingly primitive, simple-minded and even subject to all sorts of reactionary perversions. If it simply took the view that what is good for the capitalist class is bad for the working class; that what hurts the capitalist class automatically promotes the interest of the working class; or that the aim of the working-class movement is to take revenge against capitalists for their exploitation and oppression—it would not have the scientific character which gives it its fundamental power and progressiveness.

Feudalism, for example, is opposed to capitalism and stands in the way of its development. But the feudal opposition to capitalism has never promoted the interests of the working class and it never merited the name or the support of socialism.

Workers, enraged by capitalist exploitation, once unleashed their fury against the modern machines which were the means of exploiting them. But the smashing of the machines which took the place of primitive handwork was, at bottom, futile and reactionary; and even if it was painful to the capitalist, it did not advance the interests of the working class or receive the support of the socialist.

A Reactionary Force

Stalinism is not feudalism and it does not favor smashing machinery. It is, indeed, opposed to capitalism; it does aim to abolish capitalist private property; and it does endeavor to base itself mainly upon the working class. But only from the capitalist standpoint does this make Stalinism a "socialist" or a "working-class" movement.

Socialism opposes capitalism only from the standpoint of promoting the interests of the working class, only from the standpoint of speeding the working class to control of the economic and political power in every country, only from the standpoint that this control alone will enable society as a whole to dispense with all forms of class rule and therewith develop in full freedom from all social fetters.

From this standpoint, Stalinism is not progressive, and has nothing in common with the working class or socialism; it is a reactionary force.

Stalinism is a product of the decay of capitalism. This tells us very little about it, unless we understand that it is a product of a particular conjunction point in the decaying process of capitalism.

The decay of capitalism simply means that the ruling class is less and less capable of resolving the ever acuter problems of society by the traditional methods at its disposal, that is, by capitalist methods.

The result is: a stagnation of economic life which is "overcome" only by preparing for wars which cause a stupendous destruction of wealth and which are futile in that they solve no significant social or political problem and open up no progressive road to mankind; the growth of political reaction in the form of the enormously increased bureaucratization and militarization of public life, the growth of "garrison states," police states, totalitarian states; the disintegration, debasement and stifling of cultural life; and so on.

The working class is that social force which is called upon to arrest the social decay produced by a capitalist system which has completely outlived its historical usefulness. The more acute the problems of society become, the more urgently the working class is called upon to break all its ties with capitalism and to resolve these problems in a socialist—that is, in a democratic and progressive—way.

The Key Idea

Now, if the working class fails—whatever may be the reason for the failure at any given moment—to resolve the burning social problems in a socialist way at the time when the capitalist class reveals its inherent inability to resolve them in a capitalist way, we get that conjunction point in the decay of society which makes possible the rise of Stalinism.

There we have the key to understanding this new force which baffles and bewilders the capitalist class and the prisoners of the capitalist mode of thinking, and throws them into the panic in which they find themselves today.

Stalinism fills the social vacuum created under these



conditions. It seeks to solve the problems which the main classes of society are either unable to solve or fail to solve, each in its own way.

And where it establishes its power, it does solve the problems. To be sure, it solves them in its way; it solves them in a reactionary way; in solving them, it creates a multitude of new problems or the old problems in new forms; but it does solve the old problems as they appeared in their capitalist form.

It proceeds to destroy the foundations of capitalism, and to crush the capitalist class, with which the new masters have not the slightest desire to share their power.

It is that which, from the capitalist standpoint, gives it the appearance of a "revolutionary," or a "working class" or a "socialist" force. But that is only appearance.

The reality is that the new masters, composed of the riffraff of the old society, the uprooted and the demoralized elements of all social layers, especially of the bureaucracy of the labor movement—these new masters also crush the working class at the same time, deprive it of all traces of economic and political rights, and subjugate it to a despotic exploitation unparalleled in modern times.

If the working class fails to destroy capitalism, wrote the co-founder of the modern socialist movement decades ago, it will suffer the penalty of its own destruction. We can see today the heavy penalty the working class pays when it fails in its task. Stalinism destroys it by transforming it into a class of modern state-slaves.

Who 'Owns' the State?

Where Stalinism triumphs, it transfers sooner or later all the means of production and exchange to the ownership of the state. And the collective ownership and organization of the means of production by the state is a long step forward for society; it is a milestone in human progress; it is the necessary preliminary to a stateless social order, a socialist society of abundance and freedom.

But this is so only on the absolutely indispensable condition that the state which concentrates all economic power in its hands is in turn in the hands of the working class—is a democratic state, a state whose democratic character widens constantly to the point where it ceases to be a state at all, that is, an instrument of coercion of the few against the many or even of the many against the few.

Omit this condition, or substitute anything else for it, and the state which now has all economic power centralized within it will inevitably be the most powerful exploitive and oppressive machine ever directed against a working class.

That is what the Stalinist state is, in every country where it is established.

The working class is the most important productive force in society. Where the state owns all the means of production, it also "owns" the working class.

If this state is the organized working class itself, then and only then is it a workers' state capable of ushering in socialism. Then and only then does the working class, collectively, own and control the productive forces, including itself—and the working class does not exploit and oppress itself because in its very nature it cannot do so. But where this state is in the hands of another class, as is the case under Stalinism, it is a disfranchised slave class completely dominated by an uncontrolled bureaucracy.

The totalitarian Stalinist bureaucracy is unique among ruling classes, and so is its mode of production. Under capitalism, the anarchy of production is deter-

ket and not for use. The market is the regulator of production.

Under socialism, production and distribution will be determined by democratic social planning. In a workers' state which leads to socialism, production and distribution must be determined democratically by the working class through its state machinery; and the only assurance this class has that production and distribution will be planned for its use and benefit is by exercising its democratic control of the state machinery.

Under Stalinism, however, production and distribution are regulated neither by the market nor by the democratic decisions of the working class—let alone society as a whole. They are determined arbitrarily by a vast network of self-perpetuating, uncontrolled bureaucrats who monopolize all political and therefore all economic power for their own use.

In the absence of the more-or-less automatic economic controls which the market provides for capitalism, and of the democratic economic controls which a workers' state or a socialist society would provide, the Stalinist state is left with no other means of organizing and controlling the economy save the police means which are at the disposal of this super-totalitarian regime.

It is this ingrained characteristic of Stalinist rule which stamps it as reactionary not only from a political but also from an economic standpoint and dooms it to permanent economic crisis.

Basis of Its Imperialism

To maintain itself, its power and its privileges, over the masses of the people, it must maintain an unprecedentedly huge and parasitical human (or rather, inhuman!) machine of surveillance and oppression.

In the nature of the regime itself, this machine is directed not only against the masses—although primarily against them—but also against the lower ranks of the bureaucracy itself, from which it must continually draw for scapegoats for its economic deficiencies and disasters.

The whole manner of its organization of economic life is such that it exceeds capitalism by far in the degree to which it wears out, wastes, devours and destroys outright the productive forces which are developed under its rule.

A social order is progressive to the extent that the productive forces developed in any period of its existence are socially useful; it is or becomes reactionary—as has for so long been the case with capitalism—to the extent that the productive forces developed under its rule are socially useless, are wasted and exhausted, are converted, in the words of Karl Marx, into means of destruction.

From this standpoint, Stalinist society is reactionary through and through. It does not represent progress as against capitalism. It is a product of the decay of capitalism, which in turn produces a deeper decay of society, the new barbarism of which it is at once the carrier and beneficiary.

The vast destruction of the productive forces under Stalinism not only crushes the people it rules, but undermines the rule of the bureaucracy itself. It knows no other way of maintaining itself than by intensifying its police rule and compensating for its economic destruction by conquering, enslaving and looting countries not yet under its dominion.

That is the basis of the Stalinist imperialism which has already succeeded in reducing so many countries of Europe and Asia to the degradation of satellite, vassal or colonial states whose economic wealth and working classes are ravaged so that the economic power and, totalitarian rule of the Russian master class may be maintained and expanded.



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# The ISL Program in Brief

The Independent Socialist League stands for socialist democracy and against the two systems of exploitation which now divide the world: capitalism and Stalinism.

Capitalism cannot be reformed or liberalized, by any Fair Deal or other deal, so as to give the people freedom, abundance, security or peace. It must be abolished and replaced by a new social system, in which the people own and control the basic sectors of the economy, democratically controlling their own economic and political destinies.

Stalinism, in Russia and wherever it holds power, is a brutal totalitarianism—a new form of exploitation. Its agents in every country, the Communist Parties, are unrelenting enemies of socialism and have nothing in common with socialism—which cannot exist without effective democratic control by the people.

These two camps of capitalism and Stalinism are today at each other's throats in a world-wide imperialist rivalry for domination. This struggle can only lead to the most frightful war in history so long as the people leave the capitalist and Stalinist rulers in power. Independent Socialism stands for building and strengthening the Third Camp of the people against both war blocs.

The ISL, as a Marxist movement, looks to the working class and its ever-present struggle as the basic progressive force in society. The ISL is organized to spread the ideas of socialism in the labor movement and among all other sections of the people.

At the same time, Independent Socialists participate actively in every struggle to better the people's lot now—such as the fight for higher living standards, against Jim Crow and anti-Semitism, in defense of civil liberties and the trade-union movement. We seek to join together with all other militants in the labor movement as a left force working for the formation of an independent labor party and other progressive policies.

The fight for democracy and the fight for socialism are inseparable. There can be no lasting and genuine democracy without socialism, and there can be no socialism without democracy. To enroll under this banner, join the Independent Socialist League!

### INTERESTED?

Get acquainted with the Independent Socialist League—

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I want more information about the ideas of Independent Socialism and the ISL.

I want to join the ISL.

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## CAPITALISM Why This Profit System and Its Government Bar a Democratic Foreign Policy—

# Is the U. S. Defending Democracy—or Capitalism?

By HAL DRAPER

When an Indian tribe went on the warpath to grab a neighbor's choice hunting ground, it is not likely that the braves spent too much time convincing each other that the scalps were necessary to further an idealistic crusade. They knew what they were fighting for because the real object of the war was also in the interest of the entire tribe. There was no overweening need for sloganized deception.

Bewilderment and demagoguery over "war aims" has been an accompaniment of "civilization"—that is, of societies divided into ruling and ruled classes. This is the kind of civilized society we have known up to today.

No ruling class has ever inscribed on its war banner: "We fight for the Greater Glory of Our Class Interests." That is, no ruling class has ever done so if it expects the mass of people to do the fighting for it. It always wars, instead, for God, for country, for honor, for defense, for freedom—for an aim which is also shared by those who have to do the dying.

In the world wars of our modern age, there has been a pattern which cannot fail to provoke thought by those who are too ready to accept the current slogan used to explain why more millions must be slaughtered.

The First World War was fought to save the world for democracy—and there was less democracy left in the world after victory was won against Kaiserism. "Something" went wrong. There is plenty of evidence to prove that the war was really fought on behalf of one group of imperialist powers against another.

So they said the Second World War was different. It was different in many significant respects. But not in this: It was supposedly fought to save the "peace-loving democracies" from aggressive fascism, but the victors are now greasing the way for the return to power of the neo-Nazi reactionaries of Germany as well as preparing the rearming of Japan, rehabilitating the only fascist ally of Hitler still in power (France), etc.

"Something" went wrong again. To lovers of freedom, the world picture is blacker today than before the second crusade for democracy. From the standpoint of a better world, both wars were tragic, useless butcheries.

Yet Kaiserism had to be fought. Nazism had to be fought. It was, indeed the anti-war socialists who fought these despots more uncompromisingly than anyone else.

But the two world wars of our century were not directed against these as the enemies of freedom, peace or a better world. They were capitalist wars.

And now we face a third.

### 'What's Wrong'—Right Now?

How can you doctrinaire socialists call this developing war with Russia a "capitalist war" on the part of the U. S.? Isn't it clear that Moscow menaces the whole of the free world? Are we supposed to stand aside and let Stalin grab up country after country for fear of being called "capitalist warmongers" by you socialists? Does your opposition to capitalism blind you to the fact—this time, anyway—the U. S. is not at bottom fighting to defend capitalism but to defend its very life and every possibility of progress against the most brutal regime the world has ever seen? What planet are you living on? etc., etc.

It ill behooves those whose sincere liberal intentions were twice deceived—who proved two times running that they understood little of what was going on, and who now retrospectively ask themselves "What went wrong again?"—to pour arrogant scorn on the socialists. They would do better to ask themselves, with a little foresight this time, "What is wrong now?"

If the aim of this cold-war struggle, and of the big shooting war it is leading to, were really to crush Stalinist totalitarianism and ensure the blossoming of democracy, then we Independent Socialists would have no hesitation in getting behind it. But then many other things would be different, including the inevitability of that atomic war itself.

What is wrong is that this capitalist government cannot and will not wage either war or peace except in defense of capitalism and its interest. If you like the capitalist system, that may not trouble you—Russian expansion will be stopped anyway, won't it?

There's the rub: The only way in which this capitalist government can wage its war, cold or hot, is one which facilitates Russian Stalinist expansion on the one hand and offers, on the other, the possibility of stopping Russia only at the cost of destructive atomic warfare and



only with the consequence of the intensification of every trend toward reaction, totalitarianism and a new barbarism. Liberals may then no longer be able to write third-round articles about "What Went Wrong?" and "Why Did We Lose the Peace?" It would be better to understand something about this social system of capitalism, which is going wrong right now, and about its relation to the war which the U. S. is preparing to fight.

### Please, Make a Revolution!

Take, for example, the latest resolution on foreign policy adopted by the ADA (Americans for Democratic Action), the center of America's organized liberals. Take, in fact, its best features.

The ADA sharply criticizes U. S. aid to France; calls for wheat grants to starving India; urges the U. S. to "become the chief proponent of the revolutionary aspirations of the Asian peoples"; supports the Indo-China's independence from France; is "alarmed by the growing power of reaction and militarism in Latin America" and cautions that "any American military aid given to these countries should be dependent upon guarantees of essential political freedoms"; notes that German "economic recovery has been accompanied by the resurgence of the power of the industrialists who aided Hitler"; complains that, outside of Britain and Scandinavia ("where government is in the hands of strongly progressive groups") a result of the Marshall Plan has been that "a disproportionate share of the benefits has accrued to the already rich or well-to-do."

A long list—is it not?—for a group which supports U. S. foreign policy as a whole... But not long enough, even in ADA terms. The White Paper breaking with Chiang Kai-shek is now a piece of paper, and Chiang now is rehabilitated on the U. S. dole on an equal status with Marshall Plan countries. In Korea the U. S. supports the assassin regime of Syngman Rhee. In the Philippines the infamous Quirino is the U. S. stooge...

In every hot spot of the world, there never has been a time when U. S. policy has been so overt in support of every reactionary force it can muster, so long as that force is anti-Russian.

Read the ADA resolution, and a startling omission appears. Nowhere in the long document can one discover that these reactionary policies are being carried on—not by the Republicans, not by the Dixiecrats, not by MacArthur, none of whom happens to be in the White House—but by Truman and his Fair Deal colleagues!

Are these things merely regrettable mistakes and deplorable errors in an otherwise progressive foreign policy? The list of "mistakes" and "errors" cover the whole globe and every continent!

Nowhere is it asked "Why?" Why are Truman-Acheson deliberately propping up the leading fascist in the world, in the very face of anti-Franco revolts among his people? Why did Franco get his grain in a twinkling, while India has so long been left to starve in the face of famine? Why has the U. S. occupation countenanced the return to power of Krupp and the cartels in Adenauer's Germany? Why does the U. S. support a Rhee, under whose regime Robert Taft would be considered a dangerous subversive? Why? Why? Why?

It would be easy to reply that Truman and his fellow policy-makers simply dote on fascists and reactionaries—but that would not only be false, it would miss the main point. The fact is that a creature-like Syngman Rhee, with his semi-feudal landlord clique, for example, is a pre-capitalist fossil repugnant even to a self-respecting capitalist reactionary. Acheson no doubt shuddered the last time Rhee ordered the murder of a political opponent. But—

He had no choice. The only other social force in Korea, besides the landlord clique, is the nameless lowly mass of the peasantry who, for generations, have been straining from below to rise up and throw off their semi-feudal exploiters in mass revolt. In a country like Korea, the only alternative to Rhee is: going to the people, supporting their rebellion in mass revolution from below against "law and order" and "established authorities."

That does not stop more than one good liberal from advocating that the U. S. do what is necessary—that is, "foster the Asian revolution." That is, become the vanguard of the world revolution. But it does stop the capitalist government of the U. S. Washington is interested in preserving the status quo in the capitalist world, not in fostering revolution... How naive is a liberal permitted to be?

There is no effective middle ground in Korea between the anti-capitalist, anti-landlord revolutionary strivings of the people at the bottom, and the corrupt Rhee dictatorship on top. Between these two, the U. S. chooses reaction—holding its nose.

But that precisely is the type of choice all over Asia, and all over the world! If the "industrialists who aided Hitler" are coming back in Germany, under the Adenauer regime whose victory in the last

German election was hailed by U. S. capital, it is because these are the people whose comeback is necessary if German capitalism is to be propped up. (As Henry Wallace once naively put it, the difficulty with the program of "progressive capitalism" is... the lack of progressive capitalists.)

Test case: In Germany the U. S. occupation policy was faced with the choice of sacrificing German capitalism to the "war for democracy," or sacrificing democracy to the need of organizing Western capitalism against its Russian imperialist rival. The U. S. chose the latter because the interests of capitalism are its first and only basic concern. Hence the character and consequences of this cold war and of the war to come.

In sharper or more muffled form, this same type of choice is behind every U. S. "mistake" in plumping for the deepest-dyed reactionary scoundrels everywhere on the earth. There is less and less middle ground between these, and the anti-capitalist, revolutionary and socialist aspirations of the peoples all over the world, in a world where U. S. capitalism remains the only one in which the old system has still a bit of fat around its belt, still at any rate a going concern. The increasingly open reactionary character of U. S. foreign policy has developed with the decay of world capitalism itself.

The revolutionary strivings of the peoples are left wide open to the demagoguery of the Stalinists, who are able to ride the anti-capitalist wave because they have no stake in capitalism themselves, being representatives of a rival exploitive system.

The U. S. cannot carry out a democratic foreign policy as long as capitalism holds sway at home.

This is the first sense in which capitalist America's war is necessarily a capitalist war.

### It's Built Into Capitalism

To "contain" Stalinism, to prepare the war against Russia, the U. S. has to organize the West. It knows only one way to do that.

The capitalist governments of Europe are split among themselves. While all stand in fear and hatred before the upstart imperialism of Stalinist Russia, they are not too much more enthusiastic about ceding an inch of power and influence within the capitalist world than they are to lose all before Russian bureaucratic collectivist imperialism. They fight Stalinism not because it destroys democracy in the world but because it destroys their power along with their capitalist system. Their class interests are at stake within the tug-of-war of the Western bloc as well as in the tug-of-war over the globe.

The loose cooperating alliance through which groups of capitalist countries fought the previous world wars—ceding a little here, snatching a little there at the first opportunity—will no longer do. For one thing, the fate of their social world is at stake, not merely advantage in imperialist rivalry. For another, the capitalism of the U. S. has developed in overpowering strength as their own has declined. The capitalism of the U. S. bestrides them as a colossus.

Such is the state of the old profit system that no one in Europe—not even the capitalist class—believes that even victory in war against Russia can mean much besides more destruction and decay for themselves. The U. S. can win the war—or Russia can win the war—but whoever wins, Europe loses.

These are the allies that the U. S. seeks to organize under its banner. It can marshal them into a fighting force only by imposing its own domination and control over them.

It is said that the U. S. "does not seek world domination." This is as meaningful a claim as the companion-piece that the U. S. "wants peace, and not war." Of course, the U. S. does not want war. Neither does Stalin. (Neither did Hitler.) They merely want that which can be gained, in the teeth of rivals, only with eventual war. The U. S. does not "want" to control the world, if by that is meant some megalomaniac desire for power for its own sake. It merely is driven to seek effective domination over the world if it is to gain that which it does want.

It is perfectly true, in this sense, that the U. S. has accepted its "world responsibilities" reluctantly and in spite of national traditions against foreign entanglements and commitments. A good part of the "great debate" on foreign policy represents the continuing struggle between that tradition and the increasingly clear necessities of capitalist "internationalism." A good part of the internal inconsistency of the Republicans and the grossly hypocritical and double-tongued character of their foreign policy is due not merely to power-politics maneuvering but also to the fact that not all of them have entirely made the adjustment to American capitalism's new world role and tasks.

No, American capitalism does not "want" world domination. It merely wants the fruits of world power. For decades it has been able to assert its preponderance in the world through the power of its economic wealth and industrial power, without direct political domination. It has been able to capture and control one market after another, one source of raw materials after another, on the basis of its economic weapons.

And its economic weapons are still its most powerful today, when it has to organize the capitalist world against its Russian imperialist rival. The Marshall Plan, with its retinues of supervising controllers, checkers and overseers in the countries which are the beneficiaries of its charity, becomes an instrument to guide and twist the economies of the West in the direction that will fit in with the needs of the grand war alliance.

With lordly objectivity—when it's a question of the other fellow's shoe pinching—the U. S. overseers complain about the narrow nationalism displayed by their fellow capitalists abroad, who do not relish having their economies geared to war according to blueprints which are engineered to benefit U. S. capital and not their own.

It isn't a cold-blooded plot, of course. It's merely something like this: an ECA administrator in Rome can see with complete clarity how absurd it is, from the common standpoint, for Italian capitalism to insist on building its own steel industry; and he can put the kibosh on it; and if, in turn, embarrassing questions are raised about the "narrow nationalism" of U. S. tariff policy, for example... he can do nothing but write deploring letters to Washington...

From the point of view of American capitalism, the Russian threat to world peace and democracy is no unmixed calamity. Without it, U. S. power could scarcely have extended to its present sway as the undisputed arbiter of the Western world. Without it, the capitalisms of Europe—weakened though they are—would scarcely

have been brought to submit in so short a period to the tender mercies of overseership by Washington.

For Europe, the cold war has meant: an unconscionable drain for armaments on their weakened economic structures; the distortion of their economies away from rebuilding the standard of living of their peoples and toward war outlays; the squeezing of their industrial structures by American monopolization of raw-material sources (as Aneurin Bevan pointed out in his speech in Parliament); the prospect of a war which can only drive them further toward complete bankruptcy.

But for America, sitting on top of the capitalist world, the cold war has meant: prosperity, and the highest profit ranges in history.

In the heyday of the British Empire, it was estimated that every Englishman had five colonial slaves working for him. That is, the poverty and misery of the people in the exploited colonies were the basis for the Englishman's higher standard of living.

Today, if the American people enjoy the highest standard of living in the world, it is not because of the magic beneficence of "free enterprise." The reason is, if anything, precisely the contrary! When the Voice of America naively points to the television sets, refrigerators and automobiles which prove the happy lot of the American people, as a selling point for capitalism, it can be understood if Europeans fail to grow enthusiastic at this propaganda.

They, in the birthplaces of world capitalism, do not have television sets and refrigerators; capitalism and its wars have left their countries in shambles; and if America is rich, they have a right to suspect that it is because they are poor...

Yes, the Russian threat is no unmixed calamity to American capitalism. One has only to ask oneself, as so many economists have done in fact: What would happen to U. S. economy if "peace broke out," that is, if the U. S. had to return to a peace economy?...

What is it that has held back the outbreak of another devastating depression and economic crisis such as raged in the '30s, until industry started gearing for World War II? What has happened to the galloping disease of capitalism which seems to recur spells of unemployment and breakdown in the midst of abundance—in fact, because of an abundance of goods which cannot be purchased by the mass of people?

If the great productive machinery of the U. S. now in operation were to be used to produce the necessities and luxuries of life for the consumption of the people, the expected post-war depression would already be upon us. For as long as the extraction of capitalist profit stands before the people's ability to buy back (with their wages) the goods which they themselves create, so long does the capitalist system periodically break down, choking in its own fat, as "over-production" comes into conflict with the restricted purchasing power of the masses.

### No, It's Not a 'Plot'...

But—happy times that we live in!—an economy decisively geared to the production of cannon, bombing planes, and the instruments of war destruction in general, does not have to depend on the inadequacies of mass purchasing power. Its market is the government. As the cost of war and war preparation rises, the government squeezes its funds from the standard of living of the people, instead of catastrophic economic breakdowns, we are due to see a steady downward pressure on the workers' living conditions—while the capitalists draw their war profits unperturbed by possible stock crashes...

Is this a diabolical plot to substitute war for depression? Of course not! This is simply the capitalist system in operation, following out its own trends behind the backs (and consciousness) even of its own "leaders."

If, to keep this war economy going at full blast, the U. S. must distort and strangle the economies of its capitalist colleagues abroad, is this the result of an evil conspiracy by Wall Street magnates to achieve world empire? Of course not! This is merely international capitalist competition at work, the fruit of the blessed private-enterprise system...

If, in order for itself to remain healthy, U. S. capitalism must muscle in on and squeeze out the older capitalisms of Europe in control of markets and raw materials all over the globe, is this the heinous intent of rapacious imperialists developing a deep-dyed plan in a smoke-filled room? Of course not! This is merely the imperialism which is the very warp and woof of modern capitalism...

And Stalinist Russia appears before the capitalist world, not merely as a challenger for the lion's share in an inter-capitalist division of world markets and wealth, not as an imperialist rival whose victory would mean a mere restriction of the loser's imperialist opportunities, but as an imperialist rival challenging the whole capitalist form of exploitation, in favor of its own form of exploitation and oppression.

Where it wins, capitalism is destroyed, and another section of the world is removed from any capitalist's range of operation. As the Stalinist system spreads, as it has already spread over a third of the planet, capitalism is more and more forced back upon its home market alone, in a tightening squeeze. If "socialism in one country" is impossible, "capitalism in one country" is even less possible.

From the point of view of a capitalist government, the struggle to "contain" Stalinism is the struggle to keep the world open for its type of exploitation, without which it would strangle behind its own national boundaries.

This is why, for the U. S., "everything goes" as long as it stops Russia—even if it also means the bureaucratic militarization and totalitarianization of capitalism itself.

On the one hand, the capitalist basis of U. S. foreign policy makes a democratic foreign policy IMPOSSIBLE.

On the other hand, the capitalist basis of U. S. foreign policy makes a democratic foreign policy DISPENSABLE as far as the real aims of the struggle are concerned.

The only kind of government which can realize a truly democratic foreign policy is one which is ready to subordinate the interests of capitalism and imperialism to the necessary steps for defending the nation and the working people from the threat of Stalinist aggression and totalitarianism.

Only a government of labor could do this—a labor government which does not act like the AFL and CIO leaders today, who parrot the war slogans of the capitalist powers—that is, but one which boldly accepts its task of remaking society as the "architects of the future." Such a course, rejecting the downward paths of both capitalism and Stalinism, would be the path to a socialist democracy, a Socialist America, in a world of peace and plenty.

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LABOR Fair Deal's Parrot or 'Architect of the Future'?

Don't Echo Truman - Speak Up on War!

By BEN HALL

The failure of the American labor movement to develop a bold and independent foreign policy of its own has been costly. Its cost is to be seen in the bulging mail sacks that heaped support for Taft, Hoover and their colleagues during the discussion on military policy for Europe.

Ironically, the Republicans who profit from increasing discontent are dangerous hypocrites who would push us more abruptly into atomic war and who would leave the United States to carry on world war against Russia more isolated than ever before from friends and allies. But—

All over the United States, people seek a new road in foreign affairs. They want some way to defend democracy, to beat back Stalinism and at the same time avoid terrible and unnecessary shedding of blood and destruction of civilization.

The labor movement has nothing to offer. It has no foreign policy of its own. It simply repeats in duller words and flatter intonation the apologies of Truman.

Every once in a rare while, a union leader will startle himself by carefully phrasing a feeble complaint against some aspect of Truman's foreign policy.

It is politely suggested that perhaps the State Department should cease bolstering dictator Franco against the Spanish labor movement.

Leaving America Leaderless

All this represents the first weak glimmerings of understanding of the true role of a capitalist United States in world affairs. But union leaders get no further. They continue to trust and hope that a gentlemanly word uttered in the right bureau will give a more liberal and democratic tinge to American foreign policy.

Year after year, they make the same respectful protests and always with no results. But they learn very little from their disappointing experiences.

The labor movement does not fight aggressively for its own foreign policies. And this is the tragedy that leaves the American people leaderless in the greatest crisis of their international history.

Most humiliating was the abject obsequiousness of the powerful labor movement toward every nod from Truman during the Korean crisis.

Send troops to Korea, ordered Truman when the fighting first began. Thus he pushed the nation into war without even consulting Congress.



Some months pass. The Chinese Stalinists have intervened and the U. S. faces an unprecedented crisis. The American people are plunged into debate: Shall we keep fighting a useless war?

But the unions have nothing to say, no doubting, no thinking, no searching for a new policy. Union says Keep the troops in Korea.

Other months intervene. The war drags on futilely without prospect of conclusion. The same irresponsible petty political hacks, particularly the Republicans, who a few days before were demanding the withdrawal of all U. S. troops from Korea and the end of the war are now insisting upon extending the war to all China and demanding the mobilization of new thousands of troops for war in Asia.

Again, nothing is heard from labor, until . . . Truman says: No extension of the war in Asia, no more masses of additional troops. The labor leaders now realize: Yes, it is the duty of every patriot to be against the extension of war in Asia and to resist the pouring in of additional thousands of troops.

The President Hath Spoken . . .

To send troops, to keep them in Korea, not to send any more—labor rallies to each slogan in turn, not on the basis of its own class interests, not on the basis of a sober estimate of international realities.

CIO. President Philip Murray congratulated Truman for the removal of MacArthur. But until Truman acted, no CIO official presumed to criticize the mighty general. Quite the contrary.

When MacArthur led his troops across the 38th parallel and to the Manchurian border for the first time, a storm of protest broke out all over the world.

Not for a moment. Truman, at that time, confirmed MacArthur's actions. Said the president: The general is merely carrying out loyalty, and in the strictest legality the decisions of the United Nations.

But now Truman has spoken and the CIO quickly discovers what became so obvious only after the fact: "Americans rightly have an instinctive resistance to any effort by the military to gain control of the policy-making powers of government."

Truman has cut down labor's old hero and now sets up a new one. All in the day's work, the CIO begins to worship the new idol.

"The president turned MacArthur's command over to Gen. Matthew W. Ridgway, a first-class fighting

man. After our crushing defeat in Korea last year, it was Gen. Ridgway who regrouped our forces and fought his way back to the 38th parallel."

Fortunate is the great genius whose prowess was overlooked at the time but who now takes his rightful place. But what is this great man doing at the 38th parallel? What can democracy gain from this unending war? These questions are not raised by the labor movement . . . they are too important for union leaders to tackle.

And thus the labor movement abandons the leadership of the American people and surrenders the conduct of foreign affairs to the capitalist class.

The labor movement does fight inside the nation in the interests of the American people. It battles for price control. It strikes for higher living standards. It resists discrimination. It fights for pensions, for insurance. Its frequent militancy at home makes a sharp contrast with its submissiveness on foreign policy.

But even after fighting aggressively for its own policies at home, the labor movement cuts short its struggle and elects the political representatives of its class enemy. It persists in supporting capitalist politicians who enact a program hostile to labor and counter to its expressed program.

Demand Real Freedom!

U. S. labor does not fight consistently even for itself. A labor movement which does not carry out its duty to itself can hardly be expected to fulfill its responsibilities to the peoples of the world.

American labor will take the first step in defense of democracy throughout the world when it begins to fight at home aggressively and without compromise in its own interests; that is, when it forms its own independent labor party.

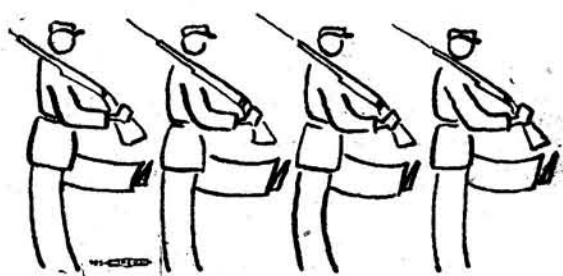
But the converse is likewise true. American labor will not begin an all-out fight in its own behalf until it begins a real fight on behalf of the people of the world. It already understands that world labor must be defended from reactionary Stalinism.

Labor will be asked to sacrifice to prepare for a Third World War. It will be pressed to work long and tedious hours; it will be compelled to pay higher and higher taxes. It will be asked to pour out not only its labor and money but its blood. What will be its reply?

If the American working class is to defend itself, its bitterly won standards of living and its cherished union rights, it will have to begin to understand the nature of modern war preparations in capitalist America. Let it insist upon a democratic course in foreign affairs!

Let it demand real freedom and democracy for all people. Let it fight hard against supporting dictators and totalitarians. And it will discover that the very capitalist politicians that undercut the demands of labor at home slash away at democracy throughout the world.

I will discover that just as labor must take over leadership of the country in the struggle for a real Fair Deal at home it must take over leadership of the nation's foreign policy and lead the struggle for democracy on a world scale.



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YOUTH Conscription and the Drive Against Academic Freedom—

Youth Can Show the Way to Fight War

By MAX MARTIN

Youth has always been the age for freedom and strength, for growth and creativity, for dreaming and doing. It is a time for flexing one's muscles and holding up one's head, for walking in the sunshine and for looking at the stars, for expansion and soaring. It has always been this way in literature and in art, in dream and in myth—and justly so.

But it has not always been so in reality, and it is less so today than ever.

Young people have never demanded too much—just what is really due them, them and all mankind: The right and the means to live in peace and without fear. The ability to go to school and to learn, to search among the stores of knowledge and wisdom, and to add to those stores. The chance to do useful and productive labor and to enjoy its fruits. They want to live in good houses and to eat well and to wear nice clothes. They desire adequate time for leisure and recreation and access to the cultural treasures of mankind. They want love and security.

They want those material things, and the institutional framework and the free atmosphere under which, and only under which, the dreamed of potentialities of youth can be realized, when the full and free flowering of each human personality can take place.

May Day 1951 finds the world in a state about which there is little to celebrate, little to rejoice. The continued decline of world capitalism and with it the decline of world cultural spiral ever downward, dragging mankind to the edge of barbarism—with youth as the first sacrifice. The specter of the third imperialist world slaughter hovers over the peoples of the world, threatening the atomization of whole countries and their populations. The only force which can prevent the coming holocaust by putting an end to the two reactionary social systems which breed it—the masses everywhere led by the international working class and the colonial peoples—are divided among the two war camps, the camps of Stalinist barbarism and capitalist imperialism.

War always takes its toll first from the youth. They are the ones who are taken out of the factory and out of school and put into the barracks. Their lives are disrupted; they are taken away from family and friends and their ordinary pursuits and activities are ended. They are called upon to learn to kill and to be killed, to give up their lives on the battlefields, to become another statistic in a casualty list.

Class and race discrimination, bred into the very fabric of American capitalist society, generally operate in this sphere too, where the results can be so much more tragic.

THE DRAFT'S BIAS

Under the announced plans on deferments and exemptions for students, going to college can be the key to survival. And in our society the sons of workers by and large are unable to go to college. Being deprived of an education because of lack of money is one of the reactionary consequences of capitalism. When this becomes a possible factor of life or death during wartime, it points up even more glaringly the reactionary nature of an undemocratic class system. The Negro youth has to serve in a Jim Crow army in which he will be given the most menial and unpleasant tasks to perform.

The imperialist world war looms, but it is not yet here. Instead, this is the period of the "cold war" and the so-called "police action" or "limited war" in Korea. This is the time when both camps prepare for the struggle. It involves building armies and armaments, the piling up of the means of destruction. Greater and greater proportions of the national budget and of production go into the preparations for the war. The draft is instituted and Universal Military Training is being planned.

In addition to the mobilization of resources and the productive forces of the nation, it is necessary to mobilize the minds of the people and of the youth. The area of democracy, of civil liberties and of academic freedom shrinks with each passing day.



The witchhunting drive sets for itself the task of muzzling all criticism of the war and of the way it is being conducted, and of gagging all opposition to capitalism and its evils. This requires the elimination of all political life in particular and the sterilization of all intellectual life in general.

MILITARIZATION

Examples galore of this tendency can be cited. There was the recent struggle by the faculty of the University of California against the imposition of a loyalty oath on it by the Board of Regents; there were the recent events at Brooklyn College.

The totalitarian drive at the latter school began with the outlawing of the Stalinist Labor Youth League, went through a phase in which the Gideonse administration banned the student newspaper (which had been critical of the regime) and replaced it by another one which does not represent the students but acts as a house organ for the college regime. Latest developments include the assumption of authority by the administration to ban any student group which is "subversive of the nation or the college" for any "reason which it sees fit."

Under this recently adopted ruling the school is considering the banning of the Young Pro-

gressives of America (CP front group) and of an independent but somewhat pro-Stalinist peace club. The administration is also considering the banning of all political clubs on campus regardless of the nature of their politics, and several intermediary steps in that direction.

In step with the foregoing is the increasing militarization of the campus as well as of national life generally.

ROTC is instituted on campus after campus, including those which heretofore had resisted such a development. Prominent military men are increasingly taking administrative positions with colleges, including the position of president.

But more than this is the total mobilization of college life for the military which is in the offing. The college will more and more become the training and recruiting ground of the technicians and other specialized personnel needed by the military establishment. Other aspects of academic life will be strictly subordinated to this.

It would be gratifying if it could be reported that the mass of students have been reacting to these events with struggle against them. Such unfortunately is not the case. The pressures of the war drive have had their effects on students.

One of the main results is demoralization, which in turn produces feelings of hopelessness and

passivity. The students do not see much use in continuing to pay attention to their studies nor in attempting to fight back. Furthermore, the reactionary slogans which are thrown at the student from all sides, from the daily press and in the classrooms, has its effects. Many students tend to feel that it is well-nigh impossible to resist the anti-democratic temper of the times.

The struggle for democracy on the campus cannot be divorced from other political struggles these days. This is one of the conditions which hamper the traditional attitudes of the liberal students and student organizations toward civil liberties and the fight to maintain and extend them. To defend the capitalist camp in the war, and to oppose the inevitable restrictions on democracy which flow from the war, presents extreme difficulties for these tendencies. Nevertheless, these groups, despite the contradictions that are involved for them, do try to put up some sort of fight. It is necessary to foster such elements and to work with them.

STUDENTS ORGANIZE

However, there are more direct roads to pit one's strength against the looming war and the two social systems which are bringing it upon the world. This, of course, is involved in the concept of the "Third Camp," which is discussed more thoroughly in other articles in this issue. Across the nation youth and student groups have been organized which are specifically pledged to the construction of such a worldwide force. For the youth of the nation there are areas in which to work, struggles in which to take part. There are still opportunities for the youth to "flex their muscles," and to do so in a socially meaningful way.

A fine example of such an organization is the New York Student Federation Against War, which incidentally is two years old this May Day. Composed of nine New York socialist clubs, the Federation has devoted most of its energies, in the past year, to the publication and distribution of Politics Club Student Partisan, an anti-war quarterly which has, to the surprise of many, received a fine reception on many campuses all over the country. Anvil, which last year was merged with the publication of the University of Chicago Politics Club Student Partisan, has continued to gain larger and larger audiences during the year.

Other centers of Third Camp organization revolve around various SYL (Socialist Youth League) chapters across the country. Particularly active are the organizations at the Universities of California and Chicago and in New York. Maintained by an energetic membership, these groups have sustained a year-round program which keeps socialist ideas in front of the student body.



Aside from circulating Anvil and LABOR ACTION, the SYL groups often publish small bi-weekly pamphlets of their own with commentary on the local and international scene. Socialist ideas have a dynamic of their own which it is becoming difficult to overlook, and for the first time since the 1930s anti-war sentiment is being channeled and voiced in an organized and coherent fashion, on the American campus.

SYL'S ROAD

The vacuum of political activity on the American campus and among youth in general may well be filled in the near future. The Third Camp movement has broad grounds in which to develop. Stalinist front organizations have been discredited well-nigh beyond recall; all but a few students have seen the hypocrisy and sinister quality of groups such as the Young Progressives and the Labor Youth League.

But the slogan of "Peace" still finds many ears. And, for this reason, organizations such as the Students for Democratic Action, the student branch of Americans for Democratic Action, have scarcely grown in the recent period. For the SDA, while inclined to be more radical than its parent, the ADA, proposes no real solution to the present crisis. It criticizes some of the more blatant aspects of American war policy, but overlooks the nature of the forces behind that policy which make any serious alteration in it out of the question.

The SYL poses a route which, though not the easiest one to follow in the present tensions and pressures, can lead to the destruction of Stalinism and the building of a better world, without the necessity of a reactionary war. The SYL insists that the heritage of the struggle of the oppressed need not be abandoned in order to fight Stalinism. Instead, it calls for a resurgence of that heritage as the only effective and democratic means of combating Stalinism.

For large numbers of students this program has a powerful appeal. Again and again SYL organizers and speakers have discovered huge untapped human resources for the struggle. Students sit up and listen; they ask questions; they want to know more. And for those of us for whom the heritage of the struggle of freedom is meaningful, it is our job to tell them more.

Get Acquainted!

SOCIALIST YOUTH LEAGUE 114 W. 14th St. New York 11, N. Y.

I want more information about the Socialist Youth League. I want to join the Socialist Youth League.

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# Shall It Be War or Peace? — —

(Continued from page 1)

conquer! The American government bolsters and supports the old capitalist cliques which no longer have the strength to stand on their own feet.

Is it any wonder, then, that American policy can nowhere create a social force worth mentioning, and therefore has to rely on the force of arms?

Is it any wonder that Russia, poorer and weaker economically and industrially than the United States, can march ahead, relying on the social force which it rides and perverts and will eventually crush under its totalitarian system, to make up for its economic weakness in the contest for the world?

What does the war in Korea teach us about the nature of the struggle for the world which is going on, and about the results which are to be expected from the policies of the American ruling class?

Here was a country which has not known political independence since ancient times. The United States defeated its latest oppressor (Japan) in war, and then divided the country with Russia as part of a world-wide political deal.

True, the United States wanted nothing in Korea... except strategic position and prestige in the cold war which broke out soon after the Nazis and Japanese imperialists had been defeated. It also wanted "stability," which meant actually keeping a reactionary, brutal, capitalist-landlord clique in power, headed by President Rhee.

In the North the Stalinists established their puppet regime also. Behind the political "leaders" imported from their training schools in Peiping and Moscow stood the power of Stalinist China and the master in the Kremlin.



Ground between these two political and military forces, the Korean people didn't have a chance. Political democracy, national independence, a right to decide their own social and economic institutions—all these were denied to them.

At one point in the jockeying of the cold war, the American military and political leaders had proclaimed that Korea was outside the American sphere in Asia. Stalin decided on a gamble, and the North Korean army invaded across the 38th parallel.

Despite the fact that South Korea contained 20 million people to North Korea's 8 million, the invasion was stopped not by Rhee's armies but only by the sheer weight of American firepower. The South Korean army was poorly equipped, it is true, but it disintegrated almost without a fight. Guerrilla forces appeared in its rear... and such forces cannot exist without support in the countryside. Whole detachments went over to the Stalinists. The nation did not leap to defend itself and its government against the Stalinist attack. It was apathetic... or even hostile to Rhee.

Since then, the war has raged back and forth over the lands, homes and bodies of the Korean people. The Chinese Stalinists came in at the moment when victory seemed assured to the United States forces. Today, no such victory is possible in a military sense, and in any event, who wins can matter little to the surviving Koreans. Their land is shattered. Decades of backbreaking work, a life always on the border of starvation... that is the future of the Korean people, whoever wins.

Yet the American soldiers fight on and die... for what? For democracy and freedom for the Koreans? That is a ghastly joke. To stem Stalinism in Asia? A decade of struggling up and down the peninsula would not do it. To prove to other Asiatic and European peoples that if they will stand up to Stalinism the United States will back them up? One look at Seoul, at a hundred Korean towns and villages bombed and napalmed out of existence, and the peoples of Asia might even decide that quiet submission to Stalinism would be the lesser evil—TO THIS.

## In the Name of 'Democracy'

No one in the American government can make a practicable proposal to end the war. No one has! Stalin has a good thing, and he is not likely to let go even if the Chinese Stalinists should want to. At least not till he achieves his political objectives: admission of Stalinist China to the United Nations, a say in the Japanese peace treaty, etc. Yet whether or not the United States proposes to yield these concessions, to continue the war in Korea can only continue the killing and the destruction, it can produce nothing positive whatever.

An even better example of the nature of this struggle exists in Indo-China and Malaya. It is a better example because here the peoples of these countries have not been overwhelmed by foreign armies on both sides: they are doing their own fighting.

In Indo-China the French are fighting to retain their imperialist power in this rich country. The United States supports France with arms as part of the world struggle to "contain" Stalinism. Independent Socialists not only want Stalinism "contained," they want it destroyed. But what can possibly be accomplished by supporting the French in Indo-China?

The Vietminh forces get aid and support from Stalinist China. That is true. Yet they are a political movement which appeals to the desire of the people to be rid of foreign rule.

As long as the French insist on ruling, no genuine popular movement can be built in Indo-China to resist Stalinism. Every democrat who allies himself with the French becomes a supporter of foreign imperialism over his own people—and thus automatically ceases to be a democrat and a patriot. No popular, democratic, anti-Stalinist movement can be built there unless it is also against the French and their puppet Bao Dai. But any such movement will be crushed by American guns, planes and tanks operated by Frenchmen and foreign legionnaires... in the name of "democracy."

In Malaya, a powerful Stalinist movement exists, apparently chiefly among the vast Chinese population. It is against the great plantation owners and British rule. The Stalinist guerrillas find such strong support among the common people that the British government has embarked on a vast project of "resettling" the whole Chinese population in new concentration areas. Will they now bring "democracy" to the concentrated population?

## They're Uneasy, But —

It is under these circumstances that the actual military struggle to "contain" Stalinism takes place. In Europe and the rest of Asia, in Africa and Latin America the struggle goes on by "peaceful" means—to the accompaniment of production converted from the necessities of life to the instruments of death.

Tens and hundreds of millions of people understand that Stalinism is a form of oppression, and they do not harken to its false blandishments. But everywhere they feel that no alternative worth fighting for and dying for is offered them. Reluctantly, grudgingly, they yield to the pressure, the threats and promises, the enormous economic weight of the United States.

They arm, but they have little heart for the fight. To them the prospect is not of a victory over a foe which threatens their progress toward a better world. For the government which arms them is openly and avowedly determined to keep the world socially and economically capitalist even if civilization is destroyed in the attempt.

In the United States the more conscious workers, labor leaders, the liberals and "men of good will" are uneasy about the foreign policy of the government. They see that it has failed to gain the support of the common people of the world, and that even those governments in the American camp who are most sensitive to the popular will, like those in Britain and India, resist the full implications of the "Truman doctrine." They rally to Truman against the open preventive-war advocates like MacArthur (that is what his policy boils down to, even if it is "only" a preventive war against China to start with). But they have no real policy of their own to offer.

Some of them want peace so badly that they bury their heads in the sands and cry out for "honest negotiations" with Stalin. Where these demands are not directly influenced by Stalinist and Stalinoid propaganda, they are simply an expression of wishful thinking, which may be a charming trait of childhood but is unbecoming to adults.

Others urge the government to put more money in the Voice of America, to make Point 4 aid a really major effort, and to give encouragement, aid and support to popular anti-Stalinist movements on both sides of the Iron Curtain. They are plunged into despair every time the government pulls a "boner" like its aid to Franco, and criticize it for doing so. They deplore the American support to reactionary governments, and are constantly in search for some good, solid liberal democrat or even socialist to whom the government should give its support.

## The Third Camp

These people have a glimmering of what is wrong, but it is hardly ever more than a glimmering. For the basic fact which they fail to see is that this government, this kind of government, is incapable of acting differently than it does, at least to any degree which could have real significance. They fail to recognize that what is wrong is not a "mistake" or a series of mistakes in policy. What is wrong is the central fact that this government wants to "contain" and defeat Stalinism not in the interest of democracy and freedom for the peoples of the world, but in the interest of maintaining capitalism in the world, a capitalism of which the United States is today the chief remaining beneficiary.

Stalinism will remain reactionary, totalitarian, and aggressive as long as it is in power and as long as it has the power to make an anti-capitalist appeal to the peoples. The American government will continue to support capitalism as long as it is a capitalist government, and will therefore continue to try to contain Stalinism by military force as its chief and only effective weapon. This means that unless a third force is brought into play, World War III is on the way.

This third force is precisely the desire of the masses of Asia, of Europe and the rest of the world to be rid of capitalism, and of the masses in the Stalinist countries to be rid of Stalinism. It expresses itself in a thousand ways. But it is almost nowhere consciously organized into a powerful, cohesive political movement. Up till now the sheer economic and military power of the two great camps headed by Washington and Moscow have been able in large measure to attract the elements of this Third Camp to themselves. Millions gravitate to Stalinism because they feel that the only alternative is a capitalist world dominated by America. Other millions gravitate to the camp of Washington because they fear the aggressive military power of the hated totalitarianism of Russia.

But along this path lies World War III, the devastation of the world, and a "victory"—if one is ever achieved by either side in such a struggle—which can put back the

progress of humanity by a century. A way must be found to mobilize this Third Camp in its own name, under its own social and political banner, completely independent of the two war camps.

This is the program of Independent Socialism, of the Independent Socialist League in the United States. This is what we urge on our comrades in the socialist movements large and small all over the world. And above all, this is our task in the United States: to urge, to educate the militants in the trade unions, the students, the liberals in all walks of life, to build an independent political movement here as a first step toward building an organized Third Camp movement throughout the world.

The American people bear a terrible responsibility on its shoulders... and the American labor movement bears it most heavily. We do not live in a totalitarian country, as do the workers of Russia. We can still organize ourselves politically despite increasing restrictions. We still have enough freedom of the press, of speech and of assembly for that, despite the whittling and cramping of democracy which is another part of the war drive. Nothing but a failure to understand what is going on in the world can prevent the American labor movement from breaking its ties with the two old parties, particularly in the field of foreign policy.

The formation of a political movement in the United States which is not committed to preserving capitalism everywhere, in an independent labor party, would go a long way toward encouraging the formation of Third Camp political movements throughout the world.

The Third Camp sentiment does not need to be created... it is already there. It expresses itself in the struggles for national independence of the colonial peoples, in the movements of national resistance to Stalinism, in the reluctance and even open hostility of masses of socialist workers in Europe to the militarization of their countries under United States pressure.

## It's Up to Us!

To the millions of peoples in these movements "public opinion" in the United States seems as united as the regimented "public opinion" in Russia. The policies of the government are publicly attacked only by the most rabid warmongers, and by almost no one else. The mere knowledge that in the United States there is a powerful political movement which has as its objective not the support of capitalism throughout the world, but of democracy and freedom—such knowledge would hearten the peoples in their effort to organize the Third Camp.

The Independent Socialists do not "demand" that such a party in America proclaim itself for socialism. That, we are confident, will come at a later stage in political development. What is required is that an independent labor party proclaim itself the uncompromising champion of national independence and democracy everywhere, and that it pledge itself to use the vast wealth of this country to aid and bolster the peoples in their struggle for democracy.

But even if such a party came into existence here, and even if the Third Camp forces throughout the world became better organized, more conscious and self-reliant, would that actually prevent World War III?

It is the only force which has that possibility! Only such a movement could undermine Stalinism both externally and internally so as to rob the dictators in the



Kremlin of any chance of victory in a war. And such a movement, clearly anti-Stalinist and anti-capitalist at the same time, could exercise a powerful influence on those Americans who have become impatient with the ceaseless maneuvers of the cold war and lend an ear to the madmen who would "end it quickly" by dropping the A-bomb on Moscow.

But what if Stalin or the reactionaries in this country should start the war anyway, in desperation?

The calamity would be great, the destruction terrible. But it would not be the end of the world. With a powerful social-political movement resisting the war aims of both camps, with millions of people all over the world refusing to support a struggle which is not of their making and is fought not for their own interests, the impact, ferocity and duration of the war could be greatly reduced. Instead of millions on both sides of the war determined to die rather than submit to the hated social and economic systems which each seeks to impose on the other, they would be struggling against the warmakers in both.

The Third Camp position of the Independent Socialists is not an "easy" solution, a pat panacea like "negotiations in good faith" or "drop the atom-bomb and end it all." It is a proposal for a world-wide political struggle against those who offer the world only war and destruction. It does not and cannot "guarantee" peace.

But it is the only program which takes into account the real nature, the real aims of both war blocs, and seeks to counter them with a real political force. It is the only program in which the words "democracy" and "freedom" are not cynical covers for the brutal realities of capitalism and Stalinism. The organization of the Third Camp into a conscious, militant, determined political movement, a "force in being" is the hope of the world.

To this the Independent Socialist League dedicates itself.