

# Indonesia Labor Shows Power in Strike Struggles

JAKARTA, Indonesia, Nov. 1950 — The Indonesian revolution, which entered a new phase with the granting of a federation status to the "United States of Indonesia" in 1949, has in the recent period brought the masses into sharp conflict with the native capitalists. A new wave of economic and political struggles has resulted. The clearest expression of the desires and moods, the dissatisfaction and anger of the Indonesian masses has been given by Partai Murba (Proletarian Party), the party of the extreme left inspired by the great leader of the Indonesian working class, Tan Malaka. (Tan Malaka has periodically been reported as dead in the capitalist press of Holland and of the U.S.; but he is known to be alive.)

A mighty strike of 700,000 plantation workers on the island of Java was led to victory by the trade union Sarboupi on Sept. 18, when, after weeks of struggle, the workers got a wage increase of 100%. There is also a growing mass movement whose goal is the expulsion of foreign capital from Indonesia. The rights of this capital have been guaranteed by the "Round Table" decisions at The Hague, where Indonesia was granted her independence within the framework of the Dutch Commonwealth.

The secretary of the trade union federation, the SOBSI, in the

(Continued on page 3)

## NAZI GENERALS WILL HEAD NEW WEHRMACHT

By Joseph Keller

Western imperialism's moves to reestablish a German army under the command of former Nazi generals is one of history's supreme ironies. It was at Yalta less than six years ago, near the close of the war that cost 60 million lives, that Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin solemnly vowed "our inflexible purpose to destroy German militarism."

Now, reestablishment of German military power — this time as an ally of "democratic" imperialism — is regarded by the capitalist powers, especially the United States, as indispensable to their plans for war against the Soviet Union. Hitler, it seems, may have the last laugh after all.

### NEW WEHRMACHT PLANNED

Since the Brussels conference of the 12 Atlantic Pact governments two weeks ago, there has been less and less pretense that German rearmament, at least as envisioned by Washington and Bonn, is to be limited and strictly controlled. What is planned is a new Wehrmacht run by the old Nazi officers' corps.

After the first meeting between the Allied High Commissioners and Chancellor Adenauer, negotiations of the terms of German rearmament, it was announced that the Allies are prepared to make sweeping concessions to the Bonn government of former Nazi cartels and militarists. The Allies are in the grotesque position of having to offer terms to the conquered to induce the latter's "cooperation" in rearming to defend the conquerors.

### MAKE A DEAL

On Dec. 21 the Allied High Commissioners reached agreement with Adenauer to put their relations "on a contractual basis," which, said the Associated Press, "implied a sweeping away of occupation controls in exchange for German participation in a

FOR A CAUSE THAT IS THEIR OWN."

Comrades: In face of the change in the foreign policy of your government since the Korean war, it is no longer possible to hide the uneasiness which has seized the revolutionary forces throughout the world who since its break with the Kremlin have placed their active sympathy, their enthusiasm and their hopes in the Yugoslav revolution.

This uneasiness is now being transformed into the distressing feeling that a real catastrophe is approaching which could wipe out all the progressive influence thus far exerted by the Yugoslav revolution on the international labor movement. It flows from the recent declarations of Yugoslav leaders which are interpreted as dragging Yugoslav foreign policy in the wake of American imperialism and its tool, the United Nations.

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big port of Surabaya made the following statement on Sept. 20: "During the days of the revolution the workers took into their hands the management of the enterprises and the factories in the name of the Republic of Indonesia. The Round Table Conference, with a single stroke, wiped away this conquest. That this was possible shows that our revolution has been stranded."

The Indonesian workers are clearly taking into account the class contradictions within the Indonesian Republic. During the strike of the plantation workers, a boycott was carried on against the Jakarta daily, Pedoman, which had slandered the strikers. The printers and employees of the printing plant refused to do any work on this paper which had to suspend publication. Meanwhile, neighborhood committees at Surabaya adopted, at a joint meeting, a number of sharply-worded resolutions. Among the demands was the abrogation of higher rates on gas and electricity, otherwise the working population would refuse to pay its bills.

ULTIMATUM ISSUED Another demand was that the distribution of necessities be

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West European army." Moreover, "the Allies assured Adenauer that Germans would share in the command of the unified army." Adenauer himself joyously described the results of the secret conference as a "great step forward."

Hugh Haillie, president of the United Press, who interviewed Adenauer, reported that what Bonn wants, in return for agreement to become a spearhead of

(Continued on page 3)

## German Unionists Oppose Scheme For Rearmament

Reflecting the overwhelming opposition of the German workers to remilitarization as planned by the Western powers and the Bonn capitalist government, the Executive Committee of the German Federation of Trade Unions in Western Germany attacked the rearmament scheme, declaring:

"Who can earnestly believe that the workers are ready to defend the interests of the privileged classes? Who is going to protect state that refuses its workers equal rights in the economy of the country? . . .

"Maybe they can find mercenaries who, for money, decorations, and the false splendor of rank, are prepared to fight here instead of in some other part of the world. BUT THOSE WHO REALLY MATTER — THE GREAT MASS OF WORKING PEOPLE — WILL FIGHT ONLY FOR A CAUSE THAT IS THEIR OWN."

The bill would give FBI men the right to arrest workers they "suspect" or "believe" are involved in espionage, sabotage or other major crimes. Thus, a worker who engaged in militant union action in a plant could be arrested without a warrant on the grounds that an FBI agent thought he was "sabotaging" war production.

This bill is part of the process of transforming the U.S. into a police state. The FBI has not hesitated in the past to invade the sanctity of the home, spy on the personal lives of many individuals, arrest and hold "suspects" without warrant. But now, these violations of civil rights are to be legalized.

They took it, as it was intended, for a refusal to accord them the treatment of an equal.

Wu Hsien-chuan had made it plain that his government would tolerate no treatment as a puppet or an inferior, would not be ordered around, and could not be cowed by bluster or threats. This was made so plain that one surprised UN delegate remarked that Peiping's representatives do not speak at all like the Chinese whom we have learned to love and respect." Emphatically, no.

The representatives of revolutionary China not only speak differently but act differently from the corrupt and servile colonial flunkies to whom the imperialists have grown so accustomed and whom they love to treat condescendingly, with a tinge of contempt.

Apparently it will take more than the disaster already suffered in Korea before the snobbish bandits of imperialism learn to accept the new world power which is China. Washington, prodded by Gen. MacArthur, keeps toying with the notion of a "limited war" against Peiping. According to an Associated Press dispatch, Dec. 26, the U.S. intends to press next week in the UN for a world economic boycott as a possible "next step" against the Mao regime.

The reported China-Moscow rift will be fully treated in our next issue — Ed.)

Workers of the World, Unite!

# THE MILITANT

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Hoover's Speech Shows Rulers Split on Tactics  
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## New Gestapo Powers Voted For the FBI

The power of the FBI to function as an American Gestapo would be strongly increased under the provisions of a new bill sent Dec. 21 by Congress to the White House for signature.

The bill would empower the FBI to arrest anyone without warrant if a G-man has "reasonable grounds" to "believe" a felony has been committed. This loosely formulated bill would make it possible for the FBI to arrest any person on suspicion.

Such a law would be a clear violation of the Bill of Rights, which states: "The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the person or things to be seized."

This bill follows closely upon the recent decision of a federal Court of Appeals in the Judith Coplon case, in which her conviction was reversed because she had been arrested by the FBI without a warrant.

In this case, the Court questioned the Constitutionality of such an arrest, in which the FBI did not even have proof to show that there was "danger of the suspect escaping" as required in the old law.

### NO ONE SAFE

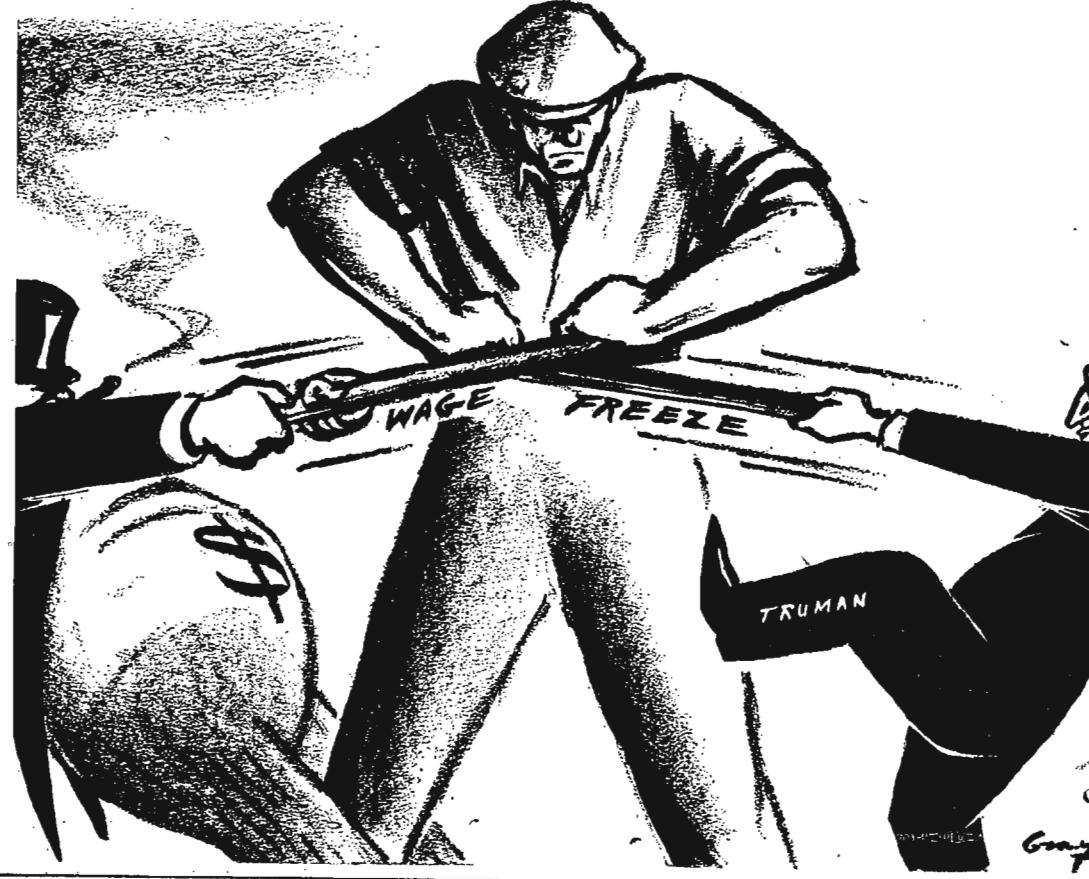
Although the old law broadly interpreted would allow the FBI to swoop down upon helpless citizens and place them under arrest on the pretext that they might escape, the new bill broadens the FBI power more easily to violate the civil rights of individuals.

The bill would give FBI men the right to arrest workers they "suspect" or "believe" are involved in espionage, sabotage or other major crimes. Thus, a worker who engaged in militant union action in a plant could be arrested without a warrant on the grounds that an FBI agent thought he was "sabotaging" war production.

This bill is part of the process of transforming the U.S. into a police state. The FBI has not hesitated in the past to invade the sanctity of the home, spy on the personal lives of many individuals, arrest and hold "suspects" without warrant. But now, these violations of civil rights are to be legalized.

# White House Launches Drive for Wage Freeze

## Tightening the Belt



## Truman-Acheson Block Negotiations With Mao

After almost four weeks of futile negotiations, primarily by the Indian and Arabian delegations at the UN, the Peiping plenipotentiaries departed from Lake Success. The head of the Chinese delegation Wu Hsien-chuan had made it plain that his government would tolerate no treatment as a puppet or an inferior, would not be ordered around, and could not be cowed by bluster or threats. This was made so plain that one surprised UN delegate remarked that Peiping's representatives do not speak at all like the Chinese whom we have learned to love and respect." Emphatically, no.

The Truman administration refused to negotiate with China except on its own terms. The British press has carried significant revelations on this score. The influential Manchester Guardian, for example, disclosed that the main bar to negotiations from the outset was the "unwillingness" of American diplomats to meet with the Chinese. Leading this pack who refuse to treat Peiping as an equal is Secretary of State Acheson.

It was he, in particular, who would not consider inclusion of Formosa in any negotiations with the Chinese Communists, whom they love to treat contemptuously.

Apart from other considerations, the Chinese could not view this refusal even to discuss issues with them, otherwise than as an insult, especially an issue so vital to their country as Formosa.

Meanwhile, a blustering radio speech was made in Norway by Trygve Lie, UN General Secretary, falsely blaming China for any war that might result from the Korean adventure, of which Lie was one of the prominent promoters. Thus, the setting is being prepared for another attempt to have the UN brand China as an aggressor." This, too, is now under study" in Washington. Truman-Acheson are working to provide Gen. MacArthur with the UN cover he needs to conduct the "new war" he personally proclaimed when his armies were routed at the Manchurian border.

Ironically enough, the same people who persist in treating China as a colonial dependency are giving world publicity to a rumored rift between Peiping and Moscow. Last week, within the space of 48 hours, the N. Y. Times front-paged two cables, one from Tokyo and the other from Belgrade. The gist of both reports is that China was challenging not alone in Korea but also throughout Asia, the Kremlin's pretensions to dominate. While this is still in the realm of reports, the reality is that the domination of U.S. imperialism in Asia has been challenged, and this in dead seriousness by China.

Apparently it will take more than the disaster already suffered in Korea before the snobbish bandits of imperialism learn to accept the new world power which is China. Washington, prodded by Gen. MacArthur, keeps toying with the notion of a "limited war" against Peiping. According to an Associated Press dispatch, Dec. 26, the U.S. intends to press next week in the UN for a world economic boycott as a possible "next step" against the Mao regime.

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## Auto Ruling Sets Precedent For Curb on All Pay Boosts

By Art Preis

Truman has followed his "national emergency" decree for austerity and a garrison state with the first major move toward a wage freeze. This is the temporary directive by Economic Stabilizer Alan Valentine, effective until March 1, to bar any improvements in auto wage contracts.

Since the CIO auto workers are not pressing for contractual changes now and since these con-

tracts by their own terms are fixed for five years, the order will have no practical effect on the auto workers' immediate wages.

But the order does have great significance as a precedent that will have tremendous effect on the wages of all labor in the long run. It is an assertion by the government of the wage-freezing principle — the first step in the enforcement of the wage "stabilization" clause in the Defense Mobilization Act passed by the last Congress and signed by Truman.

### A PRECEDENT

Through Valentine's auto order, the administration has exercised the power to freeze wage contracts. What is to prevent that policy from being extended to other — in fact, all — industries? That is clearly the aim of the government which regards the measures taken in the auto industry merely as part of the groundwork for the ultimate establishment of a general wage "stabilization," a misleading word for wage-freezing.

At issue in the case of the auto workers are the escalator clauses they have won in most of their contracts, including those with General Motors, Chrysler and Ford. That issue the Wage Stabilization Board was able to avoid because the next upward automatic adjustment of wages in line with price rises is not due until March 1.

Even if Truman puts his "mandatory controls" into effect next spring, as threatened, there is little likelihood the government will effectively enforce price ceilings. Such enforcement is possible only by mass consumers committees, of unionists, housewives and farmers, with power to fix and police prices.

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## BIG BUSINESS' MEN HEAD 'GARRISON STATE' SETUP

The Truman administration which has begun the transformation of the U.S. into a "garrison state" with its proclamation of a "national emergency" is now giving all the posts of command to Big Businessmen.

Simultaneous with the declaration of the "emergency" was the appointment of Charles E. Wilson as Director of the Office of Defense Mobilization. As the N. Y. Times summarized it, Truman "delegated most of his own wartime powers to" Wilson, "whose unparalleled controls over the country's economy will be subject only to Presidential veto."

Wilson was the president of General Electric, one of the greatest monopolistic anti-labor corporations in the country. The new Defense Mobilizer immediately after appointment announced his appointment of General Lucius Clay and S. J. Weinberg as specialists. Clay's qualifications include having been Chairman of the Board of Continental Can Co. and the former Military Governor of U.S.-occupied Germany. Weinberg was senior partner of a Wall Street banking firm.

**MONOPOLY PRESIDENT** Other recent appointments include: William H. Harrison, president of International Telephone and Telegraph, a worldwide monopoly, appointed to the post of Administrator of the National Production Authority. This is the main agency for controlling production, allocating scarce materials and requisitioning necessary facilities.

Alan Valentine appointed to the post of Administrator of the United Labor Committee, representing the AFL, CIO, Railroad Brotherhoods and the Machinists' Union, has made this bitter protest: "We regret that to date labor has not enjoyed opportunity for full participation in the mobilization effort. . . . No one group has a monopoly of ideas in the mobilization of our resources."

## Fourth International's Appeal to Yugoslav Communists

### Comrades:

In face of the change in the foreign policy of your government since the Korean war, it is no longer possible to hide the uneasiness which has seized the revolutionary forces throughout the world who since its break with the Kremlin have placed their active sympathy, their enthusiasm and their hopes in the Yugoslav revolution.

This uneasiness is now being transformed into the distressing feeling that a real catastrophe is approaching which could wipe out all the progressive influence thus far exerted by the Yugoslav revolution. It flows from the recent declarations of Yugoslav leaders which are interpreted as dragging Yugoslav foreign policy in the wake of American imperialism and its tool, the United Nations.

Unless there is a prompt and

firm reaction by your party which would correct the course towards a capitulation to the demands of American imperialism, its "disinterested" aid, the relative benefits of the "Marshall Plan," and would be ready to ratify the decisions of the overwhelming capitalist majority of the UN in defining and invoking penalties against the "aggressor" in the person of the colonial peoples of Korea and China struggling for their independence. Such an attitude could only realize the hopes of the Kremlin which has been trying, ever since the first day of your rupture with it, to isolate Yugoslavia in order to make it capitulate to imperialism and thus discredit it in the eyes of the proletarian and colonial masses influenced by the Communist parties.

No doubt your serious internal difficulties and fear of a military attack from the armies of the Kremlin explain the extent of the

concessions your government is now making to the imperialists. Certainly, the blockade to which the Kremlin has subjected Yugoslavia by depriving it of its sole real support — the sympathy and active aid of the world working class and colonial millions.

From the viewpoint of the general and historical interests of the world proletariat, the aim is not to save the power conquered in any given country at no matter what cost or by any and all deformations and concessions. Marx, Rosa Luxemburg, and Lenin taught us that some defeats are worth infinitely more than certain victories; that there are "victories" and adaptations which are in reality crushing defeats.

If Yugoslavia should capitulate before American imperialism, it may benefit from a respite and safeguard for a period the economic and social bases of its workers' regime. But in reality an alignment of its foreign policy

with that of the imperialists would in the long run have inevitable internal repercussions and its proletarian regime would be doomed.

### MAIN STRENGTH

Up to the Korean war the main strength of your revolution was your independence toward Moscow and Washington and the many times repeated promise of all your leaders not to tie themselves to any bloc and to follow a truly Marxist-Leninist line.

Proletarian Yugoslavia now appears to be abandoning its independent policy and to be aligning itself with the imperialist bloc directed by Washington. Your government does so to the extent

that it now discovers the "constructive" and "pacific" role of American imperialism, its "disinterested" aid, the relative benefits of the "Marshall Plan," and would be ready to ratify the decisions of the overwhelming capitalist majority of the UN in defining and invoking penalties against the "aggressor" in the person of the colonial peoples of Korea and China struggling for their independence.

We consider on the contrary that the path on which your government is directing the foreign policy of Yugoslavia, far from bringing a solution to the serious internal difficulties of the country

and the menace of military attack from the Kremlin, will have only the effect of weakening Yugoslavia by depriving it of its sole real support — the sympathy and active aid of the world working

# PROMINENT FIGURES ORGANIZE GROUP TO REPEAL McCARRAN LAW

Formation of a committee of thirty-two prominent Americans to fight for repeal of the McCarran police-state law was announced Dec. 26 by Dean John B. Thompson, of the University of Chicago, and Robert Morss Lovett, spokesman for the group.

"The hysteria and intimidation the law has evoked in the two months since its passage have opened the eyes of many who were not fully aware of the dangers of such repressive legislation," the spokesman said.

## COMMITTEE MEMBERS

Other initiators of the repeal campaign include Thomas Mann and Emily Greene Balch, Nobel Prize winners; Bishop W. J. Walls of the A.M.E. Zion Church; Frank Rosenblum, secretary-treasurer of the CIO Amalgamated Clothing

Workers of America; Pierre van Passen, author and Unitarian clergyman; Frank Aydelotte, Institute of Advanced Studies and Dr. John A. Mackay, President of Princeton Theological Seminary.

Other initiators of the repeal campaign, who stated that they believe the law to be unconstitutional, were:

Dr. Abraham Cronbach, Hebrew Union College; Prof. A. G. Borres, University of Chicago; Prof. Zachariah Chafee Jr., Harvard University; Dr. Mark A. Dawber, former executive secretary, Home Missions Council of North America; Mrs. Welthy Honsinger

## GORDY DEFENSE COMMITTEE GAINS SUPPORT OF NAACP

DETROIT — Despite earlier reluctance of Negro leaders to defend Charles Gordy Sr., on trial for murdering one cop and wounding another, the Detroit NAACP at its annual membership meeting on Dec. 17 overwhelmingly voted to give full moral and financial support to the Gordy Defense Committee. About a hundred members attended and reflected the hatred of Detroit's Negroes toward the city's "trigger-happy" and Negro-hating cops.

The Gordy Defense Committee is established to sustain Gordy, charged with first degree murder, in his right to protect himself and home against police terror methods.

## EARLIER ACTIONS

The recent vote of the NAACP membership is but a culmination of actions taken earlier by public-spirited citizens including ministers, lawyers and doctors. These have been contacting churches and labor unions for support and have been successful in raising \$500 in a campaign just beginning.

The Detroit NAACP, in response to strong sentiment in the Negro community, stated this past week, "The recent disturbance in our community which resulted in the fatal shooting of an officer of the Detroit Police Department and the serious wounding of another, lays bare, we believe, chronic and basic ill in the relations of the community

and the Detroit Police Department..."

**TROUBLE SPOT**

"It is the trouble-spot in police behavior . . . where Negroes are concerned, a chronic indication of the evil of race prejudice. Very simply, the problem is one of improper and abusive tactics."

The statement continued: "Plainly, the evidence points to the following conclusions:

"The arrest of Charles Gordy Jr., without a warrant was indefensible and another glaring indication of the pattern established by members of the Detroit Police Force of indiscriminately making arrests without warrants.

To have taken Gordy Jr., half-dressed, and to have handcuffed his hands behind him was a serious act of counterabuse . . .

"Physical abuse such as knocking and striking persons on the head as they came out of the Butler residence must be condemned."

The statement concludes by proposing "strict adherence to the law of arrests and seizures without warrant" and "aside from a thorough investigation of the Gordy incident by the Police Department, a separate investigation by a citizens' committee, and a public hearing."

Fisher, Chairman, World Day of Prayer Committee, the Right Rev. Benjamin D. Dagwell, Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Oregon.

Also Dr. Edwin T. Dahlberg, Delmar Baptist Church, St. Louis; Prof. E. Franklin Frazier, Howard University; the Rev. John Paul Jones, Union Church of Bay Ridge, Brooklyn; Rabbi Leo Jung, Rabbinical Council of America; Bishop Gerald Kennedy, Portland area, the Methodist Church; Methodist Bishop Francis J. McConnell; Carey McWilliams, author; Dr. Alexander Meiklejohn, Berkeley, Calif., former president of the University of Wisconsin; Dr. Albert W. Palmer, moderator of Congregational-Christian Churches of America.

In addition, the Right Rev. Edward L. Parsons, Episcopal Bishop, retired, of San Francisco; Linus Pauling, California Institute of Technology; Prof. Ralph Barton Perry, Harvard; Dr. Edwin McNeill Poteat, Pullman Memorial Chapel, Raleigh, N.C.; Paul Tillich, Union Theological Seminary, New York; Mrs. M. E. Tilly, Southern Regional Council, Atlanta; Charles J. Turck, President, Macalester College; and Oswald Veblen, Institute of Advanced Study, Princeton.

## Top Brass



Lt. Gen. Alfred M. Gruenther, Secretary of the Army Frank Pace and Gen. J. Lawton Collins pose for publicity just before they board a plane in Washington for the recent conference of Atlantic Pact governments in Brussels, Belgium. These U.S. top brass pushed the plan for rearming of capitalist Western Germany adopted by the conference.

Yugoslavia Seen With Open Eyes: 9

# Foreign Policy and the 'New Course'

By Ernest Germain

of the proletariat and of the government of the CPY.

Because of their whole past in the school of Stalinism; because of their lack of knowledge and experience with the international labor movement, and because of their lack of clarity on some basic theoretical questions, the Yugoslav Communist leaders grossly underestimate the present possibilities of revolutionary developments on a world scale, capable of coming to the aid of Socialist Yugoslavia in the not too distant future. But right now this perspective cannot solve any of the difficulties created for them by external pressure. Right now it is necessary for the class-conscious workers throughout the world to undertake concrete actions in order to relieve the pressure which is being exerted against the first country since the October Revolution which at least is trying to develop a genuine workers' democracy.

Internal the relation of forces is, at least for the moment, thanks to the existence of the workers' state, favorable to the CPY, and allows it successfully to resist hostile pressure and even to react vigorously against it. But on the international field the reverse holds true. The relationship of forces here is overwhelmingly unfavorable for the Yugoslav revolution; and this has led the Yugoslav government to yield at least in part to the hostile pressure brought to bear upon it.

## SERIOUS SETBACK

From the standpoint of the interests of the Yugoslav revolution whose conquests they want to safeguard — not to mention the interests of the international working class — the opportunist deviations of the Yugoslav leaders in foreign policy represent a serious setback and a great tragedy. They provide fuel for Stalinist slanders about "Yugoslavia's having become an American satellite" — slanders which unfortunately are still taken seriously by millions of honest Communists in France, Italy, Eastern Europe, China, the whole Far East and the USSR itself; slanders which can be only gradually exposed by the clearest possible position on the part of the Yugoslav leaders in all matters relating to foreign policy.

The present course shuts off the Yugoslav Communists from many opportunities for expansion in the working class movement, which are created by the current policy of Stalinism. It will inevitably weaken even the internal cohesion of the CPY, which is composed of thousands of real Communists, loyal to the core to Communism, who up to now have heard nothing but lies from the Stalinist propaganda agencies but who now, for the first time, have some reason for doubts

The basic explanation is very simple. The progressive internal development of Yugoslavia is the result of a conscious attempt by the leaders of the CPY to broaden and activate their proletarian support in face of internal and external foes. This development takes place under conditions of

increased international pressure from the Kremlin and its satellites, who first want to discredit Yugoslavia in the eyes of the international working class before trying to overthrow the regime; and at the same time pressure from the American bourgeoisie, which cynically tries to utilize the Kremlin's pressure in order to extort greater and greater concessions from the Yugoslav government before granting any effective economic help.

Internally the relation of forces is, at least for the moment, thanks to the existence of the workers' state, favorable to the CPY, and allows it successfully to resist hostile pressure and even to react vigorously against it. But on the international field the reverse holds true. The relationship of forces here is overwhelmingly unfavorable for the Yugoslav revolution; and this has led the Yugoslav government to yield at least in part to the hostile pressure brought to bear upon it.

The danger is too serious for us to remain silent or temporize. We who from the very moment of your break with the Kremlin have greeted the new and hopeful course of the Yugoslav revolution, we who have done all that we could to spread the truth about Yugoslavia and to promote a movement of sympathy and active support of the world proletarian for your revolution — we are also the first ones to feel profoundly what a grave defeat the whole labor movement would suffer through the foreign policy now being shaped by your government.

The masses react upon what they see, listen to and read, and not upon any secret intentions that may lie behind this or that so-called "maneuver."

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NOTHING TO CONCEAL

It was Stalin who, after Lenin's death, substituted the idea of the omnipotence of maneuvering and of opportunism for the strength of a principled line and of a complete and frank explanation to the masses. Lenin called a spade a spade and educated the masses by frankly explaining his policy to them. He had nothing to conceal and concealed nothing from the masses. He did not idealize his retreats and defeats because he trusted the masses and expected from them alone real support for the USSR and the world revolution.

Only opportunists believe that they are maneuvering the imperialists when actually they are maneuvering the masses who trust them and take their words and deeds seriously.

The revolutionary education of the masses does not consist in confounding a secret explanation to persons in the know but is the result of a consistent principled line of the party.

Moreover, when your government and your representatives in the UN appear to undertake to ratify the UN decisions on Korea, or other decisions it may take tomorrow against China, and to apply them by integrating Yugoslav troops into the UN troops sent to the colonies to re-establish the feudal-capitalist and imperialist order, these verbal maneuvers

about the policy of their leadership.

Foreign pressure on the Yugoslav workers state is tremendous and is increasing unrelentingly. The Soviet bureaucracy employs against revolutionary Yugoslavia all the methods of counter-revolutionary oppression which it has developed since its intervention in the Spanish Civil War, combining these with all the military and semi-military pressure which it can bring to bear against a small state. Military maneuvers are staged along the frontiers. Troops and armored divisions are concentrated. Military dignitaries, like Marshals Voroshilov and Malinovsky, deliver provocative speeches. Spies and wreckers are sent into the country. Industrial and military sabotage is attempted. A furious campaign of slander and denigration is conducted by all the radio stations of the USSR and the satellite countries.

All this forces the Yugoslav Communists to be constantly on guard, to keep a large army in a constant state of preparedness, to increase military expenditures and broaden counter-espionage, and to devote to all this much more attention, funds, manpower and cadres than the development of the country toward full workers democracy can afford.

On the other hand, the imperialist powers, granting reluctantly an occasional loan, let months pass before negotiating new ones, postpone for months the payment of loans granted, and follow a line of letting the economic situation of the country deteriorate, to the point where some big concessions can be extorted. The immediate aims of this imperialist pressure are clear: to draw Yugoslavia into the military schemes of Anglo-American imperialism in the Mediterranean; to obtain military bases; to legalize some bourgeois political parties which would help from within to pull the country in the same direction; to bring from the Yugoslav government to a pledge that in case of military aggression by the Kremlin, Yugoslavia would allow U.S. troops (disguised as "UN troops") on its soil. The ultimate goal of this pressure is the outright restoration of capitalism in the country, the overthrow of the dictatorship

of the CPY. The present course shuts off the Yugoslav Communists from many opportunities for expansion in the working class movement, which are created by the current policy of Stalinism. It will inevitably weaken even the internal cohesion of the CPY, which is composed of thousands of real Communists, loyal to the core to Communism, who up to now have heard nothing but lies from the Stalinist propaganda agencies but who now, for the first time, have some reason for doubts

The progress of the Yugoslav Communists, with regard to internal political matters, became sweeping at the beginning of 1950, leading up to the law on the workers' councils of June 28. As against this, however, the much slower evolution on issues of international policy became retarded even more, and then suddenly reversed its previous course with the launching of the peace campaign by the Yugoslav National Committee for the Defense of Peace; with the stand taken by the Yugoslav government in the UN on the Korean war, and with the general attitude of the Yugoslav UN delegation. How explain this disparity?

The basic explanation is very simple. The progressive internal development of Yugoslavia is the result of a conscious attempt by the leaders of the CPY to broaden and activate their proletarian support in face of internal and external foes. This development takes place under conditions of

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NOTHING TO CONCEAL

It was Stalin who, after Lenin's death, substituted the idea of the omnipotence of maneuvering and of opportunism for the strength of a principled line and of a complete and frank explanation to the masses. Lenin called a spade a spade and educated the masses by frankly explaining his policy to them. He had nothing to conceal and concealed nothing from the masses. He did not idealize his retreats and defeats because he trusted the masses and expected from them alone real support for the USSR and the world revolution.

Only opportunists believe that they are maneuvering the imperialists when actually they are maneuvering the masses who trust them and take their words and deeds seriously.

The revolutionary education of the masses does not consist in confounding a secret explanation to persons in the know but is the result of a consistent principled line of the party.

Moreover, when your government and your representatives in the UN appear to undertake to ratify the UN decisions on Korea, or other decisions it may take tomorrow against China, and to apply them by integrating Yugoslav troops into the UN troops sent to the colonies to re-establish the feudal-capitalist and imperialist order, these verbal maneuvers

about the policy of their leadership.

Foreign pressure on the Yugoslav workers state is tremendous and is increasing unrelentingly. The Soviet bureaucracy employs against revolutionary Yugoslavia all the methods of counter-revolutionary oppression which it has developed since its intervention in the Spanish Civil War, combining these with all the military and semi-military pressure which it can bring to bear against a small state. Military maneuvers are staged along the frontiers. Troops and armored divisions are concentrated. Military dignitaries, like Marshals Voroshilov and Malinovsky, deliver provocative speeches. Spies and wreckers are sent into the country. Industrial and military sabotage is attempted. A furious campaign of slander and denigration is conducted by all the radio stations of the USSR and the satellite countries.

All this forces the Yugoslav Communists to be constantly on guard, to keep a large army in a constant state of preparedness, to increase military expenditures and broaden counter-espionage, and to devote to all this much more attention, funds, manpower and cadres than the development of the country toward full workers democracy can afford.

On the other hand, the imperialist powers, granting reluctantly an occasional loan, let months pass before negotiating new ones, postpone for months the payment of loans granted, and follow a line of letting the economic situation of the country deteriorate, to the point where some big concessions can be extorted. The immediate aims of this imperialist pressure are clear: to draw Yugoslavia into the military schemes of Anglo-American imperialism in the Mediterranean; to obtain military bases; to legalize some bourgeois political parties which would help from within to pull the country in the same direction; to bring from the Yugoslav government to a pledge that in case of military aggression by the Kremlin, Yugoslavia would allow U.S. troops (disguised as "UN troops") on its soil. The ultimate goal of this pressure is the outright restoration of capitalism in the country, the overthrow of the dictatorship

of the CPY. The present course shuts off the Yugoslav Communists from many opportunities for expansion in the working class movement, which are created by the current policy of Stalinism. It will inevitably weaken even the internal cohesion of the CPY, which is composed of thousands of real Communists, loyal to the core to Communism, who up to now have heard nothing but lies from the Stalinist propaganda agencies but who now, for the first time, have some reason for doubts

# 4th International's Appeal to Yugoslav CP

(Continued from page 1)

attack by the Kremlin armies, your government tends to view the UN only through that aspect directly linked with the immediate fate of Yugoslavia.

But the action of the UN is world-wide and certain peoples, the colonial peoples of Asia in revolt, today suffer in their very flesh from the intervention of the imperialists. The struggle for socialism in Yugoslavia is subordinate to the struggle of the international working class for world socialism.

If, in the course of such a struggle, the workers state succumbs in Yugoslavia, it would not be a pure and simple defeat but an enrichment of the experience and moral capital of the international labor movement, an important stimulant for new battles and greater and decisive victories over world capitalism and all forces hostile to the revolution.

**THE MARXIST LINE**

Such was the line of Marx, the line of Rosa Luxemburg, the line of the Third International up to the death of Lenin, and it is also our line.

Such is not, however, the nature of the foreign policy your government has entered upon.

The building of socialism in Yugoslavia seems to be considered by your government as an end in itself which can be attained independently of this or that concession and of the repercussion of these concessions on the international labor movement.

So that Yugoslavia may benefit from the support of the capitalist majority in the UN in case of an

attack by the Kremlin armies, your government tends to view the UN only through that aspect directly linked with the immediate fate of Yugoslavia.

But the action of the UN is world-wide and certain peoples, the colonial peoples of Asia in revolt, today suffer in their very flesh from the intervention of the imperialists. The struggle for socialism in Yugoslavia is subordinate to the struggle of the international working class for world socialism.

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**THE MARXIST LINE**

After the First World War the imperialists created the League of Nations which Lenin and the Third International called the "thieves' kitchen" of the imperialist bandits, and which the USSR refused to join while Lenin was

alive.

It was after 1934, following the victory of German fascism, the general retreat of the world labor movement, the isolation of the USSR and the approach of war, that the Soviet bureaucracy revised the Leninist policy on the League of Nations and took the USSR into the League in order to profit by the help of "democratic" imperialism against the Axis powers. But instead of presenting the entry of the USSR as a necessity, imposed by an unfavorable international situation, and explaining that retreat to the masses, Stalin built up a theory that idealized the League and distorted its class role and character.

What revolutionists cannot at all justify is that the Communist Party of Yugoslavia remains silent on this line of the government, identifies itself with it, and does not explain clearly to the Yugoslav and world masses the class character of the struggle in Korea, of the intervention of China, of the policy of the imperialists and their UN, as well as the motives and the meaning of the concessions made by the Yugoslav government to the imperialists.

Moreover, when your government and your representatives in the UN appear to undertake to ratify the UN decisions on Korea, or other decisions it may take tomorrow against China, and to apply them by integrating Yugoslav troops into the UN troops sent to the colonies to re-establish the feudal-capitalist and imperialist order, these verbal maneuvers

about the policy of their leadership.

Foreign pressure on the Yugoslav workers state is

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## On Colonial Uprisings and Wars

Plundering the natural wealth of the backward countries and deliberately restraining their independent industrial development, the monopolistic magnates and their governments simultaneously grant financial, political and military support to the most reactionary, parasitic, semi-feudal groups of native exploiters. . . . The fight of the colonial peoples for their liberation, passing over the intervening stages, transforms itself of necessity into a fight against imperialism, and thus aligns with the struggle of the proletariat in the mother countries. Colonial uprisings and wars in their turn rock the foundations of the capitalist world more than ever and render the miracle of its regeneration less than ever possible.

— Leon Trotsky, *Living Thoughts of Karl Marx*, 1938.

TROTSKY



LENIN

## Bring the Troops Back Now

More tens of thousands of American boys are being condemned to wounds and death in Truman's "police action" by Washington's decision to keep the U.S. troops fighting in an "inch-by-inch" retreat until they are driven out of the Korean peninsula.

Announced American casualties are already past 42,000 and this figure is admittedly weeks behind the actual toll. Of course, the war-makers don't even bother to count the Korean casualties — estimated at more than a million in South Korea alone, some 80% of them civilians burned and blasted by U.S. "saturation" bombings, according to a statement of the South Korean government.

Remember this frightful slaughter is in an undeclared war that Truman initiated without consultation of Congress, let alone consent of the American people.

Now Truman's policy of an "inch-by-inch" retreat comes as the brutal answer to the tearful pleas of mothers, fathers and wives of the soldiers in Korea to "bring our boys back home."

If you search the hearts of the average Americans, we believe you will find they do not feel Truman's intervention

in Korea is just and righteous. Despite intimidation and repression that has imposed silence on the American people, signs are multiplying daily that they have no sympathy for interference with the Asian people, who are in upsurge against foreign domination and age-old tyrannies.

The capitalist politicians in Washington, the glory-seeking militarists, the war profiteers are contemptuously disregarding the popular sentiment here and throughout the world. They are bent on a "limited war," which is war to the limit of the present military power of the U.S. and preparations for unlimited war when American imperialism feels ready.

That isn't what the American people want. They want a stop to the war in Korea right now. They are against a "limited" or any other kind of war. Their boys will be just as dead either way. They want them alive and well and safe out of the bloody mess. And they don't give a damn about saving the face of Truman and MacArthur, either. They want the troops withdrawn from Korea immediately.

## For Escalator Clauses in All Contracts

One and a half million workers now have escalator clauses in their union contracts. The four operating railroad brotherhoods are the latest to obtain an automatic sliding scale of wages.

Top leaders of the CIO, AFL and Railroad Brotherhoods recently endorsed the escalator clause as a means of protecting workers' living standards against price rises. If they are giving more than lip service to this proposal, they will proceed at once to demand the reopening of all wage contracts, covering all 16 million organized workers, so that their real wages may be safeguarded by automatic contractual provisions.

Thus far the union leadership has made no move to provide this minimum protection for the vast majority of organized labor. Nor have they insisted, as they should, upon the incorporation of the same principle in federal old age and unemployment benefits.

There is no excuse for this failure to fight aggressively for such clauses throughout industry. If living costs do not go up, wages will not rise under escalator agreements. But should living costs rise, the workers will have at least a chance to keep up in part with the increase in prices.

The Wage Stabilization Board may cancel all escalator clauses in March, 1951, when most unions which have a sliding scale of wages in their agreements, are

entitled to a quarterly wage increase based upon the increased cost of living.

There is not the slightest excuse for the cancellation of existing escalator clauses. Government officials promise to "stabilize" the cost of living. Unless they intend to renege on their promise, why should they cancel the escalator clause?

The existing escalator clauses are by no means a guarantee that living standards of the workers covered will be maintained. They depend upon the notoriously inaccurate Bureau of Labor Statistics cost-of-living index; they do not protect workers' incomes against the deep slashes made by taxation; they do not take into consideration deterioration of goods, and similar hidden ways of undermining real wages. But the escalator clause is a step in the right direction. In World War II wages were frozen by the government's "Little Steel Formula" to 15% above the Jan. 1, 1941 level. This wage freeze, as every worker knows, lowered labor's living standards while prices and profits soared. American workers also received the fraudulent "equality of sacrifice" program.

The Wage Stabilization Board will seize upon any weakness shown by organized labor to enforce wage freezing. Union leaders should fight now to incorporate escalator clauses in every union contract and thereby give every union man and woman a stake in the fight to maintain real wages against the attack of rising prices.

## Truman and Tamerlane

President Truman, speaking in Kansas City Dec. 23, donned a mantle of righteousness, calling for "those people who believe in ethics, morals and right" to band together. A "moral mobilization" was urgent, he said, to meet the menace of the "inheritors of Genghis Khan and Tamerlane. . . . the greatest murderers in the history of the world." This attempt to identify the Chinese and Korean people with the Mongol conquerors of the 12th and 14th Centuries is a revealing outburst of racist venom — one more insult to the Asian masses now struggling for their independence.

To fling this racial insult, one must stoop low indeed. Truman falsified Asian history. He attributed to Genghis Khan and Tamerlane the title "greatest murderers in the history of the world." It is true that Genghis Khan and Tamerlane marshalled huge armies and conquered the world, leaving death and destruction in their wake.

But in more recent times, so fresh in memory that the peoples of the whole world still tremble from its awesome effects, Truman unleashed the weapon which carried in one blow more death than the combined armies of all the Mongol warlords.

It was Truman, not Tamerlane, let alone Genghis Khan, who gave the order to load the bellies of B-29 super-fortresses with Atom-Bombs; it was Truman who gave the signal to release those bombs.

It was this imperialist champion of "ethics and morals" who bears the responsibility for the greatest mass killing in world history — the annihilation of the men, women and children of Nagasaki and Hiroshima.

Tamerlane's armies slaughtered with sword and spear. Truman felled whole cities with the weapon of atomic fission; in his wake he left mountains of corpses, a wilderness of disfigured, blinded, disintegrating, walking dead.

The menace to civilization does not come from the Chinese and Korean peoples, fighting for their independence from foreign domination. It comes from Truman, who again threatens mass murder with even more destructive bombs.

Who throws fear into the hearts of all humanity? The masses of Asia who want only to defend their right to be free from foreign exploiters, or Truman and his capitalist warlords who are building a stockpile of A-Bombs and Hell-Bombs?

# Hoover's Speech Shows Rulers Split on Tactics

By John G. Wright

The action of the House and Senate Republicans pressing for the resignation of Secretary of State Acheson was sandwiched in between two major opposition speeches: the one by John P. Kennedy, former Ambassador to London on Dec. 12; the other by ex-President Hoover on Dec. 20. All three are part of the battle over foreign policy that will be fought out inside and outside the 82nd Congress convening this week.

The Hoover-Kennedy speeches amid the continued campaign for Acheson's removal underscore how sharp is the division among the ruling capitalist circles. Feelings are indeed running high; the interchange of epithets grows more and more unrestrained; the need for unity among the imperialists more pressing. Nevertheless, disunity persists.

### VIOLENT DEBATE

N. Y. Times' political expert James Reston foresees a debate that is "bound to be violent." The veteran Arthur Krock, of the same authoritative paper, warns that any attempt by the administration to disregard the opposition "would surely produce a constitutional crisis."

In a Senate that is almost evenly divided, the Republicans are in a position to force the administration to alter its foreign policy by the simple expedient of blocking funds for foreign programs.

What is at stake is not at all a reversal of foreign policy, but merely a modification of it. Both sides are, of course, pretending that more than tactics are involved here. That difference over tactical questions could prove so serious in itself a sign of the political blind alley in which American capitalism finds itself. And, indeed, both the bitterness of the dispute and the sharpness of the division, which cuts across both the Democratic and Republican parties, are outward expressions of the same political crisis.

### NOT ISOLATIONISM

Suffice it to say that the usually staid N. Y. Times not only denounces Hoover's line as expressing "futility and frustration," but deems the occasion important enough to drop its mask of a lover of truth. Hoover-Kennedy

2,000 Votes for Swedish Trotskyists

At the recently held municipal elections in Stockholm, Sweden, the Trotskyist candidate received some 2,000 votes.

This was the first time that a Trotskyist candidate has run in the Swedish elections.

ECONOMIC COLLAPSE

What frightens Hoover and many others is not only the military inexpediency of trying to hold "bridge-heads" in Western

Partai Murba plays a leading role in many mass trade unions and has a parliamentary fraction, many of whose members have not failed to distinguish themselves as bold spokesmen of the working class in confronting the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois beneficiaries of the initial stages of the Indonesian revolution. These profiteers are now in the seats of power in the country.

Deputy Jojoprajinto, for instance, has championed in Parliament the cause of the plantation strikers and submitted motions of solidarity with them. Another deputy of Partai Murba, Nitinimardjo, has urged that a parliamentary delegation be sent to Holland to press with utmost vigor the wishes of the masses concerning the unification of New Guinea with the Republic of Indonesia.

It is noteworthy that the Dutch Communist Party has come out against this unification and in favor of a mandate over New Guinea exercised by the "Big Five"; in the eyes of the Stalinists, supplying the USSR with a military base is more important than taking into account the wishes and aspirations of the colonial masses struggling for their emancipation.

PARTY OF EXTREME LEFT

Discernible in the entire revolutionary agitation which is now shaking Indonesia are the distinctive character and role of the previously mentioned revolutionary party of the extreme left — Partai Murba. This party numbers among its leaders many of the former leaders of the Indonesian Communist Party who had rebuilt that party in 1945 but who broke with Stalinism when the latter came out in favor of the compromises with imperialism (the treaties of Renville and Linggadjati).

THE GERMAN PEOPLE

But the greatest barrier to German rearmament and restoration of the Wehrmacht is the German people. They are overwhelmingly opposed to being used as a cat's paw by Western imperialism.

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"urge withdrawal from Europe and Asia," charge the Times editors. Hoover took care to parry such barefaced distortions in advance. "These policies I have suggested would be no isolationism. Indeed, they are the opposite," he said. And for a change, he was not lying himself.

Hoover and the circles he speaks for have not the slightest intention of withdrawing from Asia. Personally, Hoover has been plumping for a separate peace with Japan since 1947. He now vehemently favors the rearmament of Japan. In January 1950 he called for the seizure of Formosa by force. His Dec. 20 speech shows that he has not changed his mind and that, besides, he heartily approves Truman-Acheson's course in this connection.

Where Hoover has placed a big question mark is not so much over the Korean adventure and the inadvisability of trying to hold a "bridge-head" on the Asian mainland. He placed it over similar attempts or commitments in continental Europe. Involved here is military expediency. Hoover concludes that lacking the necessary land armies in Europe, as in Korea, the threat of the A-Bomb will prove "a far less dominant weapon than it was

conceived thought to be." Hence he is in favor, as in Korea, of a tactical retreat in Europe, but only up to a certain point.

### SPEAKS FOR MANY

And here Hoover speaks not only for a strong group of anti-administration Republicans but for a much broader alignment. According to the informed Krock "in influential Washington quarters, including the military, strong doubts exist" about the reliability of the French and the Italians as military allies, and even about West German rearmament.

Far from wishing to withdraw from Europe, Hoover proposes to press for "a maximum of cooperation" with its "Commonwealth of 150,000,000 people." As for continental Europe, he urges "a period of watchful waiting." He wants to replace the "coddling" policy of the administration by a "tough" policy which relies "on far more than pacts, conferences, paper promises and declarations." Thereby he hopes to achieve the integration of France, Spain and a rearmed Germany with huge Atlantic Pact armies. "And that before we land another man or another dollar on their shores," he insists.

### ECONOMIC COLLAPSE

What frightens Hoover and many others is not only the military inexpediency of trying to hold "bridge-heads" in Western Europe, but also the fantastic cost and the perilous economic consequences entailed in such a venture. "If we continued long on this road the one center of resistance in the world will collapse in economic disaster," Hoover warned, voicing the alarm in many financial and industrial quarters.

### FEAR OF KREMLIN

Finally, it will take time to convert Western Europe into a vast drill-ground. The most hopeful estimates call for three years. But where are the guarantees that the Kremlin will meanwhile sit by with folded arms? What if Moscow should refuse to wait? Hoover expresses these fears of all European chancelleries by his formula of "inviting another Korea."

### Hoover's proposals, as Krock

points out, "reflect very wide

public opinion in this country."

The administration's course, on

the contrary, is becoming in-

creasingly unpopular. And this

only renders the political crisis all

the more acute.

But Hoover's proposals, just as

the administration policy, leave

more problems unsolved than they

succeed in settling. American im-

perialism cannot afford a policy

of no retreat; but neither can

retreats be afforded. Like the

administration policy, Hoover's

"arming to the teeth," creating

"hemispheric Gibraltars" and the

like, leave unsolved the problem

of problems. Monopolist America

must find world outlets for her

superfluous of capital or perish.

But how?

Europe, but also the fantastic cost and the perilous economic consequences entailed in such a venture. "If we continued long on this road the one center of resistance in the world will collapse in economic disaster," Hoover warned, voicing the alarm in many financial and industrial quarters.

### THERE IS REASON IN THIS ECONOMIC LUNACY

By Fred Hart

When the American billionaires plunged into the last war, they possessed a good many unimpaired assets, not the least among them, the solidity and solvency of their monetary and fiscal system. Even so, the dollar did not emerge unscathed, losing easily 40% of its prewar purchasing power. And this despite the imposing wartime expansion of the country's productive capacity.

Among the main factors which have up to now obscured the pre-Korea debasement of U.S. currency and, by this token, the weakening of the U.S. fiscal system has been the collapse of the major competing currencies and fiscal systems. As the currency of the only solvent power in a world of capitalist bankrupts, the Dollar appeared unscathed, nay, even more potent than ever. But it is far from being the same monetary unit it used to be, nor is it backed by as strong a fiscal system.

And yet experts, strategists and statesmen in Washington have acted as if nothing at all happened. Within a few months after Korea, the annual budget edges up to the 75 billion dollar mark and Truman blandly comments that this falls far short of a "genuine" war budget.

At the peak of postwar "prosperity" in 1948 the whole annual income hovered at around 225 billion. A 75 billion dollar budget, therefore, must consume, more accurately waste, approximately one-third of this country's real annual production. No capitalist government ever undertook such vast expenditures without first imposing the most rigorous regulations and controls, if only to safeguard its monetary and fiscal structure. But not so the Truman administration and the billionaires whom he represents.

The current inflation is, of course, being primarily fed by deficit government spending. But it is not only the astronomic national debt of more than 260 billion that represents a danger. State and local governments have been piling it on as well. Last Dec. 1 the Census Bureau reported that when the Korean war had just begun "state and local governments had piled up a debt of 23.6 billion, the greatest ever. . . ." Not so many years ago, this amounted to more than the whole federal budget, more than the entire national debt.

To these public debts must be added many scores of billions that are owed privately (business and personal loans, farm and home mortgages, home equipment and other goods bought on the installment plan, etc.) — not to mention the still-to-be-appropriated billions for war expenditures and "civilian defense" which can be financed only by further federal, state and local borrowing.

### Can't Bear It Indefinitely

How long can any fiscal structure bear such a load? Not indefinitely. In the opinion of such firm believers in "free enterprise" as Herbert Hoover, "we might with stern measures avoid the economic disintegration of such a

## Christmas Was Like This

By Theodore Kovalesky

In the city there was snow and strangeness. There was ruin and terror. There were clanking, long-nosed machines that crushed their way over the snow on frozen roads. There were snarling planes that whipped across the sky like smoky comets, carrying swifter death that no longer crashed into the shattered city but sped away elsewhere, somewhere to the north. There were strange men in strange clothing who carried death with them on the ground as they peered into the broken houses, and marched through the black and white pattern of snow and long-cold embers, ice and fire-gutted buildings, and spoke short, tough words in a strange tongue.

There were others, too, that marched in the city. Daily they marched, always in the same direction, always at the hour of noon or an hour later, always in the same direction, but never back.

In the room there was darkness and cold and the sound of breath from many bodies. Other sounds were few. Few words were spoken. The time for words was past. The time for planning, for loving, for working, fighting, even for living was past. Only a few tattered shreds of time were left, and these were just for a little waiting. And after the waiting, the door would open, and there would be the rifles, the soldiers, the wolf-like bark of command, and another bowed, silent company would start its one-way march at the hour of noon or an hour later.

Next to the wall, near the door the man sat with his family, surrounded, half smothered by men and women and children of the other families. It was dark in the room, and he was unsure of the time, so he raised his eyes at every sound outside. The man felt little. There was little that he could feel. . . now. Perhaps a vague gratefulness, a shadowy satisfaction, because at least his family was together. Beside him, pressed hard against him in the crowd, sat his wife, silent and dry-eyed, and before him his two sons, the older a boy of eight, and the other, the tiny child, just four. What would they do to him? Surely an infant like that could not be Communist, a Red, an Enemy of the Republic? But then, his wife! What had she done? She knew nothing of politics, she had done nothing, yet she would die.

## Asia's Monroe Doctrine

By George Lavan

Indian diplomats in the UN have stated that China is moving towards the formulation "of a Monroe Doctrine for Asia." As every schoolboy knows, the Monroe Doctrine is the cornerstone of U.S. foreign policy. How can China be copying the U.S.?

First we must go back in history and see what the Monroe Doctrine was originally and how it came about.

After the defeat of Napoleon the European continent was dominated by the Holy Alliance. This combination of reactionary monarchs was dedicated to wiping out all vestiges of the French Revolution and republicanism. They proceeded to restore divine-right kings to rule over the peoples of Europe. As with reactionaries throughout history, they claimed to be acting from the highest and most religious of motives. Their restoration of tyrants, policing of Europe and jailing of republicans was based, they sanctimoniously declared, "on the sublime truths which the Holy Religion of our Savior teaches."

This reaction, raging in Europe, threatened to reach across the Atlantic Ocean. The Spanish colonies of South and Central America, aided by Spain's involvement in the Napoleonic Wars, had revolted. Postwar attempts by the Spanish king to regain his colonies failed as revolutionary armies won victory after victory.

In this situation the Holy Alliance began preparations to subjugate the insurgent Latin-Americanics for the King of Spain.

Popular sympathy in the United States had long been on the side of the Latin-American revolutionaries — who were referred to, even by the president, as "our Southern brethren." The people of the U.S., remembering with pride their own Revolution for Independence and a Republic, felt a strong bond of solidarity with the new independence fighters to the south.

In December 1823 President Monroe proclaimed to the world that the U.S. would not tolerate any attempt by European powers to reduce the newly established Latin-American Republics to the status of colonies. Furthermore, he declared, the Western hemisphere was off limits for European powers that colonial restoration attempts or empire-carving adventures in the Western hemisphere meant war, then China today has the right to do the same for Asia.

Not only is a Monroe Doctrine for Asia a powerful diplomatic argument (because reactionary China has the strength to back it up) but it is completely on the side of progress. The peoples of Asia, colonial slaves for so long, have every right to rule themselves without interference from U.S. imperialists or their junior partners in Europe.

## Short Subjects

**MEAT OFF GENERAL ELECTRIC** — Just a few days before Charles E. Wilson, president of General Electric, announced that he had agreed to take over the job of war mobilization head, J. Howard McGrath asked the court to postpone action for five years against GE for violation of the anti-trust laws. Government service pays off for these big industrialists in more ways than one.

**ASIANS REFUSED BURIAL** — Fort Lincoln Cemetery, one of Washington's largest, has adopted a policy of refusing to bury persons of Asian descent. The discriminatory policy was revealed when Akira Nose, a veteran, asked the cemetery officials for a plot of ground to bury his father. The Japanese-American Citizenship Committee protested the action to the Capitol Cemetery Company, owners of the Fort Lincoln Cemetery, and were told the ban "was approved by the board" because of "some objections about Chinese being buried there."

**PAKISTAN TROTTSKYISTS** — News has arrived of the formation of a Trotskyist organization in Pakistan. Its strongest section is in Karachi. The new organization publishes paper entitled *The New Spark*.

**NAACP PROTESTS APPOINTMENT** — The NAACP has announced its opposition to the appointment of former Florida Governor Millard Caldwell as head of the Civilian Defense program. Caldwell now holds the post by Truman's

appointment; to make it permanent, Senate confirmation is required. Charging that Caldwell was the "chief architect of a program of segregation" employed to get around a Supreme Court decision against discrimination in colleges, the NAACP said: "If a bomb drops, we do not want regulations that require colored citizens to run ten blocks to a separate racial shelter when one designated for 'white only' is just around the corner."

\*\* \* \*

**GM MAKES BIGGEST PROFIT** — Shortly after Chairman Alfred P. Sloan of General Motors proclaimed that high taxes were killing industry, the company announced its profits for the first nine months of 1950. The net profit was over \$700 million. That is a higher profit than has ever been earned by any corporation in the world in a full year. If GM profits continued at the same rate for the balance of 1950 they should hit a billion. Last year GM made \$656 million after taxes.

\*\* \* \*

**NEW TAX SET-UP** — The CIO News in a survey Dec. 25, estimates that under the present tax structure a far greater burden will be born by the people in relation to corporation taxes, than during the last war. In the 1944-45 period it is reported that the people paid 62.2% of the taxes and the big corporations 37.8%. In 1950, the CIO paper estimates, the people will pay 70.1% and the corporations 29.9%. The CIO News concludes that Big Business is set for another "Gravy Train" ride.

\*\* \* \*

**MAJOR STRUGGLE** — This is the issue with which the administration is still grappling: if it bars the escalator clause to the auto workers, it will confront a major labor struggle; if it permits the auto workers to retain this protective clause, how can it deny all other workers the right to the same protection?

The effectiveness of any wage

freeze — which the administration is determined to put into effect — would be materially reduced if the escalator clause were included in all union contracts. Yet the financing of the war requires a drastic slash in civilian consumption, most easily effected by freezing wages as prices continue to mount.

The dilemma of the government and the employers is expressed by an editorial in the N. Y. World-Telegram, which complains that "everybody can't escalate." The advantage of the escalator clause to workers, it admits, are "obvious and great" as "a device for maintaining their living standards, no matter how high prices go."

**THREAT TO STANDARDS** — The most effective action American labor can take right now to offset a wage freeze, for which the auto order sets the precedent, is to fight for escalator clauses in every union contract. Let's see if Truman really means business about price controls. A real test would be 16 million organized workers under escalator clause protection.

Under no circumstances, however, should American workers accept a wage-freeze precedent in any form.

# THE MILITANT

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NUMBER 1

## Detroit Housing at Wretched Level Survey Reveals

By Patricia Stall

DETROIT — The Detroit Housing Commission has just released figures which show that 750,000 people are ill-housed in this city. "Ill-housed" is a very feeble and misleading term, however, for the conditions that exist in one of the largest and most modern cities of our day.

The real misery behind this

phrase lies in the words of mothers who complain that "as much snow was coming through the roof of the house . . . as was falling on the ground." Families have to put up with basements covered with three feet of sewage, and people are forced to move into a private dwelling already subdivided to house four families and find it being further subdivided to house seven with one bathroom to share with fifteen others.

**PRIMITIVE HOMES**

The survey stated that at least 250,000 persons were living in substandard dwellings, by which they mean dwellings which are dilapidated or those that don't have inside toilets, baths or running water. Twice that number are living in standard dwellings under substandard conditions which occur when two or more families occupy a unit designed to house only one family.

Not only do 750,000 people have to put up with such deplorable conditions but they have to pay bonuses and exorbitant rents for the "privilege" of sharing their porches with rats, their kitchens with strangers, regardless of their health or standards of cleanliness. They must share their waking and sleeping hours with the noises of countless families living in each other.

**NEW ARRIVALS**

It can be seen that conditions are bad but they are going to get even worse. Thousands of workers are coming to Detroit lured by the promises of war work and high wages. With each new arrival the housing problem becomes worse. "An all-out war effort would make the job of housing the influx of workers practically impossible," an official of the Housing Commission stated.

He added that there are more than 6,000 families on lists waiting to get into public housing units.

**RAIL WORKERS WIN FEW GAINS IN SETTLEMENT**

Officers of four operating unions of the Railroad Brotherhoods reached an agreement Dec. 21 covering over 300,000 workers. The contract, which includes an escalator

clause, is still to be ratified by the members.

If ratified, the agreement will end a 22-month dispute between the four unions and the railroad companies.

While the workers did not get

anywhere near the justifiable demands originally made, the unauthorized strike of yardmen

wronged some concessions from the

company and government mediators.

The biggest gain is the inclusion of an escalator clause. This

would provide a one cent hourly

increase in living costs, on a quarterly

basis. This must still be approved by the Wage Stabilization

Board, which has not yet made

clear what its position will be

on such sliding scale contracts.

One of the biggest issues provoking the walkout of 10,000 yardmen was the demand for a 40-hour week. The new proposed

agreement agrees to this "in principle" but postpones its application until Jan. 1, 1952, at which time it may or may not be put into practice "depending upon the manpower situation."

Under present war conditions this

means continuation of the 48-hour week indefinitely.

A wage increase of 25 cents a week was proposed for 120,000

yardmen, 23 cents retroactive to Oct. 1, 1950, and 2 cents to be

effective Jan. 1, 1950. This is 2 cents more than the yardmen were offered prior to their walkout.

It is also no wonder they don't

want to sacrifice the little they

have for the all-out war now

threatening. Through bitter experience the lesson is being learned: The politicians, bosses and pie-in-the-sky promoters will

never help the workers.

## UAW Executive Board Attempts To Suppress Flint Local Paper

By Emmett Moore

FLINT, MICH., Dec. 21 — After a year of rumored threats against the *Searchlight*, official newspaper of Chevrolet Local 659 UAW-CIO, the International Executive Board ordered officers of the local to appear before them. The board's telegram to the officers demanded that they "show cause why the policies and stories carried in the *Searchlight* publication of 659 are not in violation of the policies of the International Union . . ."

any questions until they were put in writing.

### DEMAND CENSOR

Upon the return of the local officers to Flint they received a letter from the board ordering them to print their statement in ten point type on the front page of the *Searchlight*. The letter instructs the officers to censor the paper of any critical views of the members against the union leadership.

How convenient it is for the porkchoppers to forget that they fought for complete control by a persistent, stubbornly critical attitude to the Thomas-Addes administration. Or what is more likely this is exactly what they do remember and fear that the militants in the auto union may dispose of them as Reuther did the previous administration.

The *UAW* officers refuse to acknowledge that the militants by exercising their rights forced the administration to adopt three of the major demands which mobilized the union since 1946. These were the fight for the 30 cent wage increase in 1945, the escalation clause which would eliminate the voice of Chevrolet workers from the pages of the *Searchlight*.

This encroachment on the rights of local unions has aroused the Chevrolet workers to a fever pitch. Local union officers accomplished this by the simple act of placing the telegram on the front page of the *Searchlight*. It was the only article that appeared. The rest of the blank page graphically illustrated to all members how top union censorship would eliminate the voice of Chevrolet workers from the pages of the *Searchlight*.

It is clear that Reuther wishes to extend his control over the union at the coming convention. He will undoubtedly press for constitutional controls over local publications. This is a logical extension of the last convention's actions where changes were made in the constitution to provide Reuther with the means of removing militants from posts in local unions.

### CLEAR-CUT FIGHT

In order for Chevrolet workers to withstand the assault of the bureaucracy they must realize that Reuther's attack is aimed at all locals with publications critical of the leadership. Chevrolet will have to put them on their guard. It will have to organize a militant opposition to defend their democratic rights. But they must realize that to obtain the greatest support possible it can best be done by a clear-cut fight for the rights of all auto workers. This includes the right of militants to hold office; the right of militant workers to work in the plants, and of course free speech, democratic union elections, and freedom to criticize. A struggle of this type will end the hypocrisy of Reuther's charge of "violation of CIO policy."

The thin-skinned bureaucrats objected to a headline entitled "Unionism Versus Buggasism" (a reference to the anaemic Ford pension settlement). They violently reacted against the protest of Livingston, vice-president of the *UAW*, speaking for the board, proceeded to attack the local for the publication of articles, cartoons, headlines and stories that were critical of Reuther administration policies.

The thin-skinned bureaucrats toed the line of the *Searchlight* are in violation of the International Union. . . In justice we believe you should submit specific instances of violations. . . We request sufficient time to prepare a full and comprehensive statement covering the subjects.

Ignoring this modest request, Livingston, vice-president of the *UAW*, speaking for the board, proceeded to attack the local for the publication of articles, cartoons, headlines and stories that were critical of Reuther administration policies.

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A wave of bombings of newly-purchased homes was used by the Commission as an excuse for passing the segregation ordinance although such ordinances were declared unconstitutional by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1917 in the case of *Buchanan vs. Warley*.

The recent Circuit Court decision in favor of Mrs. Monk from a District Court judgment in favor of Mrs. Monk and other Negro citizens against the discriminatory zoning ordinance adopted by the City Commission last year.

Little protection from future attacks was expected from local authorities despite their routine posting of a six-man guard around the house after the event, since this is the fifth bombing of a Negro home in the area in the past few years and not a single arrest has been made in connection with any of them.

Moreover, the typical police attitude of blame for the victims rather than the criminals was expressed by Detective G. L. Patty, who "investigated" the dynamiting.

The decision must have been what she was waiting for," said the minister of the law, "because she moved right in."

**COURT RULING**

He referred to the Dec. 20 decision of the U.S. Court of Appeals

### War Mobilizers



Truman's new war economy "czar," Charles E. Wilson of General Electric Co. confers with Secretary of Defense George C. Marshall, former Army Chief of Staff. Wilson, former president of one of the country's largest anti-labor corporations, represents the kind of Big Business executives Truman has placed in command of all the government war agencies and boards.

### TRUMAN OPENS WAGE-FREEZE DRIVE

(Continued from Page 1)

president of the CIO United Auto Workers, has chosen to interpret this to mean that any permanent freeze order "will provide for protection of our cost-of-living and annual improvement factor."

That is by no means assured. Certainly, the administration has been forced to give pause, in this instance, before throwing out the UAW's escalator clauses. It

cannot afford, at this stage, to provoke the anger and revolt of the N. Y. World-Telegram, which complains that "everybody can't escalate." The advantage of the escalator clause to workers, it admits, are "obvious and great" as "a device for maintaining their living standards, no matter how high prices go."

**EFFECTIVE ACTION**</p