

Truman's Moves Heighten Danger Of China War

By John G. Wright

NOV. 30—Three factors are now playing a central role in the acute and hourly aggravation of the international crisis, which was inherent from the beginning in Truman's "police action" in Korea and which has now brought this country and the whole world so perilously close to the outbreak of a major war in Asia, if not to another world war.

The first factor is the abrupt change in the military situation on the China-Korea front. Things here turned out in a way entirely unforeseen either in Washington or Tokyo.

Second is the blind alley into which the diplomats of Wall Street have maneuvered themselves. They had deliberately stalled all along in the expectation of dictating the terms of a possible settlement, with a "strong" military position on the China-Korea border as their trump card. This diplomatic "strategy" blew up in their faces with the military reverses. And

they are now improvising from day to day, if not from one minute to the next.

M'ARTHUR'S ROLE

The third major factor is the sinister role of General MacArthur who continues to press for a showdown in Asia and whose political and military strategy has been from the first directed toward this end. It is widely recognized that his removal from command would greatly alleviate at least the diplomatic situation. On the other hand, his remaining in command can easily precipitate an even graver state of affairs.

The Truman administration does not want a major war with China now. Its cautious course since China's intervention on the Manchurian border is a clear enough indication. The Pentagon is actually not prepared for a major war in Asia. Even more important, the Atlantic Allies are opposed to it for a whole number of domestic and international reasons, and above all, because the mass of the people in Europe want no further extension of war.

But the dictates of caution are giving way to the demands of expediency in a situation which the American imperialists are finding more and more intolerable. They are determined at all costs to maintain a "position of strength." And in harmony with this, Washington's diplomats keep introducing sharper and sharper notes into their public statements, adding powder kegs to the already explosive diplomatic mess.

DANGEROUS MOVES

Ambassador Austin's charge in the UN of "open and notorious aggression" in answer to the Mao Tse-tung government's counter-charge of American aggression in Formosa and Korea, has been followed up by Secretary of State Acheson's denunciation of China's "shocking and brazen act of aggression."

If Austin in the UN refrained from referring directly to the Kremlin, Acheson in his nationwide broadcast pointedly included the Soviet Union and "international communism."

Truman, accompanied by the

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Lt. Gilbert Faces 20 Year Sentence; Protest Saved Life

The sentence of death passed by a court martial in Korea on Lieutenant Leon A. Gilbert has been commuted to twenty years at hard labor by President Truman.

Lt. Gilbert, a veteran of combat in Italy, was given a drumhead court martial in the early days of the Korean war. The charge was misbehavior before the enemy and he was sentenced to be hanged. No soldier in World War II was executed on this charge and Gilbert was the first so condemned in Korea.

In the early stages of the Korean war American troops were retreating all along the line. It was apparent that Gilbert, a Negro, was sentenced to death for an offense that would have been overlooked in the case of a white officer. Medical testimony that would have sent a white officer to a hospital as a combat fatigue case was disregarded in Gilbert's trial.

The protest on behalf of Gilbert has so far saved his life. But twenty years at hard labor is not much of a life to look forward to. The campaign must be continued till Lt. Gilbert, a victim of military Jim Crow, is freed.

REGISTRATION OF CP DEMANDED BY M'GRATH

No Republican administration could or would enforce the McCarran-Kilgore police-state law faster or more vigorously than the Truman administration is doing. Attorney General McGrath's Nov. 22

petition to the Subversive Activities Control Board, demanding that the Communist Party be required to register under the law enacted on Sept. 23, is ample proof of the speed with which the Trumanites are moving.

It is also proof of The Militant's contention from the beginning that Truman is playing the same two-faced game on this law that he played on the Taft-Hartley law. He went through the gestures of vetoing that law too, and of calling for its repeal after it was enacted over the veto. But while posing as an opponent of Taft-Hartleyism, he enforced the T-H law to the hilt, employing it as a strikebreaking measure in scores of cases. Now he is doing the same thing with the McCarran law, putting into effect the very provisions which he himself had labeled thought-control measures, while holding in abeyance those provisions which he really opposes, such as the one calling for publication of a list of arms plants.

PETITION'S EFFECTS

The immediate effect of McGrath's petition, which was deliberately speeded up before Congress reconvened on Nov. 27, will be to guarantee that a long time will pass before there will be any serious attempt to repeal the worst sections of the law.

The administration's main complaint was that the law was "cumbersome" and "unworkable." But the first objection is being met by the rapidity with which the administration itself is enforcing the law. As for the second, even Congressmen who are doubtful about the law will now be inclined to say, "Well, since the registration process is already initiated, we might as well wait and see whether or not it really is unworkable."

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STOP THE WAR NOW! Withdraw All Troops! Recall Gen. MacArthur!

By James P. Cannon

To the President and Members of the Congress:
Gentlemen:

Once more, as at the start of your Korean intervention, I take this means to tell you what I believe is the heartfelt sentiment of the overwhelming majority of humanity, including the American people today:

Stop your criminal aggression against the Asian people.

Your reckless military adventure in Korea has brought this country into a clash with the 500 millions of China and threatens an "entirely new war" that will engulf millions more of our youth and drain our last resources.

You have permitted MacArthur, with his mad ambition to be the conqueror of all Asia, to deliberately provoke a situation that could mean war on a titanic scale. Now he has turned for a "solution" to the "United Nations and chancelleries of the world."

But that is precisely where this grave crisis of humanity has been forged — in the UN and the chancelleries. Can we then entrust the further fate of the world to pin-striped diplomats?

Your proposed solution, Mr. President, is a threat to repeat the atrocities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki by using the atom bomb in Korea.

Take heed, Mr. President, before it is too late! Hear the voice of the people of America and the whole world. They are thundering:

Stop the war NOW!

Recall your madly-ambitious MacArthur!

Withdraw the troops from Korea!

Let the peoples of Asia alone to settle their own fate!

Who wants this war?

Not the Koreans, whose cities, towns and villages have been reduced by your bombs to charred rubble and who mourn hundreds of thousands of the slain.

Not the Chinese people, whose dead in the struggle against imperialism and Chiang Kai-shek's despotism number tens of millions.

Not the peoples of Europe, whose fears are reflected today in the warnings to you by their governments.

The German people, by their votes, have just told you in unmistakable terms that they will not bear your arms in another war.

And, if you stop to think about it, Mr. President, the American people are not fools. They are not blind to the price they have paid for your disastrous "police action" in Korea. Their hearts ache for their slaughtered youth. And they dread the hatred that your bombs have generated throughout the vast Asian continent. The American people know that before you can even hope to subjugate the new China, the bleached bones of their boys will be strewn across the desert reaches of Gobi, their frozen corpses will choke the Himalaya passes.

Only your arrogant militarists like MacArthur; only your profits-hungry ruling class of monopolists and international financiers; only the political hirelings of a rapacious imperialism seek this war.

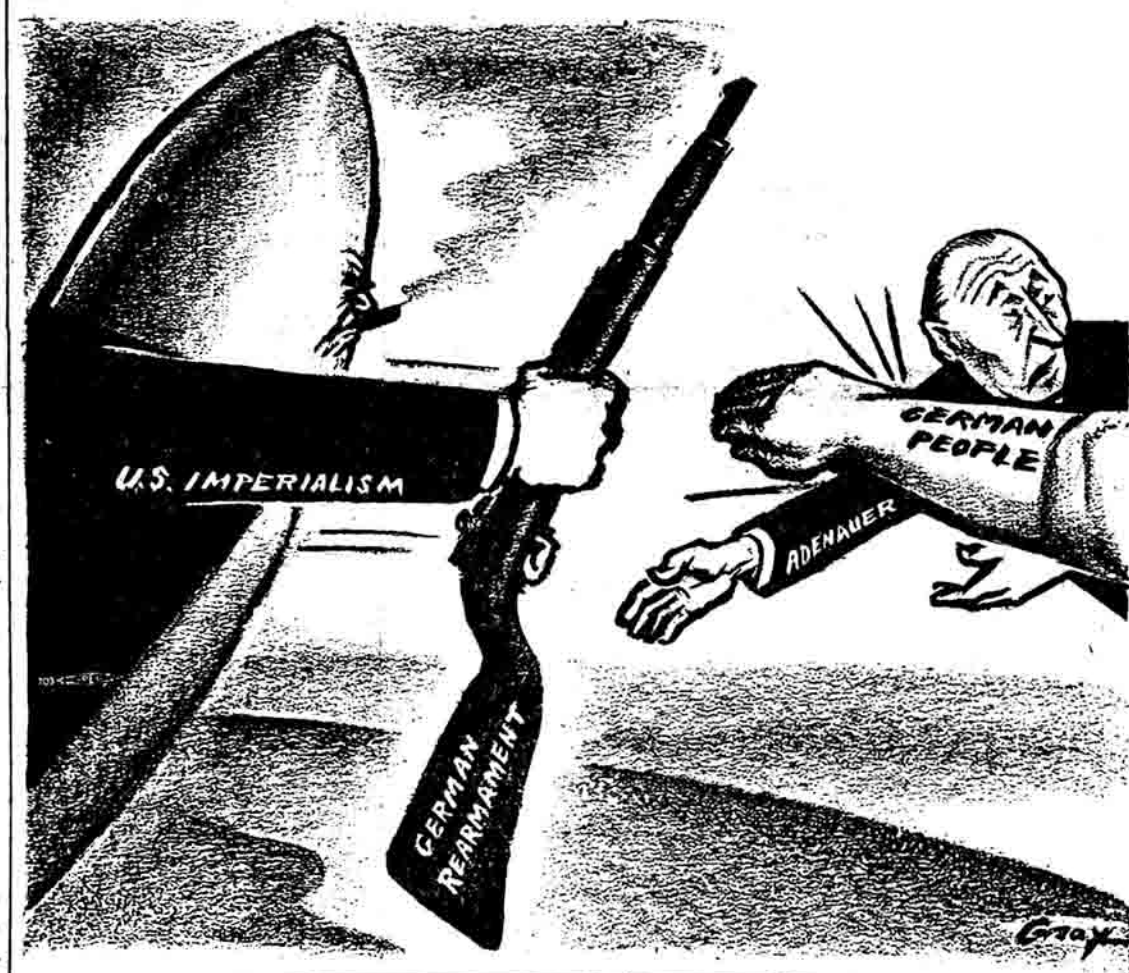
Take heed, Mr. President, I adjure you.

You are trifling with the fate of the human race.

Stop, look, and listen.

This great and good American people abhor militarism and war. They love the ways of peace and freedom. They are trying to tell you their will:

STOP THE WAR NOW!



WITCH-HUNTERS INFURIATED BY BOOK TELLING TRUTH ABOUT FBI

By Frank Poole

Many people have believed, rightly or wrongly, that the Washington politicians are not interested in books, that they rarely read one. This belief certainly does not hold today.

A book has just been written on one of the most explosive subjects in U. S. life — that holy of holies, the FBI, and reactionary congressmen and editors have risen as one man to bury the book under an avalanche of distortions and red-baiting.

The Federal Bureau of Investigation was written by Max Lowenthal, a corporation lawyer and bank director, who for 38 years has on and off served as federal counsel under both Democratic and Republican administrations. That Lowenthal's liberalism is of the mild variety is attested by the fact that Herbert Hoover appointed him executive secretary of the National Commission on Law Observance.

Despite his unassailable political orthodoxy the mere fact that he dared write a book with unfavorable conclusions about the FBI has made Lowenthal the No. 1 smear target in Washington today.

As soon as news of the book's preparation reached Washington, the thought-police went into action. In an effort to suppress the book, or failing that to discredit it, Representative Dondero of Michigan told the House that Lowenthal was "a menace to the best interests of America," and that his record was "replete with incidents where he aided and abetted Communists." This was almost three months before the

book was published. Then on Sept. 15 Lowenthal was summoned before a secret session of the House Un-American Activities Committee.

In the committee the witch-hunters made Lowenthal "admit" that during his 38 years in Washington he had known Alger Hiss and Lee Pressman and some other "suspect" or "proved" Communists. The testimony of this secret hearing was released Nov. 18, by "coincidence" two days before Lowenthal's book was published.

In this period of growing thought-control and witch-hunting, reviewing this book on the

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SWP Convention Adopts Policy to Fight Reaction

NEW YORK — The 14th National Convention of the Socialist Workers Party, which met here Thanksgiving weekend, took stock of the political situation in the United States and worked out a program

aimed at defending the rights of the working people and promoting the cause of revolutionary socialism against the onslaughts of reaction. At a time when the capitalist ruling class is wrangling over its future course in foreign affairs and when other radical parties are in crisis or full retreat, the SWP convention was notable for the firmness and clarity of its decisions and the unity and confidence of its members.

The main resolution before the convention, reported on by William F. Warde, dealt with the prospects facing the working class as a result of American imperialism's drive to dominate the world. Warde showed that while the U. S. monopolists had emerged from the second world war far stronger, the world system of capitalism on which they rest had become smaller and weaker. The enormous efforts to sustain the sagging structure of world capitalism have imposed severe strains on American capitalism.

"It is no simple matter to act as a fire brigade to put out the flames of revolt around the globe," Warde said. "These are too many, too widespread, too stubborn and recurrent to contain and extinguish easily. Hardly does one die down than another flares up. MacArthur had no sooner announced that Korea was thoroughly subdued than he ran into Mao's troops."

But despite all the measures taken so far, capitalism has not

between the demands of the arms program and the living standards of the masses, and the political, producing a struggle between the drive toward a police state and the defense of democratic rights. One of the main tasks of the SWP in the coming period must be to make plain to the masses the connection between these two problems and to help draw them into the fight against the witch-hunt.

The recent elections, Warde continued, will bring an accentuation of the rightward swing, but its extent must not be overestimated because the labor movement still retains great capacities for resistance. Moreover, the elections showed a growing restlessness, anxieties, questioning and doubts among broad sections of the people, even

And Now LIRR Wants Fare Boost

Governor Dewey's Public Service Commission began "investigating" the Long Island Rail Road last December. It hasn't yet found anything wrong although 110 have been killed and 500 injured in LIRR disasters since last February. But now, following the Nov. 23 collision that killed 78, the Commission has resumed hearings on — the railroad's petition for a 32% commuters fare increase. This, if granted, would be on top of three previously granted temporary increases of 20% in 1947, 5% in 1948 and 25% in 1949, which would be made permanent.

110 LIRR Deaths for DuPont-Mellon Profits

By Joseph Keller

If you were Pierre S. duPont and Richard King Mellon, the two richest directors of the Pennsylvania Railroad and heirs of two of the wealthiest families in the world, you could get away with murder — wholesale murder. You could slaughter 110 people and mutilate more than 500 others in the state of New York in period of nine months while making millions on these crimes and nothing would happen to you.

The Interstate Commerce Commission and federal judges, the governor and state legislature and Public Service Commission, the county and local officials, the Big Business press and corporations would rush to protect you from the just penalties for your hideous crimes.

That is the true story behind the ghastly Thanksgiving Eve collision on the notorious Long Island Railroad which snuffed

out 78 lives and injured 331 in the worst train disaster in the history of the state.

Public indignation has spilled over in a roar of wrath, which public officials and agencies are trying to quell with a flood of "investigations," hearings, statements, alibis, etc. The greatest demand is for immediate government seizure and operation of the LIRR to halt further carnage.

The smashup between two east-bound LIRR trains loaded with more than 2,300 passengers in Kew Gardens, near Jamaica, Long Island, last Wednesday, was the third and worst disaster on this line since last Feb. 17, when a head-on collision at Rockville Center, L. I., killed 32 and injured more than 100. A second wreck on Aug. 6 at Huntington Station, L. I., injured 47.

This pile-up of disasters has occurred on the most heavily-

travelled railroad in the world,

carrying more than 400,000 passengers daily in 800 trains that operate two minutes apart in the morning and evening rush hours. This packed human freight is hurtled at fast speed over jammed lines lacking in the most elementary automatic safety devices. The crash of one train into the rear of another on Thanksgiving Eve was caused for want of an automatic "tripper" — a device that automatically stops a train within a fixed safe distance of a preceding one — which costs \$2,400.

This device — like many others which the LIRR lacks — was "too expensive," according to the LIRR management, who are really dummies for the Pennsylvania Railroad. The Pennsy owns all the stock of the LIRR and recent investigations have revealed that the former has

unlike more than \$2 billion of

profits from its subsidiary since 1901.

By 1949, the Pennsy had run the LIRR into the ground. Then it worked out a phony "bankruptcy" deal whereby the LIRR gets out of paying taxes and the Pennsy, nominally out of the control, continues as "favored creditor" to collect interest on \$38 million of bonds on a decrepit railroad whose assets amount to only \$11 million.

When the latest disaster happened the capitalist press which had closed its eyes to the previous catastrophes yelled "Bloody Murder!" and from the liberal N. Y. Post to Hearst's ultra-reactionary N. Y. Daily Mirror clamored for "seizure" of the LIRR by state or local authorities.

Governor Dewey's Public Service Commission — which is still "investigating" the crash that killed 32 last February — opened

a new "investigation." Dewey himself set up a special commission to "investigate," headed by former Secretary of War Patterson. Five other "investigations" are under way.

The Pennsy financiers and the public officials are now figuring an angle how to make money out of the wreck and the public outcry. There has been the suggestion that the LIRR be taken over, like the New York City subway lines, by a public authority. The Pennsy would get a huge compensation for this, and collect interest for the next 99 years.

The only thing the Pennsy and LIRR owners and managers should get is a trial for murder. The LIRR should be seized without one cent of compensation and placed under the control of the railroad workers who have their own lives at stake and every reason to install a safety system.

Yugoslavia Seen With Open Eyes: 5

How Workers Councils Are Chosen and How They Operate

By Ernest Germain

Caught between the growing pressure of the well-to-do and rich peasantry inside the country, and of world imperialism and the Soviet bureaucracy outside of it, the Yugoslav CP had to solve the problem of the hour: How to safeguard the conquests of the revolution against these hostile forces, how to push forward on the road of socialist construction? The only progressive answer possible was the following: By mobilizing the conscious, decisive force in the country, the industrial working class. That was the road chosen by the Yugoslav leaders from 1949 on.

Experience told them that the road was practical only if (1) the workers achieved a minimum standard of living which makes workers democracy practicable; (2) if the active and conscious participation of the working class in the administration of the state and the economy was made possible. From the end of 1949 the whole internal policy of the Yugoslav CP has been concentrated on achieving just that goal.

And the main road toward that goal has led through the legislation on the workers councils.

PREVIOUS PRACTICE

When the industrial enterprises, the mines, the transport corporations, etc. were nationalized in Yugoslavia, they were placed under the management of a state-appointed director. The main task assigned the factory union was to collaborate with that manager — as is the case in the Soviet Union. Some forms of workers' participation in the management of the factories existed since the beginning of the Five-Year Plan, in the so-called "production conferences" which could be called by the manager. They were purely consultative organs, and were only used to break some bottleneck in production. In the shipyard Chukarica on the Danube near Belgrade, this "production conference," embracing the most skilled workers and shockworkers, had functioned irregularly ever since 1947 and solved the problems arising from the unusually cold weather during the harsh winter of 1949-50.

In the meantime, the leaders of the Yugoslav CP understood that this was not the type of institution that could instill real confidence in the workers. The Supreme Economic Council decided that in the beginning of 1950 elections of factory committees would be held in 200 of the most important industrial enterprises of the country. These factory committees would still be allowed only consultative powers, but they would meet regularly and be elected by all the workers in secret ballot.

The procedure employed at these elections is very interesting, because it constituted a transitional stage between the old "one party unanimity" system, which the CPY had inherited from its Stalinist godfather, and the new course of workers' democracy which was slowly being realized in the country. At

these elections there was only one slate of candidates, but two important provisions introduced real elements of workers' democracy into these elections.

First is the fact that the original slate, worked out by an "electoral committee of the trade union branch," had to be presented to the general assembly of all the workers in the given plant (or in very big factories, to a general assembly of many hundreds of elected shop stewards), who were thereby given ample opportunity to change the slate. Second is the fact that the workers, becoming confident that the ballot was really a secret one, took the opportunity to vote against the single slate, writing in people of their own choice on the ballot.

COMPETING SLATES

Results of these elections clearly indicate that the workers used both instruments put in their hands. The journalist Pierre Gousset, who visited many fac-

ories and made a thorough study of these elections and whose articles appeared in the Rheinische Zeitung, cites the following facts: At the big steel plant of Jelenica (employing 7,500 workers) two-thirds of the candidates on the original slate were removed at the general assembly of shop stewards; at the Litostroj turbine plant in Ljubljana (1,800 workers), 20 candidates were added during the general assembly to the slate submitted by the unions. At the Jugostampa printing plant in Belgrade (1,000 workers), only 25 of the 31 slate candidates were actually elected, the other six elected members of the factory committee being workers whose names had been written in on the ballots during the election itself by the voters. In that same plant, the elected candidates received only between 426 and 381 of the 700 odd valid votes.

The functioning of these consultative factory committees appeared to be very satisfactory

and provided a big support in mobilizing the working class. The law of June 28, 1950 was thus prepared, which represented a revolutionary development on the road of socialist democracy. This law actually puts the management of the factories into the hands of the workers, operating through two elected committees: the factory committee, chosen by universal suffrage of all the workers of a plant; the administrative committee, elected by all the members of the factory committee.

COMMITTEE FUNCTIONS

From August to October 15, these committees were to be elected in all nationalized enterprises. The factory committee would be the supreme legislative body in the management of the plant. It would meet at least once every six weeks, and be composed of from 15 to 120 members. The administrative committee, composed of from 3 to 17 members, would be the executive organ of the management and meet on an average of once a week.

The elections of the administrative committees were a clear indication of the progress made on the road of the democratization of the regime. In many, if not in most cases, several slates of candidates were presented to the electorate. Quoting again the figures cited in the survey of the journalist Pierre Gousset, there were two slates of candidates presented at the election of the machine-tool plant Ivo Lola-Ribar (2,000 workers), with candidates elected from both slates. There were also two slates presented at the printing plant Jugostampa, one electing 7, and the other one candidate. At the former Bata plant of Borovo, in Vinkovci, Eastern Croatia (5,000 workers) there were three slates of candidates, each of them winning some places. Finally, at the tractor factory of Rankovica there were four slates of candidates, receiving respectively 23%, 31%, 15% and 27% of the votes.

COMPOSITION

The elected factory and administrative committees are representative of the people who work in the plants. The law requires that at least three-fourths of each committee be composed of the workers actually working at the bench. In general, rarely more than one employee and one technician (or engineer) are members of the administrative committees, besides the bench workers, a majority of whom are average skilled workers. The law also provides that no members

of the workers' councils may be paid in any manner for their activities on these councils.

In order to prevent any formation of a new "workers' aristocracy" inside the plants, the law provides that no members of the administrative council may serve longer than two successive years in this office. By this means the leaders of the Yugoslav CP want to educate the largest possible number of all the workers in administrative and managerial functions, in order to start on the road which leads to the complete withering away of the state, i.e., a situation where all workers execute managerial functions in rotation.

HOW DO THEY WORK?

This is the mechanism set in motion by the law of June 28 to achieve vital progress on the road towards socialist democracy. The big question is: To what extent has the letter of the law become reality? To what extent are the workers councils true organs of defense of the workers' interests, and not some new means of compelling the workers to put out more work and be satisfied with less real wages?

It is too early to give a definite answer to that question. The workers' councils have hardly started their activities. Many examples, however, already indicate that the Yugoslav leaders are eager to give the workers every opportunity to achieve what the law concedes to them as their right and privilege. Wherever bureaucratic elements tried to organize fake elections or to bully the workers, the workers could appeal to the CP or to the state, which protected their rights.

At the brick-making plant Omadina at Batehki Petrovats, elections were held on a slate which the trade union committees had not previously submitted to the general assembly of the workers. These elections were declared illegal, and new elections were held. At the silk mill of Maribor, a sharp rebuff was administered to the manager who attempted to subordinate the factory committee to himself. At the Metalna plant in the same town where the manager had actually succeeded in using that committee against the workers, they demanded and obtained the recall of the committee and new elections.

RIGHT TO INTERVENE

The workers' councils have the right to intervene against decisions of the norm and the plan bureau if they consider these decisions injurious to the interests of the workers. They did so at

the Litostroj plant, where they suspended the norm bureau and put a group of workers in their place. As a result, in general, all the Yugoslav factories have norms which can be easily attained by all the workers, and hardly an average of 5% of the workers in a plant fall below their "norm."

The workers' councils have the right to intervene for the general welfare of the workers. They manage the workers' canteen and the ekonomia i.e., a large state-owned farm operated by state-paid agricultural workers, whose crops provide supplementary food for the factory workers above the normal rations which they receive. They have radically eliminated black market and speculative practices, and assured a high level of food in the canteens where workers and managing personnel eat at the same tables. The Litostroj ekonomia is 150 hectares in size, and has 120 pigs, 16 cows, many hundred sheep, etc., supplying valuable food supplements to 1,800 workers who get three meals a day at the plant for something like 1,000 dinars a month (about 25% of the average monthly wage).

Workers' councils try to rationalize the organization of production inside the plant in order to allow the workers to achieve their "norms" with less time and effort. At the TAM truck plant at Maribor (5,000 workers) the factory committee sent the members of the planning bureau to work at the bench for six months and had the workers themselves organize the inner plant circulation of parts and material from department to department in such a way that the plant functioned without loss of time, something that had never happened before.

EFFECTS ON PRODUCTIVITY

The workers' councils try by all means to increase the managerial capacities of their own members and of all the workers, and to instill the spirit of initiative and free creation in the working class. It is in that field, and not through an increase of physical effort or through speed-up, that the leaders of the CPY hope to achieve an increase in productivity. Results here are also amazing.

The members of the workers' councils of Rakovica are very proud of their new tractor, which was conceived and discussed by themselves, and they have been fighting a bitter battle against the "technicians" who gave them too little assistance in their work. The workers of the Jugostampa printing shop have solved dozens of production problems by introducing new gadgets and inventions.

Everywhere, materials are put at the disposal of the workers to build models of newly invented equipment. Everywhere study classes in technical problems, in electrodynamics, in physics, in accountancy, in law, are organized right in the plants. On the same subjects, the CPY has had a dozen pamphlets printed and distributed in tens of thousands of copies to the workers. The school of practice and the practice of the school are creating a new generation of workers, capable of the day-to-day managerial work in the factories.

(Next week: The Struggle Against Bureaucracy)

CIO Convention Leaders Fail to Draw Lesson of the Nov. 7 Political Setback

By Art Preis

Delegates to the CIO national convention in Chicago, Nov. 20 to 24, were greeted by an editorial "memorandum" in the CIO News warning them in advance that this year's gathering would be "duller" than the previous one. It recalled almost wistfully the 1949 convention that "really saw some excitement" when Philip Murray and his lieutenants used the Stalinists as the scape-goats on whom to pour all the blame for the CIO leadership's shortcomings.

Every observer at the latest convention agreed with the CIO News prediction. "Dull" was the adjective they all applied to the proceedings. This year there was no "excitement" of red-baiting denunciation of a discredited minority, no "thrill" of a whipped-up hysteria against a weak and unpopular opposition, no preparations for bureaucratic expulsions and splits, no rallying of the capitalist press with its hordes of reporters and photographers to egg on the "kill."

Not that there were no vital controversial subjects crying for full and honest discussion. But any real discussion of such crucial issues as the CIO's political policy and the recent elections, the huge decline in CIO membership, the effect of the expulsion this year of the Stalinist-led unions, etc., would have proved most painful and embarrassing to the CIO leadership.

OLD HOME WEEK

For at this convention, Murray, Reuther, Potofsky and the other CIO top leaders had to take full responsibility for what the CIO has done or failed to do. So, instead of the "excitement" of flailing a scapegoat, they gently waltzed around the key issues. This could be nothing else but dull.

While the leaders talked in circles and sounded off their platitudes spiced up with the usual demagoguery, the hand-picked delegates — mostly paid functionaries of international unions and state and local CIO councils — dutifully applauded at the right spots. There was scarcely an echo of the voice of the rank-and-file. It was just Old Home Week for the bureaucrats.

The one big question that loomed over this convention was political action. Every CIO worker, every section of the American labor movement was looking to the CIO convention to provide some frank analysis of the reasons for labor's bad political setback on Nov. 7 and some proposals for new and more effective policies.

All they got was sickening evasions and crude boasts and the promise to do it all over again the same way the next time. It was well known that the top leaders had held a special meeting in advance of the con-

vention and had agreed to defer a full consideration of the political action question until they could deal with it privately in their own little circle, removed from any expression of sentiment or intervention by the rank and file.

The political action resolution, drafted by the Resolutions Committee headed by UAW President Walter Reuther, was reduced to a bare declaration that the work of the CIO Political Action Committee must be continued and expanded. But there was no intimation of any change in its fundamental policy of backing candidates of the capitalist parties, particularly Trumanite Democrats, nor any consideration of even the possibility of forming labor's own party and running its own candidates. As for the reasons for the election results, these they ascribed mainly to the "despicable techniques of McCarthyism," with no explanation given why they could not meet the challenge of McCarthyism.

KROLL'S APPROACH

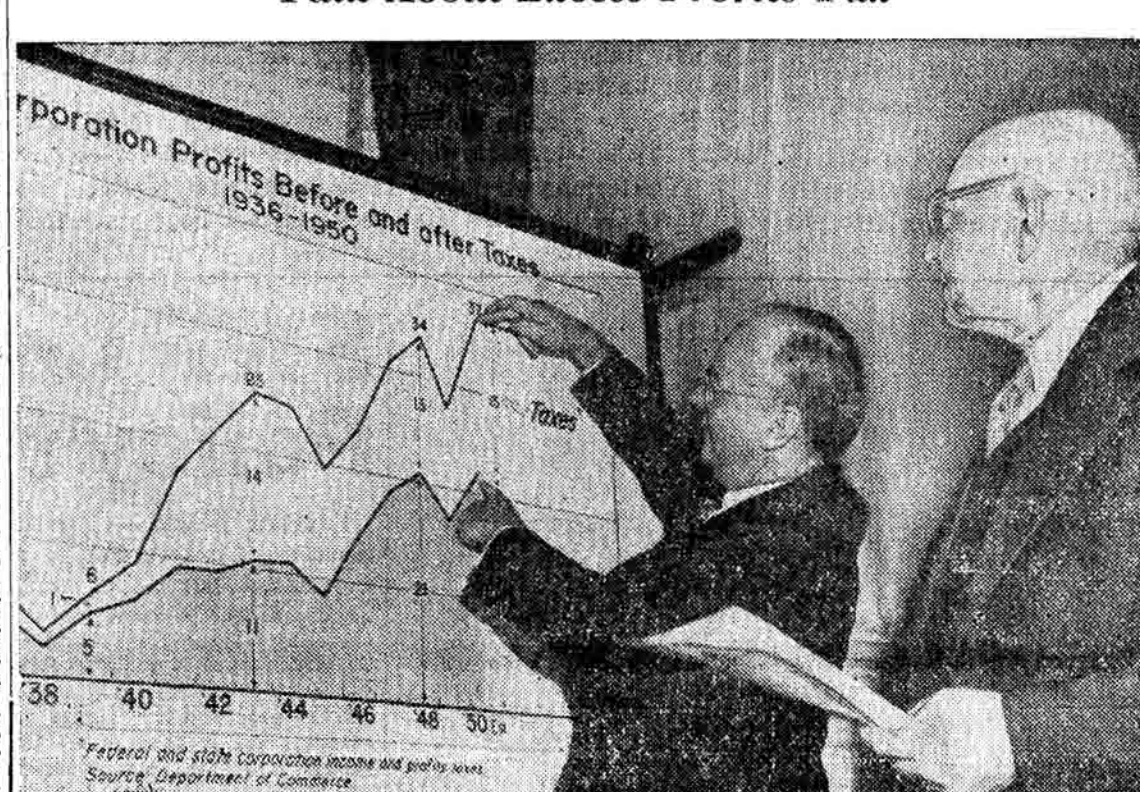
The tone of the Murray leadership was expressed in the speech by CIO-PAC Director Jack Kroll who spoke on the political action resolution just after Truman's Secretary of Labor, Maurice J. Tobin, blandly told the convention that the election results were "a vindication of the program of Truman's Fair Deal."

Here was the ideal spot to point out that the elections were not a "vindication of Truman's Fair Deal" but a repudiation of his demagoguery and broken Fair Deal promises and a reflection of the people's fear of his War Deal. But Kroll was anxious only to defend the false political policies that led to the election debacle for the CIO and to shield from attack the CIO leadership's unholy alliance with the Truman administration and the Democratic machine.

Brazenly, Kroll asserted: "I don't believe we have a damned thing to apologize for in the election." With smug complacency, he boasted that the CIO membership had done a "better" job than ever before in campaigning for CIO-supported candidates and insisted that the CIO workers had gone down the line for PAC-sponsored capitalist candidates. He tried to arouse the apathetic convention with artificial optimism, declaring, "From this licking, we are going to bounce back and bounce back hard."

But the leaden lid of the bureaucracy could not succeed altogether in preventing some

Talk About Excess Profits Tax



Secretary of the Treasury John Snyder (L.) uses a chart to show Sen. Robert L. Doughton (D, N.C.) how corporation war profits could be taxed 75% and still leave plenty behind. Big Business is conducting a vigorous campaign against even this inadequate measure, and a large section of Congress opposes action during the lame-duck session.

overflow of the disgust and discontent that is boiling in the ranks over the miserable results of the CIO's political policy. This found reflection in the speech of George Baldanzi, executive vice-president of the United Textile Workers, who is considered something of a maverick in top CIO circles. He tossed a small stone in the otherwise placid waters of the convention.

Speaking on the political action resolution, Baldanzi urged the CIO to "reexamine" its policy of supporting "hacks" and "racketeers" nominated by the Democratic Party. He questioned whether, as a result of its support of such elements in the recent election, the people consider the CIO to be "independent of either party."

Baldanzi stated that "the workers of America will no longer follow PAC-CIO in an attempt to elect a lot of racketeers than they will if the Democratic or Republican Party sponsors them. When we say we support men with a program we must mean that down to the end, and not accept some political hacks that may be handed to us by a Tammany Hall or some other group of politicians."

"SUCKED IN"

He complained that "a lot of so-called New Deal" candidates had "campaigning against the National Health Program, against social security, they were against FEPC, they were against everything that their own party platform said they should be for." Nevertheless, Baldanzi insisted, the CIO leaders could not "assume the blame," because their only fault was that "we permitted ourselves to be sucked in to endorse people who were not acceptable" to the voters. "A large part of the responsibility" for the elections outcome, he said, rests on "some" of the Democratic Party leaders "who thought this election was a push-over and gave us a lot of political hacks instead of men of great standing in the country to run for office."

Where the CIO could have found "men of great standing" to support in the last election among the Democrats or Repub-

licans, Baldanzi did not explain. His complaint boiled down to a suggestion that the CIO be "more discriminating" in endorsing candidates. But what should the CIO do if the Democrats continue to run "hacks" and "gangsters"? Will it just retire from political action? On this, Baldanzi had no answer. He stressed that he did not advocate formation of a new national party by labor, but only "more independence" in backing candidates of the two big capitalist parties.

But the small spark struck by Baldanzi died in midair. His mild admonition, which proposed no real change in CIO policy, lit no discussion. Murray, Reuther and the others met it with stony silence, although Reuther himself had made a similar type of declaration in the UAW paper.

FOREIGN POLICY

Neither Baldanzi nor anyone else at the convention came to grips with the real factor underlying the wide-spread repudiation of the Democrats. That is the reaction of the people to the growing danger of a third world war and their fear that the Truman administration will drag us into a new global slaughter.

On this score, the CIO leaders in their five-page foreign affairs resolution went down the line in support of Truman's foreign policy — the Marshall Plan, the ECA, the program of militarism and huge armaments, the Korea intervention and all other basic measures of the American imperialist preparations for war and world conquest.

They could only beef about some of the reactionary consequences of this program and advise the war government how it might better conceal its reactionary aims under a "progressive" cover. Thus, they proposed that Marshall Plan funds be used to help the European workers more, instead of the rich; that the U.S. stop aiding dictators like Chiang Kai-shek, Franco and Syngman Rhee; that the union leaders be given more voice in foreign policy-making and in the conduct of the war mobilization program.

There were many secondary aspects of American domestic and foreign policy about which they found fault. But in all these com-

plaints they carefully avoided any criticism of Truman and his State Department. Here they showed the real tie that binds them to their fatal political policy. They support the Trumanite war program and, for good or ill, they are bound to support the political machine that is putting that program through. That is why they supported the Democratic "hacks" and "gangsters" in the last election and why they promise to do so in the future.

M'Grath Demands CP Registration

(Continued from Page 1)

that are set in the Stalinist case will hang like a sword over the heads of the whole American people.

The difficulties in the way of a struggle against the McCarran-Kilgore law have been increased by the administration's policy, just as they have been increased by the Stalinist policy of refusing to defend the civil rights of their political opponents, especially the Trotskyists. What this means is not that the struggle against the law should be abandoned but that a merciless criticism and exposure of administration and Stalinist policies on civil rights must be conducted alongside of the efforts to secure the repeal of the law.

Above all, it must be made clear to the American people that defense of the Stalinists against McGrath's persecution of them under the McCarran law in no way represents defense or sympathy for the policies of the CP. This point is especially important in connection with the leaders of the labor movement.

They opposed the law verbally at least. It is their duty now to oppose its use against any organization, including the Stalinists. If they shrink that duty on the specious ground that they disagree with the policies of the CP, then they too will be playing into the hands of the McCarrans and McGrath and striking a blow at the security of the whole labor movement. Militant unionists must do everything they can to prevent such a capitulation.

Book Reviews

By John F. Petrone

COLLECTED STORIES OF WILLIAM FAULKNER, Random House, 1950, 900 pages, \$4.75.

The recent award of the 1949 Nobel prize for literature to William Faulkner was doubly welcome. First, because Faulkner, probably the most important American writer of fiction in this century, manifestly deserves the honor. Second, because the publicity surrounding the award will undoubtedly lead to the republication of many of his books that have long been out of print.

The present volume, issued a few weeks before the announcement of the award, contains two books of his short stories first published in the early Thirties. In addition this volume contains the equivalent of another book of stories that were previously printed only in magazines. Although Faulkner's main contributions to literature are found in his novels, especially *Light in August* and *The Sound and the Fury*, some of his best writings are also available among these short stories.

A TRUE PICTURE

Most of Faulkner's work deals with the South, especially the rural South, and its people — the descendants of the slaveowning aristocracy, the newly rich commercial elements who replaced the old aristocracy, the backwoods farmers, the tenant farmers, the Negroes, the intellectuals. Faulkner is concerned with their relations with one another, their morals, their struggles with the heritage of the old South. His social views are nothing to brag about, being confused and sometimes even reactionary. But because he is an honest artist, he gives a generally true though imaginative picture of the decay and corruption of the Southern system as reflected in the lives of his characters.

It is his uncompromising honesty that leaves the capitalist publishers and publicists uncomfortable in his presence. The editors of the N. Y. Times, for example, just could not help voicing their reservations after he got the award. Conceding that he is

a great artist and that "the United States can be proud that one of its artists has earned the Nobel prize again," it complained nevertheless:

"His field of vision is concentrated on a society that is too often vicious, depraved, decadent, corrupt. Americans must fervently hope that the award by a Swedish jury and the enormous vogue of Faulkner's works in Latin America and on the European Continent, especially in France, does not mean that foreigners admire him because he gives them the picture of American life they believe to be typical and true. There has been too much of that feeling lately, again especially in France. Incest and rape may be common pastimes in Faulkner's 'Jefferson, Miss.' but they are not elsewhere in the United States," etc.

THE REAL POINT

We don't pretend to be as well informed as the editors of the Times on the statistics relating to incest and rape in either Mississippi or the rest of the U.S. Anyway, it's utterly irrelevant. Faulkner's point is not that so and so many cases of rape and incest are committed in the South, but that society itself is "vicious, depraved, decadent, corrupt," and he has the right to employ any fictional devices he chooses for illustrating his point. Understood in that light, the pictures he draws are certainly "typical and true," not only of the South but of capitalist society as a whole.

Capitalist editors and critics have the right not to like the truth, even when imaginatively presented, about the society they defend against revolutionary change, but they shouldn't be permitted to distort the issue of what it is that they are defending. Those of us engaged in trying to change society can be grateful to Faulkner for his honesty and integrity, although he can't teach us anything about what is to be done.

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BOSTON—Workers Educational Center, 30 Stuart St. Open Thurs. 3:30-9 P.M. Social list, list of every month.
BUFFALO—Socialist Forum, 629 Main Street, 2nd fl. Open every afternoon except Sat. Phone MA 5-9000.
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Subscriptions \$3 per year:
\$1 for 6 months. Foreign:
\$5.00 per yr; \$2 for 6 mos.
Entered as second class
matter Mar. 7, 1944 at the
Post Office at New York
N. Y. under the act of Mar.
3, 1919.

THE MILITANT

Published Weekly in the Interest of the Working People
THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION
116 University Pl., N. Y. 3, N. Y. Phone: AL 5-7400
Editor: GEORGE BREITMAN
Business Manager: JOSEPH HANSEN

Single Copies (4 or more)
copies: 3c each in U.S. 4c
each in foreign countries.
Signed articles by contribu-
tors do not necessarily re-
present The Militant's policies.
Those are expressed in its
editorials

Vol. XIV - No. 49

Monday, December 4, 1950



TROTSKY

"The bourgeoisie and its agents use the war question, more than any other, to deceive the people by means of abstractions, general formulas, lame phraseology: 'neutrality,' 'national defense,' 'struggle against fascism,' and so on. All such formulas reduce themselves in the end to the fact that the war question, i.e., the fate of the people, is left in the hands of the imperialists, their governing staffs, their diplomacy, their generals, with all their intrigues and plots against the people."

— Leon Trotsky, *The Death Agony of Capitalism*, 1938.

LENIN

The Busy Union Officials

The top union leaders of all affiliations are busier than the proverbial one-armed paper-hanger. They are rushing around to meetings galore to settle the many and crucial problems of American labor. Only the kind of people they've been meeting with, and plan to consort with in the future, bode the American workers no good.

For instance, last week they were reported to be planning a secret meeting, scheduled for Nov. 28, with a group of Big Business representatives to chart out a program of "self-control" on the matter of wages and prices during this period of war mobilization. Who was there, what was said and decided, we have not yet learned. But we know it wasn't for the benefit of union members.

Last week, too, the labor representatives on the new Wage Stabilization Board — Harry C. Bates of the AFL Bricklayers, Emil Rieve of the CIO Textile Workers and Elmer E. Walker of the independent International Association of Machinists — were sworn in and held their first conference with Alan Valentine, former corporation executive and Economic Stabilization Director, and the industry and "public" members of

the wage board. There the union leaders took up the task of enforcement of a wage-price control law that they themselves denounce as a "fraud."

Finally, W. Stuart Symington, chairman of the National Security Resources Board, summoned thirty union officials — ten each from the AFL, CIO and independent unions — to the Pentagon on Nov. 30 to further discuss how to freeze wages and regiment labor.

The union leaders, it appears, are discussing the problems of labor with corporation owners, with government agencies designed to impose restrictions and restraints on labor, with everybody except those most intimately concerned — the workers themselves. These bureaucrats are being briefed in secret sessions on how to put over the program of labor's enemies instead of mobilizing the forces of labor to draft a program that will defend the workers' interests.

What these union officials should be spending their whole time on right now is a national conference of all labor bodies to discuss and prepare a program to keep this country from war and to safeguard the lives and living standard of the American working people.

Victims of Capitalism

When 78 people died in the recent Long Island Rail Road collision, the capitalist press milked the tragedy for all it was worth in sensationalism and pretended indignation. But there are no editorial headlines screaming "Murder!" at the slaughter of thousands of American boys in Korea and hundreds of thousands of Koreans.

The same newspapers that cry their mock outrage for the victims of a railroad wreck furiously demand more victims for the war of American imperialism and some of them, following the latest defeat for the U.S. forces, are demanding that millions more be sacrificed in war with China and even a "preventive war" against the Soviet Union.

Yet, if we examine closely the causes for these two seemingly unrelated tragedies, the LIRR wreck and the Korea war, we will find that they both stem from the same thing and that whoever cries murder for the LIRR victims should shout it from the rooftops for the victims in Korea.

Though differing in many respects each of these catastrophes reflects a basic phase of the capitalist profit system. As the article by Joseph Keller on the LIRR disaster discloses, greed for profits led to the neglect of safety measures that snatched 78 persons from their loved ones. And greed for profits is the driving force that is costing the lives of so many thousands of American youth in

Korea and threatens to cost millions in a new world war.

Every year in this country, the drive for profits regardless of human safety causes thousands of deaths and millions of injuries in industrial accidents, mine disasters, rail and plane wrecks. And every few years, the desire to extend profitable foreign investments, grab new markets and resources, seize new sources of cheap labor leads the capitalist system to war.

Capitalism — the private profit system — has reduced the value of human life to the value of dung. Its countless victims of accidents, poverty, social neglect and war fertilize the golden soil of profits. Capitalism can live on only by nourishing itself on more and more victims until its supply of human fertilizer is exhausted.

Whoever feels real sympathy and indignation for the victims of profits-made railroad accidents and profits-made wars will abhor capitalism. He will fight to achieve the system of socialism, where the means of production, exchange and distribution are owned by society and run under the control of the workers. When the railroads, the mines, the factories are removed from the hands of a tiny, ruthless owning class and are placed in the hands of the whole people there will be an end both to such tragedies as the LIRR disaster and to the infinitely greater tragedy of imperialist war.

What's Left of the Fair Deal

Only a few days before the lame-duck session of Congress convened in Washington, President Truman gave assurances that he would continue to fight for his "whole Fair Deal program." But of the five "must" bills he submitted to Congress there was only one that will be taken seriously — and that is the request for additional billions to supplement previous appropriations for war preparations.

So far almost 31 billion dollars in military funds have been voted this year, including 10 billions for Korea alone. It was estimated that the supplementary appropriation sought at the lame-duck session would be between 10 and 17 billion dollars more — and that was before Gen. MacArthur's communique declaring that a "new war" had started on the China-Korea border.

Next year's arms budget will be far bigger. Secretary Marshall has reportedly submitted a military budget of 45 billions, which Truman has approved, and which will bring next year's overall budget to the 72 billion dollar mark. Further deepening of the crisis with China will make even that astronomical figure outmoded.

Truman also asked for an emergency

loan of 38 million dollars to drought-stricken Yugoslavia. If Congress clears this loan, it will not be for any humanitarian reasons but as a means of extorting political and economic concessions from Belgrade.

The other three "must" bills concern the extension of the present inadequate rent controls for three months to next March 31; the admission of Hawaii and Alaska to statehood, and an "excess profits" tax bill.

Congress is balking at the extension of any kind of rent controls. The Southern Democrats are threatening a filibuster against the Hawaii and Alaska measures because these would slightly decrease the relative strength of the Southern Democrats in the Senate. As for Truman's "excess profits" bill — to nip off only four more billion dollars of the record profits now running at the annual rate of over 40 billions — even that is meeting growing resistance from the Democrat-controlled Congress.

Only two aspects of the Fair Deal program are not dead. One is the part relating to war preparations. The other is the vote-catching demagoguery that has characterized the New Deal and Fair Deal since their inception.

Opposition to War Rises Among Europe's Masses

By Paul G. Stevens

As MacArthur rattled the sword at China's millions on the Manchurian frontier and the U. S. delegates, with unmitigated gall, flung the charge of "aggression" at the newly arrived delegation from Peiping in the UN, the rumble of opposition to Wall Street's war plans grew louder last week among the peoples of the West.

British and French representatives in the UN expressed fear lest the American pro-consul in the Far East request once more authorization to bomb Manchurian bases — as he did on Oct. 12 — and be granted such authorization by Washington. Moreover, they were deeply disturbed by reported anti-war sentiments from their homes, and declared they would have to take cognizance of them and oppose any "full-scale" war moves against China.

The strength of the anti-war feelings of Europe's masses was best expressed, however, in Germany where in the course of three provincial elections, several million voters had a chance to register their opinions at the polls. In all three Hesse, Württemberg-Baden and Bavaria, the voters expressed themselves in no uncertain terms for the Social Democratic Party of Dr. Kurt Schumacher — which is opposed to German rearmament without a national referendum — and against Dr. Konrad Adenauer's Christian Democratic Party, the chief party in the federal government at Bonn, which is acquiescent to American plans for Germany's remilitarization as part of the "North Atlantic defense."

Particularly significant was the Social Democratic victory in Bavaria, most conservative of the three provinces, and one-time citadel of Hitler's Nazis. Bavaria, like the other two provinces, lies in the American zone, and the occupation authorities have all along favored the most conservative and reactionary political forces. The election results, therefore, as the N. Y. Times correspondent put it, "cannot be viewed as anything but a serious setback to the Western Allies" and their plans for German participation in "Western defense."

In the state of Hesse, the Social Democrats increased their seats in the legislature from 38 to 47, or a majority of the total of 80, while the Christian Democrats dropped from 28 to 12. In Württemberg-Baden, Schumacher's strength in the legislature rose from 32 to 35, while Adenauer's declined from 39 to 31. In

Bavaria, the number of seats held by the two parties is not yet determined, but in the popular vote the Social Democrats received 2,386,689, a 5% increase over their 1949 total, as against 2,526,780 votes for the Christian Democrats, a decline of 2%.

In each of the states the Social Democrats became the strongest single party. In the larger industrial towns and cities, the swing was even more decisively in favor of Schumacher's party, as for instance in the Bavarian capital, Munich, where it received 38%, and in Augsburg, where it got 46% of the total vote cast.

Formally, the Social Democrats have not taken a firm stand against German rearmament. They have merely put forward the demand that the German people be consulted in a general election on the conditions under which they would rearm. But their chief election poster, according to dispatches, simply showed a rifle surmounted by a trench helmet, stuck in the torn earth of a battlefield and bearing the legend, "Never again."

It can be safely assumed that the people voted for the sentiment of this poster and its slogan rather than for the devious policy of maneuvering with the occupying powers for an "independent" German army, which Schumacher and his Social Democratic colleagues are pursuing.

CP DECLINE

The elections have also made evident the unpopularity and discredit of Stalinism — the CP vote dropped to an all-time low of less than 2% in Bavaria, less than the required 5% to get any seats in all three states. But the decline of the CP, the traditional anti-war party, has not benefited the militarists. The German people are not in the least inclined to be used as cannon fodder by American imperialism.

While the anti-war sentiment in Germany was expressed in a popular vote, in Britain the same moods found expression more indirectly through increasing ferment in the Labor Party. Some 80 members of that party have presented or signed motions in Parliament critical of the Labor Government's foreign policy. Most noteworthy among the 80 is a group of Labor members of parliament usually associated with the so-called "moderate" trade union wing, the mainstay of Foreign Minister Bevin's following.

Previous challenges to Bevin's policy of close alliance with the U. S. had come from the "Left Wing" of the parliamentary

group which regards Health Minister Aneurin Bevan as its bright hope. The MP's of the trade union wing are in effect urging that the alliance halt short of involving Britain in a war with China.

There is grave concern and unrest among the rank and file of the British labor movement over the prospect of war with China. News from Britain reveals that in recent weeks the Stockholm "peace petition" of the Stalinists, whose political influence is insignificant there, has been meeting with a ready response among dock workers, miners, auto and steel workers and working class women despite repeated bans by the Laborite leadership.

The trade unionist representatives in the House of Commons have taken note of these mass moods and their motions are simply appeals to the government to go slow on a war policy with which the British masses give every evidence of refusing to go along.

In France, likewise, the heightened war danger appears to have created a crisis atmosphere. At the moment, this is reflected in a conflict within the cabinet around the personality of the "Socialist" Minister of Defense, Jules Moch.

While the pressures exerting themselves on the French government are not as yet clearly outlined, aside from the circumstance that it is faced with a sizable trade union movement still led by the Stalinists, the fact that the French are joining hands with the British in fairly open opposition to Washington on the issue of China is indicative that there too no reliable mass forces can be counted on in a showdown precipitated by the Pentagon.

The ruthless and reckless "cold war" policy is thus reaching a point where, as one of the N. Y. Times diplomatic correspondents puts it, the Truman administration "might very well be confronted with the collapse of the Allied coalition and with a big war in the bargain." Need we add that this prospect is hardly calculated to arouse much war enthusiasm among the mass of the people right here at home?

INTERNATIONAL COURT RULES AGAINST RIGHT OF ASYLUM

There is no such right any longer on our planet as the right of asylum for political refugees. This was the gist of five decisions passed in the last two weeks by the International Court of Justice at The Hague.

The right of asylum was involved in the case of Haya de la Torre, head of the Peruvian Apra party, on which these rulings of the World Court were made. Twenty-six months ago, following the abortive 1948 uprising in Peru, de la Torre found refuge in the Colombian Embassy in Lima.

The military junta who had seized power in the country demanded that the Colombian government turn de la Torre over to them as a "common cold-blooded criminal." This was refused by Colombia on the grounds of asylum for a political refugee. The Peruvian government rejected this, and, in its turn, refused to grant safe conduct abroad to de la Torre, who has been living in the Colombian Embassy for the last 23 months.

The dispute was finally submitted to the World Court, which made its first four rulings on Nov. 20.

The judges did not outlaw the right of asylum in so many words, they did it quietly by ruling on four specific propositions. They judged that Peru was "not bound" to grant safe conduct out of the country to de la Torre; that Colombia's action in this instance was in violation of existing Latin-American treaties; and, most important of all, that Colombia was not entitled to decide "unilaterally" the issue of political asylum.

In between these rulings the judges sandwiched in a denial of Peru's "right" to brand de la Torre as a common criminal. But they evaded any ruling on whether Colombia was now bound to hand over the political refugee to the Peruvian police. And when Colombia pressed for such a ruling, the court on Nov. 27 denied the request.

If a country has no right to

(Continued from Page 1)

Joint Chiefs of Staff, demonstratively has been holding extraordinary sessions, among them with the National Security Council, top strategic body in the land. Acheson, meanwhile, holds closed "consultations" with the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the House Foreign Affairs Committee. Everywhere the stress is not on any possible peaceful solution, but on the eventuality of war.

Defense Secretary Marshall in his Nov. 29 declaration on the China-Korea crisis introduced the grim perspective of a "long period of tension" ahead, accompanied by at least "a partial mobilization."

All this was followed up the next day by Truman's declaration at a press conference that the use of the atomic bomb against the Chinese troops was now "under consideration."

Talk of an increased draft, more arms appropriations, and "manpower controls" etc. is becoming more and more insistent.

AIMED AT EUROPE

All this is not intended for home consumption alone. Nor is it directed at Mao alone to facilitate diplomatic discussions and a possible deal. It is directed also to the Atlantic Allies, to force them to toe the line as in the case of Korea. In European chancelleries alarm has been increasing and there is a marked hesitation to follow Washington in its determination to proceed from a "position of strength" and this position alone.

The most notable development has been the proposal of British Foreign Minister Bevin to resume top-level "Four Power" talks, that is, again seek a deal with the Kremlin. In the European press there is a rising demand to remove Gen. MacArthur.

Limitations of space permit only a brief review of MacArthur's sinister role, which has brought such grave changes in the political and diplomatic atmosphere.

NOV. 24 "OFFENSIVE"

When MacArthur issued his Nov. 24 "end the war" communique; Washington was abuzz with confidence and optimism for

KOREAN NATION FACES TOTAL DESTRUCTION

Conditions in "liberated" Korea under the regime of Syngman Rhee are such that if the war continues much longer "the Korean nation will be totally destroyed." This warning comes from the Korean Affairs Institute, an organization with headquarters in Washington that has been and still is sympathetic to South Korea and U. S. intervention under the UN facade.

An estimated four million are homeless throughout South Korea. "Approximately one half of the residences in Seoul alone were destroyed." Destitute millions are now "fighting death by cold and hunger," and this in the face of the fact that "there is no adequate relief in sight." These and the following quotations are from the Nov. 21 issue of *The Voice of Korea*, published by the institute.

Amid the havoc of war, amid the universal lack of food, clothing and shelter there is a reign of terror raging in areas where the Syngman Rhee regime has been reimposed. No one is immune. "Today all of the inhabitants in Seoul are 'suspects.'"

Arrests involve every layer of the population. These widespread arrests "have touched off a veritable holocaust." Here is *The Voice of Korea's* account of how this holocaust is organized:

In the Hands of the Police

"Despite the South Korean army's proclamation in early October dissolving all private investigating groups such as the Self-Protection Corps and banning the lynching of communist suspects, and the National Assembly's attempts to reach sane procedure in dealing with 'collaborators,' the police have largely taken the matter into their own hands.

"Although the citizens are nominally protected by 'good citizen certificates,' whether or not a person is a 'good citizen' is left up to the discretion of the policemen assigned to his street. Communist suspects are told that they will receive 'special consideration' if they surrender, but it is again up to police discretion as to whether the suspect is (a) sent to a military court, (b) sent to a civil court, or (c) executed on the spot.

"No warrants are needed for the arrest, detention or searching suspects, as of an Oct. 16 order of the martial-law headquarters. . . .

"The military courts, consisting of three judges, one prosecutor and one 'official defender,' sentence some 30 'communist collaborators' a day. The 'official defender' does not seem to present any defense for the accused, but merely interrogates in a slightly milder fashion than the prosecutor. The 'fair-mindedness' of the judges appears to be the only criterion as to whether the sentence is death or long imprisonment.

"Anything from having helped to build road-blocks to distributing ration-coupons — if done under the three-month communist regime — is deemed 'collaboration' and the sentence is usually death. Since there are no material witnesses, the extent of 'collaboration' is again left up to the discretion of the judges."

Arrested in 'Wholesale Fashion'

Rhee's Army Intelligence Bureau issued a "warning" toward the end of October that "anyone found to possess any communist literature after Nov. 5 would be 'treated as an enemy.'" Needless to say, included here under the classification of "communist literature" is any printed matter or anything in writing which is, or may be construed as, critical of the regime or opposed to it.

In Seoul alone "police and military arrested in wholesale fashion 55,000 men and women through Nov. 13 who are suspected of being communist sympathizers." If even greater numbers were not involved it is obviously because there are simply not enough policemen, "tribunals," prison pens and executioners to "process" the victims.

That is what the "democratic government" promised the Korean people by Washington and United Nations actually looks like in life.

Truman Policy Deepens Danger of China War

(Continued from Page 1)

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a quick settlement through negotiations.

The prevailing opinion in Washington, which approved the offensive, was that the sooner American troops "reach the Yalu, the sooner the UN will be able to talk with the Chinese." This was reported last week by Joseph C. Harsch, political expert of the Christian Science Monitor. This was used as the main argument to beat down the growing reluctance among the Atlantic Allies.

Nevertheless the European reaction to the news of MacArthur's offensive was neither favorable nor enthusiastic. The British foreign office, to the obvious chagrin of the State Department, hastened on its own initiative at the time to reassure Peking of the UN's peaceful intentions.

Distrust of MacArthur is widespread in the European chancelleries and press. Influential Parisian papers last week openly blamed MacArthur for launching the offensive. The undercurrent feeling in the UN is that it "might have been postponed until the delegates from Communist China had been heard." (Monitor, Nov. 28.)

SENSATIONAL NEWS

London has permitted the sensational news to leak out that MacArthur had demanded permission to bomb Manchurian bases seven weeks ago. According to a Nov. 28 United Press cable, the British government was informed of this request on Oct. 12, that is, a brief five days after the UN General Assembly had approved MacArthur's crossing of the 38th parallel in Korea.

This demand to bomb "privileged sanctuaries" is implicit in MacArthur's special communique of Nov. 28. He has reportedly again asked Pentagon for permission to bomb Chinese bases, and, according to a high Pentagon authority "permission has been once more denied."

In his Nov. 28 nationally syndicated column, Marquis Childs reveals that MacArthur, in a huff over being overruled by Pentagon, "last week flew in his unarmed transport plane deep into Communist Chinese territory and over known enemy fighter bases."

From Tokyo another correspondent significantly notes the "wide discrepancy" between MacArthur's Nov. 24 and Nov. 28 communiques and concludes as follows: "It seems unlikely that UN intelligence has learned of the presence of such a large force of Chinese only during the past four days." If that is unlikely, and it surely is, then the likelihood is that MacArthur deliberately undertook the offensive, heedless of the consequences.

With the reversal of the situation on the military plane, there has been a reversal of roles on the diplomatic field. What tends to aggravate the military situation is that MacArthur has reportedly "already committed most of his available reserves against the Chinese bulge in Korea," as one correspondent put it.

"THE TIME HAS PASSED"

The top Pentagon, strategists according to Harsch, are "of almost unanimous opinion that the time has passed for a military solution." They fear that the American forces may find themselves "in an impossible military situation," and are urging "the earliest possible resort to diplomacy to extricate the armed forces." But the military situation in its turn aggravates the relations in the field of diplomacy.

It is not Washington's diplomats but Mao's who are now in a position to negotiate on a "situation of great strength," and this leaves the diplomatic situation as "fluid" as the military front. "A resort to diplomacy would be hopeless as long as the UN forces are in retreat," explains Harsch.

Militarily the situation threatens to become "impossible." Diplomatically things appear "hopeless." Such is the blind alley — more accurately a whole series of blind alleys — into which Truman has led this country by his undeclared war in Korea. At the same time, the military, diplomatic and political entanglements in which the strategists in Washington are caught and for which they have no visible solution — it is these that invest the China-Korea crisis with its especially malignant character.

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Who Gives to Charity?

By George Lavan

Most workers believe the charitable institutions of this country are supported by the capitalists. They explain the charitableness of the rich either as the product of guilty consciences or as true humanitarian feeling.

Consequently the results of the most comprehensive survey on philanthropy in the U. S., just completed after two years work by the Russell Sage Foundation, come as a shock and an eye opener. This survey shows that families with net incomes below \$3,000 a year, i.e., less than \$58 a week, contribute more than 60% of all money to charity. Further, about 82% of all charitable contributions from individuals come from families with a yearly income below \$5,000.

These figures are based on contributions to tax-exempt charities and as is well known the lawyers and accountants of the wealthy make sure that every penny they give is recorded for tax purposes. Workers do not have people to keep such records and it is reasonable to conclude that workers donate more than they are credited with on the official figures. Another factor is that many workers cherish a deep hatred for the big organized charities such as the Red Cross, Community Fund, etc., and exercise their generosity in fields that are not tax exempt. In poor districts contributing to a bereft family to pay the expenses of a funeral is a standard practice. Taking in a neighbor's child when the mother is in the hospital is another charity that the government will not recognize. In how many shops and factory departments is it normal procedure to take up a collection for a fellow worker who has suffered some misfortune? Moreover, donations to hard-pressed strikers in another industry or area is the truest form of generosity and solidarity. These and many others go unrecorded.

Yet the rich get all the credit for being charitable. In reality even the organized charities they control are mainly supported by the pennies of the poor. Why is public opinion on this subject so out of accord with the facts? The answer is obvious: The capitalists control the organized charities and their publicity. Also the capitalist newspapers studiously play up every millionaire's donation till the impression is given that the

rich and powerful are the sole supports of these institutions.

The poor give out of goodness of heart. Maybe some of the rich do, but it is well known that many of them give from motives unrelated to benevolence. Many have the whole thing worked out by their public relations experts. For them it is a propaganda program to blunt the hatred that their ruthless climb to wealth created. Such was the case with John D. Rockefeller, once the most hated capitalist in the U. S., known popularly as "the Octopus." He hired the best publicity man in the country, Ivy Lee, to make the public forget. Under Lee's direction the popular conception of Rockefeller came to be that of a kindly old man who gave huge sums to charity and shiny dimes to little boys.

Income tax considerations explain a lot of the charity of the wealthy. The tax rate in the upper brackets makes tax-deductible giving important, while this factor is of little importance for low-income groups. Another motivation for giving among the rich is the desire to keep or better one's social standing. And don't think that the organized charities don't utilize this motive. In fact they turn it into a pressure and many "generous donors" are cursing under their breath as they are practically blackmailed into shelling out.

From whatever motives the rich give they are amply rewarded by the hosannas of the press and public figures. Even if they are the kind that can't part with it till death and set up a phony "charitable" foundation to escape inheritance taxes, they are hailed posthumously as veritable paragons of Christian benevolence.

Mr. Dooley, that famous Irish wit and philosopher of the early decades of this century, exposed the most celebrated and hypocritical of philanthropists, Andrew Carnegie. Said Mr. Dooley: "I like him (Carnegie) because he ain't ashamed to give publicly. Ye don't find him puttin' on false whiskers an' turnin' up his coat-collar whin he goes out to be benivolent. No, sir. Ivy time he drops a dollar it makes a noise like a waither fallin' down-stairs with a tray of dishes." Today's capitalists may not give as much as Carnegie but they make as much noise.

"What We Get in Return"

By Albert Parker

Only a few months ago we were being told by Negro leaders that the war in Korea marked the end of American military Jim Crow. But now the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People announces through its chief counsel, Thurgood Marshall, that "The defense of our GIs in Korea, many of whom apparently are victims of racial discrimination in courts martial proceedings, is the No. 1 task of the NAACP legal department."

What the Negro leaders were talking about last summer were their hopes, and not the facts. They were kidding themselves and trying to kid others into believing that military and propaganda necessities would persuade the authorities to abolish Jim Crow in the armed forces. But it didn't work out that way. In minor respects the brass hats are willing to modify the Jim Crow system; but they are not willing to destroy it. And one of their chief instruments for maintaining Negro oppression and discrimination is the court martial system.

The case of Lt. Leon Gilbert was widely publicized. But it is only one of many. Reporting from Taejon, Frank Whisnand wrote in the Nov. 11 Pittsburgh Courier that "ninety-nine and nine-tenths per cent of the men" tried before court martial boards were Negro troops from the 24th Infantry. He said one Negro had been convicted and sentenced to life imprisonment after a three-hour "trial." He observed "two long lines of Negroes going through the two military courts of justice" set up in Taejon. Other Negro reporters told similar stories.

According to Marshall, "the reports of these cases seem to fit into a pattern designed to discredit the heroic performance of Negro soldiers in Korea." He noted that in the early stages of the war, white as well as Negro troops had retreated: "Yet I have seen no reports indicating

wholesale arrests and convictions of white troops."

When Marshall announced that the NAACP was willing to defend any of the servicemen convicted because of racial discrimination or denial of constitutional rights, letters began to arrive from such servicemen in Korea. They told a bitter story. "Investigate the 'mass persecution' of the 24th Infantry," pleaded one. "We are being court-martialed and sentenced to imprisonment for life — not one or two of us, but in groups of four's and five's."

"I don't think I had an even break," wrote a soldier sentenced to 10 years imprisonment. "It seems as though the Negroes are the only ones to get a lot of time. Please, do what you can." A twice-wounded veteran said: "We put up a great battle over here. And this is what we get in return." A 20-year old GI sentenced to life imprisonment wrote: "Every fellow in my outfit has fought hard and tried to make the best of this, but somehow someone seems to be trying to make an example of us in Korea."

These victims of military injustice and Jim Crow deserve all the support that the NAACP, the labor movement and other defenders of civil rights can mobilize in their behalf through mass protest as well as legal action. While fighting in their defense, however, it must be borne in mind that many other Negroes will be victimized by mass persecution inside and outside the armed forces so long as illusions remain about the authorities' intentions regarding Jim Crow. Mass action, independent political action will smash Jim Crow, and nothing else will do it, no matter what the capitalist politicians or brass hats or Negro leaders pretend. That was the lesson of World Wars I and II. That is the lesson of Korea. It's a costly lesson. Let's work to prevent having it taught all over again in a third world war.

CIO Convention Sidelights

CIO leaders at their convention in Chicago were silent about the widely-publicized statement of a high-ranking spokesman of the Textile Workers Union who suggested at a recent Senate hearing that labor might accept Taft's proposed 28 amendments to the Taft-Hartley law — which would mean acceptance of the law itself.

However, the resolution adopted by the convention called for "repeal of the unfair and unjust" law and enactment of a "fair and equitable labor relations" law, based on the principles of the Wagner Act." Arthur Goldberg, chief legal counsel of the CIO, made what was taken as an indirect answer to the TWU spokesman's position when he said there would be "no compromise on the issue" by the CIO.

Ironically, two CIO-supported Senators, Democrat Paul H. Douglas of Illinois and Republican Wayne H. Morse of Oregon, were on hand by invitation to peddle the line of "compromise" on repeal. Douglas told the convention that he was against a return to the Wagner Act and favored some of the key provisions of the Taft-Hartley Law. Morse, addressing the CIO Conference on Labor Law, asked the CIO to be "realistic" and asserted that repeal of the law "is not going to happen."

One of the first resolutions adopted by the convention condemned the "ill-considered and unwise" McCarran-Kilgore police-state bill, most of whose sections were drafted by Democrats, and called for its repeal. It urged retention, however, of the section, drafted by the Department of Justice and the FBI at Truman's request, which deals with "espionage and sabotage." The CIO also proposed a presidential committee of "outstanding citizens" to recommend measures of "security" that would "fully protect democratic rights."

Major stress in the resolution was on the registration section of the McCarran Act. It stated, "The tests laid down for requiring registration tread dangerously upon freedom of speech and belief, since they depend upon political tenets rather than actual conduct."

One omission from the CIO resolutions this year was the usual condemnation of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. In a resolution on civil liberties, the CIO leaders referred merely to the Committee's witch-hunting conduct in "prior years." This year the Fair Dealers

voted for increased appropriations for the committee.

An anti-discrimination resolution was adopted calling for enactment of federal civil rights laws, anti-lynching and anti-poll tax bills, "non-discrimination" clauses, particularly pertaining to hiring in contracts, etc. But the resolution speaks falsely of the "crumbling" of discrimination and segregation and "progress" in civil rights. Incidentally, the number of Negro delegates in attendance reached an all-time low. Although there are hundreds of thousands of Negro CIO members, less than 10 were delegates. Maybe, the CIO leaders ought to take stock on discrimination inside the CIO.

It looked for a time as though a full-scale debate would break out over the question of government ownership of public utilities. Leaders of the Utilities Workers Union, holding contracts with Consolidated Edison, opposed a resolution proposing the extension of power developments like TVA because the preamble said that such projects developed with public money should be run by the government. U. W. President Joseph E. Fisher raised the cry of "socialism!"

Philip Murray stepped in to allay Fisher's fears and to support the resolution at the same time. "I don't profess to be a Socialist at the same time. I am a Communist," the CIO president said. "But if I thought it was going to serve the best interests of the people of the United States for the Government to take over enterprises of this kind I would vote for it, no matter what anyone called it." However, he advised the delegates to "disregard" the controversial preamble and concentrate on the objective of increased power developments like TVA. This ended the debate.

Privately in the CIO national executive board, Murray reported the CIO membership at about four million, a drop of more than two million from the wartime peak. In public at the convention, he continued to speak of a membership of "over six million." Last year, even before the expulsions of 11 Stalinist-led unions, the CIO leaders filed a financial statement with the Department of Labor which revealed, on the basis of average per-capita receipts, that the membership was then only 3,700,000. Murray still has a lot of explaining to do about the one-third decline in members.

VOLUME XIV

MONDAY, DECEMBER 4, 1950

NUMBER 49



Herald the end of their 11-day strike against Western Electric, these pickets of the CIO Communication Workers of America burned their placards outside the main Chicago office of American Telephone and Telegraph, parent of WE. The union won wage boosts and benefits.

SWP Convention Adopts Policy to Fight Reaction

(Continued from page 1)

though this took the form of some workers voting Republican for lack of another way of registering their discontent.

At the same time it must be understood that many workers have been conservatized and even corrupted by a decade of artificial prosperity, that organized militancy has ebbed in the labor, Negro and other mass movements. These facts, which make the work of the party more difficult, must be recognized; the party must prepare patiently for a turn in the situation and devote itself more to propaganda work.

The turn will come, although its date cannot be set, after the masses begin to feel the full effects of the arms program. When also is substituted for butter, when taxes and price rises lower living standards below World War II levels, new currents of unrest will stir up the masses and set the stage for the resumption of the class struggle. At this point the government will intervene with a heavy hand, which will give an increasingly political edge to the struggles against the economic effects of the arms program. By swimming against the stream and holding tenaciously to its principles, the SWP will be in position to take advantage of the opportunities that are sure to arise for lifting the movement for socialism to a new and higher level.

The political resolution was adopted unanimously and will soon be printed. Another important part of the convention was devoted to a discussion of theoretical and political problems resulting from the post-war developments in Europe and Asia, with special reference to Yugoslavia, the buffer countries of Eastern Europe, the role of Stalinism, and related questions. Murry Weiss was the reporter for the National Committee.

The discussion was serious and fruitful, concluding with the adoption of a resolution on Yugoslavia. The resolution characterized Yugoslavia as a workers state, established by the victory of the proletarian revolution in that country. "The insurgent working masses smashed the old capitalist regime; created new popular organs of power; and were the driving force behind the economic expropriation of the industrial bourgeoisie and the stabilization of the main means of production, exchange and transportation. This social revolution provides the basic explanation for the successful struggle of the Tito regime against the Soviet bureaucracy and for the progressive evolution of Yugoslavia towards the left since the split with Moscow in 1948."

The resolution analyzed the developments in Yugoslavia as a confirmation of the Trotskyist theory of the permanent revolution, traced the reforms that have taken place inside Yugoslavia since 1948, called attention to the dangers facing Yugoslavia as a result of its isolation and the false positions of its leadership, especially in the field of foreign policy, and pledged: "We Trotskyists will do our utmost to defend the Yugoslav revolution, make known its achievements, and rally the workers to aid Yugoslavia's struggle for independence and socialism against both Moscow and Western imperialism, and thereby influence the further leftward evolution of the Yugoslav Communists."

The resolution was adopted, with 6 votes against, and 2 abstentions. The convention decided to continue a discussion in the party on the related questions raised under this point on the agenda.

The organization report was made by National Secretary James P. Cannon. He reviewed the obstacles facing the revolutionary party in a period of reaction, and showed that the SWP had stood up well to the test of the last two years, most notably by its bold electoral activity and its participation in the struggle against the witch-hunt in every phase of American life, including the unions.

Warning that the difficulties were still great, he outlined a practical program of action for the party to resist the pressure of reaction by strengthening its propaganda work, increasing the distribution of its press, raising the level of its educational work, and concentrating on individual recruitment, especially among student and working class youth.

The convention voted to adopt the report, and to implement it by raising the necessary funds. Almost \$18,000 was pledged by the delegates, with the exact figure referred back to the branches for their final decision. Collection of the fund will begin Jan. 1.

In addition to the regular sessions of the convention, panels were held on trade union problems, the Negro struggle, student and youth work, and the distribution of the party press and literature.

The convention sent greetings to Farrell Dobbs, SWP National Chairman, who is now convalescing from a serious operation, and to Natalia Trotsky, widow of the great Marxist leader.

Most of the delegates shared the opinion of one who said: "The discussion at this convention was remarkable for its high political level and its sober and realistic tone which remained fired with the spirit of revolutionary optimism at a time when so many of our radical opponents have given up the ghost. This was a convention that really armed the party to discharge its socialist responsibilities in the coming period."

Post published two reviews of the book. One by a spokesman for the Roman Catholic hierarchy, who damned the book and lauded the FBI; the other by Joseph L. Rauh, Washington attorney, who was favorable to the book. Rauh opened his review thus: "The most important thing about Max Lowenthal's book is that it was written at all. At this time when criticism of the FBI is treated in many quarters as tantamount to subversion, Mr. Lowenthal has written a brilliant exposition on the faults of our national police force. . . . He and his publisher too, deserve great credit for their courage."

The next day witnessed the unprecedented scene on the Senate floor of an attack on a book review. Senator Hickenlooper lashed out at Rauh as a distorter of the facts about the FBI and "revealed" the "damaging fact" that Rauh was a leader of Americans for Democratic Action. Hickenlooper dug up other "damaging facts" — such as Rauh's service as a law clerk for Supreme Court Justice Frankfurter, his friendship with former Federal Communications Commissioner Fly of "ADA notoriety," and more of the same.

It is evident that the FBI and its friends will not tolerate any criticism of its thought-control activities. The anti-Communist liberals of the ADA are being notified that they too will be smeared as "subversives" if they don't keep their mouths shut.

On Nov. 26 the Washington

THE MILITANT

Police Brutality Produces Added Deaths in Detroit

DETROIT. Nov. 25 — For the fourth time in recent months, Detroit police brutality brought death — this time to a cop. Another officer was wounded, while a Negro,

Charles Gordy Sr., is charged with first degree murder. The facts clearly prove Detroit's law-enforcement agency to be guilty of the most violent outrages against an oppressed minority.

After the shooting, a police cordon cut off all traffic for blocks around the neighborhood, while they blazed away at the Gordy home with pistols, machine guns, automatic rifles and tear-gas guns. When the smoke cleared, the elder Gordy was taken to police headquarters, while more than 4,000 Negroes milled around his bullet-riddled home. The Negroes defied steel-helmeted riot squad patrolmen, facing them with bayoneted rifles, and refused to leave the vicinity.

HOW IT BEGAN

What touched off this latest outrage of cops was their manhandling of Charles Gordy Jr., as they attempted to take him to jail for questioning. Lacking a warrant, which is a direct violation of a basic civil right, they pushed a pistol into young Gordy's ribs, and twisted his arms as they handcuffed him.

The father became enraged and got his deer rifle. One cop opened fire. Gordy fired back. One cop was killed, another wounded. These are the facts as related by the father. Later, it was found that there was no cause whatever for arresting young Gordy, and the police were compelled to release him.

The Gestapo tactics of the police not so long ago brought death to a teen-ager Negro youth in the famous case of Leon Mosley, murdered in cold blood after he was already in the custody of the police; to a young white lad killed recently when the cops wantonly opened fire on a speeding car; and to Beverly Lee, a youth who was shot and killed by police who could easily have caught and arrested him.

RED HERRING

Meanwhile newspapers are waving the red herring at the Negro people, claiming they are unduly aroused. Their tension, say the newspapers echoing the police, stems from the work of "communists." Even the Secretary of the Mayor's Interracial Committee was compelled to say that the race tension was not caused by "communists."

But Negro leaders are echoing this sentiment, and insisting that "justice" be permitted to take its course. NAACP secretary Walter White, for example,

stated that "the Russians are stepping up their anti-American propaganda based on the race problem, look what they did in the Gordy case. . . . The unfortunate thing is that they have not told how wisely and capably the situation was handled by the Detroit Police Department and by Detroit Negro leaders. . . ."

Labor leaders are silent as the grave.

But the plight of Gordy, a Negro, is symptomatic of the plight of 15,000,000 colored people in the U. S. Hounded from pillar to post; denied the right to eat in restaurants of their choosing; the last hired in plants and the first fired if possible; compelled to work at the most menial jobs with the least pay; forced into ghettos to live under conditions of filth, overcrowding and disease — is it any wonder that when a cop starts manhandling a son and then opens fire, that a father becomes enraged and fires back?

WHO SHOULD BE TRIED

The Detroit labor movement and Negro community must come to Gordy's aid. A step has already been made in this direction with Recorder's Court Judge Charles Wesley Jones' decision to defend him. But this is not enough. Juries are picked from previously selected lists. These are influenced by public opinion, itself influenced by this city's anti-labor and anti-Negro press. The press is already trying to tie the whole case up to the "communists," who supposedly desire a race-riot.

But an aroused union and Negro movement, throwing full light on the facts in the case and the history of other brutalities of the same nature, can start a counter-campaign and bring an opposite pressure to bear. It is not Gordy who should be on trial, but the police who violated every precept of the Bill of Rights. And even more, the whole social system should be on trial — a system that hounds millions of Negro people because of the "crime" that they are colored.

Defense of Gordy's life can become the symbol for the defense of a people's rights against Jim Crow in its ugliest forms — police viciousness and terror. At the same time it can become the starting point for resistance against the same cops who attack workers on picket lines. That is why the case is of such importance to both labor and the Negro people.

ESCALATOR CLAUSE GETS PAY RAISE FOR MILLION

The merit of escalator clauses in union contracts was once again demonstrated when the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics reported that the cost of living had soared to the highest point in U. S. history on Oct. 15.

It was announced at the same time that approximately a million workers covered by escalator clauses will receive automatic wage increases of three cents an hour.

Had these workers not been covered by a sliding-scale wage clause their real wages would have been slashed in relation to the rise in prices. Other millions not so protected have suffered accordingly.

The previous highest price level was reached in August, 1948, when the consumers' price index stood at 174.6. (The base figure of 100 is the average of prices for the years 1935 to 1939.) Prices had begun climbing even before the outbreak of the Korean war, and after June 25 they began to shoot up rapidly. By Oct. 15, they reached the record level of 174.8. And every source estimates that with additional billions being appropriated for arms in Washington, prices will continue to keep spiraling during the next period.

WEAK ASPECT

One of the weak aspects of the escalator clauses now included in union contracts is their reliance on the index of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, which does not give an accurate picture of the prices paid by working class families. The BLS itself admits that its index gives a lower average on rents than workers really pay, and has promised to

correct the index some time next year. The amount by which the BLS index errs on rents alone is 1.3.

Actually, there is no reason at all why the unions should rely on the government for a service which so directly affects their living standards, contract negotiations, etc. The union movement is big enough and powerful enough to provide an index of its own — and index which would give an honest and unbiased picture of how price changes affect living standards of working people.

According to the BLS index, food prices have risen only 2.2% above the pre-Korea level. Every housewife knows that this is a lie, that prices have actually risen from 5 to 15% since the war began in Korea and the profiteers became more brazen. Substitution of a union-sponsored index for that of the BLS would mean the difference of millions of dollars each year to union members.

The escalator clause by itself is of course not the final answer of labor to inflation. Wage raises must be sought not only to maintain but also to improve labor's standards. Consumers committees of housewives, unionists, working farmers and small shopkeepers are needed to fix and police prices. And political action is required to prevent the worsening of living standards through crushing taxes on the working class.