

CABINET CRISIS IN ISRAEL: Will Ben Gurion Bend Left or Right? ... page 6

Truman's Tactic on McCarran Law: Issue Is Liberty, Not Efficiency!

Polish Workers Use the Slowdown As Russia Strips Their Land

... page 2

...page 3

DIRT-BUT NO POLITICS

Labor in Middle As Muck Thickens In N. Y. Election

The main political comment to be made on the juicy scandal which has broken over the New York elections is that it underlines what has already been quite clear: this year's election in the state is on the lowest political level in a very long time.

For us and for others who wish to see an increase in labor's political strength and effectiveness, the other thing that is clear is that the labor movement here has done nothing to change this but on the contrary has made this sterile state of affairs possible by the policies it has pursued.

We cannot get at all excited over the disclosures surrounding the Hanley-Dewey deal which is giving the Democrats a field day. In brief, it has come to light that Governor Dewey decided to get himself "drafted," and clubbed Lieutenant Governor Hanley-who was indicated for the Republican gubernatorial nomination—into running instead for the Senate by a promise to clear up his debts and by the further pledge of a state job sinecure if he should be defeated by Lehman.

Its "sensational" character, of course, is due to some very interesting factors: It breaks three weeks before election day, at a good moment to make the Democrats jubilant over prospects of a sweep in the state. The key exhibit itself is a letter written by Hanley on September 5 to Westchester GOP leader Macy (who, one gathers indirectly, saw to it that the letter leaked out in order to knife Dewey and (Turn to last page)

Los Angeles Judge Rules that City 'Anti-Red' Law Is Illegal

Last month an ordinance went Court and if sustained would have Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin to made to overrule it. register with the proper authori- If the statement of S. Ernest passed identical bills.

under it they found themselves the McCarran Law to purge the

its first legal test in Belvedere Roll makes no reference to the township, a working-class section fact that the ordinance is unconto the east of Los Angeles. The stitutional, as does Justice Marion, justice of the peace in that town- for by the reasoning of the latter ship's court. Myer B. Marion, de- the McCarran Law is also "a viomanded the release of Harry Stein- lation of the rights guaranteed to berg, the first person arrested un- individuals under the First and der the law, with the statement . Fourteenth Amendments." that the law violates the Constitu- Marion's decision is a courageous tion of the United States.

the Los Angeles County Superior which is prevalent.

into effect in the county of Los to be taken to the United States Angeles requiring "all followers of Supreme Court if any attempt is

ties at the county court house. Roll, the chief deputy district at-Shortly thereafter several town- torney of the county is any weathships and cities in the county ervane, it seems that the ordinance will be declared illegal. It is his So all inclusive was the Los opinion that this law "intrudes Angeles law that when the au- upon the jurisdiction of the federthorities prepared to make arrests al government," which already has tied in legal knots, for there was population; and to allow any city absolutely no precedent to go by. or county to go ahead with their Finally, however, several arrests own laws would make for "maladwere made. Last week the law met ministration and utter confusion."

and welcome one, especially in the This ruling will be reviewed in climate of "anti-red" hysteria. LABOR ACTION

Polish Workers Resist with the Slowdown As Russia Strips the Land of Its Wealth

By A. RUDZIENSKI

The economic dependence of satellite Poland on Russia tightened greatly after the appointment of Rokossovsky, the "gauleiter" of the Kremlin in Warsaw Now not only is the greater part of coal exports delivered gratis to Russia but also the products of heavy Polish industry and the famous weaving industry of Lodz; in one word, the entire industrial production goes to Russia while Poles live in icy houses during the winter, industry lacks machines and the population in general lack clothing and shoes. To obtain a little iron to fix the peasant cart is an immense prob-

Russian preparations for the war reflect themselves in Poland not only through the lack of machines. which Polish industry can produce in sufficient quantity for the requirements of its own country, but through the lack of raw ore which until now Russia had promised to deliver. Now, as Russia needs it for her own purposes-commercial treaties with Stalin are not worth much-the Warsaw government of Bierut has ordered the exploitation of Polish ore deposits which hardly yield 15 per cent (and less) of iron, in order to remedy the situation.

In this way Russia holds her bargains. Of course, Poland could easily acquire excellent raw ores from Scandinavia in exchange for her coal, but the coal too is absorbed by Russia in its greater part. The weight of imperialist domination forces the country to work poor deposits and to pay the Russian burden with an intensified exploitation of labor.

NEW TREATY

However, economic reconstruction has taken place in spite of all difficulties, thanks to the enthusiasm of the worker, of the peasant and the whole country, who were eager to reconstruct their country to show their industriousness and efficiency. Polish industry is the pride of the country. The production of coal reaches 70 million tons exceeding England and France. The production of zinc is the greatest in Europe, second only to the United States. Poland produces excellent machines, good wool and cotton cloth, glass, crockery and porcelain; in one word, it is the country of greatest industrial and economic potential among the Russian satellites.

Russia is eager to control its exploitation and its economy. The new commercial treaty provides for an increase of trade between the two countries by 60 per cent, which means that the scarcity of consumer goods will become more acute for the Poles. The loan of thing as it does not cover 5 per cent of the required investments to finance the six-year plan drawn by Minc. minister of industry and trade.

As in all countries governed by the bureaucracy, the plan aims to increase heavy industry 100 per cent and more (the industry of machine production must be raised five times) while the production of the means of production will hardly be 50 per cent (if that). For 1955, Minc promises 75 millions meters of cloth per year (hardly 3 meters per person), and 22 millions of shoes (less than one pair per person per year) while the entire industry works to meet the "orders" of Russia. These orders mean economic waste for the country. because they are delivered without equivalent exchange.

How will Minc finance the new

Get ALL your books Labor Action Book Service 4 Court Square Long Island City 1, N. Y. We can supply you!

plan? Without capital, of course; with "obscure reserves." namely. with the increase of exploitation of human labor, "better utilization of machines," "better organization," "savings in the use of raw materials," etc. In order to obtain it, an extensive campaign "against laxity" is developing in the entire country.

HOW THEY RESIST

The courts of justice, basing themselves on a new slave law, mete out the loss of 25 per cent of wages, money fines, loss of work, etc. The slave law is called "law of socialist discipline in work." The security troops check the public in the movies and the theatres, requesting working permits, as in Russia. The totalitarian unions mobilize workers to exceed the norms. The unions count 4,500,-000 members, thus being excellent organs of control and exploitation.

But the Polish proletariat resists tenaciously. In spite of all the pressure, the productivity of work has decreased compared with the norms of pre-war periods. There is no more enthusiasm as there was as in the first period of economic reconstruction. The productivity in the mines hardly reaches 70 per cent of pre-war times. The laborious and efficient weaver of Lodz produces hardly 50-70 per cent of what was produced in prewar Poland. What a shame for the Stalinist "paradise"!

The output of coal only maintains pre-war levels thanks to the double size of the working class. The decrease of productivity not of wages and the living standard mains no way of armed resistance, (Data by Alfred Zauberman, spontaneous resistance of the proploitation.

The worker knows very well that his products go to Russia while his children are without clothing and shoes; that palaces are constructed for the bureaucracy while he lives in a single room; that he produces more coal in vain, inasmuch as he will suffer cold during the winter anyway. Therefore, the enthusiasm for reconstruction has been replaced by spontaneous resistance against the new industrial plans, the product of which will not remain in Po-

SLOWDOWN!

The bureaucracy is shouting in vain against "laxity." It is in vain that they decree slave laws. The Polish worker, expropriated from his unions, deprived of his political parties, enchained by a totalitarian party, watched over by a gang of spies and parasites, replies. unmoved, with the slowdown, Less coal for the "Russkis": fewer machines for Rokossovsky, less iron for Stalin, less wool cloth for the Russian bureaucracy; fewer shoes, less clothing, less crockery, etc. While the bourgeoisie excels in sending "gifts" and "love letters" to the "Little Father of the Peoples," the Polish proletariat answers with dignity.

What a courageous people! Defeated a hundred times, betrayed by her "allies" of the West, sold like cows in the market, abanonly is the result of the lowering doned by all, seeing that there re-

of the workers; it is a form of that this would mean physical an- "Dziennik Polski," London, August nihilation, the transport en masse 18, 1950) letariat against the increase of ex- to Siberia, this people does not renounce, does not despair, but replies . . . with the slowdown.

> It seems that reprisals do not have much effect. because Minc 30 per cent: of those from 5 to 15 has adopted the expedient of prom, hectares, 49 per cent. The bureauises: more shoes, more clothing, cracy has more power over the more food, better living, these are the promises of the Stalinist "magnate" for 1955. But the workers do not believe it, and do not at all step up the pace.

> out, the lines before the stores emptied the stocks of sugar, fat And all this in spite of multiple and flour, in spite of the furious means of pressure and economic campaign of the bureaucracy. The and political persecution. "magnates" resorted to promises and appealed to the patriotism of the population. Already less is being said about world events and Russia, but more about the new plan, which will give everything to Poland, will give everything to the worker and peasant.

POOR PEASANTS FIGHT

But the peasant is also distrustful and also presents a tenacious resistance against slave "collectivization." And it is curious that the poorest peasants present the greatest resistance to the slave drivers. Collectivization starts in the biggest farms and not in the smallest Statistics show that the ownership structure of farms is the following:

Up to 2 hectares 770.000 From 2-5 " 950.000 From 5-10 " 780.000 From 10-20 " 350,000 From 20-50 89,000 Over 50 10,700

Of the peasants who possess hardly 2 hectares, only 19 per cent accepted the collectives: of those who possess from 2 to 5 hectares. peasants who are relatively comfortable than over the "poor" peasants who resist fiercely against the pressure, in spite of the fact that their life on 2 hectares of land When the war in Korea broke must be very hard, with only water and bread often to be had.

> The taxes are so high that the peasants cannot pay them and they sell their cattle to avoid seizure through taxes. This is the promised "liberation" of the peasant promised by the bureaucracy. It is therefore not strange that the Russian economist Petruszow laments that in Poland "the collectives are a fiasco" and even Zambrowski, member of the Politburo, cries that the "collectives" are "artificial" plants.

The bureaucracy, therefore, concentrates its attention on sovkhozes (state collectives), on poorly cultivated lands, especially in Silesia, and Pomerania, where almost one million hectares are occupied by the Russian army and exploited by them. The resistance of the worker with the slowdown joins the resistance of the peasant against slavery. The Russians have a hard nut to crack in Poland

France: the Political Climate General Economic Conditions Are Up, but Masses Are Worse Off than at War's End

By HENRY JUDD

PARIS, October-A return to France and Paris after several vears' absence is always an unusual experience. Particularly in the complex and colorful life of Paris is it possible not only to renew previous acquaintance with the city, but also this is the best vantage point to observe and judge the changes, adjustments and differences which have taken place. If we include the famous environs of Paris there are close to 6 million people centered in this most famous of all cities; or out of every 7 inhabitants of France.

The changes that have occurred within the past two years are both striking and varied. Te begin with, the improvement in general economic conditions — we will speak of particular conditions later on—is truly amazing. Even the most badly damaged cities and areas of France-Normandy and the city of Caen-have been largely reconstructed and repaired. The railroads function as efficiently as before the war, and the traditional farm and small-peasant life has returned to normal.

In the large cities, and particularly in Paris, the stores and department houses are full as they have not been in ten years: the cities and villages were packed with international tourists during the season, even in excess of the best pre-war years, and the traffic problem of Paris is, if anything, as bad as that of New York!

Some rather abstract statistics bear out the revival of economic life, all based on the traditional structure of French economy which has remained unchanged and undisturbed in any fundamental way (nationalizations of even the most insignificant parts of the economy have stopped for

dustrial production on the combined index of coal, electric power, iron ore, automotive industry, textiles, heavy industry, etc., was up to 130 and 128 in May and June of this year respectively. The 1949 average was 120, and the 1950 expected average is 125 -a 25 per cent expansion over the best pre-war year.

An examination of current balance of trade statistics, with whose details we will not encumber this report, indicates a considerable improvement in French market conditions with respect to the world market with a huge drop in the annual deficit, but a considerably smaller improvement with respect to trade with the United States-i.e., the famous "dollar shortage" has drop-. ped slightly, but not hopefully. MASSES WORSE OFF

So much for the healthy and progressive side of the picture. It is when we examine the eternal 'problem of prices" that the story changes, and what a change! The foreign visitor—tourist, student or businessman-who has been here before notices this immediately.

Since 1948, it is possible to sav without exaggeration that living costs for foreigners here (a quite different status than that of the Parisians) have virtually doubled: this goes for hotels (less in their case, since certain rent controls remain); theaters and amusements: travel on the railroads and the Metro: the purchase of those luxury items dear to the heart of all visitors; and particularly the question of food and meals. It now costs as much to eat in Paris as in America and in New York, if one goes to restaurants.

Those days of the American living "like a king, for nothing" a long time now). Taking 1938 are definitely in the past: a pleas- 5.5 per cent in August over July,

as an average of 100, French in- ant memory for those who en- and still another 5 per cent in joyed this period. We might add September! Compared with only that, in general, clothing costs are higher than in America; we have yet to see a decent pair of women's shoes under \$11 or \$12! A further note to the effect that the infamous Black Market dollar is dead.

This is the story as it affects the tourist and visitor. Needless to say, for the French worker and middle class fonctionnaire matters are much worse since his income is, to start with, roughly one-fourth that of his American equivalent. The new minimum vitale for the poorest paid French worker, about to be accepted by the government, is 16,000 francs per month; less than \$15! For over two years. despite the constant advance of prices, there have been no salary adjustments of any consequence and the drop in purchasing power has proceeded steadily.

There is little question that the French masses are, in this respect, worse off than since the end of the war (if we discount the catastrophic years of 1944-5, immediately after the war), and that the typical French family (workingclass and lower middle-class) spends its earnings on rent, food and other necessities. The only factor operating to relieve this situation are certain social laws, such as paid vacations each year, which make it possible to break the monotony of daily living. Clothing, amusements, etc., are unknown to the great majority of people except for the cheapest possible presentations or offerings.

A few statistics on prices will bear out the above. In August, wholesale prices advanced 4 per cent; raw materials were up 7 per cent (textiles and rubber) and industrial prices 5 per cent. Retail prices in Paris advanced one year ago, there has thus been a 10.5 per cent jump. If we again take 1938 as equal to 100, the general index of living costs stood at 1632 for the year 1948, 1817 for 1949 and 1925 in August 1950. Put in other words, it now costs almost 20 times more to live today than in 1938!

The war in Korea, affecting the world market, has had its consequences here. Raw materials from the dollar zone have gone up 10 per cent; 30 per cent from the sterling area, which is profiting from the situation. In all fields, the rise is steady and continual. For a joke, some economist estimated the price differential between 1914 and 1950. He discovered that it costs 142 times as much to eat today as then!

POLITICAL CLIMATE

The present government naturally pursues its deficit operations as ardently as do all French governments. According to present estimates, expenses in 1951 will be more than 2,400 billion francs, of which 1,030 billions will be covered by income, leaving an uncovered deficit of over half. Part of this will be covered by the Marshall Plan, but the government expects to finance the production of about 600 billion francs worth of war material. together with expenses for military operations in Indo-China. etc. There is talk of a "substantial rise" of 500 billions in taxes. This is the issue with which the new Chamber of Deputies, fresh from summer vacations, is supposed to deal.

What is the political climate in France now? Naturally, a return of only a few weeks to France does not permit anything beyond some general statements.

As is well known, all "political (Continued on 'last page)

43.

Truman's Tactic on McCarran Law-



By GORDON HASKELL

aliens have been detained at Ellis Island, and hundreds of others intending to travel to the United States from all over the world have been held up at American consulates due to the provisions of the McCarran Act.

The provision of the law which has been applied most speedily and rigorously by the Department of Justice and the Department of State in Section 22, which excludes from admission to the United States aliens who are, or have been, members of a Communist or other totalitarian organization. The FBI is also supposed to round up all aliens now inside the country who have belonged to such organizations, in order to deport them.

It is true that under the law the attorney general has the right to make an exception in the case of an alien who is considered harmless by him, but in such cases he must furnish a report to Congress indicating how many exceptions have been made and for what rea-

SODS

4

The most prominent people who have been victimized to date by the application of this law are some artists and some doctors who had planned to attend a congress of the World Medical Association in New York. In many cases it is not charged that these people are ex-Nazis or former or present Starinists, but simply that there has not been sufficient time to screen

For every prominent person thus detailed who is mentioned in the newspapers, there must be at least a dozen humble would-be immigrants, DPs or relatives of persons now residing in the country who are being exposed to considerable hardship by this procedure.

"CLEVER" TACTIC?

Supporters of the McCarran Act claim that the administration is trying to sabotage the act by enforcing it too literally. They claim that by this procedure-which -penalizes a young artist who could not have been more than ten years old when he joined the Hitler Youth, or a prominent doctor who had to take nominal membership in the Nazi or Fascist parties so as to be able to continue to practisethe Department of Justice seeks to hold the law up to public ridicule with the idea that they will thus justify Truman's veto and bring about repeal or modification

in the next session of Congress. It is quite possible that the administration has, in fact, devised a strategy which to them seems very turning nublic op on the law. Yet such is the curious logic of such maneuvers that it is the innocent who have to suffer, whether the act is applied in good faith or in bad. If there are any liberals who congratulate themselves on the "cleverness" of their administration, let them ponder the fact that if the same method were to be used to discredit the concentration-camp provisions of the law it might mean that tens of thousands of people would be torn from their homes and occupations,

N.Y. Public Meeting:

The Socialist Movement:

rest and detention, their families A total of some three hundred paralyzed with fear-and that a good number of our currently most respectable liberals would be quite likely to find themselves in the very midst of the thousands of victims.

IT WON'T BE A VICTORY

We are against the McCarran Act. We are against not only those portions of it which are being exposed as vicious and unworkable by the administration, but we would be equally against it if the law were written in such a manner as to make its enforcement a simply administrative problem. We are against the principle on which each and every one of its provisions is based: varying degrees of legal disability placed on persons sclely because of their political affiliations or beliefs.

The perhaps "clever" tactic of the administration may have the effect of bringing about modification of the law-but it is most likely to be modification of precisely those provisions least affecting real civil liberties. The immigration provisions may be relaxed so that suspected ex-Nazis and pro-Francoites will not be inconvenienced, while anyone suspected of radicalism is still subject to its provisions or to Truman's own administrative witchhunt: and so on. Then the liberals may even cry "Victory" while the principle of the police-state law remains undisturbed.

It is this principle, which strikes at the roots of civil liberties and political democracy in the United States. Until the labor movement understands that and girds itself to combat any legislation and any political party which supports legislation based on this principle. however carefully worded, civil and political liberties will have no

Commission on Migratory Labor heard almost two days of praise of the Puerto Rican in New Jersev and the Jamaican in Connecticut and the conditions under which they worked. This was the testimony of the employers' representatives who had found to their liking these sources of cheap and amenable labor. Only under the skillful questioning of the expert commissioners and through the testimony of the Workers Defense League and other organizations did the true picture begin to un-

(WDL Bulletin)

Sitting in Trenton, N. J., Sep-

tember 5 and 6, the President's

"PUERTO RICANS PICK BETTER"

The Puerto Rican migration to New Jersey was described by William G. LaTourette and Neil Moore, growers' agents. They told how 4600 were brought in by plane under a contract which is supervised by the Department of Labor of Puerto Rica.

They are charged \$62 transportation to Jersey and a \$7.50 fee by the growers' cooperative. They are guaranteed 55 cents an hour when they are working, or the prevailing wage if greater. This wage was reported to average 70 cents an hour in 1950. There are no maximum hours of labor or overtime pay, and 100 hours or more a week is not uncommon. There are other periods of rain when work and pay cease, but living charges con-

Under questioning, Mr. LaTourette admitted that the growers' association made five thousand dollars on the Puerto Rican importation in 1949. He conceded that an unofficial and informal blacklist -existed-that a worker who leaves a farm to work for another at a higher wage finds it difficult to come back the following year under the protection of the contract. Mr. Moore, who painted a glow-

firm political base in this country, ing picture of life in camp bar-

racks with delicious Spanish food, The best workers of all, however, claimed that the Puerto Ricans were preferred to Southern Negroes because they were better agricultural workers. An added advantage was that they went where they were told and did not bargain over wages. The "prevailing wage was fixed by the growers in advance and only had to be adjusted upward when there were insufficient Puerto Ricans to harvest the crop

NEABORNE GODE

Growers Exploit Imported Labor under Near-Peonage Conditions

"JAMAICANS PICK BETTER"

Connecticut has a far more comprehensive scheme for a controlled labor market in its tobacco fields. Mr. S. J. Orr. Jr., director of the Connecticut Shade Tobacco Growers Association described the system for 1949.

With 5000 to 8000 year-round employees, the peak need of 20,000 workers was met by 2600 Jamaicans under contract, 1500 Virginia white high school students, 1500 southern Negro college students. Connecticut school children and the local unemployed. He called the Jamaicans a "stabilizing force" in the labor market.

They lived in carefully policed barracks, worked under an individual but uniform contract which provided a 55 cents an hour minimum wage, part of which was withheld until they returned to the West Indies. They were not allowed union representation. If the Jamaican created a disturbance in the community, incurred the displeasure of his employer, or left the farm to which he was assigned, he was subject to immediate deportation.

In wet weather, the tobacco fields cannot be worked but the Jamaican's \$12.50 barracks board bill went on just the same. Orr regretted the refusal of the United States Employment Service to certify the need for Jamaicans in Connecticut in 1950 because he said that Jamaicans were better workers than either the Puerto Ricans or the Southern migrant.

were the children who picked faster and better than anyone. Child labor in the tobacco fields of Connecticut in 1950 earned 50 to 55 cents an hour; adult labor was paid 70 to 75 cents.

"THE POOR PICK BETTER"

At this point, Peter Odegard, chairman of the Political Science Department of the University of California and a member of the President's Commission, said:"

"In California, Arizona, and other places the story is the same. There they want Mexicans. Now in New Jersev they tell us that Puerto Ricans are more reliable, more stable and better workers. The same is true in Connecticut where Jamaicans are preferred. It seems to me that whether it is California. Texas, Arizona or New Jersey, it's the workers from the most poverty-stricken and destitute areas that are preferred."

On behalf of the Workers Defense League, Rowland Watts reiterated Odegard's point and reminded the Commission that organized migration of workers under enforceable contracts had been initiated in New Jersey during World War II by the Southern Tenant Farmers Union (now the National Farm Labor Union, AFL) in cooperation with the Meat and Cannery Workers, AFL. Under the union plan, cotton workers were brought up from the mid-South to work, under union conditions and were returned to their homes in time for the cotton-picking. This plan was discarded by the growers as soon as the Puerto Rican contract was evolved because the Puerto Rican Recruitment bypassed the union and put full control of the worker in the hands of the employer.

FEDERAL ACTION NEEDED

Watts warned the Commission not to put the Puerto Rican worker in opposition to the continental migrant. He pointed out that what was needed were more and better contracts. If the Department of Labor of Puerto Rico, a United States government agency, could negotiate contracts with the growers on behalf of the workers, there was no reason why the service of the government could not be made available to all migrant labor.

The labor contractor or recruiter should be subject to federal license and control, and unions in the farm labor field should have the benefits of the labor relations laws. He emphasized the need of further revision of the federal child labor laws, which do not new apply at a time when the children need them most-during the school vacation season.

In discussing the features of the New York State law, Watts stated that the N. Y. Child Agricultura Labor law had been on the books since 1928. After a three-year educational campaign, intensive enforcement efforts were started in 1948. In that year, only nine per cent of the children employed on the 514 farms inspected, were found to be legally employed. In 1949 769 farms were visited and less than forty-five per cent of the child labor was legally at work.

Calif. Gets Another Loyalty Oath; **Oath-Happy Profs Now Have 3**

By MALCOLM KIRK

SAN FRANCISCO, Oct. 14-On October 3, California's "liberal" Republican Governor Warren signed the bill passed by the state legislature requiring a loyalty oath by all state employees, and immediately afterward signed the oath civilian-defense volunteers were given 30 days to swear that they are not now, have not been for the last five years, and will not become in the future advocates of the overthrow of the government by force or violence, or in any way connected with any of the "subversive" groups.

Penalties for perjury under this oath are from one to fourteen years in prison. If any person delays in signing the oath his salary will be held up, and if the delay submitted to the indignity of ar- is too long he will be fired. The

Thursday, November 2, at 8:15 p.m.

Cornish Arms Hotel, 23rd Street and 8th Avenue

Auspices: Independent Socialist League, Local New York

Admission: 50 cents (including tax)

33 Years After the Russian Revolution

campaign to silence any and all who are now or might become critical of the American government, is now in second gear among the state workers.

The most ridiculous and most tragic situation created by this new oath is among the already himself. With the application of oath-happy professors, teachers, his signature to the bill 300,000 and employees on the many campublic workers and over 1,000,000 puses of the University of Califor- into the fight. During the entire nia. The state law brings the number of loyalty oaths that they must sign to THREE. The first they have always had to sign, that of loyalty to the Constitution of the United States. The second they have had to sign since the beginning of the current semester; this oath was imposed upon them by the regents of the university.

LABOR COULD DO IT

MAX SHACHTMAN on

The long struggle of the faculty against this oath, reported on at length by LABOR ACTION in the past, was lost months ago even

though a group of twenty professors are still fighting it in the courts: and so they are hardly now in a position to fight this new and third loyalty oath.

The biggest single thing that could occur to reverse the tide in the battle of the oaths, which is by no means over, would be the re-entrance of the labor movement figh regents of the U. of C. which occurred around the oath, all that powerful million-membered the AFL could do was to squeak some pitifully weak protests in the pages of one or two of its publications, about "How loyal are the regents?"

The real question is: How long will the leadership of the labor movement continue to fail to supply leadership to its own ranks and the entire population in the fight against reaction?

A brilliant study of the labor movement-A vivid insight into a great union-



\$3.00

A Random House book Order from: LABOR ACTION BOOK SERVICE 4 Court Square, Long Island City 1, N. Y.

Page Four

The **ISL Program** in Brief

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

INTERESTED?

acquainted

Independent

4 Court Square

the ISL.

New York

Name

State

Address

Long Island City 1

Socialist League-

I want to join the ISL.

Zose

with the

Get



New Book Shows How Secrecy Hits Science By CARL DARTON

The linking of science and secrecy is one of the many contradictions inherent in capitalism today. Secrecy strangles science; but secrecy must play a major role when the state utilizes the free creative efforts of science, fundamentally one of the highest expressions of man's desire for good, for restrictive, destructive and evil purposes. An excellent factual account of this manhandling of science is given in Walter Gellhorn's Security, Loyalty, and Science (Cornell University Press, 1950, \$3).

To keep the record straight, it is necessary to point out that Gellhorn is an "enlightened" liberal anxious to obtain the most out of science for the war effort. In effect, he is therefore only critical of the government in as far as it has bungled its public relations with science. However, as a history of recent government intervention in science, the book is of interest to all socialists.

Gellhorn points out that while science was formerly an unselfish effort, international in scope, endeavoring to expand knowledge for the benefit of all mankind, it is now overwhelmingly a part of the national war plant. As a result the United States government spends more than billion dollars annually to support over 50 per cent of this country's scientific research. To protect this investment from the leakage of knowledge to foreign enemies, scientific research is hemmed in by elaborate security measures.

In some cases the emphasis on security is greater than that on research itself. At Los Alamos, the top Atomic Energy Commission research center, uniformed troopers of the Security Service far outnumber the scientists under guard. And throughout the country, in addition to military and FBI personnel, about 7000 persons are employed by the AEC for guard and security activity.

It is evident, however, that scientific knowledge is something which cannot be guarded in vaults like the gold at Fort Knox. The United States has far from a monopoly on brains. Gellhorn writes that since the inception of the Nobel prizes for outstanding scientific work only five of the thirty-six in chemistry were given to Americans; of the forty in physics only eight to Americans, and of the thirtyseven in physiology and medicine only six to United States citizens Secrecy cannot prevent progress in science abroad and it would appear that the United States has more to lose than to gain in the restrictions on exchange of information. Furthermore, secrecy measures tend to wither science from within.

Incentive under Secrecy

Teachers cannot train young scientists when their subject matter restricted. Scientists lose incentive when they cannot publish the results of their experiments nor even discuss their problems freely with fellow scientists. Likewise there is often duplication of efforts when one does not know what others are doing. Under such conditions it is not strange that scientists, despite the limited opportunities for employment elsewhere, often walk away from government work.

In the past apologists for capitalism have stressed the claim that much knowledge advancing human welfare, particularly in the medical ciences, came—albeit as a byproduct—from military research. With secrecy prevailing, this apology becomes less and less valid. This is clearly shown in the field of bacteriology which is closely associated with a top-secret scientific activity, biological warfare. For nearly eight years intensive investigations in this field have been carried out. Much of the fundamental knowledge resulting from these investigations has no direct bearing on warfare but, if published, would have great significance for public health, industry, and agriculture. Yet under the government's secrecy program relatively little of this information has een made available.

Just as onerous to science as secrecy are the security and loyalty clearances and restrictions. Gellhorn describes and fully documents the procedures being used to track down "subversives" among government employees and other scientists. The futile, meaningless, yet often fatal procedures based on "guilt by association and derogatory statements" are analyzed. Despite millions of dollars spent to investigate and seek out poor "security risks" among scientists and government employees the net result of this "ideological spy hunt" has been practically zero. Gellhorn concludes that the cases of Klaus Fuchs and Harry Gold-who incidently were not exposed by the normal security and loyalty procedures-are not representative of the scientific profession. It appears that the political mouthpieces of the Communist Party are not those entrusted with espionage assignments. Gellhorn, in his considered legal judgment, writes: "There is grave risk in judging men by their beliefs rather than by their beavior and their professional competence. In other countries there

has been discernible relationship between eligibility tests and the decline of scientific achievement." Gellhorn's book is clearly of value as proof that the struggle of

the scientists for civil liberties is but a part of the battle of all workers for their democratic rights.



THE PRO-TITOISM OF THE SOCIALIST LEFT-13 Reading from Left to Right **Yugoslav Spy Trials and the Leader Cult**

PREJUDICE, by Bruno Bettelheim and Morris Janowitz. (Scientific American, October)

The article summarizes the results of a statistical study conducted among 150 Chicago GIs of all economic classes to discover the extent of racial discrimination and its relationship to personal experience, frustration, and insecurity. Of the group 4 per cent were intensely anti-Semitic, 27 per cent outspoken against Jews, 28 per cent used stereotyped anti-Jewish phrases, and 41 per cent were judged to be tolerant. Anti-Negro sentiment was 16 per cent intense, 49 per cent outspoken, 27 per cent used stereotyped anti-Negro phrases, and only 8 per cent were tolerant.

"To learn whether hostility is actually the result of frustration, we needed a group of subjects with some common life experiences, and this we found in a sample group of army veterans who had returned to civilian life. Since all had experienced comparable wartime deprivations, they offered an excellent opportunity to examine the hypothesis that the individual who suffers frustrations tries to restore his emotional balance by some form of hostile behavior. . . .

In general the analysis did not bear out the hypothesis that frustration necessarily generates dissatisfaction or hostility. . . .

"There was a close relation, however, between ethnic attitude and social mobility, i.e., a move up or down on the socio-economic scale. as compared with previous civilian employment, after the veteran was discharged from the army. Ethnic hostility proved to be most highly concentrated in the downwardly mobile group, while the pattern was significantly reversed for those who had risen in social position. . . .

thinking or feelings of ethnic hostility by rational propaganda is at best a half-measure. On an individual level only greater personal incurity seem to offer hope for better inter-ethnic things to change social practice in ways that

the more tolerant veterans." While the sample taken for the statistical study was small the information was obtained through long personal interviews (4 to 7 hours per person) by psychiatrically trained social workers experienced in public opinion surveys.



More Billions to Help French War in Indo-China Won't Help West

By JAMES M. FENWICK

The slashing defeats recently handed the French forces in Indo-China by Vietminh troops is another memento mori for those in France who still dream of empireand another gloomy foreshadowing of the problems confronting the young pretender to world empire, the United States.

Deployed in Indo-China France has over 200,000 troops, large numbers of whom are former members of the German army. Much of the equipment is of United States origin.

These forces have been able to maintain a precarious hold on the country, since World War II ended, only by occupying key cities, ports, and industrial and agricultural areas, and securing less accessible areas through a system of strongpoints linked by patrols. This hold has been demonstratively breaking down in recent weeks as the Vietminh forces, now apparently armed and trained on a more extensive scale by the Chinese Stalinists, have stepped up their attacks.

The attrition of the French forces has been considerable. In officers alone the annual consumption has been equivalent to the yearly output of officers from St. Cyr, the French military academy. Financially, the Indo-Chinese war, coupled with the campaign of subjugation in Madagascar, has thrown the whole French economy off balance. The war expenditures have undermined the effects of the Marshall Plan in restoring industrial production.

Utilizing the Stalinist incursion into South Korea as a bogeyman the French political, leaders, with that fine feel for the value of United States arms and dollars which has practically become a tropism in international capitalist political circles. have requested financial aid for Vietnam through their Indo-Chinese puppets. Arms have already been contracted for and are in transit. "Mr. Acheson," the New York Times recently stated in reporting one of the secretary of state's press conferences, "said that there had been no consideration of sending American soldiers to Indo-China." With this statement, of course, goes at least a one-week's money-back guarantee.

Complicating France's economic and political problems has been the pressure of the United States for the establishment and maintenance of twenty army divisions for the defense of Europe from Russian totalitarianism. The French have neatly riposted

by suggesting that nearly one billion dollars from . . . from, yes, the United States will be necessary in order to float this program. Maurice Petsche, French minister of finance, has just arrived in this country to engage in conversations leading toward this end. "I am here," said Petsche, with something less than the traditional Gallic wit and clarity, "not as a beggar but as a grateful friend." Of such friends William Blake once remarked that they should be his enemies-for friendship's sake.

DOWN THE DRAIN

The French government, says the New York Times, "proposes to increase its defense outlay from 420,000,000,000 francs in the current year to 850,000,000,000 francs in fiscal 1951. Of the latter amount, France expects to raise 580,000,000,000 francs...." What this will mean in terms of the already low French standard of living is easy to envisage. What it will mean in terms of augmenting the influence of the French CP is also apparent.

All of this is likely to have very little effect in bringing Indo-China closer to French imperialism, one of the most rapacious and pretentious imperialisms of them all. The tide is running against Western capitalism in the Far East. The Bao Dai puppet government is another corrupt Chiang Kai-shek règime. It has proved unable even to organize the country administratively, not to speak of instituting land reforms, of establishing#ep#2sentative government, of beginning an industrialization of the country, or of building roads, schools, and hospitals. On all this the Indo-Chinese Stalinists can only fatten.

against an Indo-Chinese backdrop.

tragedy.

gardless of views. Keep them to 500 words.

October 23, 1950

"It seems reasonable to assume that as long as anxiety and insecurity persist as a root of intolerance, the effort to dispel stereotype tegration combined with social and economic serelations. On the social level a change in climate s necessary. . . . This should lead, among other will tangibly demonstrate that ethnic discrimination is contrary to the mores of society-a conviction which was very weak even among

We may yet again be subjected to the humiliating spectacle of the ham theatrics and ham politics of MacArthur, this time It will be the Indo-Chinese people's

You're Invited

to speak your mind in the letter column of L.A., "Readers Take the Floor." It's YOUR forum. Our policy is to publish all letters of general political interest, re-

By HAL DRAPER

The system for trying enemies of the regime is essentially the same in Tito Yugoslavia as in Moscow's domain.

It is precisely the system we refer to. There is an important difference, which we have pointed out in LABOR ACTION before, between the Moscow confession trials, and their similars in the satellites, and the series of trials of accused pro-Cominform spies and saboteurs which have been taking place in Yugoslavia constantly. It is, of course, the nature of the accusations.

In the Kremlin-engineered trials of Kostov, Rajk, Patrascanu, et al. (not to speak of the Moscow trials of the old Bolsheviks in the 1930s), the accusations and charges were politically fantastic, made up from the whole cloth by the GPU fiction department. In Yugoslavia, the standard charge of pro-Cominformism is politically perfectly credible for the types who have been put on the dock. Moreover, the Cominform underground radio openly calls for espionage and sabotage.

There is no reason, therefore, for a-priori doubt that at least some or many or even all of the defendants in the Titoist trials were indeed guilty as hell. In which case, there is no reason why the Tito regime could not have been able to prove their guilt in just and democratically conducted trials. No reason, that is, except the totalitarian system, which does not change its general methods in accordance with whether or not it has the goods on its victim.

Take, for example, one of the more important trials which was staged this year, that of the "traitors and deserters" Branko Petricevic and Vlado Dapcevic. The Belgrade radio gave an unusually detailed and enlightening summary of its final day on June 5. The quotations below are from this official broadcast.

Both of the accused had confessed their guilt, under the persuasion of the public prosecutor, but both sought to argue extenuating factors. Each had his own "defense counsel." The role of the "defense counsel" was to-help the prosecution.

Here is the contribution made by Petricevic's defense counsel (Col. Danilo Knezivic) : he-

"stated that the evidence produced in the trial, admissions made, and the entire proceedings, had shown that it was virtually impossible to effect any material modification in Petricevic's position. Both under Yugoslav legislation and under the respective laws of any other country in the world, Petricevics deeds fell within the category of the greatest crimes for which a person could be called upon to answer."

That was the defense attorney. After this vigorous, brilliant and cogent speech on his behalf, Petricevic himself had to do the arguing for his cause. Given the floor, relates the press summary, he "agreed with the line adopted by his counsel [!] but tried to prove that he had not been the author of the entire affair. While admitting his guilt he asserted that he had been hesitant all along about his criminal activity.

Fifth Wheel in the Courtroom

Dapcevic had an equally persuasive defender in his corner. This one (Col. Rados Rajicevic)-

"similarly stated that Dapcevic's crimes were of the gravest nature and that the defense had little or nothing left with which to try to effect an extenuation of the sentence."

The "defense" counsel had evidently forgotten what he had left, at least in his client's opinion, for Dapcevic (after also going through the ritual of admitting his guilt) "at the same time tried to prove that he had not been engaged in building up an organization for the forcible overthrow of Yugoslav political and state leadership."

After every necessary assumption about the pro-Cominformism of the accused, the proceedings reek of the atmosphere of totalitarian justice," not in spite of the assumption but precisely because of it. That all this is not unusual but rather the regular thing is testified by an article which appeared in Borba in March. It was by the assistant minister of justice, Dr. Vladimir Skalender, and was devoted to combating a sad and disconcerting phenomenon: no rising young lawyer, or anybody else, wanted this job of being a "defense counsel," which is apparently a profession by itself.

The summary of the Borba article by the Belgrade radio (March 16) went as follows:

"He [the defense counsel] helps in the effort to find out the basic truth upon which any action taken by a state official must be based. Both Yugoslav parliamentary legislation and the Yugoslav penal code grant the defense counsel a special position. Nevertheless, leaders of some local, state administration agencies fail to modify their mistaken attitude on the position of the defense counsel in spite of the unmistakably clear attitude of the leadership of the Yugoslav Communist Party and state on this subject. They continue looking upon defense lawyers as unproductive and unnecessary individuals. This unwarranted attitude has been turning students of law away from the profession of the defense counsel with the result that the number of these lawyers has fallen far below the requirements in Yugoslavia.

"The article goes on to stress the need for influencing more young people to take up this profession without delay. It is the duty of state agencies to give full assistance to this profession as a necessary institution in a socialist state."

In a totalitarian system where advancement for a young lawyer means only advancement in the state bureaucracy, it is hardly strange that law students either refuse to put themselves in such a compromising position, or, if they have to do so to earn bread and butter, behave . . . like the "defense counsels" for Dapcevic and Petricevic. They too are victims of the system. Like other permanent themes of "self-criticism" in the press of all the Stalinist states, articles like Skalender's might just as well be kept in standing type.

"No Confidence"

Like all other apologists for Stalinism, pro-Titoists cultivate a double standard of judgment in water-tight compartments of their minds. We have no doubt, for instance, that O. John Rogge is-within the limitations of his own political thinking or lack of it-a sincere defender of civil liberties and just procedures. As a legal counselor for the Yugoslav government's representatives in the U.S., as a former assistant attorney general himself, as a vice-president of the Progressive Party, he cannot be unconcerned with the legal system of the government he defends both legally and politically. Yet-

"Asked for his opinion of the trials of Rajk and Kostov, Rogge replied: 'I would like to say that I have no confidence in such confessions, especially when they are won by inquisitional methods, namely, when men are arrested and subjected to protracted questioning. . . ." [Yugoslav Newsletter, April 15.]

Can Rogge be really unaware (the fact is public and not controversial) that under the Tito regime "men are arrested and subjected to protracted questioning" prior to trial-if they ever get to trialas the regular procedure? That the two most prominent leaders of the Tito party who went pro-Cominform, Zuyovic and Hebrang, have been in jail or prison camp since 1948, without trial? That at least "several hundreds" (according to pro-Titoist witnesses) are in prison camps now, bulging their walls, "awaiting trial" for indefinite periods of time?

And so how much "confidence" does Rogge have in the trials put on by the Tito regime? Or in the totalitarian system which is behind its trials?

A word on the leader cult in Titoland, especially in view of the fact that, in his discussion article in LABOR ACTION of July 17, Comrade Paul Roberts claimed that is on the way out and actually being "attacked" by the Titoists. I can only comment that I should like to see some evidence of this-that is, something beside his suggestion, "Let someone who has been to Belgrade a couple of years ago walk down its streets today." Something more definite will be needed by anyone who remembers the sincere "radical tourists" (as Trotsky called them) who returned from the Promised Land of Russia a couple of decades ago to vouch for the fact that Something Is Happening There on the basis of a stroll past Lenin's tomb.

It took decades before Stalin-worship in Russia took the extreme forms we laugh at today, and as a matter of fact it is doubtful whether leader-worship in a Stalinist England or France or Italy (labor forbid) would ever find such ludicrous expression. All we can say is that Tito is doing the best he can, which is all that can be asked of a man or a marshal.

Typical of the Stalinist leader cult (the most famous example is perhaps the story by André Gide about the telegram he wanted to send Stalin in his fellow traveler days, when he was a "radical tourist" in Russia) are the mandatory messages, letters and telegrams of love, devotion and loyalty which are sent to the Leader on every occasion and printed in the press.

Thus, according to the Tanjug Agency, Tito "daily receives telegrams from all over the country in which the workers inform him of the results of the competition in their respective collectives." (April 21.) The telegrams promise the Marshal personally that the quotas will be fulfilled, etc.

"Leading our Party and our peoples from victory to victory, you have taught us, Comrade Tito, showing us by daily example . . ." etc. "The great gains of our popular revolution. . . . This is at the same time the result of the great creative spirit of Tito. . . .

"The working class of our socialist fatherland is with you and with your work in the defense of all the revolutionary gains which are linked with your name. . . ."

The above are sample messages published this year in the press on the occasion of Tito's 58th birthday, but "under the leadership of our great Comrade Tito" is the standard appendage to any statement for every-day purposes.

Adamic Is Adamic Is Adamic

But the specimens need not be piled up; the stuff can be garnered from the Stalinist or Titoist press by the bushelful. What is more enlightening, perhaps, is to see the effect of the Tito worship on an American pro-Titoist (whose observations in Yugoslavia are so "authentic" that the Militant in this country has reprinted his output by the yard).

It is Louis Adamic again, in his magazine Trends & Tides, spring issue, presumably after many walks down the streets of Belgrade:

"There is Tito the man and 'Tito' the name or the word. The word is shorthand symbol for 'everything,' an abstraction of everything that was, is, and will be in Yugoslavia. Where the name ends and the man begins, or the other way about, is hard to say. The name is writ large and small all over, everywhere, sometimes by itself, often in a slogan like Tito, All for Thee. Paint being scarce, people use whitewash to write it....

"Gertrude Stein would have put it simply Tito is 'Tito' is Tito and many a Yugoslav would comment, 'Precisely! She has said it all.' '

Leader worship in a totalitarian state is not the result of a marshal's vanity, but in a special sense a substitute for democracy. It is an ersatz substitute for the corrective role of democracy. For if the Leader is not godlike and infallible, disagreement with his decrees may be thinkable. Since his ukase cannot be changed from below, it must also be considered automatically correct by those below.

Tito hands this dogma down himself. "The Central Committee of the CPY took a clear stand on every question in all cases and on time," he proclaimed in his report to the 5th Congress. And "our party, from 1937 to this day, has followed a correct political line on all questions," he annunciated in another speech.

Such papal infallibility is hard for people to swallow. Hitler's angle was the legend of the Fuehrer's "unerring intuition," and he never got as far as Stalin. Tito is working on it.

(Next week: The Yugoslavs' "struggle against bureaucratism")

The Socialist Youth League of BERKELEY	
	AUTUMN CLASS
	Thursday evenings at 8 p.m. 466 Tenth Street, Room 218 alf block west of Broadway), OAKLAND 1 Oct. 19: The Communist Manifesto
	Today 2 Oct. 26: Socialism, Utopian and Scientific 3 Nov. 2: The Paris Commune
	4 Nov. 9: State and Revolution 5 Nov. 16: Marxism and Anthropology

The Cabinet Crisis in Israel

Economic Policy Is the Issue: Will Ben Gurion Make Concessions to Left or Right?

By AL FINDLEY

The first cabinet crisis has taken place in Israel. David Ben Gurion, Mapai prime minister, has resigned and reported he could not reconstitute a coalition cabinet. The Knesseth (parliament) voted against Ben Gurion's proposed temporary cabinet, and ordered a new general election to be held in two months.

The news of the cabinet crisis was printed side by side with reports of blackouts and extensive military maneuvers by the Israeli army. We shall see below that there is more than a coincidental connection between the two events.

Israel has been passing through a financial crisis. It is this crisis that has led to the present political developments. The Israeli pound, officially valued at \$2.80, is now selling as low as 80 cents on the black market.

The Mapai (Labor Party) government met the economic crisis by concessions to capital, both foreign and domestic. A "new" economic program was proclaimed in the first week of October. The main feature allowed imports without payments. Dr. D. Joseph, author of the austerity program, was to be shifted and the Ministry of Trade and Industry was to be placed under a businessman. At the same time the government began a drastic police action against black-marketeers. Hundreds were arrested and some have already been sentenced.

The Progressive Party, the party of the liberal bourgeoisie, was satisfied with the concessions. However, the appetites of most of the bourgeoisie was only whetted by the retreat of the Labor government. The arrests angered them, as there is practically no one in Israel who does not deal in the black market. They also correctly pointed out that police actions alone cannot end the black market.

Class Interests First

The actual resignation of the cabinet was brought about by the resignation of the religious bloc. The religious bloc is composed of the bourgeois Misrachi and Agudath Israel, plus the numerically much larger semi-independent Hapoel Hamisrachi and Poale Agudath Israel. While the rank and file and a section of the leadership of the religious labor organizations have been moving toward unity with the Histadruth, the general labor federation, the present conservative leadership capitulated to the demands of the bourgeoisie and resigned despite reported statements that they would never resign over economic policy.

There was no immediate religious question involved although such questions exist in the background. The cause of the present cabinet "crisis is admittedly "economic." The leaders of the religious bloc have now shown that they place their bourgeois class interests first and use religion as a handy tool.

However, all is not smooth within the religious bloc. Dr. Josef Burg, a leader of Hapoel Hamisrachi, said he would "re-enter the government and help form a coalition." It is improbable but not excluded that a new coalition of Mapai and Hapoel Hamisrachi will be formed. This can happen after the elections, if not before.

One of the main reasons for timing the resignations now was the desire of the religious bourgeoisie to appear as an opposition party in the municipal elections to be held in November. The religious bourgeois parties were afraid that the conservative General Zionists would get the majority of the votes of their supporters. While in

LABOR ACTION BOOK SERVICE

can help you build your own labor and socialist library.... Write for free book list. And remember: we also supply books of ALL publishers. Get ALL your books from

LABOR ACTION BOOK SERVICE 4 Court Square Long Island City 1, N.Y. Life that the ball of an

national elections all religious groups present a united-front ticket, in the municipal elections the religious labor parties are putting up a separate slate. Should the hopes of the "left" wing of the religious labor groups be fulfilled and the Hapoel Hamisrachi and Poale Agudath Israel get the lion's share of the religious vote, they will probably dictate re-entry into the coalition with Mapai.

The new elections once again raise the question and the possibility of an exclusively Labor government in Israel. At present the Mapai and Mapam together have a majority. The probability is that new elections will not substantially alter this picture.

An All-Labor Government?

The main obstacle in establishing a Labor government is of course the Mapam's insistence on a pro-Stalinist foreign policy. However, it is equally true that if Ben Gurion were to give in to the left on domestic and economic questions only a fraction of the extent he is willing to give in to the bourgeoisie, a large step toward an exclusively Labor government would have been taken. Mapai would gain the cooperation of a large section of the Mapam.

This could lead either to a split within Manam. or (this is less likely) to a reversal of the trend toward Stalinization of the Mapam, and the cooperation of the entire Mapam in a Mapai-Mapam government. It is generally said in Israel that the thing that keeps the Mapam together is the pigheadedness of the Mapai leadership.

No political shuffing can, however, change the fundamental economic factors that underlie the political crisis. The main cause is, of course, the poverty of the country. Israel is a poor country in terms of natural resources and even in food and other agricultural products. This small poor country is now carrying the burden of a tremendous large-scale immigration. The cost of

Business Is Picking Up

No one knows how much profits the country's corporations are piling up right now, with production spurting under pressure of the war and defense drive. But some light was thrown by the Securities and Exchange Commission this week on the profit level from which the war boom was launched.

The SEC reported that manufacturing corporations in the second quarter of the year were earning profits for their stockholders at the rate of 15.6 per cent a year.

Profits for the period, ending last June when the Korean war was starting, totaled \$3.2 billion, more than in any previous quarter since the Commission started issuing such quarterly reports in 1947. This was an increase of 34 per cent over the first three months of this year, and of 59 per cent over the second quarter of 1949.

While profits went up 34 per cent from the previous quarter, production rose 13 per cent, and costs only 11 per cent. Obviously, manufacturers boost prices faster than production and costs.

As usual the largest corporations showed the best profit rate, 17.2 per cent, compared with the general average of 15.6 per cent.

Total assets of the corporations rose \$3.7 billion in three months, to reach the record-breaking level of \$115 billion on June 30.

Despite the record profits, manufacturers' prices continued their dizzy climb, indicating more bad news in the future for the housewives as the new prices reach the retail level.

The Wall Street Journal has been reporting so many price boosts that it has taken to collecting them in a special feature under the label "Price Tags."

"Prices are scooting up" in the hardware field, the paper reports, with present prices from 5 to 50 per cent higher than they were three months ago.

The Journal disclosed \$3 to \$12 a ton boosts in the prices of steel products; a 10 per cent increase in all prices by the Club Aluminum Products Company; increases for fuel oil by the Gulf Oil Corporation, and in all petroleum products by General Petroleum Company of Los Angeles.

The Proctor Electric Company raised prices on household appliances: Gale Hall Engineering on automotive test gauges. Towing charges on the Great Lakes were boosted. Sulphur, an important industrial material, goes up 22 per cent.

Housewives buy few of these things, but the increases will all be reflected, and probably very soon, in the things they do buy.

More price boosts are ahead. For example, it is announced that men's shirts will cost 50 cents apiece more next spring than they do now.

this is, by and large, met by foreign philanthropic aid. However, heaped on top of this is a disproportionately large burden of armaments and it is further hampered by the cutting of normal trade between "industrial" Israel and the Arab Near East.

The cost of the military budget is a secret. The vice-speaker of the assembly gave a clue to its size when he stated on October 14 that the military budget is greater than the combined civil and immigration budgets. How much greater he did not sav.

The impossibility of a free-trade economy in such a country under such conditions should be obvious even to the bourgeoisie. However, blinded by the allure of the opportunities under free trade to raise prices and reap enormous profits, they are willing to sacrifice the national interests to their class interests.

While a poor country can be made "rich" through investment of capital and industrialization, it will take a long time. However, the reduction of the crushing armament budget and the restoration of normal trade could be accomplished fairly quickly.

Arab Question and Peace

The substitution of a citizens' army or militia in place of a standing army can be of some help. Above all, the establishment of peace and friendly relations with the Arab peoples would substantially lighten the burden of armaments and restore normal trade with the Near East.

Peace, however, will not be obtained by wishes. Nor can it be gotten solely by reliance on the diplomatic maneuvers of Mapai ministers. Nor can peace wait until what Mapam considers to be the "progressive" forces (i.e., Stalinists) come to power in the Arab states. Peace can come when diplomacy has a foundation in the desire of the peoples for peace. At present there is more sentiment among the Arab ruling classes for a peace treaty with Israel than there is among the people.

The situation demands a positive attitude on the part of the Israeli labor movement toward the Arab masses both at home and in the surrounding countries. The present record of the Israeli government in relation to the Arabs in Israel is very poor (see LABOR ACTION for June 24). Peace will come about when there is created a desire for Arab-Jewish unity.

The needs of the Arab refugees, the raising of the standard of living of the Arab fellaheen. call for Arab-Jewish unity and peace. The need of Israel to overcome its chronic economic crisis and the hopes of thousands who look to Israel as a future haven and refuge demand Arab-Jewish unity to lift the rushing weight of arms and open the road to the joint economic development of the entire Near East. For both peoples such a policy is not an exercise in morality or good will alone, but is a crying need if their minimum desires are to be realized.

If You're-

- Against capitalism
- Against Stalinism
- For a Socialist Democracy

You belong with the-INDEPENDENT

SOCIALIST LEAGUE

You should read-

Max Shachtman's "THE FIGHT FOR SOCIALISM"

For information and literature. write to: Independent Socialist League 4 Court Square, Long Island City 1, N.Y.



AKRON Write to Box 221. BALTIMORE Write to national office of ISL. ano.

BUFFALO

Write to national office of ISL. CHICAGO

DETROIT

LOS ANGELES

NEWARK

sea 2-9681.

LABOR ACTION

Reviewed by James M. FENWICK The ignorance of the United States socialist movement about the American scene, past and present, has been a complaint among radicals since the First World War at the very least. Though in the early 30s the American Workers Party attempted to found a revolutionary socialist movement based upon an "American approach," the cumulative results of socialist investigation into the origins and present structure of United States society have not been of great consequence.

There were and are, of course, good reasons for the pre-occupation with the European scene. It was in Europe that capitalism developed first, and classically. It was on the basis of this development that Marx made his creative synthesis of German philosophy, French socialism, and English economics. It was there that mass working-class parties first developed. It was there that the Russian Revolution occurred. It was the major battleground of two world wars.

Time has vindicated our interest in the foreign scene. It wasn't so long ago, was it, that the deep thinkers of the Socialist Party used to sniffle about our unnatural interest in Russia? Who can escape thinking about it today? Now that the United States has obviously become one of the arbiters of the world's fate a study of its history is all the more in order.

BRAHMIN OUT WEST rancis Parkman (1823-1893) was one of the earliest serious United States historians. He is about the only one of them who is popularly read today, as the than those of the great-man thepublication of The Oregon Trail ory. Without futilely wishing





Page Six

BOOKS and Ideas "The Oregon Trail" to the West

THE OREGON TRAIL, by Francis Parkman. Mentor Books, 35 cents.

tests. Parkman was one of the last of the Boston literary Brahmins, those intellectual products and representatives of early merchant capitalism.

Inherited wealth permitted him to round out a historical study to which he dedicated himself very early in life. This was a sevenvolume history of the conflict of England and France on the North American continent, beginning with French explorations Florida and ending with the defeat of the French on the Plains of Abraham in 1759. These volumes thus covered most of the essential pre-history of the United States.

Parkman was one of the first to realize the importance of the wilderness in the shaping of the United States. This was at a time when even the study of the United States was deemed of questionable value.

Parkman's wealth enabled him to engage in a tremendous amount of research both here and abroad. The overwhelming mass of his factual data has never been contested. His works have been constantly pillaged by other historians and by writers of historical novels. He did what he could in a personal sense to recreate the context of the period he wrote about traveling over the terrain, staving for a time in a monastery, and living among the Indians. In a fusty age his style was fresher than most.

SOCIAL OUTLOOK

WITH THE ISL

Independent Socialist League.

His defects were the product of the times and of his Brahmin background. Though Thierry, Guizot, and Mignet were writing history in Europe in terms of class structure it would be too much to expect a Parkman living in a country in which many of the inhabitants west of the Mississippi were hardly cut of the stone age to write in terms other

in the Mentor Books series at- that he had possessed a little of the common present body of anthropological knowledge, however, one can still regret that Parkman was not a closer observer of Indian life, which was then breaking up under the impact of the white invasion.

> One of Parkman's gravest defects was his aristocratic outlook. He was bitterly opposed to universal suffrage and the women's rights movements. He took slight inferest in the abolition struggle. He had little sympathy for the common man-especially the Negro and Mexican. This standoffishness seriously mars The **Oregon** Trail

> It prevents Parkman from sympathetic identification with the men who opened up the West. While the reader can infer a great deal about the roots of United States democracy from The Oregon Trail the historical phenomenon which was taking place before Parkman's eyes was by no means grasped by Parkman as it was, say, by Mark Twain in Life on the Mississippi.

In 1846, when Parkman was twenty-three years old, he and his young cousin Quincy Adams Shaw set out from St. Louis. They went as far west as Fort Laramie in Wyoming. From there they traveled southwest until they reached the Arkansas river. They then turned eastward, returning by way of the Santa Fe trail.

AT INDEPENDENCE

On the boat leaving from St. Louis for Westport (now Kansas. City) which was the jump-off. point, Parkman notes the variegated composition of the passengers, which was to play such a role in United States life: "In her cabin were Santa Fe traders, gamblers, speculators, and adventurers of various descriptions, and her steerage was crowded with Oregon emigrants, 'mountain men.' Negroes, and a party of Kanzas Indians, who had been on a visit to St. Louis."

Visiting an emigrant camp near Independence, Missouri, which was then known not as the sleepy home town of one of the more ignorant and casual of the current subverters of the democratic heritage but as a proudly named gateway to the West, Parkman sees-though a little sourly-the frontier temperament in action: "The emigrants ... were encamped on the prairie about eight or ten miles distant. to the number of a thousand or more, and new parties were constantly passing out from Independence to join them. They were in great confusion, holding meet-New York SYL, address 114 West ings, passing resolutions, and drawing up regulations, but unable to unite in the choice of leaders to conduct them across the prairie."

In the six months that followed we see the whole epic of the settling of the West: the ox-trains creeping ever westward, the French-Canadian hunters, trappers, and guides, the wayside graves, the prairie ocean where the grass came up to the horses' necks, the buffalo hunts, the Mormon emigrants, and the Indians.

Parkman reveals enough of the culture of the Indians-their totem dances, permissive upbringing of the children, amazing variety of compulsive acts, work habits (which follow the Veblen schema)-to make one wonder what modern anthropology has done with this and similar masses of written material.

FRONTIER SOLDIERS

Parkman came in contact with General Kearney's troops, who were engaged in holding down the Indians. They all bore the democratic stamp. They were for all practical purposes irregulars; their uniform, for example, consisted of cavalry boots over civilian clothing. Parkman says: "if discipline and subordination

are the criterion of merit, they were worthless soldiers indeed." He reports the following of a

captain in charge of some men who dropped in to see Parkman: "'Well, men,' said he, lazily rising from the ground where he had been lounging, 'it's getting late, I

reckon we'd better be moving." 'I shan't start yet anyhow,' said one fellow, who was lying half asleep with his head resting on his arm.

'Don't be in a hurry, captain, added the lieutenant. 'Well, have it your own way,

we'll wait a while longer,' replied the obsequious commander.

Occasionally the realities behind the opening of the West are revealed in Parkman's chronicle: "Fort Laramie," he says, "is one of the posts established by the 'American Fur Company,' which well-nigh monopolizes the Indian trade of this region. Here its ofcials rule with an absolute sway; the arm of the United States has little force; for when we were there, the extreme outposts of her troops were about seven hundred miles to the eastward."

BLUEBLOOD AND SQUAW

And occasionally the human being overwhelms the Brahmin. Of one group of emigrants he says: "we made our escape from the place with all possible dispatch. being tormented by the intrusive questioning of the men who thronged about us. . . . Yet they were fine-looking fellows, with an air of frankness, generosity, and even courtesy, having come from one of the least barbarous of the frontier counties."

He had tremendous respect for his guide Chatillon, with whom he later maintained a long correspondence. He found much to admire in many of the Indians. Of one of them he says: "There was one in particular, a ferocious fellow, named The Mad Wolfe, who, with the bow in his hand and the quiver at his back, might have seemed, but for his face, the Pythian Apollo himself. Such a figure rose before the imagination of West, when on first seeing the Belvedere in the Vatican, he exclaimed, 'By God, a Mohawk!'" Young squaws, especially when

they were playing in the lodges or being sportively tossed in a buffalo blanket, exerted an exotic attraction on this literary blueblood. It was the same sexual pull which the proletarian maskers during the Carnival in the Corso in Rome were to exert on him later. It was the same attraction he felt for New England factory girls who on one occasion, says one of Parkman's biographers, "disturbed him so much that he scarcely slept all night: 'The very devil beset me there. I never suffered so much from certain longings which I resolved not to gratify. . . .

As the trip ends Parkman comes across "a train of government provision - wagons under the charge of an emaciated old man in his seventy-first year. Some restless American devil had driven him into the wilderness at a time of life when he should have been seated at his fireside with his grandchildren on his knees. I am convinced that he never returned. . . ."

It is a fitting final vignette of that frontier democracy whose effects upon the national character are still manifest, a democracy which is suffering daily erosion and has not yet been replaced by its legitimate successor, the aggressive democracy of an awakened working class.

You're Invited

to speak your mind in the letter column of L.A. Our policy is to publish letter of general political interest, regardless of views. Keep them to 500 words.



Is Tea Subversive?

From an account by Sidney Hook of the Congress for Cultural Freedom which was held in Berlin during the summer.

". . . there appeared in the hotel boxes of some of us [delegates]. an invitation to take tea with four East German professors . . . Melvin Lasky, the acting Secretary, ac-. quainted all the delegates with the invitation and informed them that with their approval he would notify the four professors through. the press that the delegates would. be happy to meet them over American cocktails. . . ." (New Leader, Oct. 14.)

Red-white-and-blue cockfails?

Liberalism

"There is only one part of the [McCarran] bill which seems to me calculated to serve this purpose [of lessening CP influence]. That is the section which provides that, in case of war, Communists are to be rounded up and segregated. That is a plain military measure. No one can complain that it contravenes anyone's civil rights."-William Bohn, editor of the New Leader, issue of October

And if anyone does complain, why, there's plenty of room in the concentration camp for him too. And who then will complain that this contravenes his civil rights?

Down the Drain

Big business is spending at least \$100 million this year on its "free enterprise" propaganda campaign and "it's not worth a damn." says the magazine Fortune, whose \$1.25 copies don't sell to workers.

"The net effect," says the magazine, "has been to make Joe Doakes more suspicious than he may have been before."

"What he [the businessman] is after, to put it bluntly, is a Republican victory. . . . But he shirks from debating it as such," says Fortune.

U. S. business is not selling itself, warns the article, and businessmen are asking, "Is anybody really listening?"

Coaled Rumor

In Mons, Belgium, the strikes against the return of King Leopold to the Belgium throne turned up one of the shrewdest tricks in years. One thousand coal miners staged a sitdown-strike several hundred feet below ground, but decided that didn't sufficiently dramatize their opposition to the king.

Knowing that their coal was used in at least two of Leopold's palaces, the miners carefully spread the rumor that they had taken 90 half-sticks of dynamite painted them black to resemble hunks of coal and dropped the explosives in a shipment that was scheduled for one of the royal palaces. Result was that Leopold shivered for an additional reason. (Les Finnegan, LPA.)

BOOKS RECEIVED

Received from the New American Library, publishers of Mentor and Signet pocket books, published September 27:

RECONSTRUCTION IN PHIL-OSOPHY, by John Dewey. A Mentor book, 168 pages, 35 cents.

THE YOUNG MANHOOD OF STUDS LONIGAN, by James T. Farrell. A Signet book, 288 pages, 25 cents.

THE WORLD NEXT DOOR, by Fritz Peters. A Signet book, 208 pages, 25 cents.



14 Street. PHILADELPHIA

333 West North Ave., Room 3. Tel.: MIChigan 9003. SYL: same.

CLEVELAND

Write to Box 1190, Station B.

Meets Thursday evenings at Labor Action Hall, 8212 Twelfth St. (near Seward), Room 25.

Same address.

Educational program for evening begins at 8:30.

221 W. 2nd St., Room 218.

248 Market Street.

NEW YORK CITY

City Center and Labor Action Hall: 114 West 14 Street, third floor, Tel.: WAtkins 4-4222, CHel-

Open meetings at Labor Action Hall on Thursday nights at 8:45 o'clock. Admission free. SYL: for all information on

Meetings Mondays at 8 p.m. Open house, Sundays 8:30-10 p.m. PITTSBURGH

St., Room 218, Oakland 7. Office hours: Tues, and Thurs.

Labor Action and The New International on sale at The Golden Gate News Agency, 66 Third St.,

SEATTLE

Write to Box 358, 905 Third Avenue, Seattle 4. ST. LOUIS

Write to Douglas Bridge, P. O.

Box 3414, Maplewood Branch, Maplewood, Mo. WEST VIRGINIA

Write to national office of ISL. YOUNGSTOWN

Write to national office of ISL.

1139 W. Girard Ave., third floor.

You are invited to attend meetings, classes, lec-

For general information and literature, write to:

tures and socials sponsored by local branches of the

Independent Socialist League, 4 Court Square, Long

Island City 1, N. Y. (telephone IRonsides 6-5117).

For information about the Socialist Youth League:

Write to national office of ISL. READING

Write to P. O. Box 1671.

SAN FRANCISCO-OAKLAND

Labor Action Hall, 466 Tenth

7:30-10 p.m.; Wed., 1-4 p.m.

off Market St.



France – – (Continued from page 3)

N.Y. Labor In the Middle-

(Continued from page 1)

perhaps ruin his career, as the outcome of a bitter inner

This letter deserves a place in the history of capitalist politics for its pitiful personal picture of a broken hack politician anxious only to secure a steady income for himself. But that place need be only a footnote, since it is not true that the essential trouble with capitalist politics is such undisguised and crude self-seeking monetary motives.

As political scandals go, this one reveals only what everybody already knows. The indignation and "shock" which is being expressed over the revelations are 99 per cent phony: everybody-or next to everybody-knows that the Democratic Party manipulates its nominations in exactly the same way and with the same methods, and that it is all standard

As the N. Y. Times editorial put it, with polite fine cynicism: "Lieut. Gov. Joe Hanley's giving the earthy details of why he changed his mind about running for governor proves once again that politicians should telephone, not write." And that is literally just about all it proves.

Look Who's Getting Shocked!

The hypocritical indignation of the Democrats is all the more blatant since it has been revealed that, in this very same campaign, they attempted to bribe off internal opposition also. Vincent Impellitteri (former Mayor O'Dwyer's righthand man who is now running for the joint job of city boss and Tammany boss) charged that he was offered a Supreme Court judgeship if he didn't run. He refused the package only because the temptation was not great enough to counterbalance the higher stakes he had in mind.

We venture to say that there are few political literates who doubt the truth of his accusation. The only difference is that no one wrote it down in a letter.

So the chief—almost the only—issue filling the air in the New York fracas is the old and stale one of "corruption." with the Democrats and Republicans going to town on each other, and with truth on both sides. And right in the middle of this muck is the labor movement and the Liberal Party.

It is Tammany versus the "shocking" Hanley-Dewey reprobates. On the city level, the Democratic O'Dwyer administration now stands out as a sink of corruption. blown open by the current investigations-and both the AFL and CIO supported O'Dwyer last year. The Liberal Party did not; it supported Republican Newbold Morris (who is now, incidentally, supporting the Republican candidate for mayor Edward Corsi). This year, after all that, the same Liberal Party is supporting the Tammany candidates.

In view of the pained outcries over the way in which Dewey bludgeoned Hanley into line within the GOP, it is interesting to re-read (it was quoted only last week in LABOR ACTION) the frank formulation of capitalist politics by Democratic boss Flynn in his book You're the Boss: "The boss is absolute within the organization. There is no appeal from his decisions . . . it is essential that no one

Los Angeles Yipsels Back Third-Camp Policy on Korean War in Student Maa

socialist

Los Angeles college campuses, the ment appeared in the latest issue Westwood Socialist Club and other of their local publication, the Spark," Part of it read:

> "As socialists, we cannot support the Korean war. It is a war between two imperialist forces and the people of Korea will lose regardless of which side is victorious.

"We condemn the Communists of North Korea for playing upon the social needs of the people to for its domestic government which is a totalitarian regime.

lieve that it is just such support is now taking place in Korea. butter, shoes and clothing. Though we cannot support either side in Korea we believe there is still time to save the rest of the same reasons."

successfully challenge the decisions of the organization. Every challenge must be met head-on and beaten. if the organization is to survive." Their slogan is "The public be damned!"

This is what Boss Flynn writes in a book for all to read. Compared with the dirty details on how it is put into execution, the Hanley-Dewey scandal is a relatively mild echo.

The Liberal Party's policy in this election was made up on the basis of such deals with the same Boss Flynn and the other four borough bosses of the Democratic-Tammany machine in the city. In selling their line to the Liberal Party ranks, the Liberal leaders virtually proclaimed this (if anybody needed the assurance), with the added proviso that it was all necessary to ensure the continuation of Lehman in the Senate.

At the same time, the city AFL Council is supporting O'Dwyer's Impellitteri, the city CIO is supporting Tammany's Pecora along with the Liberal Party, and several labor leaders are endorsing Republican Corsi.

After the Dirt—What?

And so in the midst of the muck, there is not a single labor voice capable of speaking out against the whole kit and caboodle of this exhibit of capitalist politics stripped down to its dirtiest. Not a single meaningful political issue has been brought to stand out, for the voters to make their choice.

An independent party of labor could have really stood out in this kind of situation, untainted by either party-machine sewer and appearing before the people as a fresh, politically significant voice. It could have made hay while the two old parties flung the dirt around.

Today, however, the labor movement is completely lost from view and from political effectiveness behind the flying a single serious newspaper or clods of dirt. The "scandals," the "revelations," the nine-day "sensations."-the dirt, in short-will be forgotten the day after the election, having accomplished their purpose of getting this or that machine politician elected.

And when it is all over, labor will still be where it is today—and start all over again to convince itself that, BECAUSE it is still in the same spot, it must still continue to make deals with the discredited machines, going around the vicious circle again.

We know that it must and will break out of that. It will get nothing important out of it-except, to be sure, the disillusionment of experience. The only question is: How long? Politically-conscious CIO and AFL workers and the ranks of the Liberal Party ought to answer: the quicker the better. Right now-form your own party of labor and break loose from the tie-ups with the Democratic and Republican machines!

operations" in France cease during the summer months of July, August and September. The month of October is usually spent in readjustment and a "prise de contact" by all the different tendencies, etc. In the public eye, the issues of German rearmament and reform of the electoral system (aimed primarily at the Stalinists) are the major issues at present. The masses are certainly against German rearmament, particularly in the form in which it has been presented.

The Stalinists, not particularly aggressive or militant at present, conduct the same type of campaign familiar to their world movement. They are certainly much feebler than two years ago, but since their rivals and opponents have similarly declined (if not more so), the relationship has remained substantially the same. The present coalition government is exceedingly weak and may not last out the new session because of renewed pressure for the Socialist Party to leave the coalition, as well as the differences over electoral reform which would liquidate the present proportional-representation system to the disadvantage of particularly the Stalinists, Socialists and Radical Socialists.

The anti-Stalinist and socialist "left" has suffered most of all since the collapse and death of the RDR movement. There is not magazine today which upholds Marxist or socialist ideas. This is perhaps the lowest note in the entire picture. The various leaders of the socialist left have not only been politically scattered, but appear to have momentarily lost their traditional powers of initiative and creativeness which have so long characterized this country. They are presently following various tendencies (Titoism, pro-Americanism, Stalinism. etc.) rather than trying to work out independent solutions to their numerous, often apparently overwhelming, problems.

Such is our first impression of France, autumn season of 1950; an impression we hope to enlarge upon from time to time.



(Continued from page 1) The Bureau of Labor Statistics reports that wholesale prices on 28 BASIC COMMODITIES have risen almost 24 PER CENT since the beginning of the Korean war. It says that the rise has been 31 PER CENT on industrial items. That is, since June!

The Air Force announces that on account of a 128.9 per cent rise in the price of rubber, 23.6 per cent in copper and 32.9 per cent in tin-SINCE APRIL OF THIS YEARthe resulting increases from the Congressional increase in the air are just beginning. The Korean arms for 1950 has added \$360 million to the bill. (Both guns and butter are going up in price.)

It might seem at first blush that the government, by not enforcing price controls, is raising prices for its own purchases. But it is ultiput forward a program of military mately the taxpayer who foots the ment happy. What has spurred the aggression against South Korea. bill. All of the working and sal- new upsurge in expansion is the We also condemn North Korea aried people have felt the recent prospect of steadily growing miliacross-the-board tax increase. This tary spending, plus the continuais part payment of the military "But we cannot support the war bill, already. It is also conceived In setting up their expansion plans,

ccrrupt and reactionary as the equal-sounding "across-the-board" demand for their products." The Communist government. We con- feature of footing the income tax article adds that they may expect demn the United States for estab- bill that makes for the inequity. help from the government in the lishing and supporting the fascist Those with the lowest incomes, the regime of Syngman Rhee. We be- narrow economic shoulders, bear plant. proportionately the bigger load in By January 1, 1953, the steel

"LITTLE WAR" ECONOMY

So far, with its ear cocked to the campaign treasuries, the govern- profits for the manufacturers.

ment has only put its little finger in the dike to stop inflation. Inventory controls to stop industrial "hoarding," instalment credit curbs which again hit the lower-salaried hardest, and the income tax risethis is about the extent of its activities.

What is the situation with business? Basic big business has only expansion to look forward to, Korea signalizes an end to war for parts of industry and labor." the present, or whether World War III impends. The orders for steel war has given a 50 per cent additional spurt to steel plans for additional production.

As knowingly stated in Business Week of Oct. 7: "Steel executives aren't ones to put up a lot of money just to make the governtion of record consumer buying. by the United States because it is of as an anti-inflationary measure. the steel companies are backing a war to establish a government as However, it is precisely this their judgment on the long-term form of a "tax break" on their new

of fascist and reactionary regimes terms of what the rise in taxes companies expect to raise capacity throughout the world by the does to their living standards. Ad- from the 1950 level of 100.6 million United States that forces the peo-ditional taxes and the hidden taxes tons to 110 million tons a year. A should be paid for by those who ple into Communist hands and of inflation strike hardest on the similar expansion will be felt can afford it. The profits should be makes possible such aggression as low-income families, mean less throughout basic industries. Aluminum producers are working out new figures based on requests of the Munitions Board.

So the war means bigger producworld from going to war for the business constituents who will fill tion and accompanying bigger too soft to cause anyone to listen

How can the workers' lot possibly be equated with that of big business?

"WORST TRAITS"

Yet it is by just such a false equation that the false "equality of sacrifice" program of the last war was produced. Arthur Krock, administration admirer, writing in the New York Times of October 8, advises "more self-restraint on the

Krock lays the responsibility for the current inflation at the door of the government, however. The demands made on the economy for the Korean phase of the war, he reasons, do not represent the kind of drain that would produce the type of inflation we are undergoing. He says the inflation is rather due to "psychological" factors and what he calls "the worst traits of human nature."

Whatever they mean to Krock, the "worst traits of human nature" in a socialist lexicon refer to those traits that would make profits out of war. The legitimate demands of the unions for wage increases for their members in response to a price situation which threatens to cut into their basic necessities are not profiteering. That is why it is unjust to peg wage control to price control, as Congress did.

Prices should be controlled. The wealthy should be taxed. The war taken out of war. On all this the president is still silent, still insists that price controls are not yet necessary, and the labor officialdom continues to speak in tones closely.