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# LABOR ACTION

FEBRUARY 21, 1949

A PAPER IN THE INTEREST OF SOCIALISM

FIVE CENTS

## Says Stalin Warns Chinese CP in Arrest of Strong

By JACK BRAD

The Moscow dispatch announcing that Anna Louise Strong had been placed under arrest as a spy startled all observers of Stalinist political life. In its terse announcement Tass reported that: "Mrs. Strong is accused of espionage and subversive activity directed against the Soviet Union." She is described as "the notorious intelligence agent." It is indicated that she will be expelled shortly from Russia. Another amazing phrase of the dispatch declares that she made her way into the USSR "only through negligence of certain foreign relations officials."

Since her "notoriety" as a spy and certainly as an anti-Russian spy, is rather newly fabricated, the attack on "certain foreign relations officials" is surprising, unless it is possible that there were differences of opinion in the Foreign Office about the incident and unless the public announcement is at the same time a proclamation of victory for one faction.

From no direct observation does the charge make sense. The charge does not specify for whom she did this spying. Interestingly, she is accused also of "subversive activity." In the last accusation made against a U.S. newspaperman in Moscow last April, in the case of Richard Magidoff, the implication was clearly that he was a U.S. agent. In all other cases of such charges in Eastern Europe in recent years, whatever the particular verbal formula, the charge always accused the Western Powers. For some reason that is not clear, this implication is not present in the charges against Strong. One is forced to ask: or whom was she spying?

The idea of her being an American

spy is slightly absurd from several points of view, although spying is a game in which the grotesque and incongruous are normal. There does not seem to be any surface evidence. But again it must be emphasized that this fact alone does not exclude the possibility. The U.S., like other states, has its agents. However, if A. L. Strong is an American spy she has not only done this work in remarkable fashion but the propaganda she has poured out for Russia probably outweighs any information she could have passed to her employers.

NO COMMENT FROM CP

She is the author of about a dozen books in praise of Stalinism in a variety of countries—Russia, Spain, Poland and China. She has written hundreds of articles for scores of publications in support of Stalinism. She has been a standard name in innumerable respectable front organizations. In 1930 she founded the Moscow Daily News, Russian government organ published in Moscow but circulated widely throughout the English-speaking world. She married a Russian official. In November 1944 she was obviously assigned to do a job on the Lublin puppet regime of the Russians for Poland and in 1946 published her unstinting praise in "I Saw the New Poland." In "The Soviets Expected It," she developed the Russian line that the Hitler-Stalin pact was a clever tactic essential to gain time for Russian defense against the inevitable attack—thus completely whitewashing the "fascism is a matter of taste" Molotov-Ribbentrop agreements and the policy of collaboration with Hitler which helped

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## Longshore Ranks Reject Bridges Layoff Proposal

SAN FRANCISCO, Feb. 9—In a major test, the unorganized progressive forces of the rank and file of Local 10, ILWU, tonight scored a smashing victory for militant unionism when the longshore membership overwhelmingly rejected a proposal introduced by International President Harry Bridges for the laying off of approximately 1000 members of the local.

By skillful maneuvering, Bridges had got his reactionary proposal adopted by a slim majority in a meeting of officials, committeemen, stewards and rank and filers on Sunday. James Kearney, president of Local 10, who last winter sponsored a layoff proposal which was similarly overwhelmingly rejected by the membership, this time made the record against the proposal, but his right wing supporters for the most part silently supported the layoff, and he himself did not fight it.

The employers supported the layoff and one of the big shots of the Waterfront Employers Association, a Matson official, addressed the Sunday meeting at the invitation of union officials and plugged for the lay-off in a speech on the manpower situation. The CP members waded on the proposition, neither fighting the layoff nor supporting it, but trying to cover up for Bridges in the face of the anger of the rank and file. The CP periphery split, some supporting the layoff and some fighting it.

POSTPONED INDEFINITELY

But in the face of this united front of employers, the Bridges international leadership and the most conservative elements in the local, with the CP and the local officials practically passive or neutralized, the determined solidarity of the rank and file was utterly irresistible.

Two straddling, face-saving amendments proposed by Bridges' supporters, which did not provide for layoffs, were, nevertheless, overwhelmingly and exuberantly defeated, and

the membership rose with a shout to pass the motion to postpone indefinitely any proposal for mass layoffs. According to the union constitution, any matter postponed indefinitely cannot be taken up again except by unanimous consent.

Of great interest was the complete solidarity and fierce determination of all the Negro members of the local. Even among those safely removed by

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## Diplomatic Cold War Skirmishes Follow Mindszenty Frameup Trial

By WILLIAM BARTON

The trial of Cardinal Mindszenty in Hungary has become a major incident in international diplomacy as the Hungarian government demanded the recall of U. S. Minister Chapin and two American legation officials, while the U. S. State Department asked the first secretary of the Hungarian legation in Washington to leave.

The conviction of the Cardinal has been openly condemned by President Truman, Secretary of State Acheson and British Foreign Secretary Bevin. The Pope has excommunicated anyone connected with the prosecution. The UP reports that the Hungarian Foreign Minister charged Truman with "brutal attempts" to interfere in the internal affairs of the country.

Meanwhile fifteen Evangelical clergymen have been arrested in Bulgaria for "espionage." Unlike the Hungarian situation, where there is a contest between the mighty powers of the Church of Rome and the Kremlin, these churchmen represent a small, weak, non-militant section of

religious Bulgarians. The Dimitrov regime seems bent upon destroying any possible center of future opposition and doing its bit for its side in the cold war. The Evangelical clergymen surely represent no "clear and present" danger.

Cardinal Mindszenty and his colleagues have appealed their sentences. It is possible that the Hungarian Stalinist government may wish to demonstrate its "benevolence" and slightly quiet the hornets' nest the trials have stirred by shortening the sentences. Or it may wish to demonstrate the toughness of its side in the international conflict by holding firm. For it is difficult to view these trials as mere cases involving individuals and institutions within a particular country. Everything becomes another weapon in the ever-smoldering East-West conflict.

The irony of this stage of the conflict is that the hierarchy of the Catholic Church becomes identified with the struggle for human freedom. As LABOR ACTION has pointed out, in Hungary the church is a source of continual opposition to the Stalinist brand of totalitarianism. As such, its power cannot be too long tolerated by the Stalinists. Since it is an international organization with its headquarters elsewhere and its membership widely distributed, the church cannot easily be absorbed into the Hungarian state, even if a practical basis were worked out to compromise ideological difficulties.

This is not true of the Eastern Orthodox Church. Since the early days of the war, a strong liaison has been worked out between the Moscow Metropolitan (church leader) and the Kremlin. As in Czarist days, the Russian Church has become an instrument of state policy, particularly in the non-Russian lands subjected to Russian imperialist domination. It is an additional means for securing ties to the "motherland." Thus, the New York Times correspondent Arnoldo Cortesi reports a process of forcible conversion of both Greek and Roman Catholics to the Russian faith in Rumania. He announces that "not even freedom of worship is conceded to the Catholic Church of Greece rite."

It is not religious belief or practice that is here at issue, but the need to squelch potential opposition. The arrest of the Protestant ministers in Bulgaria, a country almost entirely

Greek Orthodox in religious background, further substantiates this analysis.

RULERS FEAR PEOPLE

There is no doubt that this tightening up is a result of the typical constant fears of totalitarian rulers—fear of internal opposition, fear of international opponents, possible fear on the part of the Russian rulers of anything that might assist the creation of more Titos. The Hungarian prosecutions, with their nauseating Stalinist atmosphere of staged confessions, are part of the pattern of consolidation in the one country in the Stalinist orbit where native opposition retained some strength.

Its army is supposed to be over the limit granted by the peace treaty. Visitors claim that there appear to be three times as many police in Budapest as in pre-Stalinist times (under the fascist Horthy regime). Near the Austrian border, every village has two to three score policemen, where there formerly were none. The inhabitants of these villages are not allowed to leave after 7:00 p.m. without informing the police. Janitors in Budapest must report any inhabitant absent for two days; if he stays away another day, the police investigate. Secret police are all over; from the Nazi-fascist background of the judge in the Mindszenty trial, it is not presumptuous to believe that some of the internal spies have been recruited from the same crew that faithfully served Horthy and Hitler.

It must be emphasized that no government undertakes such elaborate and expensive measures in protecting itself unless it is seriously fearful of its populace. The defense of the Hungarian and Bulgarian churchmen against the frameups is a campaign in defense of liberty against terror. Without in any way concealing their antagonism to the reactionary political force which is the hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church, without ceasing to oppose the propaganda purposes to which the frameups are being put by the opinion-makers of the Western side in the cold war, socialists must support that defense. A defeat for the Stalinists on this count would aid in tearing down their apparently imposing, jerry-built structure in Eastern Europe.

## Unemployment Jumps by One Million

2,650,000 Jobless at End of January; More to Come in 1949

By SUSAN GREEN

In the months of November and December 1948 and January 1949 the army of unemployed grew by one million. Those 60,000,000 jobs boasted by the apologists of capitalism have gone a-gleaming. Official figures admit to 2,650,000 jobless at the end of January.

Expectations are for what is called "more leveling off" in 1949. While lay-offs are heaviest in textiles and clothing, the "readjustment process" is felt in food processing, in the shoe, furniture, fur and tobacco industries, in coal mining, in logging and lumbering. Workers in nondurable consumer goods have been hardest hit, but those in durable consumer goods have not entirely escaped. Even in steel and aluminum some lag is felt.

By the end of 1949 there may be as high as 4,500,000 shut-out workers for whom capitalism does not provide jobs in peacetime.

It may be said that the crazy, skyrocketing profit-price structure touched off the "leveling off" we are now experiencing. With the incomes of the working people falling foul of the cost of living, consumer buying decreased and factories received less orders. The cycle is completed as the

very people who need more money to buy things are thrown out of work and deprived of all wages.

The textile workers led the parade out of the factories. Tens of thousands of them were fired, in largest numbers in the states of New York, Maine, New Hampshire, Connecticut and Vermont. But they were out on the pavements also in the southern states of Alabama, South Carolina, Georgia, Kentucky, Mississippi, North Carolina, Virginia and Tennessee.

Shoe workers were laid off in St. Louis and New York. In Maine, New Hampshire and Virginia, "to decrease inventories"—the same old story of workers having produced so much that they cannot buy anything at all. Furniture workers were given the same treatment in Pennsylvania, Virginia, New York and Indiana. In New York City fur workers are generally unemployed. The mild weather winter here in the east had something to do with the shut-downs in the fur industry.

However, fantastic prices in the early season had a good deal to do with the decline in consumer buying. The mild winter in the east may account for the accumulation of unmoved stocks of coal and the lay-off

"When it comes to atomic bombs, we must have more of them and better bombs than any other nation on earth."

Thus Senator Connally, leading Democratic member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee wound up the extemporaneous debate on the North Atlantic Pact which broke out in the Senate last week. And though he piously added: "until they are regulated in some fashion under international agreement," he also went on: "We must have the best fleet of airplanes in the world. We must have better jets, faster jets and harder-hitting jets,"—to preserve peace, naturally.

This call for bigger and better atom bombs was Senator Connally's blunter version of the policy enunciated in Truman's inaugural address: "If we can make it sufficiently clear, in advance, that any armed attack affecting our national security would be met with overwhelming force, the armed attack might never occur." This atomic-age version of the old discredited theory of peace-through-arms-race was put forward in the upper house of Congress, strangely enough, in order to allay fears of some senators with regard to the North Atlantic Pact.

Emerging from the debate was an apparent "disagreement" between the Senate leaders and the administration. Actually both sides are anxious to present this disagreement as being merely a difference in tactics.

The difference has arisen over the question of a "moral commitment" on the part of the U.S. to go to war if any member of the pact is attacked. (There is no question of a legal commitment because of the clear statement of the Constitution that only Congress can declare war.) Norwegian Foreign Minister Lange, shopping in this country for a U. S. guarantee of support in case of attack by Russia, as a condition for joining the North Atlantic Pact, was told by Secretary of State Acheson that the Constitution forbids a binding promise but "he (Acheson) clearly implied a moral commitment to Norway on the part of the United States." (New York Times.) This is how the private conversation between Lange and Acheson was deliberately communicated to the press, through the official "unofficial spokesman."

Placating semi-isolationist sentiment in the Congress, as well as anti-war feeling in the country, the leading

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## Philadelphia Public Transportation Paralyzed By Strike; Union Seeks Better Wage Standards

PHILADELPHIA, February 14—The gray dawn of the fourth day of the transit strike found the city's main traffic arteries clogged with autos, trucks and other conveyances. The walkout by Local 234, Transport Workers of America, CIO, has completely paralyzed transportation in the city. On the first day a 200 per cent increase in traffic made most of the city's workers late in reporting on the job.

The old contract of the transport union expired at 12:01 a.m. on Friday, February 11, and not a piece of equipment owned by the Public Transportation Company has moved since shortly after that hour. The end of the tieup is not yet in sight as union negotiators, headed by Michael J. Quill, International President of the TWU, and Andrew J. Kaelin, Local 234 President, warned the union members to prepare for a long strike. The local union is striking for a new contract calling for improved working conditions and higher pay. Company negotiators, led by William J. MacReynolds, vice-president in charge of industrial relations, have thus far refused to yield on any of the vital issues.

INCREASE A "MUST"

Company and union are still "miles apart" on the wage increase issue, despite slight concessions on both sides. The union's original demand for a 25 cent per hour increase was scaled down before the strike deadline to 20 cents, while the company "jumped" its offer from two to three cents on February 9. Both sides based their figures on the cost of living index. The Transport Workers hope to regain the approximately 20 per cent loss in real wages since the end of the war, while the PTC's figure covers only the increase in the cost of living in the past year.

For the union, the large increase in wage rates is a "must" since the company has announced that it intends to cut the work week from 6 to 5 days—a 20 per cent wage cut. The proposed cut in the wage week, which has been virtually ignored in the daily press, is the main topic of discussion on the picket line. Newspaper reports credited the PTC employees with earning a take home average pay of \$64 per week. This figure is quite inconsistent with the official rates for the 40 hour week which calls for \$54 for bus and one-man trolley operators, \$51 for the two-man trolley crews,

\$49 for cashiers, and \$40 to \$65 for maintenance men.

There is no lack of interest, intervention, and suggestion by municipal, state, and federal representatives. Two weeks before the walkout, state mediator William H. MacDougall entered the picture and was able only to resume negotiations without achieving any concrete results.

After the strike began the federal government intervened, since the PTC operations were interstate (the Philadelphia company operated trains to Camden, N. J.). U. S. Conciliation Commissioner, John Murray, held an almost continuous series of separate and joint conferences with the contesting parties and got nowhere.

CITY COUNCIL ROLE

One of the forces which is most anxious to settle the strike at all costs to the strikers is the Philadelphia City Council. The Council's interest stems from the municipality's financial interests. The city owned Broad Street Subway is operated by the

PTC under an agreement which calls for a rental of \$900,000 per year, plus 2 and 2/3 cents for each passenger carried over 52,000,000 per year. During the strike period the city also loses its wage tax from the strikers.

At a Saturday meeting the Council passed a resolution petitioning the State Legislature to amend its Utility Labor Act of 1946 to prohibit strikes in transportation as well as in public utilities. Another resolution called on Mayor Samuels to declare a state of emergency and to take steps to "protect the public interest and public welfare."

On Saturday afternoon the Mayor refused to handle this "hot potato" handed him by the Council by stating that he saw no signs of disorder and that he lacked authority to end the strike. Previously the Mayor had asked both parties to submit the issues to arbitration and later he asked the Local union to delay the strike deadline. Samuels refused a request of the union to recommend to the PTC that an increase be granted. The Mayor said he could not ask the com-

pany to grant such an increase because he had so vigorously opposed its request for the fare boost now pending before the Pennsylvania Utilities Commission.

PICKET CITY HALL

The resolution of the City Council calling on the State Legislature to pass legislation outlawing transportation strikes aroused indignation and protest from the union leaders and members. At 2 p.m. on Sunday almost all of the pickets were withdrawn from the lines at the car barns to participate in a motorcade advance on City Hall.

Several thousands of members formed a picket line around the Hall and listened to a report on negotiations by Quill and Kaelin. Picket signs read: "City Council Unfair to the Union" and asked for "no Strait Jacket for PTC Workers."

Reporting on the negotiations, Quill cautioned the members that there would be no settlement of the strike "in the next few days." The negotiators have not as yet even discussed in these current sessions the controversial wage issue. Quill declared that the shutdown would continue until "we bring back a contract which you can ratify without losing your dignity and self-respect."

Local President Kaelin placed the strike in its proper perspective by stating, "Now it is apparent that the American Transit Association, a representative employers group of the various transit systems in this nation, has made guinea pigs of the 11,000 members of our union and the 3,000,000 riders in Metropolitan Philadelphia." Kaelin also accused the company of stalling in negotiations.

The company refused to answer this accusation of the union, by stating that "Negotiations have reached such a critical stage that nothing should be done nor said which might jeopardize the reaching of a settlement at the earliest possible moment."

The strike is of vital importance to all of labor as it is the first large-scale attempt to obtain a fourth round increase in the area. Thus the press and radio, spurred by industrialists and the downtown merchants, are conducting a campaign to prejudice the public against the strikers. This effort has met with little success among organized workers who have been long acquainted with these tactics as well as with the anti-labor record of the PTC monopoly.

presentation of evidence as a rebuttal to prosecution evidence.

AVOID SMITH ACT TEST

On cross-examination of Wilkerson, U. S. Attorney John F. X. McGohey questioned the methods used in compiling the statistics presented by Wilkerson and secured several admissions that certain examples of "executives" in the jury lists were in actuality small tradesmen who have since been classified by the Census Bureau as manual workers. These discrepancies were doubtlessly damaging to the case presented by the defense, though the general methods of "handpicking" juries is still apparent.

Another point scored by the prosecution was Wilkerson's inability to remember the names of persons who voluntarily aided in the study of past jury records. McGohey and the press made much of this, but in all likelihood Wilkerson was trying to protect his assistants from publicity as CP

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## CP Policy in Trial Dodges Issue of Testing Smith Act

By WYATT LEE

Defense testimony that the Federal jury system used in the indictment and trial of eleven Communist Party leaders now in process is unconstitutional was halted by Judge Harold R. Medina last week. Over the vigorous protests of the five defense attorneys, Judge Medina ordered the prosecution to proceed with its answer to charges that the "blue ribbon" jury system excludes Negroes, Jews and working class persons in general from jury service.

The ruling followed four weeks of testimony, during which Prof. Doxey Wilkerson, head of the Jefferson School of Social Sciences and a Communist Party member, took the witness stand for 11 days, presenting statistical evidence in support of the defense contention that Federal juries in New York are "rigged." Judge Medina, who has called the testimony "wholly insufficient," explained that defense attorneys could resume the



NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

# Ranks Rap Bridges Proposal--

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seniority from any danger of personal layoff, scarcely a one could be found who would under any circumstances vote to lay off his brothers. Their insecure position in society seems to bind them into a solid group in defense against a threat to the employment status of any; and they showed that they can give lessons in union solidarity to many of the white brothers.

### PROGRESSIVE SOLUTION

The membership of Local 10 has decisively knocked out the reactionary proposal to solve the problem of slack work by layoff. It has thereby taken its place in the leadership of American labor on this deeply important issue. But this victory does not mean that the problem is solved. Though longshoremen, even when waterfront work is so slack, earn far more than average American workers, they cannot be expected to be satisfied with present reduced earnings in the face of present living costs. Rightly West Coast longshoremen believe that their militant union struggles from 1934 through 1948 entitle them to a really decent living. Smashing the layoff proposal clears the deck to progressive action to improve the situation. This progressive solution to the problem of reduced work opportunities centers around two points, though there are several minor points of procedure within the union that will help the situation. These two main points, around which the fight in coming weeks must be built are: first, for pensions for the

men grown old on the waterfront who have put in a lifetime of work and are now entitled to a decent income without work for the rest of their years; and the second is for part-time employment compensation. Both points will be bitterly resisted by the employers, but both can be won by a rank and file that is sufficiently alert and aggressive.

The conservative and bureaucratic Bridges-CP leadership of the ILWU stands as a great obstacle to the progressive advance of the union. This leadership has rested, in part, upon the blind support of many of the rank and file of Local 10, especially many of the Negro members. Tonight many of the blind were made too see.

Many eyes were opened to the real character of the Bridges leadership and to the chicken-hearted straddling of the CP leaders in the local. This Bridges-CP leadership just put over on the union, after 95 days on strike, a poor contract signed for three years, and praised it as the best contract in history. Only 60 days after the strike and the signing of this contract this same leadership tries to put over the layoff of 1000 men. And Bridges claims to have foreseen these slack times! Why then agree to such a contract—and why bind the union for three years against struggling for shorter hours and more pay? The rank and file see that among the most active in the fight against the layoff are those few men who recorded themselves against the contract and who fought especially the three-year term.

The membership overwhelmingly

voted for the contract—in voice vote (the referendum has never yet been held); and if many of them have learned better now, it is an expensive lesson, because the three-year contract will make much more difficult the struggle for a decent living for all on the waterfront. But the eye-opening of the rank and file is a big step toward the removal of this bureaucratic conservative Bridges leadership, and its replacement with a progressive one resting directly upon the ranks.

### BRIDGES' MOTIVES

Many longshoremen raise the question as to why Bridges undertook this disastrous layoff policy. There is no doubt that he made a gigantic mistake, that he completely miscalculated the response of the rank and file. His motive in moving in this direction was undoubtedly his desire to make peace with the right wing and to outmaneuver the Kearney leadership in Local 10. Bridges feels that his throne is shaking a little. The shaking is not, unfortunately, from progressive attack by the rank and file. But the national CIO threatens his throne. And then there are the local anti-Bridges leaderships of Kearney in Local 10 and Thomas in Local 13, San Pedro, as well as the long-time conservative anti-Bridges sentiment in the other large longshore locals in Portland and Seattle. And this winter there has developed in San Francisco at least, and for the first time, an organization of conservative anti-Bridges forces into the Maritime Democratic Club.

To Bridges this shaking of the throne is no earthquake, because his power rests solidly on the completely inexperienced pineapple workers of the Hawaiian islands, who are part of the ILWU, and upon the thoroughly machine-dominated warehouse section of the union. There is the current maneuver to bring into the ILWU another CP-dominated group, the CIO fishermen's union.

But despite all the vote-getting maneuvers that may get the Bridges leadership a big majority from these various sections of the union, still he knows that the foundation and core of ILWU strength is the longshoreman. So he is greatly concerned with his steadily waning popularity in this most important section of the union and undertakes this disastrous campaign in the attempt to build himself back into favor with the oldtimers of Local 10, those who originally raised him to his pinnacle of power. In this campaign he has triply failed.

The conservative oldtimers will not have faith in him again; he was outmaneuvered by Kearney; and he has bitterly antagonized and disillusioned large elements in the rank and file who formerly supported him. What is necessary is that the ranks shall not allow the conservative forces to profit from Bridges' defeat, but that the rank and file shall organize themselves, develop their own program and leadership, and make this union again the progressive force that it once was.—S.R.

# Awarded Jobless Benefits In Midvale Stoppage Test

By JOSEPH WILLIAMS

PHILADELPHIA—The 2400 members of Federal Labor Union Local 18,887, AFL, have won a \$1,000,000 payment of jobless benefits in connection with the recent labor stoppage at the Midvale Steel Company. As reported in LABOR ACTION of December 13, 1948, the stoppage, lasting from May 26 to November 25, ended in victory for the union which maintained the old wage structure with substantial increases.

The current award was granted by a 2-1 decision of the State Unemployment Board of Review which ruled that the stoppage was in reality a lockout. Each employee involved will soon receive checks for \$480—\$20 for 24 weeks of the shutdown.

The decision was based on the fact that the workers had no alternative but to withdraw their labor last May when the Midvale Company, the area's largest steel producer, violated the union contract by posting notices

of wage cuts ranging from 10 to 53 cents per hour. The contract was not scheduled to expire until April of this year.

The jobless benefit award could not have been granted had the Board ruled that the stoppage was a strike since Act No. 493 passed in 1946 deprived strikers of unemployment compensation. This Act is one of the "Package of Ten" anti-labor laws whose repeal is now sought by the Pennsylvania State CIO.

No doubt the Midvale Co. will appeal the decision of the Review Board. The State Superior Court or the State Supreme Court could take immediate jurisdiction over the appeal. The decision, and the results of the anticipated appeal, will be of tremendous importance to all of organized labor since it will set a precedent in cases where the unions claim to have been locked out. The Board's decision acts as a brake on companies who wish to precipitate a strike by violating the union contract.

# Labor, Liberals Hit Md. Version of Mundt Bill

BALTIMORE—About 1000 people crowded into a hearing on the Ober "anti-subversive" bill which was held at Annapolis, Md., on February 10. The Joint Judiciary Committees of the House and Senate which conducted the hearing had to move into the House chamber to accommodate the bill.

The Ober bill (which is patterned closely after the Mundt-Nixon bill, which failed to pass in Washington) would outlaw subversive organizations and make it a felony to be a member of one. Also, it would add a special assistant in the office of the Attorney General of Maryland to enforce this one law.

The lineup of organizations for and against the bill is the usual one when such catch-all anti-subversive bills with their anti-labor intentions come before the public. The leading spokesmen for the bill were the senior vice-commander of the American Legion and a Baltimore clubwoman. Also for the bill were the Jewish War Veterans, the Lions Club, the Real Estate Board of Baltimore, Baltimore Association of Commerce, Kiwanis Clubs, Catholic Daughters of America and the Daughters of the American Revolution. (Yes, it's the Who's Who of Baltimore reaction.)

### GROUPS OPPOSING BILL

The groups against the bill were of two types: the anti-Communists, and the Communist Party and its periphery organizations. Of the last group, the Communist Party led off with a challenge that no law can drive out the CP. Of the main groups that opposed the bill but made no objections to the CP were the Maryland Progressive Party, the UE-CIO and the Maryland Civil Rights Congress.

Maryland labor in general lined up against the bill, at the same time that it made it clear that it was opposed

to the methods and program of the Communist Party. E. J. Moran of the CIO-Auto Workers Union spoke for the Maryland CIO. The AFL was on record against it but did not speak. A former judge, Eugene O'Dunne, opposed the bill in behalf of a group of 44 anti-communist Maryland liberals. He emphasized the point that "the need...for the bill has never been demonstrated...No facts... have been presented." His statement also said "we do not believe that ideas can be outlawed or even curbed by jail sentences or the like."

Among other anti-communist organizations opposing the Ober bill were the Americans for Democratic Action and the American Civil Liberties Union.

The Ober bill appears to be a logical follow-up of the success gained in putting through a constitutional amendment preventing communists from holding state and city offices in Maryland. This amendment was put over by a big campaign masterminded by the American Legion and carried out through getting organizations like the Knights of Columbus to front for them in speaking publicly for the bill. The labor and liberal groups did not make a big issue of the anti-communist constitutional amendment.

It remains to be seen if the Ober bill will go through in spite of the labor-liberal campaign against it. There has been a terrific propaganda campaign built up for the bill. Among other methods, a story was given out that an FBI list of local communist suspects would be circulated. Although stories made it appear that such a list was circulated in closed hearings, it did not become public. The press also tried to build up the usual impression that the only ones really fighting the bill were the Communist Party and its followers.

# Protest Execution Of Jehovah Witness By Greek Government

NEW YORK (WRL)—The execution by the Greek government of John Tsoukaris, a Jehovah's Witness who had refused military service, has brought a protest from the War Resisters League, Fellowship of Reconciliation and Workers Defense League.

In a joint letter addressed to the Greek embassy in Washington, the three organizations expressed "great shock at this move by the Greek government directed against the human right to freedom of religion and conscience. This execution, coming at a time when the Western world is alleging that the trial of Cardinal Mindszenty of Hungary is a fundamental violation of religious convictions, exposes the frailty of those who point to the inhumanity and totalitarian actions of others and then indulge in acts that are equally unjust and cruel."

The letter noted that Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, on February 9 in St. Louis, had said, in referring to the trial of Cardinal Mindszenty, that "Conviction of people on account of their religious beliefs is bound to lead to a great deal of bad feeling throughout the world, as well as in Hungary."

It further stated that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights proclaimed by the UN in December, 1948, provided in Article 3: "Everyone has the right to life, liberty and the security of person"; and in Article 18: "Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance."

The three organizations urged and invited others to join in this protest against the conviction.

### OHIO NOTES:

# Stalinists Routed in CIO Cleveland Council Vote

By JOE CLARK

CLEVELAND—An event of great importance to workers of the Cleveland area, and particularly of the CIO, took place here last Wednesday. This was the election in the Cleveland Industrial Union Council, which climaxed a fight of some two and a half years duration between the Stalinist and anti-Stalinist wings. This local struggle is, of course, an incident (an important one) in the nationwide struggle between the two sides, a struggle that promises to eliminate Stalinists from what positions of dominance and control they have managed to secure in the American labor movement.

In this Cleveland election the victory of the anti-Stalinists was full and complete, as it carried its full slate from president to sergeant-at-arms. This represents a complete break with the past, for the CIUC has been dominated by Stalinists from its inception in 1938, when they gained control of the Council and elected A. E. Stevenson to the all-important position of executive secretary. This position he held continuously till this election.

Stevenson's services have been of great value in building Stalinist prestige and support. He is a clever and cagey individual, always avoiding any definite statement regarding his Stalinist sympathies. He is a capable speaker and puts on a good front, is deft and adroit in political maneuvers. Quite a formidable opponent. Naturally, the recent struggle centered about him.

More than two years ago, when the fight threatened the very existence of the Council, James C. Quinn, a vet-

erant steel worker and organizer, was appointed by Philip Murray to the position of administrator in the Council, which really meant administrative control of the Council by the national office of the CIO. Of course, this placed Quinn in opposition to Stevenson, and the fight has centered around these two individuals. So Quinn was the candidate for Executive Secretary against Stevenson. For president of the Council, the Murray wing ran Patrick J. O'Malley of Local 32, UAW.

This wing ran on a platform of complete co-operation with Murray and the top CIO leadership. They promised to build "true unionism," and stand for "100 per cent Americanism," the latter doubtless aimed at Stalinist support of Moscow.

### ROUTED IN UE LOCAL

Together with the sweeping victory of the Murrayites in the CIUC comes news of another Stalinist defeat in a local union. In an election at UE's local 777 (Westinghouse), the anti-Stalinists routed the Stalinists last Tuesday, electing a full slate.

While rejoicing over the defeats suffered by the Stalinists we must deplore some of the methods used to gain those defeats. The victory in the CIUC was only made possible by the arbitrary intervention of Murray and the CIO who placed Quinn in a position of considerable power and authority in the Council as administrator with the backing of the top leadership of the CIO. It remains to be seen how democratic Quinn, O'Malley & Co., will be. O'Malley is widely known as a supporter of ACTU. We hope this leadership will not prove as dictatorial as the Stalinist leadership.

# Pittsburgh Labor Notes:

PITTSBURGH—The dismissal of the bureau superintendent of the Pittsburgh Health Department caused the Post-Gazette to editorialize: "Are jobs with the City of Pittsburgh to be considered political plums or services to be performed in the public interest?" How many guesses do we get, P-C?

The days of the notorious coal and iron police and of the private corporation guards that made Pittsburgh "famous" have come to an end. Proof: the plant guards at the East Pittsburgh works of the Westinghouse Electric Corporation staged an eight-day strike, demanding overtime pay for a daily ten-minute roll call and inspection. The company had rejected a suggestion for arbitration made by Local 601, CIO Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers. The union sent the guards back to work after company officials agreed to a meeting.

Although negotiations are still a long way off in the steel industry, the organs of public opinion are already opposing any fourth round wage increases. Much is being made of the "drop" in the cost of living which has, since last June, added only one cent to the purchasing power of the dollar. However, the unions are

preparing to strengthen their demands by citing steel's ability to pay. Only one basic producer has showed a decline (a slight one) in net profits for 1948.

Here are the figures which have just appeared, as compared with 1947:

U. S. Steel Corp.	
1948	\$129,552,000
1947	127,098,000
Jones & Laughlin Steel Corp.	
1948	\$31,222,000
1947	19,225,184
Youngstown Sheet & Tube	
1948	\$29,711,000
1947	22,300,000
Bethlehem Steel Corp.	
1948	\$90,347,000
1947	51,088,000
Inland Steel Corp.	
1948	\$38,607,000
1947	29,888,000
Wheeling Steel Corp.	
1948	\$15,050,000
1947	12,445,000
Alan Wood Steel	
1948	\$4,100,000
1947	1,955,000
Carpenter Steel	
1948	\$656,616
1947	341,789
Lukens Steel Co.	
1948	\$2,412,000
1947	2,836,000
	—J. S.

# Unemployment --

(Continued from page 1)

ing for only three or four days a week. The over-all picture is not pleasant to behold. More and more workers are finding it hard to find new jobs. They are taking jobs below their skills and experience, and for less pay. Part time work has slashed take-home pay. Those most likely to become chronically unemployed are the

older workers, women workers and the unskilled. Unemployment compensation is in general very low and covers too short a period. Relief is the next step down, relief which provides a very inadequate standard of living.

As unemployment becomes so much more severe, the issue of a guaranteed annual wage takes on real urgency. Also, the need for better unemployment insurance and for decent relief payments must be translated into fighting demands.

The most important section of the over-all picture today is that even this 1949 prosperity with 4,500,000 expected unemployed, rests on the continuation of the Marshall Plan, on the fifteen-billion military budget, on the prospect of arming the west European countries. A "prosperity" based on war!

# Japanese "Renunciants" Sue To Regain U. S. Citizenship

By KIYO HAMANAKA

BERKELEY, Calif.—Future generations will likely read much in their history books of "Pearl Harbor," its causes and consequences. How these books treat of another "atrocity" of vast social and political import will test the objectivity and value of the text.

Immediately after "Pearl Harbor," vested economic interests, fanning wartime hysteria, provoked the removal of 100,000 West Coast residents of Japanese blood, 75 per cent of whom were citizens by birth, who were uprooted and interned in concentration camps (fancily called "relocation centers") for the duration of the war without a hearing. Opposition and protest to this mass injustice was nil. The JACL (Japanese American Citizens League) sanctioned and blessed the outright violation of the Constitution in the belief that it was rendering a great patriotic service by complying with the shackling of its own civil rights and, by precedent, the civil rights of others. And the policy body of the national American Civil Liberties Union disclosed its views on civil rights by declining forthright opposition to the wholesale internment of American citizens.

Wayne Collins, distinguished San Francisco lawyer, caustically criticized the ACLU and the JACL for lending their cooperation to this infringement of civil rights. "Those organizations thereby lost what little respectability and claim to being protectors of civil liberties they had been deemed to possess," said Collins.

"In my opinion, all those who, out of ignorance or stupidity, supported or favored the evacuation program, are to be pitied. Those, however, who, out of innate prejudice or blind recklessness, supported, favored or participated in inflicting it upon this minority group are nothing but oppressors who are American only in name but not in spirit. Those who used the evacuation as an excuse for seizing the properties of the evacuees at enormous discounts or appropriated their properties outright constitute nothing but a class of human vultures, embezzlers and thieves," he declared.

### ENTER MASS SUIT

A sequel of this wartime injustice is the mass suits in equity entered by 5500 "Tule Lake renunciants" to regain their citizenship renounced during internment. The federal district court of San Francisco on April 29, 1948, upheld the claim of plaintiffs that their renunciations are invalid by reason of duress. Through their attorney, Wayne Collins, an interlocutory decree cancelling their renunciations and restoring citizenship—applying to all plaintiffs whether presently residing in Japan or the United States—was entered September 27, 1948.

The court allowed the government 120 days to show that duress was absent in the individual renunciation of plaintiffs and placed the burden of proof on the government. The government, on January 25 of this year, asked for 60 days additional time for preparation of appeal or presentation of further evidence against individual plaintiffs. The court granted 30 days and ruled that the judgment will become final February 26.

It is questionable whether the government will designate individual plaintiffs for special hearing or appeal the case. It is the opinion of counsel for defense that an appellate court cannot reverse the judgment of a trial court that finds from proven facts that the renunciation was a product of duress.

### RENUNCIATION FORCED

A summary of the "Tule Lake renunciation" follows:

Upon completion of the mass internment program, the government, pressed by the Endo and Korematsu test cases, began to release evacuees in small numbers for relocation. A large number, however, were denied leave clearance for quite arbitrary reasons. And none of the internees was given a proper hearing on the cause of removal and internment, or given an opportunity to be cleared of suspicion.

Out of the group denied leave clearance, a large number were sent to Tule Lake Center, along with aliens who, in order to terminate their prolonged confinement, desired repatriation. The government intended to segregate these repatriates in Tule Lake Center. Such plans, however, were

abandoned and "repats" were permitted to mingle freely with those wishing to remain in this country. Out of this commingling an alien movement developed: gangs were permitted to threaten and compel non-repatriates to submit to their will.

With a view to deporting 61 persons whom it had singled out as ring-leaders, the Justice Department secured the passage of the renunciation statutes by which citizenship could be renounced, with internment as an enemy alien and removal to Japan to follow under provisions of the Alien Enemy Act. Ultimately, these 61 persons were voluntarily removed to Japan. They also were "the victims of governmental persecution, for had they been accorded the rights of citizenship and not have been imprisoned without cause they would not have developed into agitators," declared Collins.

Subsequently, 5371 Nisei, hundreds of whom were under 21 years of age, applied to renounce citizenship for the purpose of being sent to Japan with alien members of their families, who, they had been informed and led to believe, were to be deported in any event. The mass renunciations were a product of governmental duress, coercion from alien-led gangs which the government did not take measures to prohibit, and strong family ties.

### DEPRIVED OF RIGHTS

The majority of the internees suffered total loss of property, livelihood and security. They were fearful of what the government intended to do with them and their families; the government did nothing to allay these uncertainties and fears, but much to intensify them. And the internees were disinclined to resettle in communities which in general were reportedly hostile.

Upon cursory hearings, the Justice Department, ignoring the duress in which the applicants were held and to which they were, constantly subjected, approved a majority of the 5371 Nisei who applied for renunciation of citizenship. These were classified enemy aliens and prepared for removal to Japan under the Enemy Alien Act. Of this group, hundreds were ex-soldiers who had been ousted from military service simply because of racial antecedents. Hundreds more were parents, brothers, sisters and children of Nisei soldiers serving in the armed forces in Europe and the Western Pacific combat areas.

"To all intents and purposes, the government had deprived all these internees of everything for which American citizenship stands and, in consequence, of citizenship itself. In addition, it long had held them in doubt, uncertainty and fear while they were tormented and terrorized by aliens who sought repatriation. Their renunciations were the product of governmental duress to which the actions of these aliens were mere incidents," said Collins.

In a mass habeas corpus suit instituted in July, 1945, approximately 1000 of the renunciants sought termination of their internment and, on grounds that the renunciation was a product of governmental duress, sought cancellation of renunciations and restoration of citizenship. The federal district court of San Francisco issued an order in the habeas corpus suits stopping deportation until final outcome of the case. As a consequence of "mitigation hearings" and reviews by a board established by the Justice Department, thousands were released from internment. From time to time, thousands of additional renunciants subsequently joined the mass suits in equity. Over 5000 names are now included.

### DEFENSE COMMITTEE

The court, on June 30, 1947, granted the habeas corpus writ to the plaintiffs, and the mass suits in equity were decided in favor of the renunciants, April 29, 1948. The government was given until February 25 to appeal or show proof that designated plaintiffs did renounce of their own free will in spite of the duress. Such persons designated will have individual trials.

If a large number are designated for hearing, the expense will be enormous. A defense committee is raising funds to carry these cases to completion. It is endeavoring to equalize the financial burden so that it will be borne by the whole class and not fall entirely upon the individuals who may be designated for hearing. Money for this purpose may be sent to the Renunciation Defense Committee, ACLU, 461 Market Street, San Francisco 5, Calif.

The principals in the three instances mentioned here are victims of an imperial, war-breeding cultural-economic structure that pits individual and group against group, creating barriers of oppression and antipathy and wreaking untold physical and spiritual penalty. Until man makes the effort to remove the war-breeding profit economy and replaces it with an economy that is based on production for use—for abundance and freedom—such occurrences as the above will be commonplace in spite of the railings of do-gooders. We can build for peace, abundance, freedom and security if we have the courage to try.

### A Reminder:

Meyer Schapiro

will be the next lecturer at the Labor Action Forum in New York. His topic: "Art and the State." Illustrated with slides. Time: Sunday, February 27, at 8:00 p.m. Place: 114 West 14th Street.



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### Labor Action Interviews Republican Spokesmen

# How Indonesian Republic Fights On

By JACK BRAD

The clearest impression that emerged from an interview with Mr. Sudarbo, Indonesian press representative, and Dr. Soemtro, delegate to the recent New Delhi Conference, was their complete commitment to the struggle for national freedom.

Whatever disagreeable compromises are entered into on the way, there will be no stopping short of the goal. Contrary to Dutch claims, the Republic is representative of this profound desire for nationhood, it has its deep-rooted origins in a hundred years of struggle and, in particular, in the goal already once achieved. The Dutch will never succeed in restoring the pre-war colonial status quo.

Both men are engaged in a diplomatic activity and they have the general characteristics of national revolutionary intellectuals. They have observed western culture and are as much the products of Western Civilization as of Indonesia, with one feature outstanding—a sense of passionate patriotism. This came through forcefully on every matter discussed. Devotion to the nation and the Republic dominates their lives, their thoughts, their actions. It is the single window through which they view the world and all its parts. This is clearly visible in spite of the sophisticated polish of that finishing school of international politics, the UN, in which both men are involved. For, while they are primarily concerned with the international position of Indonesia, they fully understand that this position is a consequence of events in the islands and in Asia.

Charles Wolf, in his recent book, "The Indonesian Story," has an interesting social description of the leadership of the Republic. "There is no economic ruling clique within the Republic because there have been so few Indonesians who have produced and accumulated wealth under pre-war colonialism. There is, moreover, no military clique or any other group which as such would be likely to dominate the government as an oligarchy—in short, the only apparent upper stratum is an intellectual one."

While this statement exaggerates the absence of economic differences, there is certainly a striking contrast between the Indonesian leaders and their representatives here, and the Indians or Chinese who are extremely conscious of class and social status.

#### MILITARY POSITION PROGRESSING

The Republic's war is proceeding extremely well. Dr. Soemtro claimed: "Our military position is good, even beyond our original expectations. In many parts of the country our guerrilla forces are continuously on the offensive." Apparently, the government had prepared for the Dutch attack ever since the Renville Truce and made its plans accordingly. These plans called for the withdrawal of its armies intact into the hills behind Jogjakarta, their dispersal into small cadre groups under regular officers, and organization of popular forces around them. Apparently, the bulk of the army carried these plans through.

The military forces have had considerable success. The Dutch have been driven from some of their original conquests and the Republic has established numerous "pocket areas" behind Dutch lines. These areas are particularly extensive in East Java and around Bandung in West Java. About 15 to 20 per cent of West Java is in Republican hands as well as parts of Sumatra, as large as all of Java. A scorched earth policy has been carried out which, Mr. Sudarbo claimed, has effectively reduced the value of their holdings to the Dutch who are secure only in their garrison towns and are subject to attack as soon as they venture into the country. Even the suburbs of Jogjakarta, former Republican capital, are not safe from the invaders.

Railroads are not operating. The longest stretch still running is only 60 miles. The Dutch blockade of the islands closed all major ports to the Republic, but a brisk trade in small boats runs the blockade, especially across the Malacca Straits between Sumatra and Malaya. A Central Command directs all activities. Seven radio transmitters are operating which coordinate these widespread actions.

#### UNDERGROUND GOVERNMENT RESPECTED

An interim government is well established on Sumatra and its liaison is thoroughly organized with the guerrillas, as well as with the external offices of the Republic. This provisional regime in hiding has complete authority.

This was one of the most gratifying impressions to emerge from the interviews. The greatest respect and authority is acknowledged to this underground government. There does not seem to be any desire to direct the affairs of state from outside Indonesia as for representatives abroad to usurp powers. Dr. Soemtro made this very clear. It is the emergency government which set the conditions for UN policy, one of which is that a cease-fire order (which the UN has demanded) will be accepted only upon the release of the imprisoned Republican president, and then "such an order can be issued only in consultation with our Emergency Government only with the full concurrence of this government."

Mr. Sudarbo was vague as to the objective of this government and said this had not been defined, but that general sentiment among the leaders was for a return to the boundaries and conditions of the Lingajati agreement. This fits in with the resolutions adopted at the New Delhi Conference. It is a position of compromise fraught with danger. The end desired is the complete military and political expulsion of the imperialists and in a very short period of time. But it is questionable if the orientation indicated by Mr. Sudarbo can achieve their goal. The present leadership proposes to continue the moderate policy of compromise which has already failed twice.

Leading parties in the coalition that rules the Republic are the Moslem Party of Premier Hatta and the Socialist Party of Sjahrir. However, all other parties, except for the Communist Party, are also in the struggle.

The Stalinists are a broken party right now. When they went into rebellion last August they split the Peasant Party, but it is Sudarbo's claim that the ranks did not follow and only the Peasant Party leadership supported the uprising, which proved an adventurous fiasco that was quickly crushed. Musso, Russian agent and Indonesian CP leader, was killed in action. Alemin, second in command, was captured, tried by a military court, and hanged. The third top leader, Sjarifoeddin, seems to have disappeared. A Chinese newspaper recently reported him dead, too.

Mr. Sudarbo claimed that CP strength was never very great and that most of it was a result of "infiltration," particularly into the Socialist and Peasant Parties and into the trade unions. But this influence did not penetrate to the ranks. Apparently, the CP is no longer an important group. However, the trade unions which were disrupted by the CP's policies up to last August have not yet recovered.

#### OFFER INFORMATION ON TANMALAKA

He made some interesting remarks about Tanmalaka, indicating the attitude of the government. He differentiated sharply between Tanmalaka and the Stalinists, characterizing him, as opposed to the Stalinists, as "basically nationalist." For this, Tanmalaka is respected. The terms Mr. Sudarbo applied to him were "impractical," "idealist" and "extremist." He ascribed to Tanmalaka various opinions which seemed to boil down to a four-point program: 1—against the Lingajati and Renville policies—and no compromise with the Dutch; 2—no negotiations while the Dutch retained a single soldier on Indonesian soil; 3—a radical social policy; 4—for a worker-peasant alliance to achieve power in the Republic. For this latter purpose he organized the United Action Party in February, 1947. The exact weight of nationalism in Tanmalaka's program is not clear from this description. This extremely important question still must wait for clarification until details are available.

Tanmalaka was offered the premiership in early 1947 but apparently was unable to form a government on the basis of the program he desired. Sudarbo described him as "extremely shrewd" in politics. One interesting new fact that Sudarbo reported was that Tanmalaka claimed innocence of the kidnapping of SP leader Sjahrir. Although the government obviously remains suspicious, it has never been able to prove his complicity, except to show that many of his associates were involved.

Now Tanmalaka is fighting with Republican guerillas, but here again are no details. Sudarbo indicated that he was still feared by the government because "he might return to extremism." It is clear that Tanmalaka is a figure of importance with a name and a following.

Trade union organizations exist and are especially powerful among factory workers and miners. There are about 350,000 factory workers, mostly in foreign-owned sugar refineries, weaving mills, tobacco, tea and coffee processing plants. There are about 600,000 miners. The number of factory workers has grown steadily, with industry increasing about 300 per cent in the years 1935-40. In the latter year there were 5,469 plants employing anywhere from 20 to 4,000 workers. The Republic has introduced a labor code which considerably alters the completely uncontrolled and despotic exploitation by the foreign imperialists.

#### DESCRIBE SOCIAL, ECONOMIC PROGRAM

On social and economic program, this reporter was unable to obtain specific information. The basic principle of social policy that emerged from the interview was its state orientation; the state is to be the primary organizer and director of the economy. This does not mean immediate nationalization. This is one of the problems that will be resolved by the relationship of forces that emerge from the present war.

Agriculture is to be left in private hands but state assistance is emphasized, as is cooperative organization. Sudarbo did not acknowledge any widespread concentration in land or extensive existence of feudal practices. It is true that the Indies suffer less from these two oriental curses than either India or China, and in this sense agriculture there has a healthier aspect. Nevertheless, some concentrations, and certainly feudal practices, do exist.

The Republic seems to have no program for this. The chief problem of agriculture is its relation to the foreign-owned estates such as the large sugar and tobacco plantations. The practice, which is most exploitive, is for the estates to lease from the small proprietor his land holdings for the six months of the year during which he cannot grow food on it. The peasant remains as a worker on his own land for the other six months of the year in the employ of the estate. He becomes dependent upon the estate to carry him over this lean period, becoming indebted, his lease extending indefinitely while he becomes bound to the soil. This type of relationship is peculiar to the Indies and is one of the first problems which the Republic must face.

Nationalization of utilities and banking is an immediate objective. The Dutch-owned Java Bank is to be the central fiscal organ of the Republic. (This was one of the stumbling blocks in negotiations.) Industry is to be developed by the state. There will be greatest emphasis on exploitation of new areas, particularly on Sumatra. The chief staples of the islands, which are also the principal wealth and exports are to be under state control. Emphasis is on gradualism.

The government does not propose to expropriate Dutch or other foreign holdings immediately. (This was one of Tanmalaka's criticisms of government policy.) The direction of economic policy is toward independence, but whether the Republic can accomplish this under a gradualist program is dubious. Meanwhile, it is establishing mixed companies to act as its purchasing agents abroad. The Fox Corporation, which made the headlines last week, is of this type. Attempts are being made to interest American and British capital in direct investments. This is seen as a matter of basic importance because native capital is practically non-existent. And also to use these capitalists against the Dutch. In all cases the Republic reserves certain rights and establishes conditions of operation including specifications for housing, hospitalization and labor conditions.

This is quite different from the formula developed by Stettinius for his corporate exploitation of Liberia. The Indonesians have rejected this particular formula of American domination and this may be the reason for the violent attack by the State Department on the Fox Corporation. For, in spite of the public position which the U.S. has taken in the United Nations on the Indonesian question, in its more intimate dealings the State Department is extremely antagonistic to the Republic and, in practice, it has withdrawn all the rights of de facto recognition which it originally granted, and has actually acknowledged the Dutch blockade.

#### NEW DELHI A DISAPPOINTMENT

Dr. Soemtro's press conference was devoted to a discussion of the New Delhi meeting, from which he has just returned. Clearly the Asian meeting was a disappointment to everyone concerned. It did not accept some of the key proposals of the Indonesians. Dr. Soemtro gave the reason for this: "The Asian Conference itself was under heavy pressure of the Western powers, including the U.S. and Great Britain."

The most significant Indonesian proposals, those not greatly publicized, were requests for sanctions against the Dutch. Apparently the Republic had requested such specific measures as abrogation of airplane landing privileges and coaling and refueling rights for ships and planes, economic boycott, including pressure on the U.S. to end ERP payments to Holland. It proposed as the trump card the institution of search of Dutch ships for contraband, and the seizure of such goods as violations of the UN decisions. This action program was jettisoned by the Asian Conference in favor of continued reliance on UN action. However, India, Pakistan, Ceylon and Saudi Arabia have cancelled Dutch plane landing rights.

The Security Council has adopted a further resolution since the Asian Conference. Dr. Soemtro emphasized that this latest resolution was also "a great disappointment." The expressed certainty that a new joint consultation of Asian governments would take place shortly to consider new action on the Dutch war in Indonesia and this time more serious steps might be expected. He also felt that regional cooperation in Asia had gone a long step toward becoming permanent but the first problem remained the elimination of imperialism. Throughout Asia there is disillusionment both with the UN and American policy. The over-all impression of these interviews was of preparation for a long struggle. While maintaining "correct" international attitudes, the Indonesians look more to Asia than to the West.

## Communists Opposed To Cominform Meet

We print below an item that appeared in the January 29 issue of the Socialist Leader of Great Britain, in a column by Wilfred Wigham. It suggests a development of considerable interest and importance. We hope to be able to add more detail in a coming issue of LABOR ACTION.

"It has been known that many Communists, outside of Yugoslavia, have been as firm as Tito in opposition to the Cominform's attempts to rule Communist movements all over the world with a monolithic ideological control.

"Though it attracted slight attention, Communists from Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, Denmark, Sweden and Switzerland recently held a quiet conference in the last-named country, to plan a campaign against Moscow dictatorship.

"The gathering is not to be confused with the Trotskyists, who have long fought 'Stalinism' on tactical grounds.

"The new movement may develop genuine significance, for in many a country considerable numbers of Communists have been awaiting just such a call. In Dortmund, Germany, for example, a group of Communists has asked permission of the British authorities to form an Anti-Soviet Communist Party."



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# WORLD POLITICS

## The Acheson Plan:

One year will shortly have elapsed since the beginning of the European Recovery Program (ERP), the economic aid aspect of the much broader Marshall Plan. The initial \$5 billion fund has now been exhausted or committed and it has therefore become necessary to ask Congress for an additional appropriation of \$5½ billions to carry the ERP through June of 1950. This is the formal explanation behind Secretary of State Acheson's recent statement on the ERP as well as Economic Cooperation Administrator Hoffman's general report on the first year of the program. Of course, the additional billions will be approved by Congress (after a minimum of complaining and criticism). To begin with, much progress has been made from the American standpoint despite possible complaints and, more importantly, it would be out of the question to withdraw from or hedge on such deep commitments.

What kind of progress can be cited? Naturally, ERP tries to take full credit for the undoubted and substantial recovery which western Europe has undergone in the past year. It would appear that this has all been due to the glorious and philanthropic gifts flowing out of America's abundant production! The natural economic forces in Europe, with the rich resources in material and manpower that Europe still possesses, are hardly taken into account. Yet the fact remains that western Europe has achieved a definite and tangible recovery, that it is again a going capitalist economic region, that its productivity is surpassing the bare minimum necessary for life itself and that its economic specific weight in relation to America and eastern Europe has advanced.

In this respect, it has again become possible for the political and ruling groups of eastern Europe to reassert themselves in world affairs and to maintain a certain independence they have not known in many years. It would be absurd to deny this since this factor will greatly influence relations between western Europe and America in the future. It will not be strictly a one-sided affair, thanks to the counterforces and trends which economic advancement has created. And this is something to be thankful for!

#### NATURE AND SCOPE RECOVERY

The recovery referred to can be measured in more specific terms: 1948 factory and mine productivity was about 15 per cent over 1947 and equal to pre-war productivity; steel output equalled that of 1937 and gained 25 per cent over 1947, if we excluded western Germany from the totals; railroad and freight traffic was largely back to normal; crops for the year were 25 per cent above the extremely bad year of 1947 and—with the exception of western Germany which is about to be subjected to an ersatz milk and meat diet experiment, and still strictly rationed England—the general food situation is far superior to previous years. Perhaps the most favorable sign of all was the 20 per cent increase in over-all exports for the Marshall Plan countries, with the general prospect that increased export and tourist trade for 1949 will again be much higher. In general, the picture when viewed objectively would indicate that the recovery potentiality of western Europe, once it was stimulated by the American flow of goods, proved considerably higher than originally expected.

The considerable flow of foods, fertilizer and feed from America in 1948, together with good weather, were responsible for the crop recovery. The quantity of raw materials, semi-finished products, machinery, fuel, etc.—accounting for about 60 per cent of the billions spent—provided the necessary stimulus to set western Europe's productive plant into operation once more. These factors, together with the skill and capacity of the workers, are behind the marked recovery.

Of course, there are many factors on the other side that must be considered. We have written here of re-

covery measured in purely capitalist terms, and not in terms of real needs and distribution. For example, it is already clear that by the time ERP runs out in 1952 few, if any, of the nations involved will have achieved a trade balance and overcome their current dollar shortages and deficits. Very little progress has actually been made toward the abolition of trade barriers and customs boundaries, and east-West European commerce is virtually extinct. Whatever efforts were made at some kind of "economic union" of the participating nations fell flat before the mutual rivalry of the countries involved. Large-scale unemployment persists in Greece and Italy.

From the standpoint of the European people and workers involved, most detrimental is the continuation of inflationary regimes with swollen military budgets that unbalance the entire economy. Thus, in the field of distribution of the gains we have cited, we have the typical disproportions characteristic of capitalist economies. The improved standards of the masses are at a far lower level than that of the rich, the industrialists and the business men.

#### VICTORY FOR U. S. DIPLOMACY

From a political point of view, the U. S. has won a considerable victory in its struggle with Russian expansionism. The recovery achieved has halted both Russian imperialism and the national Stalinist movements which resorted to open sabotage in the struggle against the Marshall Plan. In this respect, the leadership of the countries of western Europe is more dependent upon continued U. S. aid than before; but as we have indicated above this is not unilateral relationship as, for example, is the case when Russian imperialism seizes hold of a foreign country. In this sense, both the temporary halting of Stalinism and the economic recovery are objective results that are highly favorable to the real socialists of western Europe, provided they make use of them.

Acheson, who will manage the new phase of the ERP program, will continue the economic aid in substantially the same way as hitherto. However, his political approach will be more and more a pushing of the Marshall nations towards some form of unity, according to his conception of the term. That is, a partial economic unity to further strengthen the economic recovery achieved, and above all a military unity based upon his proposed North Atlantic pact and other measures. The administration's ideal is a semi-united western Europe, productive and strong, with a coordinated military machine supplied by American arms. This is the essence of the new phase of the Marshall Plan.

Many controversies will develop during this new phase. The pressure of Congressmen for immediate and tangible repayments (in the form of strategic metals and raw materials; privileged trade agreements; forcing unwelcome tax provisions upon the benefiting nations, etc.) will grow. We submit, however, that these are secondary and subordinate factors in the real picture. At this stage of the game, U. S. imperialism does not proceed in that way. The conception of those who conceived of the ERP program as resulting in the outright and clear "enslavement" of western Europe, its governments and peoples by the U. S. has proved to be more than naive. The shrewder and more far-sighted exponents of the "American Century" have other ways of proceeding, and they have not failed as yet.

This is precisely why the revolutionary socialists of Europe must match them in keenness of analysis and program by building their own political approach on the basis of objective facts and not presuppositions. Their struggle must be, in economic terms, for a progressive sharing of the fruits of economic recovery and, in political terms, for the shaping of the coming unification of western Europe in a democratic form rather than the militaristic form which America would like to see.  
Henry JUDD

# Debate Secret Pact Deal--

(Continued from page 1)

Democratic and Republican foreign-policy spokesmen in the Senate, Connally and Vandenberg, on Monday formally repudiated in words any pledge of a "moral commitment."

They managed to leave no doubt, however, that this was being done only in obedience to the Constitution and was not intended to tie the hands of the administration in thoroughly enwinding the U. S. in joint preparations and activities which could only force the hand of Congress if and when the showdown came.

A spokesman for the State Department, Lincoln White, helped out from the administration's side by commenting: "There are no differences on objectives. It is simply a matter of finding the best possible way to meet those objectives."

Asked by reporters whether a moral commitment to jump into war had been asked by the other North Atlantic powers, Acheson replied: "I don't want to talk about those things—anything we can do is cause trouble."

Cause trouble, indeed! The country is witnessing an illuminating example of two characteristics of "enlightened," "internationalist" Washington diplomacy: secret diplomacy and the almost unlimited power of the Executive to involve the country in the steps leading toward war so that the final vote in Congress becomes a formality.

#### SECRET DEBATE

The Senate debate took place without the "representatives of the people" having been vouchsafed even a look at the proposed pact. Connally and Vandenberg alone have been permitted to peep. On the one hand Acheson systematically let it be known in the press that Lange had been told something along these lines (the language is ours): "My dear minister, we can say nothing publicly about commitments because of a slight technical obstacle which should not disturb you but which has to be gotten around in this country: namely, the Constitution. Between you and me, you may rest confident that this technical difficulty will be entirely meaningless if the North Atlantic Pact has to be implemented. The congressmen will beat for the record, but they will raise their

hands obediently when that time comes. I cannot commit the U. S. but I can commit the secret policy of the administration, and that will be enough."

Then, on the other hand, the same Acheson tells the people: "I don't want to talk about those things—all they can do is cause trouble"...for the secret alliances and deals of the government made behind the backs of the people.

From a quite different angle other disagreement with the tactics of the State Department has been expressed in U. S. top circles. This bears upon the advisability (from the viewpoint of U. S. imperialism itself) of pressuring the Scandinavian countries to join the North Atlantic Pact. The counter-view (expressed among others by Sumner Welles and Walter Lippman) is that the U. S. should instead let the Scandinavian countries form their own pact, formally independent of the other but "sympathetic" to it, and leave the door open for other regional alliances which would not put the question of "U. S. or Russia?" quite so brutally.

In this way a Scandinavian alliance, for example, could appear to be "independent" of Washington (in the eyes of its own people, in the first place) but could actually be dependent on to become an integral part of the Western front led by the United States whenever its formal "independence" lost usefulness. (Such a tactic would also be calculated to save the consciences of American "liberals" and "internationalists.")

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Correspondent in Japan Reviews Election Background, Party Policies

# Rightists Are Victorious in Japanese Elections

By TAKEYO YAMABE

The third General Election to the House of Representatives that has taken place since the end of the war was held on January 23. Pre-election activity was carried on for no more than the minimum time permitted by the election law (that is, 40 days), which was further interrupted by the intervention of the New Year's holiday. Furthermore, under the new system for the administration of election procedure, which was put into practice for the first time, freedom of action was severely limited, and consequently a generally poor turnout was expected.

In addition, the people, who had been witnessing a succession of scandals since last August and the obscene spectacle of factional strife that had been continuing for over two months between the Liberal Democratic government, which wanted to dissolve the Diet, and the opposition parties (the Socialists and Democrats), who were attempting to delay the dissolution as long as possible, felt even more acutely its despair, distrust and dissatisfaction with politics.

However, a count of the ballots showed a 74.1 per cent turnout of the electorate (80.7 per cent of all eligible men and 68 per cent of all eligible women), better than that of April, 1947 (67.9 per cent of the total electorate). The average temperature for January, 41 degrees Fahrenheit, was the warmest on record since the establishment of the Meteorological Observatory in 1875, and the evening of Sunday, January 23, was particularly fine. Nevertheless, pre-election activity was at an all-time low. Yet the fact that in spite of this there was a big turnout at first gave a hopeful impression tending to support the notion of general faith in democratic government.

## Factors in Vote

A rise in popularity on the part of the Liberal Democratic and Communist Parties was expected by all, but the leap they took was something at which even they themselves were amazed.

Immediately before the election all observers estimated that the Liberal Democrats would get 200 to 220 seats, the Democrats 70 to 80, the Socialists 80 to 90, and the Communists 10 to 20. The unexpected fall of the Socialist Party and the unanticipated rise of the Liberal Democratic and Communist Parties created a thoroughly sensational impression. However, the people's choice was far more careful and their criticism far more severe than the intelligentsia thought.

What the people are looking for more than anything else is "stability of government." What has hurt them more than anything else since the end of the war has been the skyrocketing inflation, the instability of the economy, and the general insecurity of life. The hopes they cherished of freeing themselves from these calamities were betrayed through the weakness of the Democratic and Socialist-Democratic coalition governments that have been governing the country for the last 21 months. The political weakness of these governments were displayed on every economic or social problem, making it clear that these politicians were incapable of coping with inflation or stabilizing the economy.

In particular, the disunity of the Socialist Party, the principal force in the government, invited "political instability" and governmental paralysis whenever a problem arose. Not only did the Socialist Party fail to satisfy the demands of the working class; it also filled the middle class with despair and disillusionment. The people wanted a stronger government and more stable politics.

To this was added a series of scandals in which the Socialist Party was also involved, so that the outcome of the present election constituted a double-barreled protest that exploded in the Socialist Party. In particular, the tactics of the Socialist Party leadership in attempting to prevent the dissolution of the Diet following the establishment of the Yoshida Cabinet

Takeyo Yamabe joined the Communist Party of Japan in 1925. He was imprisoned in 1928, released in 1930, but did not rejoin the party. He remained a socialist but at the same time became increasingly critical of the CP. In 1938-42 he was a government analyst, specializing in Russian economy. In 1942 he was arrested by the Tojo government and remained in prison for two years without trial. Since the war he has been chief editor of a publishing house specializing in labor and socialist literature. Though belonging to no party, he is closest to the anti-Stalinist left wingers in the Socialist Party of Japan.

The article below is printed exclusively in LABOR ACTION. There are several important differences of opinion between Takeyo Yamabe and LABOR ACTION. However, we feel that our readers will find this first-hand report exceptionally interesting both for its information on the election and its illustration of political thinking in Japanese socialist circles today.—Ed.

(reactionary government of the Liberal Democratic Parties—Ed.) last year savored of such rank factionalism that the last remaining shreds of public confidence in the Socialist Party were torn away. The fact that Party Chairman Katayama and former Cabinet members such as Nishio, Nomizo, Kato, Nagae, Fumiyoshi and others were defeated for re-election is evidence of the public's severely critical attitude toward the Socialist Party.

Even before the election the number of Socialist deputies had shrunk from 143 to 111. In the first split, 20 members of the right wing formed the Social Reform Party; and in the second split, which took place late last year, 12 members of the left wing organized themselves into the Farmer-Labor Party. In this election the number of the former was reduced to five and that of the latter to seven, while the Socialist Party itself was reduced to 49 seats, less than half of its original representation. Some former socialist votes went to the Communists, while the majority went to the Liberal Democrats. The Liberal Democratic Party took away most of the votes of the Socialists and some of those of the Democrats and the Popular Cooperatives. These may be considered the fluid votes of the members of the middle class.

## CP Nets Gains

For the Communist Party the conditions of the electoral battle were supremely favorable. Neither the brevity of the campaigning period nor the various limitations of the electoral system could constitute a handicap to a group so well organized. On the contrary, these two conditions, which did constitute a handicap for the other political parties, were an advantage for the Communists. Furthermore, as the only political party having no connection with the recent wave of scandals, they were able to utilize this factor to the fullest.

Their other ally in this campaign was the tax situation. The standard of living, in comparison with that of a year ago, is somewhat higher, and since last October there has been a rise—although slight—in the real wages of the working class. In contrast to this, the pressure of direct and indirect taxation has increased tremendously. Of the 60 yen paid for a package of cigarettes more than 55 yen goes to taxes; of the 1,000 yen paid for a "sho" (1,588 quarts of sake (rice wine) over 900 yen goes to taxes; and the tax on admission fees to places of amusement has more than doubled.

The CP's election campaign actually began early last year with an attack on this problem. In their final broadcast on the evening of January 21, Nozaka (Central Committee) concentrated entirely on the wave of scandals, while Tokuda (secretary-general) concentrated on the tax situation.

# Celebrate 29 Years Service By League for Mutual Aid

NEW YORK—Twenty-nine years of continuous service to men and women in the labor, liberal and progressive movements facing emergencies will be celebrated by the League for Mutual Aid at a dinner in the King Arthur Restaurant, 405 West 23rd Street, on Friday, March 4. Reservations are \$3.75 and may be made at the League office, 104 Fifth Ave. No fund appeal will be made at the dinner.

National in scope, the League for Mutual Aid is non-political, non-partisan and draws no line of color or creed in rendering service. It grants loans without interest or red tape, finds jobs without a fee, wangles needed overcoats, helps individuals in a great variety of economic troubles.

Steady increase in applications for loans and aid in finding new jobs in recent months is reported by Adelaide Schulkind, the League's executive secretary.

"Our office is in effect a temperature chart of unemployment in the United States," said Miss Schulkind. "We first began to notice the present trend early last summer. As always, layoffs in industry bring emergencies for workers and their dependents—illness, accidents and other unforeseen difficulties arise.

"The tight pinch of personnel cuts is being felt not only by manual workers, but by many persons who lately have been pushed out of executive jobs. Repeatedly this winter we have had occasion to help war veterans whose allowances have been inordinately held up in Washington. Conscientious objectors coming out of prison are among those we have served. And often we have aided displaced persons from war-torn countries, here, not yet adjusted to their new life here."

## Party Strength in Japan

Party	Present Representation in Seats	Former Representation in Seats
Liberal Democratic	264	131
Democratic	68	121
Socialist	49	143
Popular Cooperative	14	29
Communist	35	4
Others	36	38
<b>Total</b>	<b>466</b>	<b>466</b>

Tokuda said: "The Communist Party is confident that it can lower the price of a package of cigarettes from 60 yen to 10 yen and that of a 'sho' of sake from 1,000 yen to 150 yen." He added: "70 per cent of current prices goes for taxes," just the sort of propaganda likely to appeal to the Japanese masses.

It would not be amiss to mention that the success of the Chinese Communist Party has had its influence. The American press and foreign correspondents in Tokyo have been stressing this, and Red Flag (the CP daily) has been giving day-to-day reports on the Chinese situation. Posting bills in the streets has been forbidden, but the CP published the "New China Cablegram" in leaflet form in the guise of a newspaper extra, and posted it on street corners to the accompaniment of loud cheers for the Chinese Communists. The establishment of Communist rule over China was worth a million additional votes to the Japanese Communist Party. It is an undeniable fact that the Japanese people, as yet lacking mature political judgment and predisposed to follow the big and the strong, were influenced by this situation.

But what really attracted them to the CP was the wave of scandals and the tax situation, since their concern for international affairs is not that great. If they were more informed about international affairs, they would react with hostility to the Soviet Union's policies, to conditions in the Eastern European countries, and the Communist Party's universal use of violence. They know nothing of the true nature of Soviet and Communist policy, but have been victimized by demagogues. However, it is more than likely that the leadership of the trade unions, student groups and the intelligentsia have been influenced by events in China.

## Woo Middle Class

As soon as the Diet was adjourned, the CP set up one candidate apiece in each of the nation's 170 electoral districts and launched a concerted campaign. In comparison with the campaigns conducted by other parties, which contributed to their own confusion by setting up two to five candidates in each district, theirs was quite effective. In three of Tokyo's seven electoral districts, in three of Osaka's five and in two of Kanagawa's three, Communists had a plurality. Of the 35 Communist deputies in the new Diet, 10 had clear pluralities.

Two years ago Sambetsu (National Congress of Industrial Organizations) openly supported the Communist Party, but this year, in view of the formation of the Democratic League within Sambetsu, this was impossible. The organization left the question of political allegiance to the individual union members. Thus the CP, unable to obtain the open support of the labor movement, concentrated all its effort on winning over the middle class and the intelligentsia. To the first it offered a solution to the tax problem; to the last, slogans of "peace and national independence."

Beginning last summer, the party organized fellow-travelerish groups such as the League for the Preservation of Democracy and the Society for the Preservation of Japanese Culture. During the campaign it worked on writers and artists, staging a convention "against fascism and war," publishing manifestoes, etc. On January 14 Yuriko Chujo, Koreto Kurahara and Shigeharu Nakano (all party members) were the principal figures in a writers' conference; on January 21 a Congress of anti-fascist intellectuals convened in Tokyo. Between the end of last year and this January, famous writers, artists, scholars and educators were joining the CP by the droves.

Red Flag reported these events daily in bold type and gave a big play to the rush of intellectuals into the Communist Party. It need hardly be mentioned that this propaganda had a powerful effect on the general run of students and intellectuals. Of the 35 Communists elected, the overwhelming majority are members of the intelligentsia, while only three or four, all veteran party members, are of the working class.

## Rely on Working Class

On election day I stood in front of an election bulletin board by a newspaper house in Kanda, the heart of the student quarter in Tokyo. There were several hundred students gathered at the spot. Each time the number of Communist deputies went up, first from 17 to 20, later to 25, a cheer went up from among the crowd. When I saw a group of Japanese, who normally eschew all public displays

of emotion, greeting Communist victories with applause, I realized that the majority of the student population had voted Communist.

Yoshida's Liberal Democratic Party is universally regarded as a party of the extreme right. However, it would be premature to look upon him as another de Gaulle.

The Katayama and Ashida governments (SDP and Democratic Party coalitions) were unable to check the Communist Party's disruptive tactics and extricated themselves from every embarrassing situation only by appealing to the occupation authorities. In the face of the Communist offensive they were powerless and in their relations with the Army of Occupation they were obsequious and servile. The abortive general strike of February, 1947, the Zenkanko strike of March, 1948, and the would-be nationwide strike of August, 1948, all Communist-led (the February 1, 1947, strike was a united working class action, the last such in the post-war period. The SDP supported it.—Ed.), were all stopped by the intervention of the army of occupation. In all matters, great and small, the former governments were in the habit of consulting the army of occupation, a fact which did not enhance their popularity with the Japanese people. They lacked a "self," so to speak.

Of all the active politicians, Yoshida is regarded as the most self-possessed, courageous personality. For better or for worse our people have placed their reliance on Yoshida as a "more forceful statesman."

## Socialist Duty

In the wake of a great war no country can escape political instability. But no nation can endure a protracted state of instability. After World War I both Germany and France regained their stability within about five years. Now in the fourth year since the end of World War II, what is desired by France and Japan both the worst victims of "political instability," is "political stability." This desire will probably become even stronger as time goes on. The victory of the Liberal Democratic Party is an expression of it. This is not because the people have evinced a desire for "dictatorship." The only reason is that, disgusted with the dismemberment of the political organism into mutually conflicting parties of approximately equal strength and with the "political instability" of coalition governments, they want a more stable parliamentary government, a government with a little more consistency.

The post-war reconstruction of a defeated country is not a problem that will find its solution overnight, whatever party forms the government. Whatever the party in power, it cannot but become the scapegoat for popular despair and indignation. As long as this is true, the Communist Party will probably always be in a favored position, always ready to reap the harvest of this despair and indignation. Popular despair vis-a-vis the CP will not develop until the CP itself has been in power for a time. But by that time it will be too late to do anything about it. The transfer of allegiance to some other party because the policies of the CP have become unpopular will already have become an impossibility.

At present the Communist Party is being borne upward by a favorable current, which it will continue to exploit. As long as the true nature of Communism is not understood, the conditions for the continued exploitation of such a situation remain unimpaired. Unfortunately the Japanese people are unacquainted with the true face of Communism. The conditions that may bring the Communists to power have not yet been eliminated.

But, on the other hand, the Communist Party has come off the byways onto the highways. The duty of taking full advantage of this opportunity to expose and criticize the CP now rests squarely on the shoulders of Japanese democratic socialists. One of the reasons for the collapse of the Socialist Party was its failure to attend to this duty. The time has come for democratic socialists to take its first step forward; this is the point from which it must begin.

(Translated by Leo Del Monte)

This interpretation is open to question in part. While many middle class votes undoubtedly went to the Liberal Democrats, there is some evidence that the largest shift of Social-Democratic votes was probably toward the Socialists, particularly among the workers. The SDP vote declined from 7,170,000 to 4,129,000, or by about 3,041,000. Some of this

went to the split-off right and left groups. The CP vote rose from about 800,000 to three million, or an increase of over two million. Most of this increase occurred in former SDP strongholds such as the port city of Yokohama, the first and second working class districts of Tokyo and the industrial city of Osaka.—Ed.

The Democratic Leagues are anti-Stalinist factions inside the unions which first organized around programs of democratization after the failure of the February 1, 1947, general strike. Their formation forced the Stalinized leadership of Sambetsu to acknowledge that relations between ranks and leadership were not democratic. The CP's position in Japanese unions is one of top control with little penetration of the ranks. The Leagues have become quite powerful in several key unions. Their leadership is an amalgam of left SDPers, non-partisans and semi-syndicalist elements.—Ed.

# Why They Confess --

The mystery of why they confess in Stalinland will probably not be entirely solved until the brutal autocracy is overthrown by the people. Meanwhile conjecture and speculation are rife. But in not all cases is there a mystery involved. In fact, the probability is that in most cases confessions are obtained by the traditional knout and club-human torture which has a well-founded basis in the notorious frailty of the body.

A story which somehow slipped through the censorship in Czechoslovakia last week is in all likelihood a description of the "normal" method of Stalinist justice of "trial by confession." The story appeared in the New York Herald-Tribune on February 11.

"A mother and a son have charged before a state court here that Czech police used third-degree methods to obtain confessions of guilt in an alleged conspiracy against the Communist regime.

"Lubomir Panek, twenty-four, declared he was beaten over the head by police until his head was covered with blood. He asked that his cell-mate be called as a witness to the beating. The court refused the request and promptly granted a demand by the state prosecutor that Mr. Panek be tried on the additional charge of 'insulting the police.'"

"His mother, Mrs. Olga Pankova, said a confession was obtained from her only on threats that her eighty year old mother would be arrested.

"Similar charges were made by several others of the twenty-nine defendants, who are on trial as members of an allegedly subversive organization called the 'Erkivie' . . . Mr. Panek will be tried on the charge of 'insulting the police' in a separate proceeding," presumably in secret.

This little story tells a great deal indeed not only about Stalinist police and law practice but also about the opposition in the new "peoples democracies."

# Russia Arrests Strong --

(Continued from page 1)

launch World War II. If all this is the work of an American agent, then the U.S. Secret Service ought to demand its money back.

It is clear that her "notoriety," as claimed by Tass, had not yet penetrated to local Stalinist circles, which were caught as surprised and flustered as the next man. When this reporter called the Daily Worker for comment the answer was extremely curt and definite: No statement!

In the recent period Miss Strong has been most closely identified with the American Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy, which has published a number of her articles in its periodical, Spotlight, and only two weeks ago brought out her latest book, "Tomorrow's China." (This book was serialized in the Daily Worker.) Miss Maude Russell, secretary of the group, had this to say: "Miss Strong's connections with our committee are as a reporter on China. Her writings are very valuable to the American people. We intend to continue to circulate her book." Confusion, chagrin and consternation were evident in the tone and content of this statement. Another perfectly good "front" has been stabbed in the back.

## PROPAGANDA FOR MAO

In the last two to three years, and on many previous occasions, Miss Strong has covered the Chinese Stalinist front for various agencies, most recently and currently for the worldwide Stalinist news service, Allied Labor News. She is the only reporter to have interviewed Mao Tse-tung in recent months and the only reporter to be permitted to roam about Manchuria since the Russian occupation began in 1945. At one time, when Chinese CP headquarters was in Yenan, the welcome mat was out and Mao was always at hand to tell his romantic life story to every reporter

who could break through the Kuomintang cordon. But this is no longer so.

Since 1945 Miss Strong is the only one to have made public interviews, not only with Mao, but with most of the other top Chinese CP leaders. Manchuria and Stalinist China are now closed to foreign correspondents. With the exit of Agnes Smedley and Gunther Stein and the departure of Edgar Snow for what appears to be semi-permanent New York residence, Miss Strong has been the chief external propagandist for Chinese Stalinism. Since 1946 she has been identified not so much with Russia or Stalinism in particular as in her earlier exploits, but with the Chinese party.

In her latest book, "Tomorrow's China," and in an essay published in the defunct magazine, "Amerasia," Miss Strong writes of Mao and of the CP leadership with the adulation usually reserved for Stalin alone. What is more, she attributes to Mao the distinction of being the sole new contributor to Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism and of having developed a uniquely felicitous program for China which "extends" these theories to the special situation of that "backward country."

Incidentally, in a speech delivered on January 17, 1949, which has been reprinted as a pamphlet entitled "Chinese Lessons for American Marxists," Earl Browder points to this distinctiveness of Chinese CP theory, its "exceptionalism" as the reason for its success. He quotes from several of Miss Strong's articles in support of his thesis that Mao Tse-tung's policy has been to develop a particular line for Chinese Communism, to Chinese Marxism and Leninism." (Page 9.) Browder quotes extensively from "The Thought of Mao-Tse-tung," by A. L. Strong. Browder was purged for just such an exceptionalist approach in the U.S.

# CP Trial Policy --

(Continued from page 1)

members or sympathizers.

A minor mystery was Wilkerson's refusal to testify whether or not he was a CP member while serving as the party's educational director in Washington and Baltimore a few years ago. This refusal on constitutional grounds, came after the educator has testified that he is a party member at present.

The vociferous protests of the defense at the curtailment of evidence on the jury system seems to indicate that they consider the ruling a major setback. Instead of a merely delaying tactic, of which Judge Medina has many times accused the five defense attorneys, the fight to quash the indictment on these grounds appears to be the chief strategy of the defendants. Getting to the heart of the case, the legality of the Smith Act, is evidently the last thing the Communist Party wishes to do.

This conclusion is borne out by CP activities outside the courtroom. Until now, at least, all party propaganda has centered on the jury system. It is the chief topic in the Daily Worker and in pamphlets distributed at the courthouse. The American Labor Party has taken up the issue and it has even reached the U. S. Senate floor through a speech by Senator Langer.

A special organization, headed by Paul Robeson and Ben Gold, has been formed, not to fight the Smith Act, but that the defendants are entitled to that to revise the jury system. Granted that the defendants are entitled to use every legal technicality to fight for their freedom, it is begging the central question from a civil liberties viewpoint if they are not prepared and even eager to test the constitutionality of the notorious Smith Act, which permits conviction for "conspiracy to advocate" overthrow of the government.

Even more damaging to the CP, in a political and propaganda sense, has been the trial of Cardinal Mindszenty

in Budapest by the Hungarian Communist court. This trial, with its bizarre confessions that revive memories of the infamous Russian frame-up confessions of the Old Bolsheviks in 1936-38, has excited protests throughout the world and relegated the trial of the CP leaders to a minor place in the press.

The American capitalist spokesmen have not been tardy in seizing upon the Mindszenty trial as a contrast to the proceedings in the Federal district court here. Governor Thomas E. Dewey used it as a central point in a speech denouncing the trial.

That the official capitalist propaganda bandwagon should get up full steam on the question is to be expected. With characteristic dishonest sophistry, they avoid the fact Mindszenty was tried in a court operated under a totalitarian government which is not expected by anyone, even Stalinists, to give a fair trial.

The Smith Act, which runs counter to all the declarations of the freedom of man expressed so solemnly in our state documents, is an example of the perversion of the Constitution and past interpretations of the Constitution by the Supreme Court.

No trial in Budapest will change this fact, which is the central issue before suave and jesting Judge Medina. Eighteen members of the Socialist Workers Party served sentences in Federal penitentiaries without getting a definitive decision from the Supreme Court on the constitutionality of the Smith Act.

It is unfortunate that the present defendants come from a party that seems unwilling to test the law. They come into court with a tarnished record of support of trials staged by their Russian leaders, with a personal record of support of the Smith Act when it was used against Trotskyists, and from an organization whose principles and methods are the antithesis of honesty, democracy and justice.

Now there have been rumors of serious differences in the top echelons of the Chinese party. First there was reported to be discontent with the Russian looting of Manchurian industry—which today is an enormous obstacle to economic reconstruction, for which the Chinese CP must take responsibility. Also the Russians appear to have established "mixed companies" for control of the products of what remains of Manchurian industry and agriculture. Proposals of this kind were associated with the Tito-Stalin split (see The New Internationalist, Oct.-Nov. 1948).

Miss Strong reports in her latest book that after stripping the industries the Russians closed their Siberian frontier against the Chinese Stalinist armies and trade. Sections of the Chinese leadership are not at all happy about the stranglehold the Russians have obtained in the Northeast. From 75 to 80 per cent of all Chinese industry was in Manchuria. Industrially all the rest of China is not a very great prize compared with this. Without Manchuria, efforts at reconstruction must start from what is practically zero.

There seem to be several other evidences of conflict between Russian and Chinese Stalinism. One can well imagine, for example, the dismay when the discredited Nanking government was able to announce its negotiations with Russia, over the head of the Chinese CP, to give Russia an economic monopoly over Sinkiang, largest province in Northwest China. For behind the screen of CP victories the Russians have been the real victors through a policy of dismemberment which makes it increasingly difficult for the Chinese party to parade as patriots without attacking Russia.

What is more important, Nanking has received an unearned respite through these stab-in-the-back tactics of the Russians. Much of the mystery of why the CP armies have deliberately refrained from taking Nanking and Shanghai is probably explicable in the light of these events. Russian policy seems to be to attempt to prevent a Tito-like development in this party, which, like the Yugoslavian, is capturing power under its own steam.

## WARNING TO CP'S

Anna Louise Strong has become the chief propagandist for this party and a close associate of its leadership. If she is not an American agent, and she is not charged with being one, she might be considered a Chinese agent. Perhaps not a spy; but then she is also accused of "subversive activity." This would also explain the public attack on "certain (Russian) foreign relations officials." For it may be that Miss Strong was acting as a courier to groups in the Russian Foreign Ministry, from the Chinese party, who favor a different attitude toward the party. The Tass announcement would serve as a warning to such people.

It would also be a public demonstration of Russian displeasure and a warning to the Chinese leadership. It would serve as a signal to all Communist Parties to tone down and begin to be critical of the Chinese party and of Mao Tse-tung. This would also explain the peculiar nature of the action. Instead of treating the alleged spy as a spy—that is, trying her in court—she is denounced and expelled. Surely if she were a U.S. spy who had so thoroughly concealed herself these many years, she could not receive help from that quarter. Or, if a trial was inadvisable, she could have been disposed of quietly as was Julia Stuart Poyntz. Instead we have a great fanfare which is best explained at this moment as a deliberate and pointed warning to the Chinese party by means of ejecting its agent.

The truth in such matters is hard to come by. The monolithic front of Stalinism betrays no differences until the festering sore has become an irrevocable schism. The explanation attempted here is admittedly speculative. Nevertheless it seems to cover all of the known facts. Future developments may provide a better basis for judgment.