

# War Costs Soar, Point to Raging Inflation in '51

By Joseph Keller

Most people don't realize it, but we are sitting on an active inflationary volcano that is expected to erupt by next spring. When it explodes, the American standard of living — such as it is — is going to be wrecked.

Present retail prices don't tell the tale, although everyone knows they've gone up plenty since the start of the Korea war. The big explosion will take place when retail stocks bought last spring are exhausted and the new wholesale prices are passed on to the retail buyers.

Some idea of what consumer prices are going to be like can be gleaned from the facts about the increases in military procurement costs revealed by Undersecretary for Air John McCone to the House Armed Services Committee in Washington on Oct. 3.

As of the beginning of September — the survey does not show the latest price hikes — crude rubber had soared 128.9%; fuel oil 54.5%; Philadelphia scrap steel, 52.1%; copper, 23.6%; coffee, 23.3%; lumber 28.7%; tin, 32.9%; lead, 33.3%; and cotton print cloth, 42.9%. In many instances, according to the Department of Defense survey on which McCone's report was based, wool, cotton and food items have more than doubled.

Price increases to the air forces, McCone said, have added \$360 million to the costs of the new aircraft program, equivalent to 750 F-86 jet fighter planes. That's how many less planes can now be bought with the funds appropriated only last month by Congress.

## NO LIMIT ON PROFITS

Congress passed a law last month which included a section that could send a worker to jail for 10 years for violation of a safety rule in a "defense plant." This is called "sabotage." But there is nothing in the laws about penalties for the war profiteers, including all the biggest corporations in the country, who have forced up prices to the point where they are "destroying" (fighter planes) faster than enemy action or sabotage could have done," as the Scripps-Howard press stated.

What is important to keep in mind, however, is that the cost of the gigantic military program is mounting so fast that a sizeable part of the \$18 billion of addi-

tional war funds appropriated by Congress has already been eaten up in price rises. Most of the \$5 billion in added taxes to pay for this appropriation have gone up in inflationary smoke before a single new war contract has been given or an extra tank or plane produced.

## WORST YET TO COME

When the war orders really start to flow in the coming months, competing in a big way for raw materials and labor, the pressure on consumer prices will be terrific. It will mean shortages all down the line, with the manufacturers putting the squeeze on for the highest prices they can get.

Meanwhile, the Truman administration is marking time and doing nothing to halt the unconscionable profiteering and price-gouging of the corporations. Truman's last words on the subject were that, yes, he agreed that prices were going up and wages were not, but he would "not predict" when the administration would take some action.

Actually, any action he might take under the economic controls law passed by Congress could not conceivably halt the impending inflationary explosion, once the government starts going full steam ahead on its arms spending of an extra \$30 billion to \$40 billion a year. The only strong section of the law is the one aimed at freezing wages. Its provisions on price controls are so full of loopholes that it might well aggravate rather than curb the inflation.

The meager average wage raises of between eight and 10 cents an hour which a number of the unions have won in the past couple of months will almost certainly be wiped out within the next six months. And while Philip Murray putters around with CIO steel wage negotiations, any increases the steel workers are likely to get will have been eaten up in advance by price rises.

So far, the only effective protection for real wages yet devised is the sliding scale of wages, the

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# WHY IS DUBOIS SILENT ON AID TO YUGOSLAVIA?

NEW YORK, Oct. 11—Joseph Hansen, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Senator from N. Y., today repeated his challenge to Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, American Labor Party candidate for the same office, to debate sending emergency food supplies to drought-stricken Yugoslavia.

"You have not replied to my challenge," Hansen said in a second letter to DuBois which he made public today. "Is it because the Stalinist hacks in the American Labor Party exploiting your candidacy for their own reactionary ends do not want you to debate the former secretary of Leon Trotsky for fear of the unpleasant truths he might bring out?"

Since Hansen challenged DuBois last week to debate, reports from Belgrade indicate that the danger of famine is even worse than originally feared.

Instead of 1,000,000 tons, the loss of corn is now put at 2,000,000 tons. This is on top of severe damage to the wheat crop. Only 30% of the potato crop can be counted on and huge losses in vegetables are involved in the disaster. The need for substantial aid is obviously urgent.

However, both Moscow and Washington are taking advantage of the plight of the Yugoslav people to try to wring concessions from the Tito regime.

Hansen declared that Yugoslavia has "turned away from capitalism and its destructive wars and set out on the road to socialism which is the only road to peace."

"How many such examples are there in the world today?" he asked DuBois. "As a candidate given to talking against war and its danger, it would seem not only reasonable but your elementary duty to call attention to the peaceful course taken by Yugoslavia and to insist with all your powers on sending aid to these heroic people."

## THERE'S THE RUB

"However, Yugoslavia has maintained her independence against Moscow as well as Washington. There's the rub for the Stalinist

machine that runs the American Labor Party.

"The Stalinists do not hesitate to call Yugoslavia 'fascist.' Presumably, if you were to speak out in behalf of Yugoslavia that would make you a 'fascist' too despite all you have said against the war-mongers in America. Is it because you would find such an epithet on the lips of a Stalinist hack unpleasant that you think it better to maintain your silence on aid to Yugoslavia?"

"Of course, there is also the possibility the Stalinists have you so well surrounded that you did not get my previous letter. Just in case, I am sending you a copy of it in the hope that this one gets through the iron curtain."

"Some people — too many, in fact — take the McCarran-Kilgore police-state law complacently. They say it won't be vigorously enforced and that it will be possible to 'live with' this law. To justify this belief, they even cite the experience, so far, under the Taft-Hartley Act.

"This law will be just like Taft-Hartley," they say. "You fellows shouted about how bad Taft-Hartley would be and how it would cripple and destroy the unions. The unions are still here, aren't they? T-H hasn't hurt us."

This kind of argument reminds us of what the old watchman at a Bucyrus, Ohio, steel mill told Senator Taft recently. "I guess you're a CIO member," Taft said to the worker. "Sure," the old man replied, "been one since 1936." The Senator continued, "The Taft-Hartley law hasn't hurt you so far, has it?" "No," said the old worker, "the Taft-

Hartley law hasn't hurt me and neither has the atom bomb." What that quick-witted worker was pointing out is that if the Taft-Hartley Act hasn't blown up the union movement yet it's not because it can't or won't. The law is here, packed with high explosives and ready to hand for the employers whenever they feel the time is ripe to set it off full blast under organized labor.

READY FOR USE

The same applies to the McCarran-Kilgore law. It's an atom bomb that the reactionaries have ready and can use to annihilate the Bill of Rights whenever they feel the time and conditions most propitious.

Big Business and its political agents put over the Taft-Hartley law because the conservative and cowardly union leaders, in spite of the desires of the workers, refused to put up a real fight to prevent its passage or to repeal it after it was passed. With a few notable exceptions like the leaders of the

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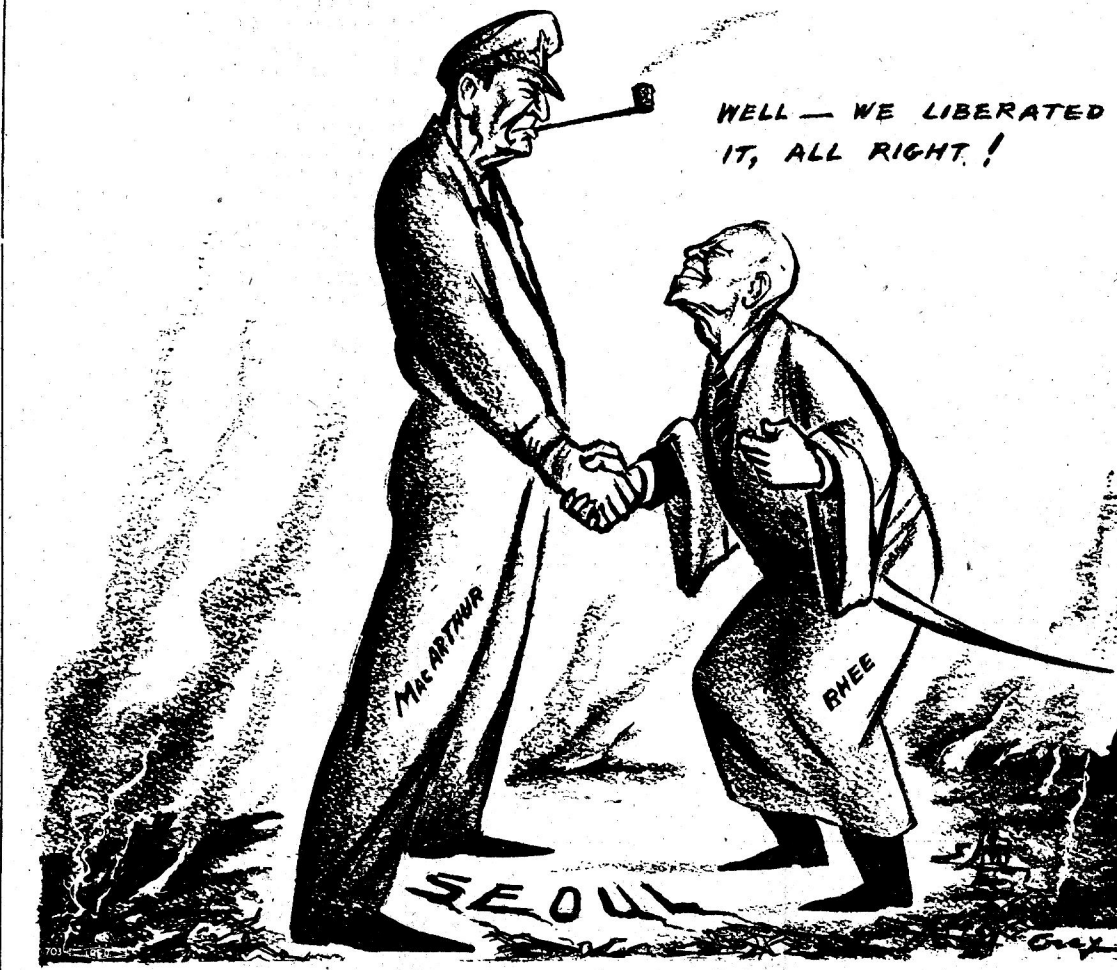
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# THE MILITANT

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Workers of the World, Unite!



# Stalin Leaves North Koreans In the Lurch

## Friction Between Moscow and Pyongyang Revealed by Former Soviet Army Officer

By Joseph Hansen

SWP Candidate for U. S. Senator from New York

When the U.S. armed forces were "pressed into a small beachhead" in South Korea, "relatively little help to the Korean Communists" from either China or Russia "would have meant a Dunkerque for General MacArthur." This view, expressed by the Oct. 8 N. Y. Times, appears to be the consensus of opinion among military experts.

The North Koreans did not get the timely help they needed for success. With unchallenged supremacy in the air and at sea, MacArthur was able to smash the North Korean encirclement and carry his invasion beyond the 38th parallel.

Thus instead of Korea constituting a buffer area between the Asiatic continent and American-dominated Japan, this strategic peninsula is rapidly being converted into a dagger aimed at Eastern Siberia, Manchuria and North China. In the struggle of the Korean people for freedom and independence, the advance of American imperialism is a major disaster.

Since MacArthur's "brilliant" victories stem from absolute domination of Korean skies and waters, the story would un-

questionably have been different if the North Koreans had possessed adequate air and amphibious forces. Why did Moscow fail to provide the North Koreans with these forces, especially air power, long in advance?

Two articles in *The Reporter*, Sept. 26 and Oct. 10, written by Lt. Col. Kyril Kanov, a former Soviet officer who "took advantage of an assignment in Berlin to come over to the West," provide some exceptionally interesting material for a tentative answer.

Kanov's previous assignment was with a special Soviet military mission to "form and train a new North Korean Army in not more than 18 months." That was in December 1948.

The mission proceeded to Manchuria where it inspected North Korean units which had been shaped in the course of the struggle against Chiang Kai-shek. Despite poor and limited equipment, these units were quite impressive.

After the survey, the mission was called together by General Kubanov, who laid down the line on how the North Korean Army should be constructed.

## "SETTLED ELSEWHERE"

In the conference, "General Zakharov voiced the opinion that it would be equally necessary to set up an amphibious force; but Kubanov, firm in his precise instructions, of which we did not yet know the terms, retorted that we must not disperse our efforts and

that the decision of the 'authoritative body' — the Politburo — was clear: We must act swiftly as possible and devote ourselves to creating an army."

The author continues: "Colonel Zurov posed the question of the necessity of creating a strong air force as an essential of any modern war. Kubanov, to close the discussion, told him that the matter had been settled elsewhere."

This indicates that in the Soviet mission itself responsible military leaders recognized the need to construct amphibious and air forces to give the North Koreans a fully modern army.

The Moscow decision on ruling out an air force was made against the opposition of the representatives of North Korea. "Kubanov later told me: 'Because of political considerations, we cannot organize a Korean air force that will correspond in importance to the armor of the future army. The representative of the Central Committee of the Korean Communist Party had tried to obtain a sufficient air force from the authoritative body. But its demands have not been taken into consideration, and Moscow has already foreseen that at Pyongyang they will try to wangle from our mission, by devious means, a sizable air force. But we must not yield to this maneuver.'"

These facts are sufficient to enable us to visualize the shock and indignation of the North

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# Grace Carlson Wins Fight to Get on Ballot

## BULLETIN

MINNEAPOLIS, Oct. 12—Henriette County Auditor Fitzsimmons today announced that Grace Carlson had won the right to appear on the ballot as the SWP candidate for Congress from the 5th District.

MINNEAPOLIS, Oct. 9—Confident supporters of the candidacy of Grace Carlson for Congress, 5th Minnesota District, filed 1,379 signatures in the County Auditor's office Saturday. Only 500 signatures are required on a petition for nomination as a representative in Congress.

Press reports announcing the filing quoted the Socialist Workers Party candidate as saying that if her petition is not accepted, she will seek a writ of mandamus to require Robert Fitzsimmons, the County Auditor, to show cause why the name of Grace Carlson should not appear on the ballot.

On Sept. 28, Fitzsimmons ruled that only 190 of the 690 signatures submitted that day were "registered" voters. As reported in last week's *Militant*, an investigation by an SWP committee revealed that the so-called "check" of signatures had been inadequate.

Despite the difficulties thrown in the way of obtaining a place on the ballot for the Socialist Workers Party, campaign workers are going ahead with plans to publicize the party's election platform. Yesterday, 1,000 copies of a special Minnesota Election Edition of *The Militant* carrying Grace Carlson's picture, biography and program were sold and given away here in a "doorbell distribution." Distributors reported a very friendly response.

# JIM-CROW BRASS HATS CONDEMN NEGRO OFFICER TO DEATH AS 'EXAMPLE'

By Clyde Turner

SWP Candidate for U. S. Senator from Pennsylvania PHILADELPHIA, Oct. 8 — Only the intervention of the aroused American people can forestall the U. S. Army's execution of 1st Lt. Leon A. Gilbert of York, Pa., Negro

officer condemned to death by an Army court martial board in Korea Sept. 6.

The 24th Infantry Regiment combat officer knows this, and has written the facts about his victimization, suppressed by Army censors at the time of the court martial, to his wife urging her to publicize them because he believes "the more the public knows concerning my case, the better it will be."

The charge on which Lt. Gilbert was railroaded was that on July 31 he refused to advance with his command of twelve men, in violation of Article of War 75.

The facts, as reported by the victim himself in a letter to his wife which was published in the Oct. 7 Pittsburgh Courier, are as follows:

## THE FACTS

"1. I was without sleep for six days and nights and was suffering with dysentery. I was shaken up beyond being able to control myself at the time.

"2. I never left my position until I was ordered to report to the colonel by Major Donoho.

"3. The outpost line was tactically useless because the enemy had penetrated between it and our main line of resistance.

"4. The colonel did not know the situation of Company 'A' on the outpost line and never asked me.

"5. I had at no time during this incident withdrawn behind the main line or even on it. All

this happened in front of our main line.

"6. I was not given a second chance to go up, but ordered to the rear. Not wanting to disobey, this order I then went.

"7. It was not my platoon to (Continued on Page 2)

# L. A. Thought-Control Law Ruled Unconstitutional in First Test

LOS ANGELES, Oct. 8 — In its first court test, the recently passed Los Angeles County thought-control, anti-Communist ordinance was declared unconstitutional.

Justice of the Peace Myer B. Marion in Belvedere Township Court yesterday declared that the measure violates the basic guarantees in the 1st and 14th Amendments to the Federal Constitution and abrogates due process of law. He added that its wording is so broad and capable of such different interpretations as not to inform the man of ordinary intelligence of the nature of the prohibited act.

County authorities have already indicated they will appeal the verdict to the Superior Court.

Judge Marion ordered the first victim of the ordinance, Henry Steinberg, legislative director of the Communist Party in the county, released and his bail exonerated.

The verdict declared: "The ordinance is defective because it violates basic constitutional privileges guaranteed to the individual by the 1st and 14th Amendments to the United States Constitution.

"It is first of all a violation of the right of freedom of speech, freedom of press and freedom of assembly. The power of the state in the exercise of its police power to curb speech advocating the overthrow of the government by force and violence is unquestioned. And if the ordinance were to reach unerringly only those against which it is obviously aimed there would be no question of its constitutionality on this ground. But it encompasses people beyond the pale of its professed objectives."

# How to Stop Law from Blasting Our Rights

By Art Preis

Some people — too many, in fact — take the McCarran-Kilgore police-state law complacently. They say it won't be vigorously enforced and that it will be possible to "live with" this law. To justify this belief, they even cite the experience, so far, under the Taft-Hartley Act.

"This law will be just like Taft-Hartley," they say. "You fellows shouted about how bad Taft-Hartley would be and how it would cripple and destroy the unions. The unions are still here, aren't they? T-H hasn't hurt us."

This kind of argument reminds us of what the old watchman at a Bucyrus, Ohio, steel mill told Senator Taft recently. "I guess you're a CIO member," Taft said to the worker. "Sure," the old man replied, "been one since 1936." The Senator continued, "The Taft-Hartley law hasn't hurt you so far, has it?" "No," said the old worker, "the Taft-

Hartley law hasn't hurt me and neither has the atom bomb." What that quick-witted worker was pointing out is that if the Taft-Hartley Act hasn't blown up the union movement yet it's not because it can't or won't. The law is here, packed with high explosives and ready to hand for the employers whenever they feel the time is ripe to set it off full blast under organized labor.

United Mine Workers and the AFL International Typographical Union, the union officials decided to "live with" the Taft-Hartley Act.

This complacent and compliant attitude not only helped to plant the T-H bomb under the American labor movement, it emboldened political reaction to construct the McCarran-Kilgore bomb and set it under the very foundations of America's democratic institutions.

If the full explosive power of the Taft-Hartley Act has not yet been released, it's not because those who made it don't want or intend to do so or that its destructive potential has been miscalculated.

What has prevented the ruling class from doing what is possible with the Taft-Hartley Act has been the formidable resistance put up by such unions as the miners and typographical workers. In their last strike, the miners openly defied two Taft-Hartley injunctions, smashed

them, and forced the government to retreat. One big strike after another — steel, auto, electrical equipment — has made the government and employers cautious and hesitant about enforcing Taft-Hartley to the maximum.

They are waiting until the unions are weaker, demoralized and drained of militancy. Then — WHAM! — they're going to let loose the full force of Taft-Hartley.

## FEELING THEIR WAY

That's the way it is with the new police-state law. Right now they're feeling their way with it, testing the resistance. If they come up against some stiff opposition of the type the miners gave Taft-Hartley, they'll take it easy, use the McCarran law more cautiously.

It's not safe to say of either of these laws, "Well, it hasn't hurt me yet." That's the kind of attitude the police-staters want to cultivate in the workers. Lull and disarm the people, get them

to relax their opposition and then, when they're least ready — let 'em have it!

The only real safety against the McCarran-Kilgore and Taft-Hartley laws — really companion laws designed and put over by the mortal enemies of organized labor — is in smashing them altogether. These laws have to be resisted tooth and nail by the organized mass might of the people, by a relentless and uncompromising struggle.

Mass action by the workers is all that has prevented the Taft-Hartley law from being totally enforced and destroying the labor movement. Had that action been united and on a large enough scale, the Taft-Hartley law would no longer be on the books. The greater the mass resistance to the McCarran-Kilgore law, the less likely is it to be enforced. And if the resistance is great enough, the law will be wiped off the books and its perpetrators off the political map.

# EYE-WITNESS REPORTS GREAT BOMBAY STRIKE

By V. Karalasingham

BOMBAY, India, Oct. 5 — Some 225,000 cotton textile and 3,000 wool textile workers have been on strike here since Aug. 14 in a struggle without parallel in India's working class history. Never before has so large a number of workers displayed such magnificent solidarity. For the first time since Aug. 15, 1947, the workers have engaged in a sustained struggle against not only their capitalist exploiters but the capitalist state as well.

This epic struggle of Bombay's textile workers has heightened the growing awareness among ever new layers that the Congress rulers are as much the workers' enemies as the British rulers in the past.

When the strike broke out, the government and the Congress union officials vied with each other in "killing" the strike in their press reports. Despite these notices of its "death," the strike was so alive that the Government and Congress union officials resorted to direct methods of strike-breaking. Meetings were banned in the city, militants arrested for peaceful picketing and Congress goondas given a free hand to beat the strikers. Strikers who tried to defend themselves against the violence of the company hirelings were arrested, while the police let the Congress "Volunteers" go scot free.

The government's violence was climaxed when Home Guards, firing on people in private dwellings and on the streets,

killed 10 and seriously wounded 60.

## STRIKE DEMANDS

This strike is being waged in support of the workers' demands for a bonus of three months' wages including the dearness allowance and recognition of the Mill Mazdoor Sabha as the representative union of the textile workers.

Since 1942 the textile workers have received an annual bonus. Although the principle of bonus calculation advocated by the union was not accepted, the amount of the Industrial Court awards was sufficient to keep the workers from striking. This year, however, the Industrial Court not only rejected the just principle of bonus computation, but awarded a bonus equal to only two months' basic wages and excluded 10,000 from even these meager benefits.

The strikers are demanding recognition of the Mill Mazdoor Sabha as sole collective bargaining agent of the Bombay textile workers, a status which the government, under the Bombay Industrial Relations Act, has conferred on the Congress-sponsored Rashtriya Mill Mazdoor Sangh. The workers' case was supposed to have been argued by the RMMS at hearings preceding the

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Report from Europe

German Political Parties and Remilitarization

By Ernest Germain

The problem of the remilitarization of Germany today dominates the inter-imperialist discussions.

Whatever may be the various schemes for "integrating" the capitalist armies of Europe into a single striking force, each state is considering this problem from a narrow "national" viewpoint.

At least of equal interest is the way in which the different German political parties reacted to the problem of remilitarization.

A big controversy has been going on inside Germany between the government and the opposition ever since the problem of remilitarization was squarely put before German public opinion by the projects of the Western occupation forces.

THREE ATTITUDES

The differences lie elsewhere. They lie in the relationship of Germany towards the Western imperialist powers as it will develop out of the remilitarization plans.

bourgeoisie, which is backing the government and which is today in close relation with the Catholic Church, the inner ruling power of Federal Germany, is for passively following the lead of Washington.

This shows that decisive circles of the German bourgeoisie have a realistic enough estimation of the present relationship of forces inside their own country as well as on the European theatre of the "cold war."

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC LINE

The remilitarization policy of the Social Democratic Party, supported significantly by some of the most reactionary parliamentarian circles at Bonn, asks for a stronger fighting force — in fact a real army and not a "security force" — a close "integration" with the military apparatus of Great Britain and France.

In other words, the German Social Democratic leaders say to the Western powers that they are quite willing to fight for the imperialist camp, but that they would like to fight under their own command and with the "right" to decide "independently" on their participation in that fight.

As a matter of fact, Schumacher's main political report at the annual Congress of the German Social Democratic Party, held in Hamburg at the end of May, was bluntly centered around this idea.

NEGRO 24TH REGIMENT SUBJECTED TO SYSTEMATIC SMEAR CAMPAIGN

By Fred Hart

After the cynical fiasco of civil rights in Congress, the Korean war has given the Truman administration another opportunity to demonstrate exactly what are its policies in regard to the American Negroes.

The 24th Infantry Regiment is a regiment of Negroes. It had been stationed in Japan for some years and when the war broke out in Korea it was one of the first regiments dispatched to the Korean war zone.

ALL IN THEIR POWER

Says the Courier: "There are evidences that white officers, both of line and staff, have done all in their power to disparage and discredit these colored soldiers."

CAN'T BE RELIED ON

It is therefore entirely ridiculous to entertain the slightest belief that President Truman or Secretary of Defense Marshall or any of the other hardened defenders of American capitalism will take any steps whatever to put an end to segregation in the armed forces or anywhere else.

RIVALED THE BRITISH

As an eye-witness to the events in the Parel Area, the writer can testify that the concentration of violence on Aug. 31 exceeded even the worst days of imperialist repression, including the police violence which the writer saw during the days following the 1942 movement.

NEGRO 24TH REGIMENT SUBJECTED TO SYSTEMATIC SMEAR CAMPAIGN

Certain elements in the U.S. command disapproved of the favorable publicity which had been given to the Negroes. The regiment was given no relief. It was compelled to continue fighting week after week, with the inevitable results, says the Courier, that its efficiency was impaired.

Heavy numbers of highly trained officers and non-commissioned officers became casualties. The replacements were green Negro recruits from the States or from labor battalions who, through inexperience, sometimes gave ground and enabled the North Korean forces to break through on one or two occasions.

Obviously North Korean forces broke through American ranks many times and captured many American prisoners. But the failures of the 24th, were magnified out of all proportion to the significance of the events.

The American people should not believe, however, that this abuse of power is directed purely against Negroes. In Great Britain the most radicalized elements of

the working class are to be found in such areas as South Wales, the Clyde Side and the Lankashire cotton mills.

It has been claimed that during World War I the British High Command regularly sent regiments from these areas into the bloodiest parts of the battlefields.

The aim was to thin them out and relieve capitalism of some, at least, of these potentially revolutionary elements.

The ruling class in every country has its own war, whose interests come before any other kind of war. This is the war they carry on against the oppressed and the exploited and particularly those among the people who show energy and determination in resisting the tyrants and blood suckers who live off of them.

General Eisenhower is an example of what we can expect from these people. He was boosted for the presidency two years ago by all sorts of liberals, including Walter White who praised him in an Amsterdam News article for his "liberal" policy toward Negroes.

The very next week Eisenhower went before Congress and openly opposed the ending of segregation in the armed forces.

The cruel, shameful and unjust treatment of the 24th is another proof of how few rights the Negro has under capitalism in peace or in war. The Negro will conquer with the working class or live forever under the torture of capitalist oppression.

ing a new and formidable force on the German political scene: the old masters of the Ruhr coal and steel industry who are looking for the moment to different parties and groups to defend their specific point of view, without definitely choosing any one among them. These circles and their mouthpieces — in the first place the former Wehrmacht generals grouped in an organization called "Die Bruderschaft" — come out for a traditional German policy of trying to utilize the contradictions between the Western powers and Russia to get concessions from both sides — without committing themselves in advance to any of the blocs.

These circles naturally favor an army as big as possible — thereby supporting the Social Democratic claim for a "bigger" force — while being quite willing to withdraw formally behind vague terminology like "security force" or "protective police" in order not to unduly alarm French public opinion. They stand above all on the principle that every German force should be commanded by German officers — in fact they want to find jobs again after five years of forced unemployment.

And they come out openly for the idea that Germany should only line itself up with the Western allies in case it receives big "compensation"; otherwise it would try to repeat the "coup" of Rappallo or of the Ribbentrop-Motolov deal of August 1939.

This policy of "not provoking" the Russians while trying to force the hands of the Western imperialists toward a stepped-up remilitarization of the country has found advocates in the very government itself, where the Minister of the Interior, Mr. Heilmann, clashed with Premier Adenauer on this question, while receiving somewhat reserved support of the Social Democrats for at least part of his proposals.

Not the least important of the reasons why the heavy industry circles try to follow more a policy of a "middle course" between the two big power blocs is their vital interest in a development of trade with the Soviet bureaucracy's "sphere of influence." This in turn means that many of these circles retain friendly relations with institutions and individuals in Eastern Germany, which makes them "suspect" in the eyes of the panic-stricken, red-baiters at Bonn.

Premier Adenauer openly motivated his refusal to have his confidential remilitarization memorandum to the Western Allies made known to his own Minister of the Interior, by the fact that high ranking functionaries of that ministry are in suspicious contacts with Eastern Germany.

GOVERNMENT ORIENTATION

Social Democratic and heavy industry circles have at the same time, although with different arguments, been accusing the government of "neglecting" the problems of German reunification. Here again the position of Adenauer is explained by narrow provincial interests — the Rhineland bourgeoisie looks toward the West, and not toward the Eastern German provinces for its markets and sources of raw materials — and by some sober realism: since the Americans have accepted for the time being the division of Germany as a settled fact, Adenauer understands quite well that there is no force in Germany which could do away with that fact without foreign support of some kind.

We find in this political orientation an interesting reflection of an old tendency of the Catholic Church to consider the present division of Germany as more or less definitive — it is precisely this division which establishes its supremacy in the Federal Republic! — while the heavy industry barons of the Ruhr and the Protestant churches supported by them have an evidently bigger interest in the inhabitants of the Soviet zone of occupation, which are not only their traditional clients but also their traditional support.

Next Week: The Stalinist Policy in Germany.

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Next Week: The Stalinist Policy in Germany.

Strike Scene in Bombay



50,000 workers assembled at Kamgar Maidan (Bombay) on Aug. 29, in response to the call of the Hind Mazdoor Sabha, were brutally attacked and teargassed by the Congress government's police. Even the capitalist papers admitted that the workers were completely peaceful and never made any attempt to attack the police.

Bombay Workers in Heroic Strike

(Continued from Page 1)

Industrial Court award, but the leaders of this "union" upheld the employers' contention that the bonus is not a "deferred wage," as the strikers insist, but dependent on the rise or fall of profits.

The Mill Mazdoor Sabha has made repeated attempts to organize meetings in defiance of the ban and 20 such defiance meetings have been held. All were brutally attacked. Lathi (long police staves) charges, tear gas attacks and shootings were used to disperse the assembled workers and the speakers were beaten and arrested.

The strike soon evoked country-wide support. One-day sympathy strikes, particularly in the textile industry, took place in Delhi, Central Provinces, Madras, Hyderabad and Calcutta. Finally, a token general strike to support the textile workers took place in this city on Aug. 31.

Unfortunately, the Hind Mazdoor Sabha excluded from the strike the newspaper and government workers. Once exceptions were made by the HMS for two categories of workers, the city tram and bus workers were not able to resist the pressure of the government and Congress organization.

The government, sensing the weak spot in the strike front, concentrated all its efforts to browbeat the transport workers to work and succeeded, in the opening phase of the general strike, in getting a full complement of buses and trams moving on Aug. 31.

But strikers, joined by many sympathizers, picketed at all important points in the city and won the willing support of most of the drivers and conductors. Those few who sought to defy the popular sentiment were soon convinced by more vigorous persuasion and hurried their vehicles back to the depots.

The Congress Government, through Bombay Home Minister Mararji Desai, had pledged publicly to break the strike even by the most violent means. Accordingly it provocatively manned the trams with heavily armed Home Guards. The appearance of the Home Guard-driven trams, with armed guards at front and rear, provoked popular indignation, derision and showers of stones. The scab trams were soon deserted of passengers. At the first pretext, the Home Guards, Mararji Desai's equivalent for Himmler's SS who were itching for "action," let loose the most brutal violence.

RIVALED THE BRITISH

As an eye-witness to the events in the Parel Area, the writer can testify that the concentration of violence on Aug. 31 exceeded even the worst days of imperialist repression, including the police violence which the writer saw during the days following the 1942 movement.

Trams were converted into armored cars loaded with armed Home Guards. These were flanked by lorries with armed hoodlums. They fired to kill on people in buildings on either side of the road. They raided two buildings and fired at the inmates. Police on at least 10 occasions fired tear gas shells into private apartments.

This murderous rampage ended

with 10 dead and over 60 seriously injured, the latter including a girl of 12 and a boy of 15.

1,500 ARRESTED

The determination of the strikers has only been strengthened by this massacre. The government is trying to break the strike now by detaining its leaders without trial. Over 1,500 have either been detained, given vindictive sentences for trivial offenses (6 months for peaceful picketing) or kept in custody for interrogation. A decision of the Industrial Appellate Tribunal on the Millworkers' appeal is awaited. The Mill Mazdoor Sabha, the clear choice of the workers, was excluded from the hearings and the Congress' union alone was recognized.

The morale of the strikers continues high, although the long struggle is beginning to tell on them. If the Appellate Court awards a higher bonus, it is likely that the strikers will vote to return to work. If the award of the lower court is upheld or reduced, the workers are determined to continue their strike. At this point, only the active intervention of other sections of labor will help the textile workers to victory.

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SPRIT OF DEFIANCE

However the fight was not left to the legislators. The people of the colonies took the initiative. Newspapers and popular meetings explained the implications of the new law to the people. A spirit of defiance of the law began to manifest itself.

Under pressure of the mass agitation and the goading of

1st Lt. Robert E. Ellert, who defended him at the trial.

"The military authorities wanted to make an example of someone and, through circumstances, your husband was selected," Ellert wrote. And he added that Gilbert "was sacrificed for what is deemed the good of the whole."

Neither Gilbert's pregnant wife, nor two small children who would be left fatherless, nor his family, and friends, nor the working class as a whole can agree that his death would benefit anyone but the war-mad military authorities bent on imperialist subjugation of colonial peoples in Korea and elsewhere.

The American people, and working people everywhere, must intervene to save the life of Lt. Gilbert. They must protest his sentence so powerfully that the military will have to retreat in this case.

MASS PROTEST NEEDED

Lt. Gilbert asked his wife what the NAACP is doing for him. The answer of the Association should be to take the lead in organizing a mighty mass protest, together with the CIO and AFL and other organizations willing to struggle against this injustice.

The "Save Gilbert" movement must demand that President Truman, who used his authority to commute sentence and grant full pardon to former Mayor Curley of Boston, convicted of fraud in connection with government war contracts, grant at least as much leniency to the Negro soldier.

Finally, those who perpetrated the crime against Lt. Gilbert must be removed from authority and brought to justice.

"AN EXAMPLE"

This was admitted in a letter to the condemned man's wife by

behalf, but they couldn't allow them off the front."

SPREAD THE INFORMATION

"Say, get this information in the proper hands," the young lieutenant wrote his wife, "and perhaps it will save me. Each day here looks darker for me and I don't seem to be able to get any assistance from anyone so far."

Mrs. Gilbert immediately released the information and a wave of protest has begun to sweep the country. Thousands of letters and telegrams are being sent to the family expressing sympathy and support for their struggle for justice for the imprisoned soldier. Veterans' organizations and Negro fraternal associations have pledged assistance. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, through its Washington Bureau, is demanding revocation of the sentence.

Indicative of the political dynamite in this case is the fact that even capitalist politicians like Pennsylvania Senators Martin and Myers have reportedly said they will call for a full investigation of the case.

But the life of Lt. Gilbert will not be saved by pre-election campaign promises by Democratic and Republican politicians, nor by polite appeals to Army channels. This case is too important to the military brass. They needed to make an example of someone in the attempt to blame the military setbacks on out-numbered and demoralized GI's pitted against a colonial people fighting for freedom and independence, so they picked a Negro officer.

"AN EXAMPLE"

This was admitted in a letter to the condemned man's wife by

A HISTORICAL LESSON ON "LOYAL OBEDIENCE"

By George Lavan

Today's liberals who urge "loyal obedience" to the McCarran-Kilgore police-state law in the hope of amending or repealing it at a future date are playing a role as

the radical Representatives Sam Adams and James Otis, the Massachusetts House passed a resolution calling upon the other colonial assemblies to send delegates to a Congress in New York to consider "a general and united, dutiful, loyal and humble representation of their condition to His Majesty and the Parliament and to implore relief." An indication that the House still followed the "loyal obedience" line was the fact that while the militant Otis was in the Massachusetts delegation the other two members were abject "loyal obedience" or "respectful submission" men, to use the phraseology of the period.

MASS ACTION WON

The conciliators of 1765-66 failed to hogle the fight against the Stamp Tax. As soon as appointments to the post of Stamp Distributors were made public, these men were hanged in effigy, boycotted, and in some cases their houses were burnt and they themselves forced to flee their cities. On Nov. 1, the day on which the law became operative, the city of Boston staged a demonstration resembling a general strike of our epoch. Shipping ceased, the courts closed, the customs house shut down, business came to a stop. Only the newspapers appeared and these stampless — in defiance of the tyrannical law.

This mass protest action was successful. The royal authorities were compelled to give in. First it was let known that business could resume without the stamps. No prosecutions took place. Then Parliament at its next session repealed the law.

It is instructive for us today to consider where their policy led many of the "loyal obedience" politicians of that period. The incurable ones, of course, later became Tories, that is, colonists who joined the British Crown in its open warfare against the American people. Their policy led them to participate in or defend the war against the great majority of the American people.

The spiritual descendants of the "respectful submissionists" have been fated to reappear at every crucial point of American history. In the guise of Fair Deal liberals they are once more having their brief and inglorious moment on the stage of history. Fortunately there also exist men of principle and courage today who know, as did Sam Adams and the Sons of Liberty, that uncompromising struggle, not "loyal obedience," is the way to preserve liberties.

(Next week: The Alien and Sedition Acts.)

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TROTSKY

"For a whole series of stages, the bourgeoisie entrenched its power under the form of parliamentary democracy. Even then, not peacefully and not voluntarily. . . But precisely when the (first world) war there begins the distinct decline of capitalism and above all, of its democratic form of domination. It is now no longer a matter of new reforms and aims, but of cutting down and abolishing the old ones. . . Therewith the bourgeoisie comes into conflict not only with the institutions of proletarian democracy (trade unions and political parties) but also with parliamentary democracy, within the framework of which arose the labor organizations."

— Leon Trotsky, Fascism, What It Is, How to Fight It.



LENIN

Best Congress Since the 80th

"Best U.S. Congress Since 1938 Reversed Reactionary Trend" is the startling headline that greeted us in the Sept. 29 AFL Weekly News Service. We read on to see if it wasn't a gag. It wasn't. In all seriousness the AFL leaders credit the 81st Congress with "completely reversing the reactionary trend" because "this was the first Congress in 12 years to broaden New Deal legislation."

It's true this Congress, the Republicans as well as Democrats, did hike old age pension benefits up to the purchasing level they were at back in 1939 before war inflation had cut them in half. But now Truman and Congress have doubled the war budget which has set off a bigger inflation and already sliced the new benefits 15% in purchasing power.

Another thing the AFL leaders point to is the new housing program. They don't mention that Truman's undeclared war on Korea has shot the housing program, inadequate as it is, to pieces.

Did knifing of the FEPC bill "completely reverse" the reactionary trend? The McCarran-Kilgore law to wipe out

the Bill of Rights? The monstrous militarization program? The new "soak the poor, protect the rich" tax law? If these indicate even a slight reversal of the reactionary trend, then Hitler's Nuremberg Laws deserve to stand side by side with the Declaration of Independence.

If this is the "best" Congress in twelve years, it just goes to show how foul were the preceding Congresses, all but one Democratic-controlled.

Seeking a clincher to its argument, the AFL paper concludes that, after all, even if this Congress did retain the Taft-Hartley law, "neither did the Taft-Hartleyites make the law more stringent."

The AFL leaders' attempts to find some consolation in this Congress reminds us of poor Mrs. Jones. Her whole life was a misery. Her drunken husband beat her up every day. Her daughter was ruined by a traveling man. She gasped with asthma and could hardly walk with arthritis. And there was an eviction order against her. "Mrs. Jones," her pastor asked in commiseration, "isn't there some solace you get out of life?" "Well," she sighed after some thought, "there's always my victuals."

Save Lt. Gilbert's Life!

As more and more facts come out about the court-martial and death sentence imposed by an all-white officers court in Korea on 1st Lt. Leon A. Gilbert, Jr., it is clearer than ever that his only "crime" is being a Negro, with an impeccable combat record in World War II, who after six days leading shock troops under fire tried to save his men when a superior officer senselessly ordered them to advance into certain death.

The whole affair smells to high heaven of an attempted lynching under cover of formal Army regulations and procedure. It appears that the white brass were seeking to "make an example" of someone to impress the troops with the need for instant and unquestioning obedience to command.

They were no doubt delighted that the Gilbert incident gave them an opportunity to emphasize their kind of discipline and particularly because the victim is a Negro and a courageous and model soldier. The all-Negro regiment to which Gilbert was attached has received "too

much" publicity, in the opinion of the white brass, because it has been in the forefront of battle and in the line longer, without rest or leave, than any other troops.

By choosing Gilbert as an "example," some of the white command undoubtedly were thinking of discrediting the performance of the Negro soldiers. It would serve as another "argument" for opposing integration of Negroes into the white units and for maintaining Jim Crow segregation. See, they would say, the Negroes won't take orders; they can't stand up under fire and if we mixed them with whites, they'd demoralize the other units.

We repeat: This smacks of a brutal lynching attempt. Every American with an ounce of decency is duty-bound to protest it with utmost indignation. It is above all the duty of the labor movement — ever the people's bulwark against injustice — to immediately mobilize the most powerful protest movement possible and demand that Truman give Lt. Gilbert complete and unconditional exoneration and release.

Stalin Held Out on Koreans, Former Soviet Officer Reveals

(Continued from Page 1)

Korean representatives when they came to Moscow seeking aid and ran into the cynical attempts of the Kremlin dictatorship to wring maximum advantage from their situation.

"REASON" OFFERED

"At the end of this meeting," Kanov continues, "I spoke with General Zakharov, whom I had known during the defense of Sevastopol. I asked him frankly what the reasons were for the Politburo's stubbornness in this matter. He smiled, and patted my shoulder:

"We must be prudent with these Koreans. We are going to form a modern army, capable of maneuvering and striking. But we must not act like the sorcerer's apprentice, so that one day this force might upset our game in the Far East. If the Koreans got a strong air force, together with a good armored army, they would be able to reach Pusan quickly, and to attack the strongest fortifications in the straits separating Korea from Japan. They could then repeat in reverse the famous Japanese leapfrog, across these straits which are dotted with islands, and, by way of Tushima reach Shimonoseki and Sasebo.

"That would mean war with the United States. We are not interested in provoking such a war. Technically, it would not be difficult to give them a thousand

planes, especially since there is no lack of pilots. There were close to 500 in the Chinese Army."

These "reasons" for not providing the North Koreans with an air force sound like a sop to the natural curiosity of officers like Kanov. An attack by the North Koreans on Japan is obviously fantastic. They were motivated politically, as all evidence shows, by the desire to unify their country and win freedom from the oppressive Syngman Rhee puppet regime.

WHAT THEY FEARED

What Moscow feared was the creation of a Korea able to achieve independence from the Kremlin as well as Washington. That is the real meaning of not acting "like the sorcerer's apprentice" who set in motion forces he could not control and which threatened to drown him. The Politburo, obviously thinking of Yugoslavia, decided to dole out only sufficient arms to win against Syngman Rhee but not enough to create a regime strong enough to stand up against Stalinist totalitarianism.

Relations between Moscow and the North Koreans were already not entirely smooth, it appears. Upon arrival of the Soviet mission in Korea, Kanov found that a "Moscow" bureaucrat, Mikhailov, was "greatly aroused against" the North Koreans. Among other items, it seems the Koreans had "tried by every means to cheat us of several hundred cars."

"They're all thieves and liars," he told our Colonel Miaskov."

Kanov does not reveal what price the Koreans were forced to pay for such things as railroad cars which they got from the USSR, but recalling the stiff prices Stalin charged the Spanish loyalists during the civil war in Spain for poor and inadequate equipment, and visualizing how a Korean patriot would seek to bypass Stalin's watchdogs at the cash register, we can well understand why Mikhailov was "greatly aroused."

COOL WELCOME

The military mission did not meet with a warm welcome. "Great reserve was displayed by the North Korean government representatives." Apparently they resented Moscow's unilateral decisions and were worried about the grave weaknesses inherent in an army lacking both air and amphibious forces.

At Pyongyang, the capital of North Korea, the mission met a delegation of high civil servants, representatives of the trade unions, the Communist Party and the municipality. Khon Men Khi, vice-president of the Council and War Minister, "warmly thanked the Soviet government and Generalissimo Stalin for sending our mission to North Korea." Then "the speaker rather sharply criticized our plan, about the main outlines of which the representa-

tives of North Korea in Moscow had advised him."

North Korean criticisms of Moscow's military plans, it appears, were shared by high-ranking Chinese Stalinists, for Khon Men Khi "declared at once that his government, which was in close contact with the Chinese revolutionary war committee, headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, had worked out with General Chu Teh a plan for reorganizing the army. This plan provided for a very powerful air force, composed of four wings each of 250 modern planes. Of the total, 750 would be fighters and 250 medium bombers. While recognizing that Russia, needing planes itself, could not give Korea a sufficient number, he asserted that Korea could quite well obtain planes from Sweden and Switzerland, or from Czechoslovakia, with which his government was negotiating a trade agreement. Moreover, General Chu Teh had proposed to give Korea some 300 planes from the Kalgan reserve."

ON THE SPOT

This well-justified criticism with its proposal to obtain planes elsewhere put the Soviet military mission on the spot. They responded by insisting that nothing could be changed "without the formal consent of the Soviet government." And Shitikov, the Soviet Ambassador, put the heat on the Korean Foreign Minister, taking him aside to explain "that

we naturally turn in anger against whomever we believe to be the cause of that compulsion. But we have no animosity against Russia and the Russian people. All we ask is to be left in peace to complete our task — as we demanded that they should be left in peace in 1917."

Morrison, known to be an advocate of going slow on further nationalizations, exclaimed: "We may be asked specifically whether cement, sugar, and industrial assurance are dropped. The answer to that is No! (Loud cheers)." Even Foreign Minister Ernest Bevin was very militant — though by proxy. He is quoted as saying, "The great labor movement of the AFL and the CIO and their political committees would bring down any government in the United States that set out on a path of aggression." Naturally, the "left wing" Minister of Health, Aneurin Bevan, caught the mood of the conference best of all the current leaders, and he showed it by stressing the "concessions" they had been "compelled" to make to the capitalists up to the present.

RANKS DISSATISFIED

The whole tenor of the discussion from the floor was indeed to the effect that the rank and file was dissatisfied with the lack of progress toward socialism and disappointed in the non-socialist policies of the government. On the very first day, the presentation of the report of the National Executive Committee was followed by a barrage. H. Ratner (East Salford), a delegate from

AUSTRIAN LABOR ALIENATED BY MANEUVERS OF STALINISTS

By Charles Hanley

On Oct. 4 the Stalinists staged big demonstrations in different parts of Austria, including the Soviet occupation zone. These actions were directed against the economic

policy of the Austrian government and especially against rising prices. (The government is run by a Catholic-Social Democratic coalition.)

The CP had called a 24-hour strike, which was only partly successful. Mass demonstrations took place in Vienna and other cities. Communist workers occupied street intersections, a rail line and a bridge in the Soviet sector of Vienna and stormed the post office at Wiener Neustadt, an industrial town in the Soviet zone.

Thousands of workers, probably more than had voted for the CP in the last elections, participated in the demonstrations because they are indeed concerned about the rising cost of living and the pro-capitalist policy of the government. But the majority of the Austrian working class as a whole opposed the Stalinist action, and at Wiener Neustadt a real fight developed.

Many workers were unwilling to be used in what they considered to be one of the Kremlin's maneuvers. Their experience has taught them that such demonstrations (which are often costly because of possible arrests and other serious risks) are organized by the Stalinists only when it suits the tactics of the Kremlin diplo-

macy — and called off when Moscow's zigzag policy requires it, regardless of the workers' real needs and interests. Here, as elsewhere, the criminal policy of Stalinism has weakened the labor movement by spreading confusion and mistrust among the toilers.

At Wiener Neustadt the local Soviet commander first opposed the seizure of the post office by the demonstrators. They suddenly helped them against the anti-Stalinists. When finally the Western powers convened the four-power council in Vienna and reproached the Russians, for favoring anti-government activities, the movement died down everywhere. Apparently, the CP leaders had received orders from their Russian masters to stop, and to avoid complications. This probably has provoked uneasiness among members of the Austrian CP, which is already faced with a growing crisis in its ranks and can ill afford new defeats and deceptions.

In Austria, like the rest of the world, it is being proved over and over again that genuine workers' parties must remain independent of the Soviet bureaucrats and generals as well as of the Western imperialists.

an industrial section representing a party body of 4,000 members, moved rejection of a statement on Korea. The London Times paraphrased his remarks — which were also the subject of vicious editorial comment in the N. Y. Daily News — as follows:

"The divisional Labor Party (East Salford) thought that intervention in Korea was an attempt to maintain a foothold for imperialism in Asia and to impose upon the Korean people a regime which they had rejected in the elections last May. The Asian peoples would not tolerate imperialist rule, nor that of native stooges. The Korean episode could not be dismissed as a mere Communist plot directed from Moscow. Although everyone knew that Russia used genuine popular movements to suit her own diplomatic ends, this was no excuse for the Labor Party to ally itself with the reactionary forces of American capitalism."

Another delegate, A. H. Upton (Tonbridge), seconded the motion with a similar speech, but before further discussion could get underway, Secretary Morgan Phillips called for a cessation of the debate in view of the special point on foreign policy later on the agenda and the motion was lost.

Delegate G. Healy (Streatham) protested against the atmosphere of witch-hunt and persecution of party members who expressed opinions that on some points might coincide with those of people termed fellow-travelers. The secretary assured the conference that this matter was getting consideration.

A number of questions from the floor asked whether aid was forthcoming to Yugoslavia, in view of the blockade by the Cominform countries. Replying for the leadership, Hugh Dalton said that the government was "anxious to have most friendly and helpful relations" with Yugoslavia, and had the same attitude toward China.

MANAGEMENT DEBATE

The delegates then launched an attack upon the management of the nationalized industries by the government. R. Openshaw, a member of the new General Council of the Trade Union Congress, speaking for his own powerful Amalgamated Engineering Union, proposed a resolution calling upon the government "to cease re-industrialization in nationalized industries of former owners of units unless they were known to be favorably disposed to the new order; to ensure that at least half of the members of boards were working class representatives elected by the workers; to fix salaries of executives more consistent with a socialist economy; and to curtail administrative expenses."

One delegate after another rose to support this resolution and to implement it with other motions, including demands that compensation to former owners be cut in half. When Arthur Deakin of the Transport and General Workers Union got up to oppose these resolutions he was greeted with jeers. On the vote, however, the bloc ballots cast by his union and those allied with him in the right wing defeated the resolution 2,878,000 to 1,891,000.

The temper displayed in the debate on the nationalized industries, and the previous action of the Trade Union Congress, led the leadership on the second day to quickly accept a resolution from the floor demanding drastic curbs on prices and profits as well as wage adjustments. The resolution was adopted by acclamation after a short round of attacks on the government's previous wage-freeze policy.

The discussion of general policy, based on Morrison's presentation of the statement entitled "Labor and the New Society," bore heavily on further nationalization measures, greater taxation of wealth including a capital levy and future elections. MP Harold Davies said: "Instead of trying to win the Liberal vote, the government should go out for the remaining one-third of the working class who were not voting Labor." Ratner of Salford said "he feared that the next election would again be concerned with accommodating the middle class rather than with a forward socialist program that could rally the working class." The leaders promised to take note of these criticisms in the next election manifesto.

A full scale foreign policy

debate took place when Bevin returned to England from the Foreign Ministers' meeting in New York. Speaking on resolution from the floor, which considerably toned down militant anti-war sentiments expressed in 39 different resolutions from local organizations, delegates expressed the fear that "rearmament could not prevent war" but the contrary; said that the people they represented were perturbed by the growing tension and the "complete tie-up" with American militarism; and, like Scottish MP Emrys Hughes, warned the leaders that "by next year they would find a revolt among the rank and file after the economic consequences of rearmament."

The whole prestige of Bevin and the solid support of the trade union bloc behind him were required to defeat this resolution. Nevertheless it mustered 881,000 votes, mainly from the local branches of the party, against the 4,861,000 rolled up by the leadership. The whole discussion was a disquieting sign for the leaders — the rank and file's socialist convictions were beginning to penetrate on foreign policy even as they were making themselves felt much more strongly on domestic policy.

BRITISH UNIONISTS FORCE CHANGE ON PAY FREEZE

The recent conference of the British Trades Union Congress was the nearest thing to an upheaval that the traditionally slow-moving British labor movement has

experienced in a long time. Not only did the delegates upset a move on collusion on steel between the capitalists and right wing union leaders, but the basis for a revolutionary policy was put forward, although as yet unsuccessfully, by some of the biggest unions in the country.

The TUC General Council maneuvered on every important issue, but the tide was too strong for these experienced fakery. On the wage-price-profit issue, the resolution presented from the floor to lift the wage freeze was declared by chairman Hugh Bullock to be an amendment to the Council's Report on Wages and the Economic Situation — a vote for the resolution would be considered a vote against the report, he ruled, in an effort to evoke authority. But the resolution carried by 3,949,000 against 3,727,000.

Shocked by the result, Bullock reversed himself and ruled that a separate vote on the report was required. The vote showed the report was defeated by 3,898,000 to 3,521,000, an even bigger setback for the effort to save face for the leadership.

Later, on a resolution calling for equal pay for equal work for women, the leadership was swamped 4,490,000 to 2,867,000 — almost two to one. Of the major reports, only the one on Public Ownership, which was couched in vague and legalistic language hiding its reactionary intent from the delegates, got unanimous approval for the General Council.

Signs of rank and file pressure were discernible in many other

demands, not passed but strongly voiced at the TUC gathering. Here, for example, is the text of a resolution introduced by the Amalgamated Engineering Union, similar to a combination of our own auto and steel unions and one of the most powerful unions of its kind in the world:

"This Congress declares that in consequence of the Economic Crisis, a greater burden has fallen on the workers than on the Employing Class.

"As a step towards an equality of sacrifice, Congress demands: "(a) The suspension of interest payments on compensation in Nationalized Industries, except in needy cases to be determined by Committees established by the Government and Trade Union.

"(b) The prevention of Tax evasion and the hiding of profits by the opening of all Company books and Expense Accounts to inspection by elected Trade Union Committees.

"(c) The pressing forward of the Extension of State Ownership of all the basic industries, and the elaboration of a plan of production based on the needs of the people, and not on the needs of the Capitalist market."

Such resolutions incorporate the essential elements of a transitional program toward revolutionary power in the economic field. The sentiment they express cannot fail to penetrate into the field of foreign policy and to face British labor with the task of selecting a new revolutionary leadership.

Continued on page 4



# Prussianizing the U.S.

By George Breitman

With the enactment of the McCarran-Kilgore police-state law, it is clear that the structure of capitalist democracy has been seriously impaired and that the political life of the country has entered a new stage. The principal force in this change for the worse is the capitalist class, which plays a far different role today than it played in the 18th and 19th centuries. In those days it was willing to accept and in fact needed the support of the masses to consolidate its own rule against such competitors as the slaveholding class, and it performed progressive functions politically and economically.

But all that has changed since the growth of monopoly, the crisis of world capitalism and the drive of the American capitalist class to make a colony out of the rest of the world. Where in the past the capitalists at least tolerated the maintenance or extension of democratic liberties, today they are actively hostile to the Bill of Rights and aggressively assault its very foundations. This is something new in this country, and for that reason the closest parallels to what is happening here today won't be found in American history, but in European.

Although there is much that is Nazi-like in the spirit of the McCarran-Kilgore law, we reject the notion that its enactment represents the victory of American fascism. The experience of Europe teaches us that fascism is the naked dictatorship of finance capital, resting on a counter-revolutionary mass movement recruited especially from the desperate middle classes. Today there is no such mass movement in this country. The McCarran-Kilgore law is something imposed from above; it does not reflect the sentiments of large numbers of people; as yet, most Americans don't even know what is in the law.

This law greases the way for the growth of fascist tendencies, but fascism today is not a big power in American life. For one thing, the capitalist class has not yet felt the need for a Hitler, which is a costly proposition. Even more important, the working class has not yet suffered any decisive defeats and will have numerous chances to take over the leadership of the nation before fascism can make its bid.

A more precise understanding of what is happening to American democracy can be derived from an earlier phase of German history when the Prussian officer caste was in the saddle as the servant of German capitalism and the enemy

of the nation's liberties. Even many liberals recognize the fact that the last decade has seen the emergence of the American military caste into positions of real power in key governmental spheres. They demanded and got the peacetime draft; they are demanding and will probably get permanent conscription; they already have control over millions of youth and a major part of the federal budget; in the field of production, their demands have priority over those of the great mass of consumers; they decide who can and who cannot work in the most important industries; and their power continues to spread all the time. Unless checked, they will soon occupy a position comparable to the one held by the military caste in Prussia.

Capitalist militarism has little understanding, patience and use for democracy. To the brass hat it is a nuisance at best, a source of weakness and inefficiency that should be rooted out. He knows what he wants to do — make an arsenal and training camp out of the U. S. and a zone of occupation out of the rest of the globe — and he doesn't want to spend time explaining, arguing or defending his course. A soldier can't talk back when he is given an order; why should a worker have that privilege? Why not substitute the Articles of War for the Bill of Rights?

The McCarran-Kilgore law is the brass hat's dream. It is designed to do for politics what basic training is intended to achieve with the rookie — regimentation and intimidation. Under favorable circumstances and with the proper administration, it might prove to be just as effective as military discipline. Whether or not the brass hats actively favored the new law doesn't matter; if they had been asked to draw up an "anti-subversive" bill of their own, it would not have differed essentially from the one passed by Congress.

In this sense we can say that the new law is another and very advanced stage in the Prussianization of America. We think this term is helpful for purposes of action and orientation because it aids us to understand what the capitalist rulers have NOT yet achieved as well as to estimate how far they have already proceeded on the road of reaction. They have taken long steps toward regimenting the nation — but at the same time they have not been able to crush the power of organized labor or to hogtie the masses. Therein lies the source and the hope of effective resistance to their schemes to deprive us of our liberties.

# A Letter to Italy

By John F. Petrone

Dear Uncle:

I read your letters about conditions in Italy today with great interest. From what you write I can see that things are indeed unhappy there. But don't get the impression that the U.S. is a paradise. On the contrary, this country seems to be becoming a madhouse. Since you are old enough to remember the days when Mussolini came to power, you would probably experience a shock of recognition if you could see and feel the political situation here today.

"Communism" is the issue, the only issue, that the dominant political parties are willing to discuss during the current election campaign. It is like an obsession with them; they must dream about it at night. Every policy, every proposal, every act must be motivated by them from the viewpoint of its relation to or effect upon "communism." Both the Democratic and Republican Parties ask to be given power primarily because they have been or will be better fighters against "communism" than their rivals. Congress votes for a loan to Franco; its supporters justify it as a blow against "communism," its opponents denounce it as aid to "communism."

For the liberals and some of the radicals, this too has become the chief criterion. Passage of the McCarran-Kilgore registration and concentration camp bill and defeat of the bill to curb racial discrimination in employment are alike deplored by them first of all on the ground that these steps "play into the hands of communism." One begins to wonder when it was that any public issues were debated from any other standpoint, and one goes to the movies expecting any day to be confronted with a film in which the hero pleads for the hand of the heroine as an "anti-communist" measure.

I enclose clippings about this McCarran-Kilgore registration law (which the liberals urge the people to "loyally obey" — also of course as

an "anti-communist" move — until the day when it may be repealed). This is regarded by the political wardhealers as such a wonderful "anti-communist" measure that scores of municipalities are imitating it. I mention this because it may affect me. My job requires that I travel between New York and New Jersey every day; like almost a million other commuters, the train I use passes through Jersey City each time, although I do not get off there. Last week the City Commission in that city gave its preliminary approval to an ordinance requiring registration of all "communists" living in, working in or "passing regularly through" Jersey City. A public hearing on this measure will be held on Oct. 17, after which the Commission will take final action.

Jersey City is a municipality I have little use for, and I rarely go there. But according to this ordinance I would have to get off the train at least once and register myself with the authorities as a "communist" (the fact that I am a confirmed anti-Stalinist has nothing to do with it; by "communist" they mean not only Stalinists but anyone who accepts Marxism or even "associates" with those who do). If I register, my boss, as a "patriot," would undoubtedly fire me without five minutes' notice; my union, headed by Social Democrats, would not lift a finger in my defense. But if I failed to register, I would be liable to a fine of \$20 and a year in jail for each day I remain unregistered. A month's failure to register could, as you can see, be equivalent to a life sentence. And not even the most optimistic liberal would assure me that the courts would declare this ordinance unconstitutional, assuming I could raise the money to take the case through the courts.

So don't envy us too much, uncle. We get more to eat than in the old country, but we also have less liberty.

Your devoted nephew,  
John

# Ford Rolling-Mill Men Strike Against Pay Cut

DETROIT, Oct. 9 — The Ford rolling mill workers walked out to protest a huge wage cut and held out determinedly for four days in spite of the greatest pressure from the Reutherite union officials.

The action was provoked when these workers and other steel operations men were notified that the new pay schedules provide for straight-time pay for 40 hours, including Saturday and Sundays. This will mean a weekly loss of \$30 to \$60. Up to now, steel operations workers have received time and a half and double time for Saturdays and Sundays respectively when their work week fell on these days.

The Ford management answered the protest by laying off 8,800 pressed steel workers.

UAW President Walter Reuther last year traded away many long standing union conditions for his miserable pension plan. Among these horse trades was his agreement to set up a union-management committee to study the pay practices of the steel industry and bring the Ford steel operations practices into line with the rest of the steel industry. When Reuther was "selling" the pension agreement to the Local 600 work-

ers at the October 1949 membership meeting, he threatened the steel operations workers with loss of their jobs if they didn't accept the findings of his proposed "fact-finding" committee. He said Ford would seek other steel sources and shut down the various steel operations.

Thus, instead of working to raise the level of the workers in the steel industry to that of the auto workers, Reuther has helped drag the auto workers down to the level of the steel industry.

After a year's study of the steel industry by this six-man committee, they passed the buck to the "impartial" umpire. As on all important issues, the "impartial" umpire, Shulman, sided with the company.

As soon as the strike started, Carl Stellato, president of Local 600, ordered the men back to work. Typical of the Reutherite bureaucracy, Stellato held the "sanctity" of the contract above the workers' interests. A majority of the executive board upheld him by an 18 to 5 vote.

When the rolling mill workers refused to return to work, Stellato went down to the gates to personally harangue them. They booed him, and he left in a huff. He attempted to turn the rest of

the Ford workers against the strikers with a leaflet saying that, "If you were sent home in the last three days, it was because of an illegal, unauthorized work stoppage which took place in the rolling mill." Stellato blamed the strikers for the layoffs, although it was the UAW leadership who made the sell-out agreement that forced the workers to strike.

In spite of the stand taken by Stellato and Bannon, the union's national Ford director, the majority of the workers in the other units were sympathetic to the cause of the strikers.

In the course of the strike Stellato set up another of his intellectual committees to take up disputed issues. His "runaway shop" committee has still not gotten all the facts after five months of existence. He substitutes "investigating" committees for militant action. These committees investigate, report and discuss. Ford still says, "No!"

The Ford Motor Co. has threatened disciplinary action against the strikers. The union leaders are also reported to be considering disciplinary action. The entire membership must defend their brothers in the rolling mill if these threats are put into action.

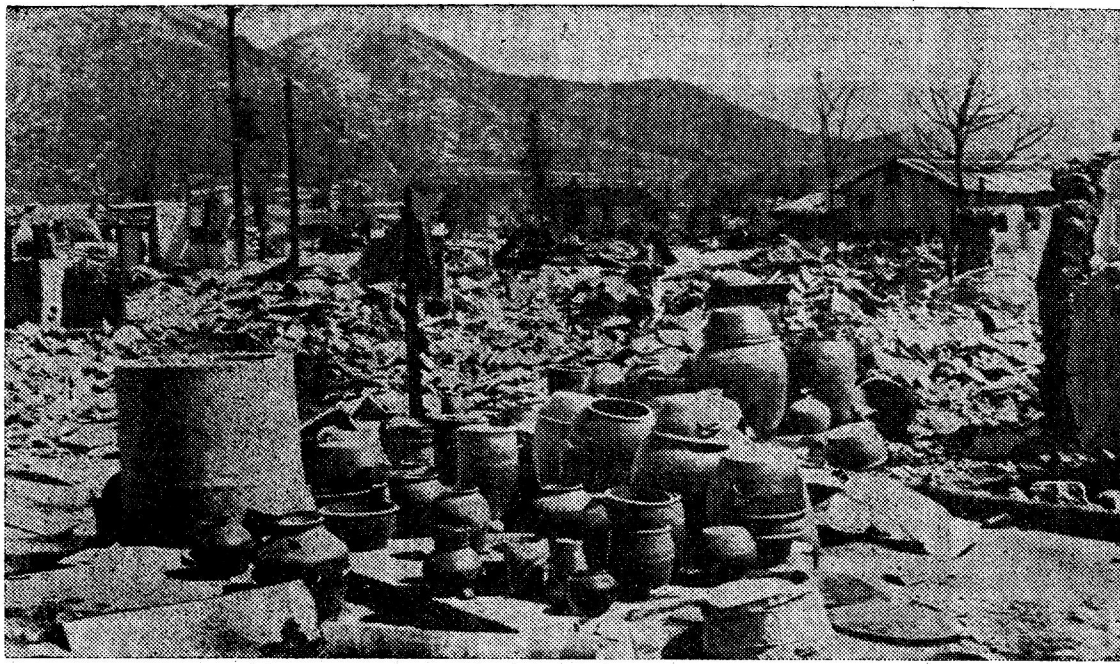
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# THE MILITANT

## Remnants of a Korean Village



Not much is left of Korean cities and villages after MacArthur's troops get done "liberating" them. In the scene above, the few pitiful objects not blasted to bits have been carefully collected and placed together in the foreground. The scene is typical of the ruin and devastation that have been created in most Korean communities.

## Why Mitchell Voted for McCarran-Kilgore Law

By Daniel Roberts  
SWP Candidate for Congress,  
First Washington District

"How could he do it?" That is the question progressive workers and students are asking in the First District. They refer to the vote that Hugh Mitchell, the liberal Democratic incumbent, cast for the McCarran-Kilgore bill.

Some ask the question in dismay; others in anger. But there is no question that this vote shook them all up. The great liberal has been found wanting on one of the cardinal principles of democracy — the upholding of freedom of speech. That he also voted to sustain Truman's veto does not lessen the anger and dismay. These workers and students are quite right. The vote FOR the bill is the true mark of the man.

Mitchell's vote for the McCarran-Kilgore bill did not come as a surprise to the Socialist Workers Party. We knew such an act was being prepared by his whole prior record.

Mitchell is a typical representative of the Americans for Democratic Action and their bigwig and small-time politicians in and out of office. They play at reform. But in the steady march of Big Business towards a police state and intensified exploitation of the American workers, the liberals simply tag behind. They get excited over handing out a crumb here and a peanut there, and endlessly vaunt their democratic principles. But they are rushing headlong down the road to reaction.

The Congressional record of the ADA liberals shows one steady surrender without battle

after another to the Taft-Hartleyites, the race-baiters, the warmongers, and the witch-hunters whom they proclaimed with loud fanfare they were going to fight. Mitchell's record in the 81st Congress will serve to illustrate this point.

A LIBERAL RECORD

Mitchell voted against Marcantonio's motion for outright repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act. He voted against the anti-segregation amendments in the housing and education bills. He voted for the toothless FEPC after a fair employment bill with enforcement provisions failed of passage. He shouted approval for American imperialism's war against the Korean people and sought to embellish it with liberal verbiage. What was there left for him to do after such a record but vote for the police-state bill?

I talked to Mitchell two years ago about the case of James Kutcher, the legless veteran who was fired from his clerical job with the Veterans Administration because he belongs to our party. Kutcher's courageous fight against Truman's "loyalty" program inspired true fighters for free speech everywhere throughout the country.

I briefed Mitchell on the Kutcher case and asked him to take a stand against that kind of an outrage. This was right before the 1948 elections. Mitchell assured me he was opposed to any persecution for ideas such as Kutcher's dismissal represented. "Come see me after the elections," he said. "It would not be wise for me to say anything publicly now."

I again talked to Mitchell about the case after the elections. He told me: "I prefer not to commit myself on just one case. (Even a test case) I prefer to attack the loyalty program as a whole. I can be more effective that way." That is the last we ever heard of Mitchell on the question of free speech — until his vote for the McCarran-Kilgore bill. His cowardly evasions on the Kutcher case paved the way for his later vote.

As the crisis of capitalism grows more acute and as it drives America's Sixty Families ever more on the road to war and attempted mastery of the world, the possibilities for it to grant even the most moderate reforms grow smaller and slimmer. Police-state laws, intensified Jim Crow, the hamstringing of organized labor, and support to counter-revolution abroad — these are the inevitable manifestations in the ruling class efforts to meet the crisis of American capitalism. The would-be democratic reformers within the camp of the capitalist parties have no choice but to fall in line and march along.

Only those who take their stand on the side of independent working class politics and the struggle for socialism can be trusted to uphold the democratic rights of all working people at home and abroad.

THE KUTCHER CASE

I talked to Mitchell two years ago about the case of James Kutcher, the legless veteran who was fired from his clerical job with the Veterans Administration because he belongs to our party. Kutcher's courageous fight against Truman's "loyalty" program inspired true fighters for free speech everywhere throughout the country.

WHO WAS CAPTURED

In 1948 the CIO leaders set out to reform the Democratic Party. They promised to use the Democratic Party for working people. They said that the Labor Party, which had great prospects, was too difficult to organize. In two years their forces appeared to have won a majority in the Democratic Party. How has their "get-rich-quick" theory worked out? As was foreseen by the advocates of a Labor Party, the union leaders have themselves been captured and housebroken by the rich blue-bloods in the Democratic Party. Labor does the legwork, but the millionaires run the party.

The bankruptcy of the CIO political policy is bound to have the effect sooner or later of creating overpowering sentiment for a break with the Democratic Party and the creation of a Labor Party, controlled by the rank and file and responsible to them. The only party that represents such a program in 1950 is the Socialist Workers Party.

## Millionaires, Bankers Head Michigan Democratic Ticket

DETROIT — Michigan CIO bureaucrats are part of a political conspiracy to hide the truth about the Democratic Party ticket in the November elections. The Murray-Reuther-Scholle machine is soft-pedaling the fact that this ticket consists of millionaires, executives and bluebloods.

Here is the composition of the Democratic slate: For Governor, G. Mennen Williams, millionaire heir to the 12,000,000 shaving cream fortune. For Lt. Governor, John W. Connelly, nephew of Walter O. Briggs, labor-hating auto manufacturer, and son of Walter Connelly, personnel director of the Briggs Manufacturing Co. For Secretary of State, Philip A. Hart, present Corporation and Securities Commissioner, Walter O. Briggs' son-in-law. For State Treasurer, Maurice E. Eveland, a Mayville banker. For Auditor-General, Mrs. Margaret Price, wife of a Kaiser-Fraser Corp. vice-president. For Attorney-General, Stephen Roth, wealthy Flint lawyer and former prosecuting attorney.

Not a single working man is on the ticket.

There wasn't any floor fight in the entire Democratic Party convention, which was completely controlled by the Williams-CIO-ADA coalition. The nominees were accepted by acclamation.

The issue of the Michigan CIO News following the state Democratic convention makes no mention of the ticket's composition; it prints only the election statement. This consists of promises and self-praise — while putting the entire blame for the lack of performance during Williams' present administration on the Republican-controlled legislature. The statement includes the following: "The Democratic Party has faithfully carried out its platform promise of 1948 to work for a sound program to safeguard civil rights." This is an outright lie, as the record of the Democrats in Washington makes clear.

DEMOCRATIC STRATEGY

The entire strategy of the Democratic-CIO coalition is to make vague promises, posing as friends of labor while banking on the Republican majority as their alibi for failing to carry out these promises. They have not the slightest intention of touching a single one of the old social sores like discrimination, housing and

# Myra T. Weiss Certified For California Ballot

By Lois Saunders

LOS ANGELES, Oct. 8 — Myra Tanner Weiss was officially certified this week by Secretary of State Frank M. Jordan as a candidate for the House of Representatives from the 19th Congressional District (Los Angeles).

Comrade Weiss, whose name will appear on the ballot as an independent candidate, has plunged into an energetic speaking campaign, addressing three separate union and community meetings in as many evenings.

Following official certification, Comrade Weiss also issued a challenge to incumbent Chet Holifield, her sole opponent, to debate with her such issues as "The Bill of Rights or the Concentration Camp," or other subjects vital to the interests of the workers.

Holifield, darling of the labor bureaucrats of both the AFL and CIO, is the official standard-bearer of both the Democratic and Republican parties, as a result of the peculiarities of California's cross-filing system. The Independent Progressive Party (Wallaceites) and the Stalinists supported Holifield when he ran for Congress two years ago. By refraining from running a candidate of their own in the present election, they give tacit endorsement to his candidacy.

In an interview, Myra Tanner Weiss was asked why she chose to run against a man who seemingly has such formidable backing — Republicans, Democrats, labor leaders, Progressives and Stalinists.

"It is precisely in such a situation as this," she stated, "that the issues are most clearly drawn. How is it possible for a Democrat to be endorsed and supported by Republicans unless — as the Socialist Workers Party has long maintained — the two major capitalist class parties are in reality twins, tweedledum and tweedledee, both equally intent on destroying the organized movement, denying equality to Negroes and other minorities, throwing all political opponents into concentration camps, and dragging this country into a third world war."

"It is precisely here, too, that we see the tragic fallacy of labor leaders refusing to see the obvious — that no capitalist politician can serve the interests of the workers. Do the workers want a new world slaughter from which they have nothing to gain but the privilege of being maimed for life or killed? Ask the workers how they feel about being drafted for World War III. Better still, let the people vote on war. Yet Holifield, endorsed by the leaders of both the AFL and the CIO, supports all the war measures, hypocritically called 'defense measures.'"

"Are concentration camps and thought-control in the interests of the workers? Of course not. Every thinking worker knows that

## Open Forum Series In Los Angeles

LOS ANGELES — The Myra Tanner Weiss Campaign Committee is holding a series of four pre-election open forums, every Friday night at 8 p. m., starting Oct. 13. The forums are being held at the Eastside Campaign Headquarters, 3012 East 1st Street. All friends are urged to attend.

Oct. 13 — "All Quiet on the Western Front" (Marxism and Pacifism). Speaker Murry Weiss.

Oct. 20 — Socialism—Realization of the American Dream. Speaker John Murphy.

Oct. 27 — The Bill of Rights or the Concentration Camp. Debate or Symposium.

Nov. 3 — The Holifield Story — or Can a Capitalist Politician be a Friend of Labor. Speaker Myra Tanner Weiss.

## SWP on the Air in New York

TELEVISION:  
Station WPIX (Channel 11)  
SWP Candidates Debate Their Opponents  
MICHAEL BARTELL  
SWP Candidate for Governor Sun., Oct. 15, 7:15-8 PM  
JOSEPH HANSEN  
SWP Candidate for U.S. Sen. Sun., Oct. 22, 7:15-8 PM

RADIO:  
WNEW (1130 on the dial)  
Mon., Oct. 16, 9:35-10 PM  
Wed., Oct. 18, 9:35-10 PM  
Fri., Oct. 20, 9:35-10 PM  
Wed., Nov. 1, 9:35-10 PM

the police-state techniques are directed not only against the Stalinists, but also, and with deadly effectiveness, against the labor movement. Yet Holifield found it convenient to be absent when the thought-control measures were voted on recently in Congress.

"And the Stalinists?" Comrade Weiss continued. "The best response I have received so far in my campaign has been from Stalinist workers, people who a year ago would have shouted me down as a hated Trotskyist. These workers, perhaps more even than other workers, understand the meaning of Holifield's absence when the roll was called on the police-state bills."

"My program and my campaign, in opposition to Holifield, give the workers of the 19th district an opportunity to choose between a tweedledum-tweedledee capitalist politician and a genuine representative of the working class."

Comrade Weiss has already spoken before a local of the International Association of Machinists, a local of the Carpenters Union, and a meeting of the Los Angeles Tenants Council on Rent Control, all situated in the 19th District. Speaking engagements are scheduled for almost every evening from now until election.

In addition, the campaign committee is planning a series of street-corner meetings, the touring of a sound truck, the sale of a thousand copies of *The Militant*, a series of forums, and the distribution of campaign leaflets at union meetings, plant gates and to minority group organizations.

Campaign headquarters have been established in the 19th District at 3012 East 1st Street. All persons anxious to aid in the election of Myra Tanner Weiss are urged to visit the headquarters. There is work enough for all.

## War Costs Soar, Point to Raging Inflation in '51

(Continued from Page 1)

escalator cost-of-living wage clause in union contracts. This provides periodically for automatic wage increases to bring wages in line with price rises. It has been widely adopted in the auto industry.

But even the escalator clause, particularly the type adopted by some of the unions like the CIO auto workers, cannot keep pace with the kind of raging, prairie-fire inflation that is coming.

These clauses are based on the cost-of-living index of the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics which notoriously fails to reflect the real extent of price rises. Its index showed less than a 2% rise in living costs three months after the Korean war began; actual market surveys of retail food prices nationally showed a 20% rise.

Labour's campaign to keep wages abreast of prices must be combined with an all-out fight to effectively halt further price rises. We do not mean by this mere appeals to Truman to "roll back" prices. We do not mean pleas for the Big Business government to carry out its "price control" measures in "good faith."

This capitalist government is concerned with protecting profits. It is not going to halt price gouging, because inflation is a means of throwing the full burden of war costs on the low-income earners.

If price controls are to be made effective, it will be done by the consumers themselves and nobody else. Mass price-control committees, composed of labor, housewives and farmers, must be set up and empowered to fix prices and enforce price ceilings.

Such committees would investigate the books of manufacturers and distributors to determine their real costs, uncover hoarded goods held for price rises, and expropriate and distribute needed supplies withheld for speculative purposes.

A vast network of consumers committees, exercising regulatory powers over prices and commodities, is the only sure means of enforcing price controls.