

'La Pasionaria' on the Pan?

Spanish CP Heads Tagged as Titoist

PARIS, Nov. 19.—The newspaper Franc-Tireur today revealed further developments within the leadership of the Spanish Communist Party pointing to Titoist stirrings in its ranks, in addition to the expulsion of the general secretary, Joan Comera, of the Stalinist party (PSUC) of Catalonia.

News has been received of another confab of Spanish CP leaders in Paris, to be held next Thursday. Leading personalities in the party will be on the carpet: Anton, who has been

in actual fact the general secretary of the Spanish CP; General Lister, best-known of the Spanish Stalinist military chiefs; and Luis Fernandez, Valentin Gonzales ("El Campesino") another military leader, has recently escaped from Moscow, thus breaking with the party.

About ten days ago, Del Barrio, Catalan Stalinist leader, former member of the politburo and former secretary of the CGT unions of Catalonia, published an article in L'Espagne Combattante (published by ex-Loyalist President Negrin) in which he vigorously reaffirmed his solidarity with the Yugoslav Stalinist fighters in the international bridges in Spain. Titoism marches on in the Spanish Stalinist movement.

Wash. Papers Reject Anti-A & P Advertisements

This is a short story on the "free press" in America—and what it is free from. The background is the government's anti-trust suit against the A&P food chain.

When the government first instituted action, the A&P pleaded guilty to serious violations of the anti-trust laws and paid fines totalling \$175,000. This penny-ante slap on the wrist did not stop the company from continuing its practices of driving competitors out of business through monopolistic combinations. More recently, new action has been brought by the Department of Justice to get the courts to break the chain up into smaller units.

Thereupon the A&P started a nation-wide campaign with full-page ads in newspapers all over the country. In response, the National Federation of Independent Business (a small businessmen's outfit) decided to do the same to present the case against the A&P. It approached all four of the daily papers in Washington, D. C., with copy for such an ad and money to pay for it.

Three of the four refused to print it. Only one, the Scripps-Howard tabloid News, did print it—but don't hasten to cheer till reading further.

After the story was broken and a glare of publicity was fixed upon it, the three papers claimed that they had rejected the ad because it was "libelous," although papers in four other cities had carried it without question. The Washington representative of the small businessmen, Burger, gave them the lie direct, declaring that none of the three had ever mentioned the word libel in connection with the ad. The Washington Post and Times-Herald had given no reason for rejecting it; the Star had hypocritically replied that it did not "permit any advertiser to discredit the advertising of another."

And the fourth, the News, which DID print the ad?

A sensational revelation in the Louisville Courier-Journal quotes an unnamed executive of the News as explaining why that paper accepted the anti-A&P ad:

"It's perfectly clear why we published Burger's reply and the three other papers refused to do so. The other three get grocery advertising from A&P every week. We don't get any."

"I have no doubt whatever that if we carried A&P ads regularly, we also would have refused Burger's ad. However, if you quote me by name on this, I will take an oath that I was sick in bed at the time you did your telephoning, that I never heard of you in my life."

Let It Percolate Thru

Why is the price of coffee increasing?

So that big food processors like General Foods Corporation can continue making record high profits?

In the past month, General Foods raised the price of coffee by seven cents a pound.

And—in the third quarter of 1949 the profits of General Foods increased by 25 per cent over the same period in 1948.

Looks like another big year for General Foods in 1950.

NEXT WEEK

A report on the recent national convention of the American Veterans Committee

Court Voids Feinberg Law—Unconstitutional

New York State's "anti-subversive" Feinberg Law, aimed especially at teachers, was declared unconstitutional on November 28 in a decision of the state Supreme Court which strikes another blow at legislative witchhunts and purge campaigns.

The test cases were brought by the Communist Party and by a group of teachers, and the decision was delivered by Supreme Court Justice Harry E. Schirick. The state attorney general will appeal. The court's ruling not only knocks out the Feinberg Law but also implicitly strikes at New York's 1939 Devany Law, which has never been tested. The Feinberg Law had directed the Board of Regents to draw up a list of "subversive organizations" and made membership in any of these organizations grounds for disqualification for teaching. The Regents have held a hearing but no list has ever been promulgated pending the outcome of the court tests.

Judge Schirick's ruling parallels that of Judge Sherbow in knocking out Maryland's Ober Law. Its terms not only, by implication, expose the anti-democratic aims of New York's legislators but also bear heavily on the Truman government's system of "anti-subversive lists" put out by the federal attorney general's office.

"The issue," said the court, "is not whether there is a constitutional right to teach, but whether the ground asserted for denying this right or privilege, whatever it is, is one which is protected by the Constitution against legislative encroachment."

The Feinberg Law, said the judge, is invalid because it does not set up "any test bearing reasonable relation to the fitness of an applicant or incumbent to teach our children," and because it is a bill of attainder—that is, "a legislative act which inflicts punishment without a judicial trial." Bills of attainder are specifically ruled out by the Bill of Rights.

GUILT BY ASSOCIATION HIT

"In the opinion of the court, this statute fails entirely in establishing a definite standard of prescribed conduct. It is a 'dragnet' which may enmesh anyone who agitates for a change of government."

"From what has been said it follows that the only factual basis for disqualification under the statute is the fact of membership in an organization. As to the individual no proof of illegal purpose is required. Nor need an unlawful purpose or act of his organization be proven as against him. Membership alone is sufficient. This is 'guilt by association' with a vengeance."

"The court," added Judge Schirick, "finds it hard to believe that it is necessary to resort to witchhunting in our schools to replace misfits. Necessary or not, the Feinberg Law cannot be the solution, because it is an answer which the legislature, under the Constitution, is powerless to provide."

The expectation is that both the Feinberg Law and Maryland's Ober Law will travel up to the Supreme Court for final decision. However, the New York Court of Appeals will get the Feinberg Law next.

Allies Offer Dismantling Deal—

U. S., Russia Woo German Sentiment Bonn Conservatives Bar Schumacher, Socialist Leader, from Parliament

The battle for Germany continues. Blockade and airlift have given way to more delicate weapons. The policy of both the Russian and the occupation rulers seems to be one of trying to win the Germans by granting "concessions." Both sides are feeling their way in this dangerous game. The problem for both is: How much can we grant without giving the German people, or the German governments, so much real independence and power that they can stand on their own feet?

The West German Federation was set up, and the Russians countered with their "German People's Republic." The latter have gone a step further with amnesty for all minor Nazis. It seems that they are also going to transform the East Zone "people's cops" into regular soldiers.

Washington fears that this will be followed by a speedy withdrawal of the uniformed Russian army from East German soil. For this would obviously confront the Western powers with a very ticklish problem. The German people will say: If Russian totalitarianism can withdraw its army, why can't the democracies, who are supposed to believe in freedom, withdraw theirs?

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Though the various concessions by (Continued on page 4)

The spokesman and leader of the German Social-Democratic Party, Dr. Kurt Schumacher, has been barred from the Parliament of the newly formed German government in Bonn for 20 days for having denounced the agreement made between the Allies and this same government. Schumacher referred to the reactionary Chancellor Adenauer as a "liar" and labeled him "Chancellor of the Allies" as a result of the agreement he had just signed with America and the other Western nations.

Strange indeed is it how rapidly and with what impudence the leaders of the conservative Christian Democratic Party (whose victory in the election was hailed by the U. S. press as a victory for the "democratic forces") resort to arbitrary and totalitarian measures to down criticism! The charges of Schumacher evidently touched sore spots in their political anatomy.

The point of the agreement which Schumacher had subjected to his most withering criticism was that dealing with Adenauer's willingness to participate as a member in the International Authority for the Ruhr, that committee of the Western powers which now controls and regulates Ruhr production. The Socialists have fought against any recognition to this Ruhr Authority and have demanded recognition of the Ruhr as a sovereign part of German economy and national resources, together with its nationalization in the interests of the whole nation.

By agreeing to participate in this body, the Bonn government is, in effect, recognizing the seizure of the Ruhr by the Western powers and their right to maintain control over the enormous production of this area. Schumacher, in recognizing and denouncing this fact, will have the support of the German people.

The struggle for Germany now becomes centered in the struggle between the Christian Democrats and the Socialists of that country itself. If the Socialists pursue their campaign against the Western Allied-Bonn agreement, they bid fair to grow in strength and power, with the prospect of becoming the leaders of the nation.

French Labor Stages General Strike

24-Hour Walkout Effective in Industry; SP Plays Both Sides of Fence

By SAUL BERG
PARIS, Nov. 26.—For the first time in 11 years France has witnessed a 24-hour general strike.

The strike was precipitated by the categorical refusal of the government to meet the most pressing demands of the unions. The unions demand a general wage raise of 3,000 francs a month (\$8) under the present system of government wage-fixing, to give way as soon as possible to free collective bargaining with the employers. The government gave a raise only to the lowest-paid workers (about 10 per cent of the labor force) for one month only, and then proceeded to draw up a program for collective bargaining of such a nature as to threaten the very foundations of labor's freedom.

The program calls for compulsory arbitration thus outlawing freedom to strike, a freedom which is explicitly mentioned in the constitution of France's Fourth Republic. Workers who refuse to abide by the decisions of the arbitration councils are subject to discharge, loss of holiday pay and other benefits; employers lose the right to execute contracts for the state and are ineligible for election to various honorary bodies. Thus, aside from the fact that the present complexion of the French government guarantees arbitration councils with an outlook opposed to wage raises, the employers are subject to less severe penalties in any case.

WHY THEY STRUCK

Another feature of the proposed labor code fixes the legal minimum

Independent Committee Formed To Investigate Curran NMU Bossism

Liberal Group Warns Curran To Ensure Union Democracy

NEW YORK, Nov. 30.—Prominent liberals in New York City, headed by Norman Thomas, constituting a Committee of Independent Citizens, will investigate the NMU internal fight, follow its development and report its findings to the CIO and the general public. The committee announces that it does not presume to go into "the original merits of the controversy between factions" but preliminary investigation finds "no substantial proof of a Communist plot against the union."

The committee, composed of well-known opponents of the Communist Party, does find "considerable evidence of flagrant violations of the union constitution and the rights of members." It calls for settlement of the internal dispute by democratic decision of the union's membership. It requests both sides to utilize the services of the Honest Ballot Association at the union's membership meeting Thursday night, to which it will send observers, and it appeals to the Police Department "to act as agents of law and order and not of any faction or its leader."

In setting itself the simple task of investigating facts and reporting the truth, this committee is performing a service for the labor movement. The curtain of lies covering a campaign of terror and dictatorship may soon be lifted. Let the whole labor movement see what is beneath.

Statement by Independent Citizens Committee

This committee of independent citizens has been profoundly concerned by the violence and disorder attending the recent meeting of the National Maritime Union in New York City and by the miniature civil war which has raged around the headquarters. We have examined such evidence as we could get from both factions.

On the basis of this preliminary inquiry, we find no substantial proof of a Communist plot against the union. We find, however, considerable evidence of flagrant violations of the union constitution and the rights of members during the factional struggle.

Into the original merits of the controversy between factions we do not presume to go. The effort of any group, however, to take over a great union by violence concerns the integrity of the CIO, the reputation of the City of New York, and the efficiency of its police. Any conceivable effort of the Communists to regain control of the union would be furthered, and not hindered, by the resort to violence, and the public welfare will suffer.

Hence we appeal to both factions scrupulously to observe the rules of public order and their own union constitution, at the meeting on Thursday. We are asking both sides to request the Honest Ballot Association, which has frequently supervised votes in the NMU, to supervise any votes that may be taken at this meeting. We appeal to the Police Department to act as agents of law and order and not of any faction or its leader. To this end, we are seeking the active support of the mayor's office.

It is our intention, ourselves, to have observers at the meeting, and we shall report to the public and to President Murray of the CIO. It is inconceivable that that great organization will countenance the use by any faction of methods characteristic of Communist and fascist attempts to acquire or hold power.

Signed:

- NORMAN THOMAS, Chairman
- DR. ROBERT SEARLE, Human Relations Committee, Protestant Council
- REV. MARSHALL L. SCOTT, Presbyterian Institute of Human Relations
- DOROTHY DAY, Catholic Worker
- GEORGE RUNDQUIST, American Civil Liberties Union
- ALBERT HERLING, Unitarian Fellowship for Social Justice

Curran Imports Goons to Seize Hall from Ranks

NEW YORK, Nov. 28.—Joe Curran, would-be dictator of the National Maritime Union now engaged in a fight to throttle all democracy in his union and straitjacket the near-unanimous New York port membership which opposes him, took over the union hiring hall late Thanksgiving night, taking it away from the port rank and file. Having failed to rally any section of the membership to his support, he had to use as his forces two hundred supporters combed off the beaches from outside ports.

His imported troops amount, in effect, to a terror band. He is dipping deep into the union treasury, paying his squads more than \$3,000 a day to guarantee their loyalty.

They moved into a deserted hall, left vacant by the local NMU membership over the holidays. Within the next few days, with the continuing help of the police, they turned it into a combination gin-mill, terror chamber, and court of lynch justice. Now in possession, they never leave. They live in the hall; whiskey bottles pass from mouth to mouth, stimulating courage for the dirty job ahead.

On Friday morning, scores of New York NMU members reported to the hiring hall for jobs; unaware that Curran's gang had taken over. As unsuspecting rank-and-file entered their own hall, they were beaten with blackjacks and brass knuckles, their union books taken from them. More than 25 were injured, tossed (Continued on page 4)

Socialist Vote in New York Drops in Mayoralty Race

The final tally on the New York City mayoralty election showed that 12,924 people voted for candidates of the three socialist groups which appeared on the ballot.

Leading the list was Eric Hass, Socialist Labor Party candidate for mayor, with 8,111 votes in the five boroughs. Joseph Glass, Socialist Party candidate, received 3,434 votes, while Michael Bartell of the Socialist Workers Party polled 1,379 votes.

In the absence of a genuinely independent labor ticket, the Independent Socialist League had urged a socialist protest vote for candidates of any of the three socialistic groupings on the ballot.

These returns represent a low point for the combined socialist vote in New York City. In 1945, there were 18,148 votes for the socialist candidates, while in 1948, a presidential election year, they received well over 30,000 votes.

Obviously, the strong labor backing of the "regular" party candidates drew heavily upon New York's normal socialist vote. In particular, the ILGWU-backed Liberal Party was able to gain many traditionally socialist votes.

A close analysis of the figures indicates that many voters, while plumping for one of the major candidates, cast the rest of their votes for socialist candidates. On the ticket of each of the socialist groups there were candidates who ran well ahead of the mayoralty candidate. The total of the votes of the leading candidate from each socialist ticket comes to over 17,000.

Contrasting the 1945 mayoralty vote with the 1949 figures, the breakdown looks as follows:

	1949	1945
SLP	8111	4167
SP	3434	9714
SWP	1379	4267

While the SLP vote rose over 1945, the vote for the SP was 35 per cent of 1945 and that for the SWP only 32 per cent.



DR. KURT SCHUMACHER

Bulgarian Satellite Fuehrers Worried Over Opposition in Coming Elections

The picture presented by Bulgaria under the Stalinist iron heel is not a rosy one. The successors of Dimitrov are having trouble. Main difficulty at the moment is the rigging of the coming election to the National Assembly (Sobranie) which is to take place by the middle of December—if it is not postponed. The hitch is: how to get the obligatory near-unanimous vote for the Communist Party in the face of a situation which the Stalinist leaders themselves describe.

Opposition, according to Bulgarian CP leaders, is taking as one of its channels the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union (BNAU). In the elections to the Grand National Assembly in October 1946, despite extreme pressure on the voters, official figures themselves gave the opposition nearly 30 per cent of the total vote cast. The BNAU received nearly 90 per cent of this opposition vote. Since then all opposition deputies in the assembly have been expelled, their mandates canceled and their immunity withdrawn.

In the coming election, there will be a new electoral law. There will be only one list of candidates and one program, drawn up by the Fatherland Front (the Stalinist all-national front organization) under the "guidance" of the Communist Party.

Even so, the Bulgarian fuehrers are not feeling happy about the election, especially on account of their experience in last July's election to the "People's Councils" (roughly equivalent to municipal elections).

WITH TEARS IN HIS EYES

On July 25, at a meeting of the Fatherland Front (FF) National Council, its secretary general, V. Popomov, said in his report:

"These elections were a serious test of the political and moral health of the FF. They have revealed the true relations between the two FF parties, the Bulgarian Communist Party and the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union, and the other mass organizations. Wherever their relations were based on sound foundations, the FF achieved success; but the converse was also true—misunderstandings have led to failure. The enemies of the people have understood this very well, and during the electoral struggle they concentrated their efforts on driving a wedge between the Communists and the Agrarians, so as to undermine FF unity. . . . They have made the widest use of the conditions existing in the local BNAU branches, insufficiently

purged of kulaks and other reactionary elements. They have also used careerists and other rotten elements in the FF organizations by inciting them against unity and against the FF single electoral lists. They have succeeded in creating disunion in the local FF organizations, mainly in country districts, especially in connection with the drafting of the candidate lists. They have made skilful use of our omissions and mistakes. . . .

"When the single lists of candidates were being discussed, the FF National Council began to receive reports from all over the country concerning these opposition activities, and of the danger they represented were not speedy measures to be taken to rectify them. In many localities they have attempted to put forward their own lists; they have even demanded the restoration of the former party between Communists and Agrarians; in several villages and districts they have included known oppositionists in their electoral lists. In several districts local BNAU branches [Called *druzhas*—Ed.] began to accept new members from the Opposition, thus hoping to strengthen themselves and gain mandates. . . .

"Of course it would be wrong to say that this friction in connection with the drafting of the single candidate lists has been caused solely by the fact that the leadership of the *druzhas* was in the hands of hostile elements. But it has been one of the most dangerous causes of disunity. . . .

"In some places the dissensions have been caused by careerist elements from one or another FF party. There have been instances of Communists who, misunderstanding the guiding role of the Communist Party, have drafted and published electoral lists without even discussing them at the FF meetings. This disrespect for the *druzhas* rightly caused dissatisfaction among the Agrarians and the non-party men. In a village with a large *druzha* only 3 out of 17 candidates were chosen among the Agrarians, all the others were Communists. Naturally, in this village the BNAU boycotted the elections, and half the votes were invalid. . . .

"The Permanent Bureau of the FF National Council made efforts to correct these mistakes, and in some regions it has increased the BNAU votes from 10 to 20 per cent. . . . This unhealthy relationship between the Communists, the Agrarians and the non-party men has not been cured even after the elections."

YUGOSLAV LIFTS LID

On October 15, the director of the Yugoslav Institute of International Affairs and Economy, I. Karaivanov, an expert on the Balkans, published a long article in *Borba* on the Bulgarian situation. He said that Kostov's trial was aimed at creating panic among the rank and file of the Bulgarian Communist Party, so that people should give up their opposition to the present regime. Bulgaria was experiencing profound crises in agriculture, industry and finance, due to opposition among the peasants and the industrial workers.

Peasant opposition had interfered with the harvest and the autumn sowing to such an extent that the government had to borrow 160,000 tons of grain from Russia. "In the past Bulgaria exported grain, now she has to buy bread abroad." During both world wars she helped to feed the Germans, now she could not feed herself.

Opposition was apparent among the industrial workers, especially the railwaymen, who were both undisciplined and demoralized. Not only had the minister of railways and his deputy been sacked, and the ministry completely reorganized, but, as in

colonial countries, experts of the "protecting power" had been appointed to leading positions in all transport organizations "to direct and command the citizens of Bulgaria."

The Bulgarian militia and the Intelligence Service were concentrating their vigilance on the dissatisfied peasants, demoralized workers and employees, and those who showed "the least signs of dissatisfaction. . . . Under the leadership of instructors from Moscow, they are now spying in all towns and villages, and arresting ordinary citizens. . . . Under the pretext of liquidating real spies, and of purging the Bulgarian Communist Party of foreign agents, an attack will be waged against sincere Socialists, who are patriots and fight against foreign interference in Bulgaria's internal affairs." The propaganda machine of the Bulgarian Communist Party and of the trade unions had disintegrated, and "is no longer adequate." The rank and file had lost interest in party policy, while the party leaders went on issuing orders and commandingering people.

CONFIRMED BY COMPLAINTS

On October 10 no less authoritative a Bulgarian source than the official daily, *Rabotnichesko Delo*, bore out Karaivanov's contentions. It said editorially that during the elections to the Grand National Assembly the party had mobilized all its forces and set up thousands of propaganda centers. Unfortunately after the elections the party organizations had underestimated the importance of the continued education of the masses.

Last June, on the eve of the people's council election, deficiencies in the party propaganda apparatus became painfully apparent. In several districts, even around Sofia and Burgas, for months no party meetings had been held; the propaganda apparatus "practically ceased to exist. . . . Propaganda centers are deserted, and in many places have been

turned into cafes and vegetable shops."

The main cause of this state of affairs was that "active party members" had failed to put into effect the leading role of the Communist Party. Instead of guiding the masses, they simply "administered them." Party committees had usurped the functions of the state. Issuing orders by no means guaranteed results, etc.

The industrial and agricultural campaigns were deficient because the party had little influence over the masses. That was why hostile rumors and reactionary influences were spreading. Concrete measures had to be taken to ensure that party propaganda groups functioned correctly, "unfriendly and unsuitable people" were purged and mass political work was resumed. Great efforts had to be made to quash unfriendly rumors, and raise the ideological level of the agricultural and industrial workers.

So go the complaints and exhortations of the official daily. The measures advocated by *Rabotnichesko Delo* are necessary in view of the impending election to the National Assembly, already once postponed because of "unpreparedness of the electoral apparatus."

The picture is not rosy—for the Stalinists. Undoubtedly, after the election is held, the usually 90-odd percentage of pro-government votes will be reported. Such reports in all of the satellites account, perhaps, for a recent item in the Moscow *Pravda*, which announces that the plan has been completed two months ahead of schedule in the salt mines (which are operated by the GPU or NKVD).

The connection can conceivably be established in two ways. (1) Recent purges in Russia and the satellites undoubtedly upped the available labor supply in the salt mines; and (2) salt is a commodity in great demand in lands where all official reports have to be taken with large quantities of it.

By ANDRZEJ RUDZIENSKI

A relatively unimportant incident—the distribution of some Pro-Titoist leaflets in Poland—was the warning signal that caused the Kremlin immediately to order the purging of the Polish government and party, reinforcing still further its control over the country.

Until now the purge has gone through three stages: (1) the arrest of various ministers, "fellow-travelers," suspected of pro-Tito sympathies; (2) the designation of Marshal Rokossovsky as "viceroy" of Poland, the modern edition of the Grand Duke Constantine Romanov; (3) the arrest of the faction headed by Gomulka, former vice-premier of the Warsaw regime, as well as of General Marian Spychalski, former mayor of Warsaw, and Zenon Kliszko, who was, if I am not mistaken, former president of the national congress.

The arrest of these latter high officials on the ground of Polish Titoism takes on added importance inasmuch as Gomulka and his friends had renounced their opinions and had promised to submit completely to the new course of Stalinist policy in Poland. Spychalski and Kliszko had the bad luck of voting with Gomulka in the sessions of the Central Committee of the Stalinist party when Gomulka was still one of the top men in the government. Other dignitaries committed that same crime and now await their turn to be condemned.

POLISH TIME BOMB

The Yugoslav leaflets distributed in Poland and the other activities of Tito's diplomat, Petrovich, have frightened Moscow a great deal. What would happen if the Warsaw government were to turn toward Tito and against the Kremlin? This would undoubtedly signify a mortal danger

for the whole Stalinist empire in Europe and finally for the regime in Russia itself.

Poland is relatively near the centers of Stalinist power. It disposes of a greater industrial potential since the incorporation of all Silesia. It is situated on the line of communication with Germany and Czechoslovakia as well. Polish resistance is rooted in a great historical tradition and enjoys considerable prestige among all the slav nations. And there is an enormous potential of revolutionary energy accumulated in Poland against Russia, which can explode like a time bomb and easily give a similar impulse to the other satellite countries.

The Kremlin is well aware that the outbreak of a Polish rebellion would have a decisive character for all the countries of Eastern Europe subjugated by Russia. For this reason, it prefers to take preventive measures and cool the soup before burning the tongue, as in Yugoslavia.

While awaiting new developments, we can hazard the opinion that the capitalist press, and in particular the American press, exaggerates somewhat the importance of these events. The wish is father to the thought in this instance, since the American bourgeoisie ardently hopes the satellite peoples, handed over to Stalin by Roosevelt, will rebel against Moscow and save the American government the bother and expense of a troublesome job.

But "Titoism" in Poland has not acquired the importance it has in Yugoslavia, not only because of geographic reasons—that is, because of Poland's unhappy proximity to Russia—but mainly because of the betrayals perpetrated by the Anglo-Americans at the time of the Warsaw insurrection, and the consequent destruction of the Polish underground in the struggle on two fronts.

PROSPECTS FOR REBELLION

The political and social revolution has subsided in Poland as it did after the national revolution of 1863-64—with this difference, that the role of the bourgeoisie of that period has been taken by the political and technical bureaucracy. This bureaucracy, representing a wide stratum, relatively well-paid and corrupted at the expense of the proletariat, has repudiated the idea of armed resistance against Russia as an unrealizable dream, and exploits the theme of the

Anglo-American betrayal of Poland. The remnants of the Polish bourgeoisie has drifted into the ranks of the bureaucracy and follows the same policy. Only the proletariat, which carries the whole weight of the Stalinist dictatorship, could carry out the rebellion; but the proletariat is completely subjugated by the enormous party, trade-union and police apparatus, and besides, its political leadership has been beheaded. The weak resistance of the Gomulka faction indicates precisely this political de-capitalization in its final stage.

As for the peasantry, it would turn against the regime in case of a forced collectivization. But Stalin is a good strategist and knows when to attack. At the moment, the war against the peasantry has not been declared. In general terms, the Yugoslav situation will not be repeated in Poland at the present time. In the long run, to be sure, there exists a potential danger of a rebellion against Russia, but this would depend on many other factors.

Birthday Beating

"Berlin, Nov. 11—The Soviet-sponsored Berlin radio tonight announced that following the decision by many East Zone workers to contribute voluntary time to provide a birthday gift for Premier Stalin next month, the Soviet-dominated Trade Union Federation had resolved to issue an appeal to all workers to donate an hour's labor toward the same objective."—New York Times.

"Berlin, Nov. 18—Since a call for registration went largely unheeded among the population, a campaign in connection with the observance of November as 'the month of Soviet-German friendship' has been carried into the industrial fields. Within the past few days employees of larger plants have been notified that membership is obligatory. The contribution of one East mark monthly is imposed and, in the interest of efficiency, is deducted from wages. Celebrations planned throughout the Soviet Zone for Premier Joseph Stalin's birthday December 21 will reveal, it is expected, a large membership entirely paid up to date."—N. Y. Times.

All of which is calculated to make East German workers positively enthusiastic about wishing a long life—and more birthdays—to their little father in the Kremlin.

S. Africa Defies UN on Land Grab

South Africa has accused the United Nations of fomenting dangerous racial strife throughout much of Africa by "misrepresenting" the Union's policy of rigid racial segregation.

Further, the Union of South Africa now refuses to furnish any information to the UN concerning the former mandated territory of Southwest Africa, since it has made the territory an integral part of the Union.

This annexation is as neat a bit of imperialist grabbing as one can remember. The road for it was paved by "mandating" the territory to South Africa after the First World War.

And now the United Nations is also handing over other vast territories and populations in Africa to Italy, as "trusteeships." If South Africa can get away with annexing her "mandate," what will prevent Italy from doing the same with the lands and peoples given to her "in trust"?

The plan backed by the majority of the representatives in the UN assembly provides that Italy is to get Somalia for a ten-year "trusteeship." Libya is to be given her independence on January 1, 1952, and a UN decision on Eritrea is postponed to 1950. It has been proposed that a commission visit Eritrea to "determine the political wishes of the people."

There is no proposal to date for UN commissions to visit British, French, Belgian and Portuguese colonies to determine the political wishes of their peoples. One reason for this may be that these wishes are all too well known already.

British Socialists Meet On European Unification

The British Center of the Socialist Movement for the United States of Europe, in its London conference, October 22-23, attended by delegates or observers from local Labor Parties, the Independent Labor Party, the Commonwealth and Fabian Societies, as well as several unions and peace organizations, produced a series of resolutions which are of importance to the world socialist movement.

The resolution on "Political Relations Between Europe, Britain, the Commonwealth and Empire" point up the independent and democratic program for the unification of Europe as opposed to the "integration" scheme proposed by Economic Cooperation Administrator Paul Hoffman, now under discussion in Europe.

The British Center calls upon the socialist members of the European Assembly to insist "as a condition for participation in Western Union, upon a constitution giving full powers to the central political authority to build a planned economy for Europe and to acquire ownership of the key industries concerned in that plan." The United States integrators advocate "free competition" which has long since led to monopoly. And, according to the latest reports, spurred on by Hoffman's proposals, cartel agreements among big industries in Western Europe are growing apace, to beat the proposed elimination of tariff barriers.

FOR INDEPENDENT UNION
The resolution calls for the establishment of industrial democracy as part of a general policy of decentralization of political, economic and social power, such a policy alone being compatible with the principles of democratic socialism. It condemns both private capitalism and nationalization as at present conducted.

Lower-income groups, pensioners, small salary and wage earners will suffer most from devaluation, according to the resolution on that subject. The unilateral action by the British, which forced some 25 other countries to devalue their currency, is deplored. While economic dependence upon the United States by Britain is recognized, the resolution makes note of the results of the present foreign policy: an 800-million-pound per year expenditure on armaments, the loss of over a million workers engaged in war production and a more likely possibility of war than of peace.

The solution to the problem of dependence, as to other problems, is foreseen internally by the transfer of the ownership of the means of production and distribution to the community, accompanied by industrial democracy and (externally) by long-term socialist planning of Europe and the liberated colonies. While recognizing that the success of such a program might lead to American economic isolation, they feel that their solidarity with the American working class will be not weakened but strengthened.

Such a union of Europe is proposed by the authors of the resolution as a really effective bulwark against war, since it would be independent of both Russia and the United States, the two major contenders. In this respect it shares the view of LABOR ACTION in advocating an Independent Western Union. The final aim of this union, according to the resolution, should be to encourage the establishment of a World Socialist Federation by providing a powerful example, stimulating the acceptance of social-

ism in the U. S. and of democratic controls through revolution in Russia.

The resolution on "Germany and Europe," while recognizing that the recovery of Germany is the key to European recovery and quintessential if Europe is to gain her economic and political independence, has one glaring omission. It fails to ask for the elementary demand—if Germany is to become democratic, let alone a part of a European union based upon socialist planning—that the occupying powers get their troops out.

A seat in the Council of Europe, abolition of restrictions on German manufacture, an end to dismantling, are called for. Rather than an isolated internationalization of the Ruhr, the resolution asks that the Ruhr statute be used as the first step in the Europeanization of the coal, mineral, steel and electrical-power industries of Western Europe, based on the principle of common ownership and democratic control.

The main thesis of the "resolution on industrial democracy" highlights another point which is stressed by the Independent Socialist League. This is the view that nationalization of the means of production is not socialism "unless policy formation and administration are democratically controlled by the workers of all grades in each industry, including workers on the land and in the services."

HITS DEVALUATION POLICY

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Investigate Curran--

(Continued from page 1)

out a back door where police, waiting with an ambulance, whisked them off to the hospital. Unlike the week before, when the local membership held possession of the hall in perfect order, a gang of drunks was in charge, assaulting every man who entered. And the police watched calmly.

REIGN OF TERROR OPENS

It is clear that Curran is acting in collusion with the police. The cops drive oppositionists away from the hall; they refuse to permit anti-Curranites to distribute handbills to the membership and will not allow them to congregate within a block. Curran literature circulates freely. Anti-Curranites have been arrested on trifling charges but Curran's importees have free rein. One drunken Curran man, in a fit of madness, attacked a policeman and threw him to the ground. No charges were preferred against him.

After a day of terror aimed simply at intimidating the New York membership, the Curran gang began functioning with a purpose. Still secure in possession of the hiring hall under the protective wing of police clubs, they permitted NMU members to enter, one by one: those who signed cards pledging their loyalty to Curran were permitted to take jobs aboard ships; those who refused lost their member-

French Strike - -

(Continued from page 1)

Party, was the man who had to see that the government orders were carried out! Post offices, government buildings, etc., were all patrolled by Moch's security police. There was no picketing. And the strike was accordingly least successful in these sectors. Less than 40 per cent of the civil-service workers (inclusive of teachers) struck.

Among the teachers, the strikers numbered 65 per cent. But the teachers' union is autonomous.

Among the industrial workers, miners, transport workers and printers, the strike was an overwhelming success. The proportion of strikers for the country as a whole was as follows: miners 90 per cent; metal workers, 80; gas and electricity 100; railways 85; longshoremen 100; textiles 70; building trades 100; printing trades 100; subways and buses 95.

But in all these industries, with

the exception of a few provincial centers, the CGT is far bigger than Force Ouvriere. Thus both the strength and the weakness of the latter organization was shown: strength as the balance of power, because the last two years have proved that the CGT by itself cannot stop industry; weakness as an independent force, because in its "strongholds" (offices, stores, government employees) its cadres failed lamentably to bring the great majority of the workers into the struggle.

The result of the strike, therefore, can be summarized as: an inconclusive success. The low point of workers' combativity, reached in the complete hopelessness of the past eighteen months, has been passed. But the government offensive against the workers can be broken only if the 24-hour strike is the beginning of a series of struggles and not an isolated action.

ship books and all rights to jobs.

Scores of rank and files were denied even this humiliating choice: their names appeared on a long list of members blacklisted by the Curran machine. Their membership books were ripped to shreds; they were beaten and dumped out of the hall.

Curran has thrown every consideration to the wind except his determination to hold on to the NMU; he has violated every possible clause of the union constitution; he has set himself up as judge, jury and prosecutor, deciding who shall and who shall not be a union member. The opposition has won injunctions restraining Curran from interfering with the conduct of the port of New York and from utilizing union funds except for payment of legitimate wage bills. He ignores court orders and still enjoys police protection. If necessary he will expel thousands of NMU members, weaken the union and drain its treasury.

NMU FATE AT STAKE

Without the slightest pretense of investigating facts, officials of the state and city CIO Councils are reported to have announced public support of Curran. The opposition has protested this action in a telegram to Phil Murray and is circulating all local unions in the New York area making one simple request: for

a fair and square hearing.

A regular New York membership meeting is scheduled for Thursday night, December 1. If there is no protest from the labor movement or from those anxious to defend elementary democratic rights, this meeting will be nothing but another police show. Hundreds of anti-Curranites have already lost their union books to Curran's police-protected terror squads.

All leading spokesmen for the New York NMU will be barred and thousands of others. It is possible that no one will be allowed to enter the hall who has not signed a Curran loyalty oath. At least, that is what is planned by the man who learned his union ABC's in the school of Stalinism. If he can get away with it the NMU will go into decline and, a hard blow will have been struck at democracy within the CIO.

So far the New York membership of the NMU fights on alone: against Curran's machine; against the police; against shipowners who recognize only Curran-appointed patrolmen; without assistance from within the CIO. Curran wants to drive his critics out of the union. What is at stake for the whole CIO is no longer the question of deciding between Curran and his opposition but of intervening to preserve the NMU as a strong and militant pillar of the CIO on the waterfront.

Ben-Gurion on Pauker

Bitter words, spoken by Prime Minister Ben-Gurion of Israel highlight the encouragement and toleration of anti-Semitism under Stalinism. Ben-Gurion, in a speech to a Mappai convention in October in Tel-Aviv, specifically chose as his target Ana Pauker, foreign minister of the Rumanian satellite of Moscow, saying:

"This daughter of a Jewish rabbi now living in Israel is endeavoring to destroy the Jewish community in her own country. To her any Jew is a fascist. She would like to bring famine to this country [Israel] in order to curb the wish of Jews to come here."

BOOKS RECEIVED

Published November 23 by the New American Library, publishers of Signet and Mentor pocket books:

DEVIL IN THE FLESH, by Raymond Radiguet. The French novel recently made into a much-acclaimed film, 144 pages, 25 cents.

LOVE WITHOUT FEAR, by Eustace Chesson. On the technique of marriage and sex, by a British authority, 192 pages, 25 cents.

BETHOVEN: HIS SPIRITUAL DEVELOPMENT, by J. W. N. Sullivan, 144 pages, 35 cents.

THE OX-BOW INCIDENT, by Walter Van Tilburg Clark, 192 pages, 25 cents.

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Titoism and Independent Socialism: I—The Yugoslav Split and the Nature of Stalinism

By HAL DRAPER

Almost the day after the Cominform blast against Tito last year, Independent Socialists hailed the break as "the beginning of the end of Stalinism." This did not mean, we made clear, that Stalinism was crashing in flames tomorrow or the next day. It was only the beginning of the end—that is, it opened up to view the internal disintegrative forces destined to tear the Stalinist world apart.

Even so, it was quite a mouthful, especially when so many "experts" were astutely analyzing the new development as merely a clique fight between two dictators with different uniforms; or not less shrewdly as a staged affair designed solely to bring Russian troops to the Adriatic and the Italian border. Even today, this latter view is lusty enough to justify a New York Times headline when former Ambassador Cavendish Cannon comes home with the news that the Yugoslav-Russian break is "just as genuine as it could be"—this after a year and a half!

But the tremendous significance of the Titoist split is not much of a moot point today. The disintegrative effect of Titoism is being acted out in life, and even those who scorn the power of theory (except when wild guesses based on rumors of reports are given this name) cannot miss an accumulation of newspaper headlines. And the tremendous significance of the Titoist split will be here with us even if Yugoslavia is militarily or otherwise beaten down by Moscow—because Titoism in its most general sense cannot be beaten down by Moscow.

Wish-Fantasies—Right to Left

Yet, with the clarification of so many things about Titoism by the course of events, there is not a lightening but a deepening of the fog which hangs in the mind of so many of the "experts"—in and out of the socialist movement—like the cloud over the altar in Solomon's temple. Having become convinced that there IS such a thing as Titoism which is anti-Moscow, the cobwebs are spun around the question: *What is Titoism?* And here the wish performs its paternal duties in siring the thought, with sheer fantasy in the role of the dam in most cases.

The offspring of this wish-fantasy is the idea that "Titoism has to come in our direction." To indicate the spread in popularity of the notion: it is shared equally by such diverse people as some circles of the State Department and the leadership of the Fourth International-Trotskyists. While the former has the advantage of at least being a going concern, the latter excels in reducing the idea to its most grotesque forms. Bourgeois circles are heartened by the illusion that Tito has to accept Western capitalism, and the official Trotskyists fell each other to be of good cheer: Tito is becoming a Leninist.

We Independent Socialists are also cheered by the spread of Titoism, but it is not because of such stuff as dreams are made on, or the idea that he is "coming in our direction"—that is, toward real socialism, or "democratic communism," or Leninism, or however it be put.

Titoism is having a disintegrative effect on the Russian empire today, not because it is ceasing to be Stalinist, but precisely BECAUSE it is a form of Stalinism.

If, at the same time, it means the beginning of the end of Stalinism—including Tito's Stalinism—it is not because of any tendency toward the pro-Leninist transformation of Titoism.

What is Stalinism?

Ninety per cent of the stupidities that are uttered (worse, printed) about Titoism flow from one thing: lack of understanding of the nature of Stalinism. And ninety per cent of the misunderstanding of Stalinism flows from a second thing: lack of understanding of the fact that it is not today simply a depraved ideology but that it is a social system. How this lies at the heart of the matter will appear in the course of this discussion.

Stalinism is a social system, as unrestricted to particular national boundaries (Russia's, for example) as is the system of capitalism. It is not merely a certain peculiar "form of government" existing in Russia, but a social system now ruling a good part of Europe and soon of Asia. It is the social system of Yugoslavia, as it is that of Russia or Poland or Bulgaria. Titoism arises within this social system.

What is this social system? We have written extensively enough on its analysis; here is only that much of a summary as is needed for our problem.

For that very small number of people who have even raised the question of the nature of Russian Stalinist society—and that largely in and about the socialist movement—there are two theories which have had fatal difficulty in surviving the test of post-war events—the very fact of the expansion of the Russian empire which itself gave rise to Titoism.

For those who analyzed Stalinism as a kind of state capitalism—in the sense of a capitalist system advanced to the pinnacle of centralization—the spread of Stalinism to Eastern Europe presented a bewildering problem. Everywhere it entered, the last remnants of capitalism were uprooted and, more important, also the last remnants of the capitalist class.

This Stalinist "state capitalist" class showed itself to be so alien to capitalism that it could not permit the smallest shred of the old ruling class to exist in life, let alone in good health. It has acted more hostilely and irreconcilably against the old capitalist classes in the conquered countries than the capitalist class has ever acted against its own rivals—except perhaps in the case of the relatively clean sweep made by the Great French Revolution of 1789. With the greatest haste, even where the wisdom of that haste from its own purely tactical point of view may have been in doubt, it has nationalized (stuffed) industry. The bourgeoisie has been expropriated not only politically but economically—even where the bourgeois elements were quite willing to play a pro-Russian role, as in Czechoslovakia.

A queer sort of capitalism—a queer sort of capitalism no matter what modifier is put in front of the term! Queer enough to justify one in saying: if this be "state capitalism," it is at any rate a social system, headed by a ruling class, fundamentally different from the social system and ruling class we have known. That is, it is a new social system and ruling class.

Museum Piece—Degenerated

And as for the adherents of Trotsky's pre-war view that the Russian Stalinist state is a "workers' state" (degenerated, but still some kind of workers' state), this view is now mainly of historical interest—and that interest derives not from the fact that it is still preserved in formaldehyde by the Fourth International but that it could have been held by the greatest Marxist of our own day as late as 1939-40, and from him absorbed by his movement.

At that time the dispute was on a theoretical basis. In these paragraphs on the question, we are not harking back to the theoretical problem. The fact is that the East European satellites of the Russian empire are socially and structurally identical with Russia today; and if they too are workers' states (born degenerated) then the first problem is verbally solved only to raise a much greater one. Yesterday capitalist states, today workers' states—a socialist revolution has taken place in these lands. By whom? When? How? A socialist revolution not made by the working class? A bureaucratic socialist revolution imported on the Russian army's gun carriages?

The extreme piteousness of the plight of the orthodox Trotskyists is that THEY CANNOT EVEN BE ORTHODOX, easy as that usually is! For them, either the heterodoxy of a new analysis of Russia, or the heterodoxy of the concept of the "bureaucratic socialist revolution."

The very existence of the Russian empire demonstrated that we have

here a new social system—a barbarous, exploitive social system in which not any private property-owning ruling class rules, nor the working class, but one in which the state bureaucracy rules over an economy which is the property of the state, which is in turn the collective property of the bureaucracy. We note that the term which we use for this new social system—bureaucratic collectivism—has become well enough known to make its way even into Arthur Schlesinger's book "The Vital Center" (unaccompanied, sad to say, by any evidence that he understands it).

IS TITO ON "OUR SIDE"?

And the first significance of the rise of Titoism is its impact on the notion (which rose with the burgeoning of Stalinism) that since this new social system has come, it must be the "wave of the future," the image of a new long era through which mankind must struggle again as it did through previous eras, with all hope of freedom postponed.

This totalitarian monstrosity of a social system seemed almost youthfully vigorous; hateful, but victorious; appalling, but seemingly invincible in its advance; not only in complete control at home but already taking over the world. But how unlike its predecessors has been its course! Not after a thousand years of triumphant growth, not even after a hundred, not even a decade—but in three short years from the beginning of its expansion, the whole structure shakes. Not with a minor quake: from the very top down, from that very top which always seems so stable and secure until it cracks.

It was not out of excessive optimism that we greeted the Titoist crackup as the beginning of the end of Stalinism; but because here one could recognize the forces which, inserting into the crack, could wedge that crack apart, opening up yawning fissures through which the revolt of the people could pour.

And so we have to discuss the meaning of two propositions: (1) Titoism is a force gnawing at the very underpinnings of world Stalinist power; (2) Titoism, at the same time, is itself a form of Stalinism. How do these two facts about Titoism square with the real objectives of fighters for socialist democracy and freedom? Is Titoism on "our side," so to speak? Is it paradoxical to cheer at the infiltration of Titoism in the Stalinist world, as we do—even gloat over it, if you will—and still not be "pro-Titoist"? What is the policy for independent socialists on the struggle between the Moscow form of Stalinism and the Titoist form of Stalinism?

(Next week: The nature of Titoism's international appeal.)

WHITEWASHING NAZIS

REPLY TO SWP APOLOGUES FOR BOLIVIAN TROTSKYISTS

By JUAN REY

The Socialist Workers Party's paper, The Militant, of October 31 has published a "refutation" signed by J. Gomez of my articles on the mistake and criminal political line of the POR (Revolutionary Workers Party), Bolivian section of the Fourth International. This article not only reveals an extreme ideological poverty, but provides one more proof of the correctness of my criticism of the POR Trotskyists.

Undoubtedly Gomez was officially instructed by the POR to answer my "slanders," and he not only admits the alliance between the POR and the MNR (Revolutionary Nationalist Movement) and defends the program of a "united front" proposed by the POR of itself, the MNR (Nazis) and the PIR (Stalinists); but also reveals the POR's role as lackey to the MNR, affirming that this bastard of German Nazism and Argentine Peronism is not a Nazi party, but a typical South American "bourgeois-nationalist force."

WHITEWASHING THE MNR

Gomez writes: "The MNR is not a 'Nazi' party," as Rey claims, but a bourgeois-nationalist force with roots in the trade unions, particularly in the Miners Federation, headed by Juan Lechin. In a semi-colonial country, a trade-union leader like Juan Lechin performs a much more progressive role than a Walter Reuther, before whom LABOR ACTION grovels."

Nothing confirms my criticism of the POR so much as this quoted admission. The "Revolutionary Nationalists" of the MNR, unlike the Peruvian APRA and the Venezuelan Democratic Action, came (together with the Military Lodge "Radepa") out of the German military school. Their teachers were Roehm, later "fuhrer" of Hitler's stormtroopers, the Nazi ambassador in Bolivia, Wendler, the German general, Kunz, and finally Elias Belmonte, who learned Nazism in Berlin, etc. Of course the "Revolutionary Nationalists" do not represent a pure type of Nazi party like the Hitler party, since Bolivia lacks the substructure of capitalist monopolies, etc., but it is an offshoot, a Nazi "graft" in Bolivian soil, a native Nazism to a greater degree, perhaps, than Argentine Peronism.

Haya de la Torre's APRA in Peru and Betancourt's Democratic Action in Venezuela have different origins, having emerged from the degeneration of the workers' movement which had previously been revolutionary in character, and they do not have any links with German Nazism. The "dictatorial elements," common characteristics of these tendencies, invoked by Gomez, decide nothing. The Peronist government succeeded in carrying through its totalitarian coups against the Peruvian APRA and the

Venezuelan Democratic Action, while the Nazi MNR was overthrown by a popular revolution led by the Stalinist PIR, in which the POR itself participated.

In power the Nazi MNR was the hangman of the Bolivian proletariat and introduced the official totalitarian monopoly of the trade-union organizations. Lechin received the secretaryship of the miners' union from the hands of the Villaroel government, like all the other totalitarian bureaucrats.

When the MNR was ousted from governmental power, Lechin knew how to turn the union (with the POR's help) into an instrument of the MNR's periodic revolts. And it was not the MNR which directly guided the unions but Lechin, counseled by the Trotskyist Lora, who transformed the workers' strikes into powerful weapons at the service of the MNR and Peron.

IS LECHIN A REUTHER?

This criminal and adventurist policy led to a terrible defeat of the mining proletariat that ended in a massacre of the workers. And as if this were not quite enough, the POR, called for a united front of the POR, the Nazi MNR and the Stalinist PIR for the "social revolution," precisely in those days when the Nazi uprising occurred, militarily well organized and financed by Peron. Judge, readers of The Militant, whether this was a betrayal of the proletarian cause or not!

The Marxists and independent workers advised the mine workers to follow an independent socialist policy directed against the Nazi uprisings, against the Nazi-Stalinist alliance and against the mine union leadership as well, in order to free the trade unions from the Nazi-Stalinist dictatorship which led the proletariat to disaster and fomented the reaction. Events have confirmed this point of view.

Finally, on the subject of personalities: without praising reformist leaders of the Reuther type, they owe their positions to the support of the workers themselves and are not the creatures of a totalitarian government. Lechin was an infamous adventurer of small stature and much cunning, a bureaucrat. Lora of the POR was his adviser and social "conscience," and was indebted to him for his parliamentary seat. The alliance between Lora and Lechin was the key to the "alliance" between the MNR and POR, a typical South American phenomenon. In Bolivia, "personalities" play an enormous role. The criticism directed against the POR is completely impersonal. It was not directed against personal enemies but against political opponents. It would have been a crime to remain silent.

Lima, November 1949

WORLD POLITICS

Formosa to Be Chiang Stronghold Awaiting Outbreak of World War III

Off the coast of China lies the large island of Formosa, now rapidly becoming of increasing importance in our "cold war" world. Not only is it soon to be the last substantial area held by Chiang Kai-shek's government (sometimes curiously referred to as "free China") but it is an area considered of particular importance by American military and naval leaders, since it occupies a position in the so-called defense arc extending from Alaska through Japan and the Philippines.

The island of Formosa, a typically rich and lush semi-tropical land, has 6 million inhabitants, now swelled by hundreds of thousands of the remnants of Chiang Kai-shek's troops. It is Chiang's island, the last place on earth where this brutal, ignorant and revolting personality still holds dictatorial power.

The 6 million people of the island are largely of Chinese descent, their ancestors having come from China's southern provinces of Fukien many years ago. They gradually conquered the island, pushing its primitive aboriginal tribesmen into a small eastern area and bringing Chinese ways and culture with them. For centuries, the island was a sort of autonomous Chinese province, having a good deal of independence and developing its own traditions and island culture. Fifty years ago the Treaty of Shiminoseki, which concluded the first Sino-Japanese war, forced China to hand the island over to the Japanese in whose hands it remained until the conclusion of the last war.

CHIANG NOT WANTED

The Japanese were obliged to conquer the island by force, since the island people resisted their reduction to an outright colony of Japanese imperialism. Under the Japanese, it developed into a great source of raw materials as well as a significant naval base for operations in Japan's war upon Asia. During the Second World War, the Cairo and Potsdam conferences stated that Formosa would be returned to the "Republic of China" (Chiang Kai-shek), once it had been removed from Japanese control. We note, of course, that these conferences in no way suggested that the people of Formosa—the Taiwanese—would be consulted in the matter.

The result was that when the war ended and all Japanese on the island had been repatriated back to Japan, Chiang began to pour in his mercenaries, administrators and bureaucrats. The people resented them and considered them as mere replacements for the ousted Japanese. Even the New York Times has stated editorially: "This occupation [by the military and civil forces of China's government] has been unpopular in some aspects with the indigenous population, many of whom regard themselves as Taiwanese rather than Chinese."

Before long, open revolt broke out and Chiang proceeded to carry out his familiar blood-bath tactics, killing an estimated 3 to 5 thousand people. For two years, his savage dictatorship has ruled over Formosa; and inflation, sequestration of goods and property, quartering of troops, etc., are the rule on the island. The people of Formosa are unquestionably bitterly anti-Chinese and anti-Chiang, and desire to be removed from China's civil war, securing autonomy for themselves. But such good fortune is not to be permitted.

Chiang wants to retain Formosa as his last stronghold, to which he will cling until World War III begins, when (he hopes) with a revived American backing he

will march forth from the island and conquer China once more. What a colossal and arrogant fool this gentleman is! He actually believes this can be done. He has even succeeded in frightening the New York Times with a vision of Chinese Stalinist control of Formosa, breaking "... the outer arc of our defenses and flank (ing) both our Okinawa and Philippine positions. Such a contingency cannot be viewed with equanimity." Etc., etc.

What does the Times propose to prevent this? Here is its tactic to save Formosa from the Stalinist menace: (1) a UN trusteeship for the island, provided Chiang could be forced into an acceptance of this; (2) use by Truman of the \$75 million fund he now has to strengthen Formosa militarily; (3) a military mission to Formosa, somewhat like that still functioning in Greece; (4) use of the American navy and its forces to defend the island, although it is not concretely suggested how this should be done. Obviously not, since the only way would be for the navy to stand between the island and the mainland, prepared to fire upon any land attack launched by the Stalinists.

This, then, is the program to save Formosa, keep Chiang in business and preserve the proper geopolitical "strategic arc" in the Pacific. The Chinese Stalinist program is a simpler one, omitting strategy and threats. Understanding in their demagogic fashion how unpopular the Kuomintang government over Formosa is, and knowing that they themselves have no real strength on the island, the Mao Tze-tung regime proposes autonomy to the island. In other words, they propose to conquer the island from within, by depending upon popular support of the 6 million population to the idea that autonomy would mean an end to Chiang's rule and use of their island as a pawn in the "cold war." They propose, in effect, to struggle for neutralization of the island and it is doubtful if they plan an immediate effort to conquer it from without.

Here we see a shining example of, first, the kind of policy and practice American imperialism engages in. Even if, for reasons of expedience, America should decide it cannot carry out the Times program, this would merely mean that it would do nothing. It has no other alternative to that of military force and a naval display of force. In no sense can it consider the wishes or desires of the 6 million people of the island since that would run counter to their continued use of Chiang Kai-shek, even if only in a limited sense. Aside from this scoundrel, American imperialism literally has no one left in all of China and it knows this. Reduced as he is to insignificance and exiled to his small island, he still represents the future hope of American imperialism for an ultimate conquest of the Stalinists. What a dubious prospect this is!

The Chinese Stalinists, shortly to be in command of all of China, can easily let the island of Formosa rot and stagnate, while steadily working from within to build up more opposition to Chiang. They, at least, know how to work among the masses and to play up their discontent and hostility. America can only, on the one hand, rely upon its show of material strength (which diminishes in proportion to its distance from home), while supporting whatever reactionary is closest at hand. Chiang is still in possession of Formosa, and the American fleet hovers about. We wonder how long this state of affairs will last.

Henry JUDD

BUT THE HORSE DIED

CAN PRICE-SUPPORT PLAN SAVE NATION FROM SLUMP?

By GORDON HASKELL

Ever since the war, defenders of the capitalist economic setup in America have been saying that government and business have found new ways and means to prevent the country from plunging into another 1929 depression. If the proof of the pudding is in the eating, these defenders of the faith can pat themselves on the back. Five years after the war, no 1929 depression has yet hit us. The pudding tastes fairly good—to date.

But even the most eager-beaver pro-capitalists are getting a little worried. And one source of their worries is the state of the government's farm-support program.

The government has, indeed, found a way to prevent any depression on the farms. It's very simple. Just buy up at a good price everything the farmer can produce. As long as you can keep it up, there will be no depression on the farms. But some are wondering whether this program won't work like the program of the farmer who decided to break his horse of the expensive habit of eating. You'll remember that he cut the horse's rations down each day, and he was just on the verge of success when the darned critter up and died on him.

We're wondering whether the government's program won't go along fine till one day there just isn't enough space to store the stuff the government is piling up, or the government—even our multi-billion-dollar government—just can't foot the bill.

On August 31 of this year the government had over two and a half billion dollars invested in "surplus" farm commodities. ("Surplus" is put in quotes because I'm sure very few readers of LABOR ACTION have any surplus of vegetables, fruits, tobacco or clothes in their homes.)

Of that amount, \$1,042,000,000 had been paid to farmers as price-support loans on such products as corn, wheat, tobacco, cotton and various grains. The other \$1,638,000,000 had been spent to buy up farm products ranging from butter to apples to grapes and potatoes, and we don't know what else.

Right now the government owns about one hundred million pounds of butter which it has bought this year. (We wonder what happened to the butter bought last year ...) Last week the government announced its first sale from the hoard, about 33,000 pounds of Grades B and C butter.

A hundred million pounds of butter is quite a bit of butter, any way you spread it. And if storing that butter is the sure way to prevent a farm depression that the pro-capitalist experts have been talking about, it is bound to work just as long as it is applied to ALL parts of the capitalist system.

If people stop buying cars, the government would have to buy them and store them. The same with radios and washing machines, shoes and everything else.

And let's not discriminate against anyone. If the retailer can't sell his goods and make a profit, the government should send shoppers around to buy up his goods. And if you can't find a job, the government should give you a job at wage-support levels just as it buys goods at price-support levels.

It's a wonderful system, and like every simple system, there isn't a flaw in it. Just like that farmer and his horse. Guaranteed to work until the system dies—or blows up in the First Atomic War.

S.F. PAPER PRAISES UAW-REUTHER BOOK

The San Francisco Chronicle says of "The UAW and Walter Reuther," by Irving Howe and B. J. Widick:

"More books like this ought to be written about unions. This one starts with an exciting sketch of the new industrial city of Detroit. Then it details the rise of that metropolitan monster's titanic offspring, the UAW. After that, analysis of Walter Reuther's personality with the scalpel used dispassionately rather than the trowel used to lay on praise... detailed in its knowledge, yet broad in perspective."

The Howe-Widick book, which has had one of the most enthusiastic critical receptions ever accorded a book on the labor movement, may be ordered through Labor Action Book Service, Published by Random House, it sells for \$3.00.

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"The UAW and Walter Reuther"

by Irving Howe and B. J. Widick

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IUE-CIO Gaining Further Ground in Philadelphia

By FRANK HARPER
 PHILADELPHIA, Nov. 27—This afternoon, in a special membership meeting at the Broadwood Hotel, Local 119 voted to disaffiliate with the Stalinist-controlled United Electrical Workers Union and to affiliate with the CIO group, the International Union of Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers (IUE). The action was taken by only about 300 of the 3500 workers which Local 119 represents at the Elmwood Avenue plant of General Electric.

The meeting was addressed by James B. Carey, Harry Block and Fred Kelley of the IUE-CIO and Philip Van Gelder and Abe Ruzansky of UE District 1.

It is evident that the issue of affiliation for the large locals at General Electric, Westinghouse and the Radio Corporation of America plants in this area will be settled only by NLRB elections. Certainly today's vote by only 300 members of Local 119 in favor of the IUE-CIO cannot be regarded as conclusive any more than was the vote for the UE by the 107 members at Westinghouse Local 107 several weeks ago.

At a recent meeting at RCA no official count on the affiliation issue could be made because of disorder. The CIO appears to have held the overwhelming sympathy of the membership in these plants and to have solidified its advantage to a limited extent even though a large section of the local leaderships have been active supporters of the Stalinist UE.

a "sneak election" to Houchins' old post of chief steward.

The pro-CIO forces at Westinghouse Local 107 again encountered rough going as the administration moved to invalidate last week's elections in which the "Labor Unity" ticket defeated the incumbents in eight of twelve contests. Francis Bradley, a consistent supporter of UE policy in the present period, who was nosed out by two votes in his bid for re-election as business agent, challenged the results. The election committee has recommended that the Bradley-Felker contest for business agent be re-run as well as the contests for vice-president and general committee. This recommendation will go to the executive board and membership for approval.

N. Y. CIO Council Supports Kutcher

NEW YORK, Nov. 23—The Kutcher Civil Rights Committee today announced that the New York City CIO Council has endorsed the case of James Kutcher, the legless veteran who was fired from his clerk's job in the Newark Veterans Administration because of his membership in the Socialist Workers Party.

CIO President Michael J. Quill and Secretary-Treasurer Morris Lushevitz urged all affiliates of the council to give moral and financial support to the committee in its efforts to put Kutcher back on his job.

Upon returning from his national speaking tour, James Kutcher will appear at a meeting held in his honor at the Hotel Capitol December 15, on the 158th anniversary of the Bill of Rights.

Other prominent speakers include I. F. Stone, noted author and columnist; Roger Baldwin, director, American Civil Liberties Union; Carl Holderman, president, New Jersey State CIO Council; Benjamin F. McLaurin, international organizer, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, AFL, and national committee member of the Americans for Democratic Action; Prof. Thomas Emerson, of Yale University Law School, and authority on the loyalty program; Norman Thomas, socialist leader.

George Novack, national secretary of the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee, will chair the meeting. Kutcher's appeal for reinstatement will be filed in the Federal District Court at Washington, D. C., within two weeks.

CHARGE AND COUNTER-CHARGE

IUE-CIO pledge cards were circulated at RCA last week and after several days the IUE organizer, Dan Arnold, claimed that two-thirds of Local 103's members had indicated their preference for his union. Contrarywise, President John Leto, a UE supporter, claimed his members were tricked into signing the cards.

Charges and counter-charges were also hurled at the GE Local 119. Today's meeting was called by the recently elected pro-CIO president, Ed Houchins. Houchins ousted pro-UE Ted Ford, who in turn was voted in.

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WHAT'S ON AT THE LABOR ACTION SCHOOL

Following are Sessions 5 and 6 (last) taking place in the next two weeks—

TUESDAYS

Dynamics of the American Labor Movement
 by Ben Hall
 8:00 - 9:10 p. m.

Dec. 6—The trade union left wing.
 Dec. 13—Prospects for a labor party.

Significant Events and Documents in U.S. History
 by E. R. McKinney
 8:00 - 9:10 p. m.

Dec. 6—The rise of Populism.
 Dec. 13—"Manifest Destiny": the ancestry of Point Four.

The Modern State
 by Max Shechtman
 9:20 - 10:30 p. m.

Dec. 6—The Stalinist state.
 Dec. 13—Trends in the United States.

FRIDAYS

Problems of the New Asia
 by Jack Brad
 8:00 - 9:10 p. m.

Dec. 9—The sociology of Chinese Stalinism.
 Dec. 16—Which way for Asia? Socialist prospects.

Contemporary Problems of Marxism
 by Hal Draper
 9:20 - 10:30 p. m.

Dec. 9—The "historic role" of bureaucratic collectivism.
 Dec. 16—War economy and the trends of modern capitalism.

ALL CLASSES held at Labor Action Hall, 114 West 14 Street, New York City
FEES: Each class session 25 cents (Students 15 cents)

LABOR SCOPE

Labor on Guard Against Abuse of Idle-Compensation and Pension Laws

As unemployment-compensation claims keep piling up all over the country, it is to be expected that state legislatures will start acting to lessen the drain on their compensation funds.

One way would be to do something to provide jobs for the unemployed. The other way is to shift the financial load onto the backs of the unemployed themselves.

A special joint legislative committee in New York State is already considering ways and means to accomplish the second method of cutting down claims. Proposals before the committee include refusing all compensation to workers who have quit their previous jobs voluntarily, and to those who do not depend on their wages for their livelihood.

If these proposals were to be enacted into law, they would be steps toward tying workers to their jobs almost as effectively as they are in totalitarian countries. They could only quit one job when they had an

absolute guarantee of another job. And any worker knows how hard it is to look for work while working. Of course, it would also mean that the foremen and bosses could drive the workers unmercifully, secure in the knowledge that given a skilled man will think ten times before quitting if he knows he will not get any compensation to tide him over while looking for another job.

The second proposal is just as bad. Many wives and older sons and daughters have to work to provide their families with something reasonably resembling the well-known American standard of living. But if wife, daughter or son gets laid off, and cannot prove absolutely that they would starve to death without a job, the ruling would be that they "are not dependent upon their wages for a livelihood" and compensation would be refused.

As usual, the proposal to cut these workers off the compensation rolls is backed up with files proving "abuses"

and "chiseling" on the part of a tiny minority of workers. The reasoning is that because there are a few chiselers, whole categories of workers should be deprived of the tiny bit of security which compensation gives them.

Representatives of the New York State Federation of Labor and of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union have registered strong objections to any change in the unemployment compensation laws which would reduce benefits.

If the labor movement does not want to be caught napping on this drive, workers in local unions should introduce resolutions protesting these revisions, and send them to State Senator John H. Hughes.

Alert workers in other states should keep on their toes to prevent action in their states to shift the burden of unemployment compensation onto the backs of those least able to bear it.

The Massachusetts State Federation of Labor is taking measures to plug leaks through which employers may try to avoid paying old-age benefits to workers. With a rapid spread of pension plans in the state since the settlement of the steel strike and the signing of the Ford contract, such action by other labor federations can be expected.

The state federation is preparing two kinds of laws for the legislature. One would make it an offense punishable by fine or imprisonment for employers to discharge or to refuse to hire workers between the ages of 45 and 65 in order to avoid paying them pensions.

Further, a law is being prepared which would make it an unfair labor practice for an employer to discriminate against a worker because of age, in the same way that it is an unfair labor practice for him to discriminate against a worker because of union activity.

The Massachusetts State Federation of Labor is to be congratulated for leading the way in proposing legislation to prevent employers from cheating older workers of benefits won through union organization. If labor had a political instrument powerful enough to ensure getting such laws passed, with such a political instrument squeezing on one side, and with the economic arm of the unions pushing on the other, the labor movement could really protect its membership against the insecurity of old age, and advance its interests in all other ways to boot.

OHIO LABOR NOTES

Ohio Truck Drivers Break Bosses' Resistance, Win Demands in Strike

By JOE CLARK

CLEVELAND, Nov. 26—A trucking strike, called on November 19, has just been settled with complete victory for the union. The parties involved were the Teamsters Union (AFL) and the Ohio Over-the-Road Employers Association. The latter organization had refused to accept the Central States area agreement between the Teamsters Union and the big trucking companies covering an 11-state area but not Ohio. This agreement was reached in Chicago on November 12.

The Chicago agreement established an industry-wide settlement in an 11-state area. Now, by the Ohio victory, another state has been added to the list and another 7,000 workers, making a total of 47,000.

Not affected by the strike were trucks operating within a radius of 50 miles such as dairy, bakery, department-store deliveries, etc. The tie-up was almost 100 per cent effective and the employers' front was soon broken. At first it was said that only a few of the smaller bosses had accepted union terms but it soon became apparent that the big ones were accepting too. It was a good example of a disunited front of the bosses.

On November 24 a settlement was

reached but it only made official something that had already happened in practice. The agreement is the same as that arrived at in Chicago and provides for an eight-cent hourly wage increase (retroactive to November 16), another five cents after 14 months, a one-fourth-cent raise in mileage rates and an employer-financed health and welfare program at a cost of \$1 per week per employee.

Sixty days have elapsed since the last of 20 Cleveland postal workers, suspended on suspicion of "disloyalty," had his appeal hearing before an assistant postmaster general in Washington. To date not one has been notified of a decision.

Thirteen months ago the Cleveland employees presented their defense against secret evidence in hearings held here. Suspensions began in January and the accused have drawn no post-office pay for periods ranging from five to ten months.

The accused cannot make their final appeals to the Civil Service Loyalty Review Board until the postmaster general notifies them their appeals have been rejected. Most of the 20 feel sure their appeals will be so decided.

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SPARKS in the NEWS

Who's Corrupt?

In a recent speech Colonel Jacob M. Arvey, Democratic Party boss of the Chicago area, gave an unusually frank view of the relationship between business and politics as practiced in the U. S. Said Arvey: "For every party worker who is corrupt, there are four or five businessmen who are trying to corrupt him."

And some people try to use present corruption in the capitalist government setups as an argument against socialism—that is, as an argument against getting rid of the capitalist system which produces that corruption.

Obviously 'Subversive'

In New England, where "distress areas" are growing in the textile industry, the employers are driving to speed up labor—with the cooperation of the unions' leaders, says Fortune magazine and the textile trade journal Daily News-Record. The "understanding" attitude of its union heads gives the latter publication great joy, but its August 5 issue moaned:

"But the increasing difficulty of getting the workers to accept the changes has caused most of this optimism to disappear. Many of the union officials admit that selling the workers new and heavier workloads is no easy task. According to one union official, workers often throw back this: 'We have to do the job, not you, so we should have the right to decide.'—'Who are you working for, us or the management?'—'Management is bluffing and if we yield on this point they will want more.'"

What the union picards reply is not recorded. The things some people do to earn a living!

With Rents Sky-High

"Inside the hall [at the convention of the American Federation of Astrologers] Louis-S. Ivey of Milwaukee told a few hundred people how astrological computations had helped in her work as a real-estate broker. The reason that real-estate values had not toppled, she explained, was that 'Jupiter happens to be in Capricorn.'"

—N. Y. Times, Nov. 21.

It may also have something to do

GM Versus Ford

To the Editor:

In a recent article in LABOR ACTION on the UAW-GM conference held in Detroit, it was pointed out that the program offered to the conference for 1950 demands on GM was superior to the Ford settlement.

Readers Take the Floor...

GM Versus Ford

To the Editor:

In a recent article in LABOR ACTION on the UAW-GM conference held in Detroit, it was pointed out that the program offered to the conference for 1950 demands on GM was superior to the Ford settlement.

However, the demand which makes this program superior was not mentioned in the article: namely, wage increases in 1950.

The 1949 pattern of pensions and social insurance means that a wage freeze has been established because of Truman's fact-finding board and the labor leadership's policy of going

along with it. This pattern is similar to the wage freeze established by another presidential board when the wartime Little Steel Formula was shoved down the workers' throats. If the GM workers achieve a wage increase in 1950 they will have broken through this wage freeze and get back on the road of improving the standard of living, which has steadily gone down since 1943.

MASON

ACEWR Bazaar Offers Bargains To Aid European Workers' Relief

NEW YORK, Nov. 28—Many beautiful things have been collected by friends and members of the American Committee for European Workers Relief for its fourth annual bazaar to be held on December 9 and 10. Everything to be sold at this Christmas bazaar, which opens on Friday, December 9, at 6 p. m., has been donated and will be sold at bargain prices.

From the department stores and the Madison Avenue shops, the bazaar has received many choice donations, including a navy-blue taffeta raincoat that retails for \$55, an electric toaster, leather cigarette cases and bookends, a great variety of men's ties, all kinds and prices of costume jewelry, lingerie, games, lampshades and lamps, blouses, sweaters, books, record, an electric refrigerator, bric-a-brac, hats, alarm clocks, a lady's wrist watch, French perfumes, linen table sets, hand-made leather belts and jewelry, imported chocolates, and many, many other items. The prices will be so reasonable that everyone will be able to find something within the range of his purse. Those Christmas shopping for children will find many interest-

ing toys as well as children's clothing.

On Saturday afternoon, a dinner will be served from five o'clock until eight for the convenience of those working at the counters and any shoppers who care to stay on for the auction Saturday evening. There is no admission charge to the bazaar.

All of the proceeds of this affair will be used to send food, clothing and medicine to European families who fought against fascism. In the last year, the ACEWR has received many letters from these militants describing the difficulties they encounter in their daily existence. The chief suffering is caused by undermined health—the result in most cases of imprisonment in Hitler's concentration camps. Some of the people on the committee's lists are aging fast because of their lowered vitality. To them, the ACEWR sends food packages as often as possible.

The continued existence of the ACEWR depends on the success of the annual Christmas bazaars. Everyone is urged to do his Christmas shopping early—on December 9 and 10 at 130 West 23rd Street, New York City.

Season's Greeting

To the Editor:

Here in Seattle the Christmas season was officially opened with a big parade on November 12. The merchants are hoping for a big holiday harvest as their stores have not been doing so well lately.

Personally I am firmly of the opinion that peace on earth will only be realized, and the darkness that hangs over the nations like a pall will only be dispelled, when the gospel of socialism is preached and put into effect. I hope that these four subs I am sending in will help a little toward that end.

Yours for socialism
 J. H.

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