The Independent Socialist League Fights for a Socialist Democracy!

JANUARY 16, 1950

3 Chicago Corporations Institute Plant Purge

CHICAGO - Three instances in this city evidence the growing trend to subject plant employees to political frisking.

At Stewart-Warner, five workers (one with 26 years of service for the company) have been fired for refusing to sign loyalty oaths. At-Felt-Tarrant the union (Farm Equipment Workers, now in the Stalinist - led UE!) has accepted a contract which would bar from its employment "any employee who is found to be knowingly aiding or abetting any organization having as its purpose the overthrow of the U.S. government by force or violence."

At Foote Gear a worker was fired because he was alleged to be a Communist; in arbitration, the union won its case for reinstatement, but the company stood pat on its action and the matter is still pending.

The Stewart-Warner case is the most striking, though the others are no less lacking in import. For one thing, five workers (all of them stewards in Local 1154, UE) are already involved and it is entirely possible that the company may proceed against any worker whom it may suspect, or find it convenient to suspect, of being a "subversive" influence. For another thing, the move at Stewart-Warner is most clearly combined with a pointed drive by the company to depress working conditions and wages.

The company presumably acted (and there is nothing to indicate that it gagged at the invitation) because the U.S. Department of Defense last December 5 directed a bulletin to employers informing them that military contracts would be denied plants employing "subversives" who might thereby gain access to military information. The Chicago branch of the American Civil Liberties Union, which is fighting the Stewart-Warner action, has accordingly charged that the Defense Department was "apparently impelling employers to engage in attempted thought control and interference with employees' political affiliations."

ANTI-LABOR RECORD

With respect to the particular case, which is so blatant that even the Chicago Daily News has been unable to digest it, the ACLU charged that it was "not at all clear that Stewartwhich is so blatant that even the it was "not at all clear that Stewart-Warner Corporation would jeopardize its position as a military contractor by retaining in its employ persons who refuse to sign non-Communist affidavits." For its part, in firing the five stewards, the company left no doubt that it intended to fire all Communist Party members, former members (presumably former CP members who are bitterly anti-Stalinist, too, if they happen to be union militants) and workers believed by the company to be Communist Party supporters.

In general, the company is pulling all stops on its notorious anti-laborism. For years it enjoyed a contract with the union that was a monstrosity from the labor point of view, espe-

cially in the matter of seniority. The contract contained virtually no protection for senior employees. The company held the prerogative of transferring men with seniority to any job at all-with no alternative for the men involved but to accept the transfer or get out; classification seniority was not plant-wide and there was no shift preference. By and large the company was glad to get the assistance of the Stalinist union leaders during the war years, offering them concessions on hiring and such matters, but little in terms of contract provisions. The honeymoon having ended, the company is out to smash unionism in the plant .

POISONOUS PATTERN

The old contract had a clause which provided that if a new contract were not signed by June 30, 1949, the contract was to be held terminated. The company stalled, the UE did next to nothing and the contract lapsed. Today the workers are being victimized by down-grading, wage-cutting, layoffs, out-of-line seniority and much else. The company's latest move in dismissing the five stewards drives home the point of its intensions.

Of course, what is at stake is more than a particular plant situation. It is the kind of thing which has already happened in a number of instances, each of them seeming to be isolated, but betraying evidences of a poisonous pattern. It happened in Philadelphia (with anti-Stalinists as the victims!). It is happening here. Whether as dismissal or as contract clause, the menace of the witchhunt is growing.

It is a major concern for every person who values civil liberty. It is a particular concern for a free labor movement which must act to defend its freedom.

FBI Claims Right to Break Law, Reveals FDR Approval

A PAPER IN THE INTEREST OF SOCIALISM

There is one group in this country whose members can break the law, publicly admit it, publicly boast that they are going to continue doing so-and get away with it. That is the FBI, and the illegal action which it confesses to is wiretapping.

This week, Attorney General McGrath stated in Washington that he had "fully reviewed" the wiretapping activities of his secret-police department and saw "no reason at the present time for any change" in the FBI's policy.

The week before, the former chairman of the Federal Communications Commission, James Lawrence Fly, had given him a reason. Fly sharply attacked the practice in a letter to the Washington Post, asserting that the Department of Justice was flouting the laws it was supposed to enforce. He said FBI wiretapping was clearly contrary to the intent of the Federal Communications Act and a grave threat to American civil liberties, demanding a Congressional investigation.

FBI wiretapping has come up as a hot issue in the Coplon-Gubitchev spy trial now being held. FBI agents and spokesmen at first baldly denied that any information so gained was used as evidence, but subsequent testimony broke this pose down. The judge in the case has ruled that no evidence gained through wiretapping, or indirectly through clues provided by wiretapping, could be admitted.

McGrath, Truman's cabinet member responsible for the continuing outrage, in this week's statement on January 9, justified the practice on the ground that "limited" use of wiretapping had been authorized by President Roosevelt during the war. In thus shifting the onus from himself, he merely succeeds in implicating Roosevelt in the government officials' conspiracy to violate the law. McGrath also said that wiretapping had been OK'd by former Attorneys General Robert H. Jackson and Tom Clark, as well as by Francis Biddle. The first two now sit as august justices of the U.S. Supreme Court as top "watchdogs" on the constitutional rights of the people!

"In view of the emergency which still prevails and the necessity of protecting the national security," said McGrath, "I can see no reason at the present time for any change."

Comments the United Press news item: "He did not elaborate on the reference to an 'emergency,' but it was presumed that he meant the so-called cold war.'

As everyone knows, the so-called cold war is no passing emergency but bids fair to be the permanent state of affairs in a world divided between American and Russian imperialism. The government is laying down the dictum that no law can restrain its secret-police activities, that the latter are a law unto themselves—the principle being identical with the view of the Russian GPU and Hitler Gestapo practices held by the totalitarian regimes.

However, there will be found the usual consolatory illusion among friends of civil liberties that, since it is only the principle that is involved and nothing approaching the practice of these regimes, there is not too much to worry about. This head-in-the-sand view, reinforced by anti-Communist hysteria, seems also to be taken by the leaders of the labor movement, who have yet to speak out as vigorously and hotly, on this issue of the subversion of democratic processes by the FBI, as they have in their denunciations of the totalitarian Stalinists. President's Economic Message Designed to Placate Business-

Truman Points to Necessity For Speedup in Production Rather than Wage Increases

Wealth Upped—Who Got It?

LABOR ACTION

In his State of the Union message, drawing a mid-century balance sheet, Truman reported that the average wage, in terms of today's prices, had risen from 45 cents at the turn of the century to \$1.40 an hour today, or by about three times.

Later in his remarks in the same message, he pointed to the increase in total national production over the same fifty years, from \$50 billion to \$255 billion a year—an increase of over five times. Even greater progress, percentage-wise.

Truman made no correlation between these two figures, the figure on wages received and the productivity of the wage-earners. In the capitalist mind, they are not related. By socialist standards they are.

The figures mean simply that while absolute wages have risen, wages relative to the amount of goods produced have declined.

The worker receives a smaller share of the total national product. The country as a whole produces five times as much goods, but an even greater share of the fruit of labor goes to the capitalist than before. The gap between the little people and the economic rulers, between the poor and the rich, has widened.

The socialist demand is that the fruit of labor be enjoyed, not by those who rake out their share because they own, but by those who now get the shorter end of the stick because they are merely the ones who have produced the vastly increased wealth.

The socialist demand is that the people own the factories, mines and plants themselves, through their own democratic workers' government.

Spanish Labor's Appeal: Stop U.S. Aid to Franco

By WILEBALDO SOLANO General Secretary, POUM

PARIS, Dec. 30-The founding conference of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions at London took up the Spanish question, as is customary in all international working-class bodies.

On the initiative of the General fillegal

TRENDS NOT REASSURING of not a few Spanish workers. But the situation demands much more,

rapidly, without delay. great economic strength of the coun-Franco has no hope of salvation try. All the figures on production except the assistance of U.S. finance and income show a general relative capital. He begs for it anxiously. To prosperity compared to the poverty get it he offers everything from strawhich grips the rest of the world. Further, they show no apparent tegic raw materials to the blood of

Spanish youth. trend towards a deep and lasting The recent parade to Madrid of

(Continued on page 4)

Not Big Enough

The big business magazine Business Week devoted over four pages of a recent issue to propaganda on the theme of "Big Labor." The "appalling" picture it showed was that the 50 biggest unions, with over twothirds of all trade-union membership in the U.S. and Canada, had aggregate assets of \$339 million-much of it in the form of insurance reserves earmarked for death, disability and other benefits.

The very same issue carried another story which showed that the assets of one single company, Ford Motor, stood at three times the net worth of all 50 of the biggest unions -1.140 million!

If General Motors is thrown into the picture, the net worth of this single company is nine times that of all the 50 unions. Even its PROFITS alone for the first NINE MONI'HS of 1949 were far more than the union figure for total ASSETS.

The assets of the trade unions are far too small, not too big. Speed the day when Business Week really has something to squawk about!

Child Labor

Child labor is still plentiful in this country. In the state of New York the number of child laborers is still twice as high as pre-war (it stands at two millions), and would be higher but for the fact that job opportunities are falling off, according to the latest report of the National Child Labor Committee.

Federal law has not ended child labor. Thousands of children as young as 7 and 8 are still permitted to work in commercial agriculture outside school hours, and all day in summer, and federal law does not close the door to child labor in a host of occupations which are subject only to state laws.

Formosa's Right to Freedom

By JACK BRAD

makers of policy.

The battle of Formosa which has raged over Washington these past weeks is now concluding its first phase. Truman's announcement that the U.S. has no intention of intervening, since Formosa is Chinese territory and must be settled by Chinese political forces, does not close the matter. But it reduces the opposition to the position of critics rather than potential

That the real war for control of Formosa should be fought in Washington is indicative of the world power framework. For it is true enough that, having lost in Washington, the Nationalists have almost lost all. Their loss of the island is now largely a matter of time, barring a major change in the international scene. The second stage, the shooting battle, will be an anticlimax, however bloody.

In a sense, the Formosa issue itself is anticlimactic. That it arises at all is a consequence of the much greater disaster for American policy on continental China. It was Roosevelt who anchored U. S. Asiatic policy in China, where it has centered at least since the Panay incident of more than 10 years ago. Formosa is the backwash of this historic collapse and only because of it does it acquire significance.

The speedy mobilization of various reactionary interests on this issue arises because of their prior agreement on the China issue. The ridiculous position of these people is revealed in all its garishness by their pathetic effort to rally last-minute support to Chiang on his tiny island as their defiant answer to the victors across the narrow strait.

In spite of the transitory nature of the Formosa issue it has been revealing of the kind of thinking that dominates the leading governmental factions in the U.S. For obvious partisan reasons, the Republican Party produced the chief spokesmen for the extreme militarist-strategic approach.

Senator Taft and Herbert Hoover led off with demands for immediate intervention by the U.S. Navy to defend Formosa and the other off-shore islands for Chiang, against any invasion. Chiang would be reduced to his proper role as Chinese front for direct U. S. military control.

While Taft spoke for the anti-Vandenberg group in the party, Hoover, in addition, has a special interest. It is now distant in men's memories, but

(Continued on page 4)

On the Skids

of the free peoples." Those who were in London report-

ed that its condemnation of Francoism was one of the most emotional scenes at the conference. We do not intend to cast doubt on this. It is a well-known fact that emotion has never been lacking at international workers' congresses whenever the tragedy of the Spanish working class is brought up.

But more than five months ago the Spanish workers demanded from our class brothers of the entire world something more tangible and effective than emotional gestures and resolutions on paper. We asked for action-positive, concrete and effective action.

This time, something which is of great significance under the present circumstances took place in London. The representatives of three great U. S. labor organizations-CIO, AFL and the miners' union - denounced and condemined the plans of the Yankee capitalist and military circles who want to come to the aid of the dying Spanish dictatorship.

Until now, mere words-resounding words which tempered, to a certain degree, the legitimate skepticism

Yankee generals, admirals and gov republican trade - union federation] ernment representatives proves that the new world trade-union organiza-Franco relies on active and devoted tion explicitly came out against all allies in various U. S. circles. Under economic aid by the capitalist powers such circumstances, before the interto the Franco regime and especially national situation develops further, against any attempt to bring the it is no exaggeration to say that the Spanish totalitarian tyranny into immediate fate of the Spanish people what is sometimes called "the union is in the hands of the labor movement of the U.S.

By using all of their immense resources, the powerful labor organizations of the U.S. can easily prevent Wall Street and Washington from actively helping to save the Franco regime from disaster.

TIME TO ACT!

The time has come for the CIO, the AFL and the United Mine Workers to translate the London labor congress's declarations into deeds.

At his December 14 press conference in Washington, Secretary of State Acheson declared that the United States feels that the admission of Spain into certain special bodies of the UN can perhaps be prepared. Acheson added that, once this takes place, results would accrue on both sides which would permit Spain's reconciliation with some of her European neighbors.

A few days later Republican leader Vandenberg called for the sending of an ambassador to Madrid and the nnclusion of the "Spanish bastion" in the organization of Atlantic strategy. The same thing has just been asked, in truly scandalous phrases, by Democratic Senator Connally.

The Franco press, as usual, is ringing bells in jubilation. Its rejoicing is premature. But it is not our job to minimize the dangers which face

Leon Blum [French socialist leader] wrote some time ago that in 1945 "a single gesture" of the great powers - charges against Nakanishi were that would have been enough to end the Franco tyranny. Indalecio Prieto [Spanish socialist leader] wrote a few weeks ago that the Spanish workers grumble about why Franco has not been overthrown by those who can do it with "a single puff." At the beginning of 1950 no one expects the "gesture" of Blum or the "puff" of Prieto. But all of the Spanish workers swallow their bitterness

and still hope that the labor movement of the United States will not be found failing in militant solidarity in these ominous times.

NEXT WEEK

 Discussion on the case of the Wright Company "witchcraft contract," with Martin Gerber and Grbriel DeAngelis.

Japan CP Fires Pro-Cominformer, **Break Reported**

FIVE CENTS

By GORDON HASKELL

President Truman's economic

report submitted to Congress

last week is being studied with

interest by all groups in our

economy. The report repre-

sents the thinking of the president's

economic advisers, which means that

it represents the ideas about the

state of our economy on the basis

of which the government is going to

shape its policies during the present

The central point in the report is

the belief that the country is on its

way to a sound recovery from the

drop which began in the fall of 1948

and extended till the middle of 1949.

To dramatize the idea that this re-

covery will last for a long time, Tru-

man states that if present trends

continue, and if all groups in the

country do the right thing, the na-

tional income will reach 300 billion

dollars in five years. This would

mean, he said, an average increase

in income of \$1,000 for every family

in the United States, and would wipe

out extreme poverty for almost ev-

This situation, if it should come

about, would be something new for

any country in history. But before

we let ourselves become dazzled by

the dream of prosperity for all

Americans, it would be better to take

a close look at the economic facts

and theories on which the president

The first striking thing is the still

eryone in the nation.

bases his predictions.

session of Congress and beyond.

Press reports of the expulsion from the Communist Party of Japan of Ko Nakanishi, member of the Parliamen's House of Councilors, indicates a serious rift in the ranks of Japanese Stalinism, with an unusual turn. Last week, according to dispatches, the Cominform journal, published in Bucharest, launched a violent attack on Sanzo Nozaka, one of the top leaders of the party. The attack accused Nozaka of believing that the American military occupation of Japan has created a situation favorable to the Japanese CP, and further that the Stalinists in Japan can hope to come to power and create a "people's democracy" by the peaceful means of getting a majority of the people to vote for them. To believe the Cominform, Nozaka says further that in the event such a majority were to come about, the army of occupation would leave Japan. Naturally, the accuracy of this Moscow version of Nozaka's views cannot be accepted, pending further information, but it indicates the seriousness of the situation.

The most interesting aspect of the break, however, is the fact that the Cominform attack did not lead to the expulsion of Nozaka, its intended victim, but to the Japanese CP's dumping the leader of the PRO-COMINFORM faction, Nakanishi, by the party control committee. The he is using the Cominform's attack to disrupt the Japanese CP.

According to the Associated Press dispatches, Nozaka had fled Japan before the war, became a member of the Chinese CP and worked with Mao Tze-tung during the war. Nakanishi had also at one time belonged to the Chinese CP but during the war he was arrested by the Japanese government and was released under a general amnesty for political prisoners promulgated by MacArthur. He was imprisoned on charges of working with a Chinese spy ring which was gathering information for Russian intelligence.

Pending further information, the news raises the possibility of the infiltration of national-Stalinist ("Titoist") feeling in the Japanese Stalinist party, perhaps associated with similar tendencies in China.

Quill and CIO Leaders Get Their Reward— **Ungrateful O'Dwyer Slaps N. Y. Labor Supporters**

NEW YORK, Jan. 9-There's just no deals. Minetti is a protégé of Gene- on New Year's Eve to see the Friend gratitude in politics. Michael J. Quill, head of the CIO Transport Workers Union and Mayor O'Dwyer's chies labor backer, has been finding that out.

Quill, who boosted O'Dwyer during the election campaign in spite of the mayor's strikebreaking tactics against Quill's bus drivers, is angry again at his fresh discoveries. "Resentful and angry," says the press, which also reports that only at the last moment did he call off a press conference at which he was reportedly going to make an open break with the mayor.

The straws that almost broke Quill's back, in the past week, have been two. First, O'Dwyer has appointed G. J. Minetti as a member of the Board of Transportation, the boss with which Quill's union largely

roso Pope, Italian-language newspaper publisher, who was a Mussolini admirer. But what Quill complains of is another matter. On January 4 a top committee of nine CIO leaders met with O'Dwyer, who invited them

to make a recommendation for the vacant board post. They did, and O'Dwver assured them that he would make no appointment without first consulting the CIO and AFL.

Minetti's appointment, however, came as a surprise to the labor leaders, who were NOT consulted on his name. A CIO spokesman is quoted: "We are disappointed that the mayor has seen fit to make a purely political appointment."

Secondly, it seems that the labor men are put out because, among the 120 guests invited to Gracie Mansion

of Labor sworn in, not one representative of labor was invited. Naturally, it would have cost O'Dwyer absolutely nothing to permit the festivities to be tempered by the presence of one or two; and the CIO heads are all the more outraged that he did not see fit even to make that inexpensive gesture.

CHIANG KAI-SHEK

Quill, on January 6, circulated word among newspapermen that he would hold a press conference at noon the next day at which he would have some bitter things to say. The next day the conference was hurriedly canceled, presumably as the result of pressure from some direction.

The Minetti appointment was called by one CIO official, "a gratuitous slap in the face" to labor, and, by another, evidence that the mayor's "allegiance tude.

to Tammany Hall was greater than his allegiance to the people of the city." These bitter words are spoken by men who have claimed that without their support O'Dwyer could not have been 're-elected.

In the midst of their chagrin they have still taken time out to tell reporters that if the election took place next week they would support O'Dwyer all over again: "But we are not kidding ourselves. We know we are going to have trouble and we realize that we will have to assert ourselves."

There's just no gratitude in politics. The fact is, if these same CIO and AFL leaders pulled out of their coalition with Tammany and organized their own labor party, they would not have to depend on grati-



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LABOR ACTION

January 16, 1950

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Ekart's "Escape from Russia" Fills in the Picture-

Another Refugee from Stalinland Tells the West

Add another to the books being published by those who survived and are seeking to "tell the West": Anton Ekart, Polish engineer who left for Russia in 1939 in a cattle truck and finally succeeded, in 1947, in making his way to Stockholm. During this period, sometimes free, sometimes imprisoned, sometimes deported to a camp north of the Urals, he experienced various aspects of life in Stalinist Russia. The French edition of his story Escape from Russia has just been published in Paris by Hachette.

The article about Ekart's Russian experience, excerpts from which we publish here, first appeared in a Paris periodical and was translated for the British Socialist Leader by John McNair; we reproduce it from this translation.

Those who have already read some of the accounts which have been published by refugees from the Iron Curtain will find little that is brandnew but much which highlights the picture of society under totalitarian Stalinism.-Ed.

Of the railway which is being constructed at Vorkurts the convicts say "There is a corpse beneath each sleeper." Great mineral resources in coal were discovered in 1867, but the czarist regimé did not exploit them because of the distance and the climate which each winter fell so low as 90 to 100 degrees below zero.

Nothing stopped the Soviets. A geological survey was carried out in 1928 and in 1929, and in 1930, the first work of boring and drilling was commenced. In April 1940, the first mine was opened, of which the output was fixed at 750,000 tons. The last of the 800 miles of rail between Kotlas and Vorkurts was laid December 25, 1941, after working night and day. In 1946 production exceeded 5.000.000 tons, and the estimate for 1950 is 10,000,000 tons.

But the estimate of the number of corpses reaches a million. Naturally, it is not a question of free workers but a part of the 25,000,000 "concentrationers" (one Russian out of eight), which, according to Ekart exist in the USSR.

The entrepreneur, the exploiter, was the NKVD (secret police), without doubt the greatest industrialist in the world, a trust more important and powerful than those of Rockefeller, Pierpoint Morgan and Carnegie combined.

RUSSIAN "JUSTICE"

Himself a victim of the system, Roginsky [Vishinsky's substitute during the Moscow Trials of 1937, whom Ekart met in the Vorkurts prison-Ed.] was in agreement with Ekart in stating that Soviet Justice is nothing else than a machine for furnishing gratuitous and unlimited labor power

"Our penal code," he agreed, "is only an instrument, let us say the most important instrument, for transforming the social structure from capitalism to socialism. The problem was to eliminate the 'old generations," that is to say, those, no matter what their age may be, who are incapable of thinking and acting in accordance with the Communistic spirit. No one would volunteer for such districts as Vorkurts but the Soviet Union has a large number of prisoners

similar, or nearly, to that of the West. But, as a matter of fact, this was only the spectacular facade behind which the real trial was carried on, that of several million suspects who were arrested and deported on

the spot. "The NKVD instituted in each administrative center a committee of three-the troikas-which had the power to arrest and to interrogate and to condemn. All the Russian intellectuals were thus practically eliminated. Of the millions of men who were included in this operation scarcely any survive now in the concentration camps."

MOSCOW "SUSPECTS"

The war gave new pretexts for purges. All Russian prisoners, escaped or not, were considered as traitors to their country. For them, liberation was only a change of concentration camp. They were immediately arrested on their return to Russia and were not even authorized to see their families.

The survivors of the territory occupied by the Germans were treated in the same way. The whole of the tribe of the Karuchi (150,000 people) which were established in 1926 at the north of the Caucasus were deported to Siberia, under the pretext that they had manifested sympathy for the invaders.

The population of Moscow itself, the heart of the republic, was not spared. Those who had retreated in front of the German advance were condemned for desertion. Those who remained on the spot were suspected of having awaited the enemy through sympathy and were equally condemned.

Anton Ekart's book allows us to solve the enigma of Alexis Kapler. This, young cinema artist, already celebrated, was arrested by the NKVD owing to his idyll with Svetlana, the daughter of Stalin, and condemned to 10 years of prison for "anti-Soviet propaganda." It is not known what has become of him. Ekart met him in the camp of Kotlas in the Arctic Circle from which he has little chance of returning.

ATHLETE BREEDING The policy of collective suggesone hand it constitutes good propaganda abroad and, on the other hand, it raises the level of the army and the

secret police. "Nevertheless, the USSR possesses celebrated teams such as the Dynamo.

"The team is composed of professionals selected at a very early age. Soviet sportsmen live in a luxurious existence in the watering places of the Crimea and the Caucasus. They have the best trainers possible, are well-clothed and well-nourished. But their lives are under strict controlno alcohol, no women. This is not. however, the principal reason why

their fate is not enviable.' "And why not?" "Because sport only lasts a certain time. The Soviet sportsman is something like a pure-bred racehorse,' well looked after as long as he wins, but sent to the knackers' yard when he is finished. His career usually ends by deportation. A defeated Soviet champion is not only useless but

dangerous: he could relate what he saw abroad. "But Soviet sport and the Dynamo football team in particular, have done more than any other form of propaganda to give credit abroad to the belief in the Soviet paradise. The Western nations reason thus: if the USSR possesses teams like the Dynamo, it is obvious that the physical condition of the people is excellent

and that the standard of life is high. "On the other hand, the average Russian thinks, 'If Dynamo has beaten the French, it is a proof that their government gives its athletes less meat and less sugar than does ours. Therefore, the food situation is worse in France than here."

HATED NKVD

While in prison, Anton Ekart became acquainted with a lucid analyst of the regime, Colonel Yakovlev, the ex-instructor of the Military Academy at Moscow and ex-commander of heavy artillery on the front at Voronef. "If the Soviet Government and the NKVD were grateful," said he, ironically, "they would erect a statue to Hitler on the Red Square.'

"The army was full of spies," he explained. "When war broke out the hatred against the NKVD was greater han the hatred against the Germans. Entire divisions, principally those composed of men belonging to national minorities, killed their political commissars and surrendered en masse. This is why there were so many Russian prisoners at the beginning of the war.

"But the Germans missed their chance. Their terrorism was even more cruel than that of the NKVD. The massacres of prisoners of war, the deportations, the truck loads sent to the gas chambers, all these things caused a change of opinion against the Germans. In Ukraine

they returned to him the first but not the second.

They did him another favor. When finally he died of senility they buried him in an individual grave, instead of throwing him into the common trench.

The old abbot had passed from the 'sacred" Russia of the czars to an isle of deportation in the White Sea. When the war broke out he was at liberty. Stalin, amid a blaze of propaganda trumpets, restored the church. This is the reason why Father Serafin departed for the prisons of the far North.

"They have re-established the church," said he to Ekart, "but what church. Even while the patriach Sergius was still living it was Alexis, an old propagandist of atheism, who was named in his place. Those who remained of the 'old clergy' refused to recognize him and threats only succeeded in intimidating a

____S. F. BAY AREA NOTES_____ **Bridges Slate Loses Home Local;** Local 6 to Take Up CIO Affiliation

this sum.

By ARLENE WILLIAMS

SAN FRANCISCO, Jan. 7-The crisis within the CIO Warehousemen's Union that was precipitated by the national CIO convention is coming to a head in Local 6 here. A 17-man committee has been appointed to arrange for a special convention of that local to be held within the next 30 days, for the purpose of settling whether Local 6 will remain within the Bridges-led International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, which is under threat of expulsion by the CIO. The alternatives proposed are to join another CIO union or switch to the AFL Teamsters. Local 6 recently held an election in which the Stalinist-backed slate lost the majority of the posts.

In a close vote, Harry Bridges' slate lost in his home Local 10 in the election last week. Henry Schmidt, a codefendant with Bridges in the current perjury trial, lost out in the battle for president of the local to Phil Sandin. anti-CP candidate. The opposition to the Stalinists also captured 54 posts out of 65. This election was closely watched in the Bay Area as an indication of what road this union will take on the question that is bound to arise in the near future regarding its continued affiliation to the CIO. Local 34, the Ships Clerks, also affiliated to the ILWU, likewise voted the anti-Stalinists into office.

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negligible minority. Those who did **SPREAD OVER THE WORLD** not submit were arrested, and,' added old Serafin, "I am one of those.'

"I am 76 years old. In my case there is no question of heroism. But I should have acted the same if I had been a young man. I am not afraid of them. God will punish them for all the crimes they have committed. They have gone so far that the new priests which have been appointed are the agents of the NKVD. They use the confessional to extract the information which they need.

"It is hard to die without having cried aloud one's hatred for the regime which has taken one's father and one's family. The father-confessor takes away from the penitent a heavy burden, but this has the result of sending thousands of unfortunates into the concentration camps and the prisons."

money while employed," the Farm

special session of the legislature.

In a report released by the state

government, it was stated that em-

ployment in the whole of Alameda

the statement reports that qualified

workers are available in all occupa-

tional fields: there is a surplus of

mechanical engineers as well as of

iunior mechanical and electrical en-

gineers and structural draftsmen:

skilled workers in the metal trades

waiting to be placed.

phlet "New Evidence on the Militarization of America," gives a detailed nicture of U.S. missionary activities in far-flung regions of the world-missionary work which teaches nothing but the religion of warfare. The data given are as of the time of the booklet's publication, February 1949, and while there have no doubt been changes in specific cases since that time, the general picture has not changed.-Ed.

> The United States continues to maintain military missions in foreign countries as a part of our military emphasis in foreign policy.

The following section of the pam-

The Militarization of America—IV

U.S. MILITARY MISSIONS

One of the largest missions is in Greece, where there are 214 officers and 260 enlisted men, and an additional 9,478 civilians supervised by the U. S. Army Engineer Corps. [N. Y. Times, Oct. 16, 1948]. The American military mission under General Van Fleet "is assisting in the campaign of active warfare." There are teams of officers and men with each Greek Corps and division and they advise the local commanders on operations. Theoretically they have no command or authority but their advice is a powerful inducement." [Ibid., June 20, 1948.]

Labor Union put forward the demand In Turkey there are 245 officers that agricultural workers be made and men who are engaged in giving eligible for unemployment insurance specialized training to the Turkish and other social-security benefits. It army [Ibid., Aug. 7, 1948]. The U. S. also pointed out that during the pearmy mission to Turkey not only used riod of seasonal employment, the the original appropriation of \$100 average farm laborer (a cotton-pickmillion authorized by Congress, but er, for example) netted the vast sum announced that it had poured into of \$25 a week and it would be a lit-Turkey close to a billion dollars in tle more than difficult to "save" military aid. against future unemployment out of

This additional military aid, unauthorized by Congress, was managed The Farm Labor Union also calls by drawing upon the "vast reserves for other plans for better pay, more of arms, munitions, and supplies" of educational opportunities and other the American military establishment, things that will make the agriculwriting it off "at about a dime on the tural worker more prosperous. But, dollar" as surplus goods, and sending for the present, some immediate form it to Turkey [Ibid., Aug. 10, 1948]. of relief for these people is required This was done at a time when the and it is to be hoped that the union army and navy were asking Congress will make this demand before the for more funds for weapons and equipment.

CONGRESS BY-PASSED

That this additional aid to Turkey was not the original intent of Congress must be obvious not only from County is still decreasing. Despite the the limit in the act placed on military temporary lift given by holiday sales, aid to Turkey, but also from the fact that a military-sponsored bill, S 226. which was introduced by Senator Gurney in the 80th Congress to authorize the president "notwithstanding the provisions of any other law to sell, lend or give naval ordnance material to foreign governas well as in all phases of construcments," failed of passage.

tion work are "available," and many In China there were until recently recent college graduates are still several United States military advis- S.-Canadian relationships. Secretary ory groups. A group of U. S. air force Forrestal and the Canadian minister

This is one of a series of articles on the militarization of American government and life, based on the findings of a committee of nationally known liberals.

This committee, organized as the National Council Against Conscription, in February of this year published the booklet "New Evidence of the Militarization of America." (A previous booklet, entitled "The Militarization of America," had been published in January 1948.) All the information and quotations used in the present series of articles comes from the first-named booklet.

The NCAC publications are sponsored by a group including: Pearl Buck, Louis Bromfield, Albert Einstein, Victor Reuther, President James G. Patton of the National Farmers Union, Prof. P. A. Sorokin of Harvard, former Secretary of Interior Ray Lyman Wilbur, President W. S. Townsend of the CIO Transport Service Employees, President C. S. Johnson of Fisk University, President W. J. Millor, S.J., of the University of Detroit, and many other prominent individuals.

peace in any part of the world [N. Y. Times, July 11, 1948].

Similarly, Secretary of the Navy Sullivan claims that United States naval vessels in foreign waters are "a stabilizing force." [Ibid., Oct. 9,

TO THE SHORES OF ...

The air force has conducted training operations over Western Europe, Asia Minor, North Africa, the Mediterranean coasts, as well as maintaining ferrying operations at Iceland; the Azores and Labrador. The air force, after long negotiations with a reluctant Portuguese government, announced the signing of an air agreement for a lease by the United States of an airport in the Azores. The air force is also operating the wartime air bases near Tripoli in Libya and has inaugurated B-29 flights to Saudi Arabia, the nearest U.S.-held base to Southern Russia.

Likewise, in an independent Philippines, the air force is constructing a permanent air base on a military reservation larger than the island of Guam. In the North Atlantic the U.S. has been engaged in "delicate diplomatic negotiations ... over the use of air bases in both Iceland and Greenland" (N. Y. Times, Sept. 25, 1948) where the governments do not want to jeopardize their lands by joining forces openly with one of the two major powers.

The military are also active in U.

and can obtain any others she wants. She gains both economically and politically. While utilizing cheap labor she eliminates her enemies."

Another fallen dignitary, Gladkish, ex-commissar of the army, completed the edification of Ekart in revealing to him the real significance of the "purges." They come to the rescue of the NKVD which does not succeed in satisfying the enormous demand for human lives of which the regime has need.

"Take the great trial of Bukharin, Zinoviev, Kamenev and the others at Moscow in 1937. The sessions were public and the foreign press invited. Everything seemed to be carried on following a procedure

tionism in the Soviet Union has a double face. One of the faces is turned towards the exterior, and is called propaganda. All is grist to its mill, commencing with sport.

Ekart knew in prison a doctor, Matveyev, who was an authority on sporting matters. He asked him whether they played football in the little towns and villages in the Soviet Union as they do in Western Europe. Matveyev shrugged his his crucifix. In view of his protests

"How do you expect the mass of the people, fatigued and undernourished, to interest themselves in sport? **Brooklyn Newspaper Hints at Solution** No, sport is only accessible to a small minority. It has two objects: on the

notably. if the Germans had conducted themselves as humanely as in 1918, they would have had all the population behind them." At Kotlas, in the extreme North,

an old man Serafin enjoyed a privilege. He was so old and so friendly that the camp commandant turned a blind eye on the length of his hair which he could wear floating over his shoulders after the manner of the Russian Church. However, they took away from him his comb and

NEW YORK, Jan. 4-District Attor-

With the plight of 50,000 unemployed farm workers as its main concern, the AFL Farm Labor Union has called upon Governor Warren to call special session of the state legisla, ture this month to consider the situation. Fresno County and the San Joaquin Valley are the two localities that will be affected most by this problem.

In answer to a representative of the grower's organization who suggested that agricultural workers should be encouraged to "save their

More than 150,000 AFL workers have requested withdrawal forms from participation in the various private disability insurance systems throughout the state. The state AFL organized a boycott campaign against these private insurance plans on the basis that the state disability insurance is far superior to any private plan coupled with the fact that the insurance lobby in Sacramento has been notorious for its anti-labor activities.

pilots who were killed in a crash in China were "a part of a group belonging to the Chinese air forces," official sources said, according to a report in the September 16, 1948, New York Times

The navy has also been active in foreign policy missions. It strengthened its Mediterranean fleet with combat-equipped marines and maintains a task force of full wartime strength in the waters off Greece. Turkey and Italy. [Rochester Times Union, Jan. 19, 1948].

The navy gave four large modern submarines to Turkey and six additional ones to Greece. Both nations have received other naval vessels and "approximately 350 officers and men of the Turkish navy are in the United States... or training preparatory to accepting delivery of several (additional) naval vessels," the January 10, 1948, New York Times reported.

The navy not only patrols the Mediterranean but has sent ships to Singapore and the Far East on a "goodwill" visit, to Norway and Denmark, and to other nations.

That all these naval activities are a part of the navy's role in foreign policy is seen from a statement by Admiral Radford, vice-chief of naval operations. Stating that the navy had become a "precision instrument of diplomacy," he claimed that by "showing the flag" and by a "display

of defense, after secret joint military talks in August, 1948, pledged continued military cooperation. A major-general, Robert Walsh, has been appointed by President Truman to serve as a member of the Permanent Board of Defense of the United States and Canada. There is also a joint Mexican-U. S. Defense Commission on which General Walsh also serves.

(Next: U. S. Aid to Latin American Militarism)

Joe Won't Like It

A deal of interest has been stirred in French circles by the project proposed by David Rousset, author of 'The Other Kingdom," a book which dealt with his experiences in the Nazi concentration camps. Rousset has proposed that a commission of inquiry be set up, composed of former inmates of the Nazi camps, to investigate slave-labor camps in Russia.

Big Wind Due

The Massachusetts Institute of Technology has put into operation a wind tunnel that can stir up a breeze of 3000 miles per hour.

This month the above achievement in wind production will be put into the shade as Congress convenes in Washington.

THE BRITISH POLITICAL SCENE IS PORTRAYED EACH WEEK - IN -

shoulders.

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SOCIALIST LEADER

ney Frank S. Hogan had on his desk today a letter from Norman Thomas, chairman of the Tresca Memorial Committee, urging him to ask Ed Reid, staff writer for the Brooklyn tails. Eagle, to appear before a grand jury and tell whatever he knows about the murder of Carlo Tresca, crusading Italian anti-totalitarian editor. That request was impelled by a recently published article in which Reid

"The Brooklyn Eagle has learned Tresca was murdered on order of the Italian fascists for \$500,000 paid to the crime syndicate that rules in New York and other cities of the United States." In that article the victim was described as editor of a publication "de-

wrote.

voted at that time to undermining the influence of Mussolini here and in Italy." Thomas made public his action today in announcing plans to honor

Tresca's memory on Wednesday evening, January 11, seventh anniversary of his death.

"We assume," Thomas told Mr. Hogan, "that the Brooklyn Eagle as a newspaper of standing, would not have published that flat statement without some tangible proof to back it up." Then he urged also that the prosecutor call upon the Eagle to "help clear up this unsolved crime by making available all information in its possession that may throw

A charge by Fred Berson, former state parole board investigator, that he was fired in 1944 because he knew "too much" about the Tresca murder was brought to Thomas' attention

after his letter went to Hogan. That They had loads of evidence against charge also was published in the Brooklyn Eagle. When told about it in advance, the board withheld comment pending publication of the de-

KNEW TOO MUCH?

To Tresca Mystery; D. A. Inaction Scored

Berson was one of two parole officers who, after the escape car used by the Tresca killers was found, declared that its license number was the same as that of a car which they saw Carmine Galante, a paroled convict, enter an hour and forty minutes before Tresca was slain.

Picked up next day, Galante was held in jail many weeks on suspicion, then was returned to prison for parole violation, and later was freed at the end of his term. In a long statement in the Eagle, Berson asserts that Galante lied about certain points, including the color of the overcoat and hat he wore on the murder night, when he was trailed after making his weekly report to the parole office at 80 Center Street.

When Berson was fired the only reason given to him was that it was "for the good of the service." In 1946, when turned down on an application for a civil-service job, he was acdirective and describes it as "bancused of having been "a troublening racial segregation in federallymaker" and of speaking disparagingly about a superior officer, which he aided housing.' denied. But now, in view of circumstances which he sets forth, Berson banned "restrictive covenants" in believes that his stand on the Tresca federally aided housing. This means case was behind his discharge. that it will no longer be possible to

"For some reason," his statement in the Brooklyn Eagle says, "the cops seemed to be trying to shake me on my story (about Galante), questioning me four or five times about it. not necessary to put such provisions

this man and I never could understand why he wasn't indicted."

Berson does not indicate in that statement whether the policemen (or detectives) who questioned him were attached to District Attorney Hogan's office or were regular members of the police department.

The fact is that the directive

quarantee in advance, in the build-

ing contracts themselves, the segre-

However, we all know that it is

gated character of such housing.

Correction

To the Editor:

"We shall be greatly interested," Thomas said today, "in seeing what answer the parole board makes to Berson's allegations." of sea power" the navy can keep the



in writing in order to enforce them. While I am not a legal expert, I doubt very much that most segregated housing in the country con-An article by Herman Sweets in tains such covenants. The character the December 12, 1949 issue of of federally aided housing will thus LABOR ACTION captioned "Trube determined later by local laws man OKs Anti-Jim Crow Housing and popular pressures. This casts Order" is factually incorrect and some light on Sweets' statement that therefore overly enthusiastic. In his "interestingly, however, spokesmen first sentence he mentions Truman's

at a convention of the New Jersey Association of Real Estate Boards wailed that New York and New Jersey realtors would be hardest hit." What we need is a "restrictive covenant" banning all segregation in federally aided housing, which is what Sweets thought we had.

Dave CORBIN



January 16, 1950

PERON'S HOT SEAT

DISCONTENT GROWS APACE WITH CRISIS IN ECONOMY

By JUAN REY

BUENOS AIRES, Dec. 29-The economic crisis in Argentina has cruelly exposed the totalitarian deception of the workers and middle class, to whom Juan Domingo Peron promised prosperity and economic independence

The wave of discontent is so great that the petty Argentine dictator has increased his attempts to frighten the independent bourgeois press, the "Nation" and "La Prensa." which day after day calmly dissect the policies of the executive power. Totalitarian gangs, led by the servile deputies of the official party, assault the abovenamed organs, intervene in their management and "control" their books, in order to deprive public opinion of its only source of independent information and judgment.

The workers' press, among others the "Socialist Vanguard," organ of the Argentine Socialists (reformists), was silenced a long time ago. Now the turn of the bourgeois press has arrived; but the petty dictator lacks the courage to attack frontally and utilizes the services of his parliamentary lackeys.

Since the workers continue to show their discontent against the Peronist fraud by repeated strikes, the native Bonapartist regime attempted to distract them with the organization of a fraudulent "Day of Loyalty to President Peron." The tamed CGT (Argentine Federation of Labor). taken over in true Nazi-Stalinist style by Peron's agents, shamelessly organized a servile workers' demonstration for the dictator. But the triumph was short-lived.

-Telephiller DISCONTENT SPREADS

In the province of Tucuman, the sugar center, the workers organized a strike in defense of their interests. This scarcely pleased the dictator. The totalitarian police arrested one of the trade-union leaders, the worker, Aguilar, subjecting him to cruel tortures. After two weeks, the mutilated corpse of Comrade Aguilar (whoever struggles against this tyranny is our comrade) was found in a suburban ditch.

There was such a tremendous feeling of indignation among the workers that 200,000 sugar workers in the Tucuman district declared a strike as a sign of protest against the foul crime committed by Peronism. Here is the true response of the proletariat to the Peronist fraud.

The discontent even penetrated the subjugated parliament. The Radical deputy Caettano declared that Peron had enriched himself at the expense of the nation: what holy indignation the dictator displayed! A military tribunal passed judgment on Caettano in spite of his parliamentary immunity, stripping him of his rank as colonel in the Reserves. The tamed parliament of Peronist lackeys deprived him of his immunity and wanted to hand him over to the po-

Happily Caettano had a good sense of smell and took refuge in Uruguay's capital. Servile Peronist justice pursued him with its charge that he had offended and slandered the nation's a whole, basic industries and light industries included. chief.

disease gripping Argentina, and the crisis of Peronism

A Bonapartist dictatorship had been established in the heart of Latin America, a dictatorship of the totalitarian type, which threatened to dominate the entire continent. The excellent economic conjuncture which favored Argentine agriculture during the war permitted a rise in the workers' standard of living and the creation of new industries. Flushed with success, Peronism lost its head and thought this would last for a long time.

END OF THE ROAD?

But the lean years have arrived. The crumbs "generously" thrown to the "descamisados" (the poor workers) have lost any real value because of devaluation and inflation. The period of "founding new industries" has come to an end simultaneously with the decline from the export peak for agricultural products, barred from world markets by American and Canadian competition. Peronism's "social" farce has ended as it turns its face toward the conservative landowners.

The regime has entered the period of convulsions from which it can only be saved by complete capitulation before the bourgeois and big landowning class, and by the complete cancellation and repudiation of the "national revolution."

The fall of Peronism would be a mortal blow for all the petty dictatorships in South America-Odria of Peru, Chalbaud of Venezuela, Gomez of Colombia, Trujillo, and the

By HENRY JUDD It is common knowledge that the first part of the Marshall Plan-that aspect of it under which America poured billions of dollars worth of raw materials, goods and credits into the old veins of Western Europe in an effort to renew the flow of economic life-has now passed by and preparations are under way for a new phase, the second phase, of the plan's fulfillment. The first part, devoted to restoring the productivity of Western Europe, has had a considerable success, thanks to the hard work and energy of the European

lice assassins. like to place credit primarily on American supportrenewed production - but more fundamental factors were at work.

now stands at 120 per cent of its pre-war mark. This All this demonstrates the political must be understood in relation to other facts—such as increased population—but it nevertheless represents an astounding recovery; proof that Western Europe retains

others of the Carribean.

LABOR ACTION

WORLD, POLITICS

Western Europe Opposes Marshall Plan Attempt to Integrate Economy

cies toward the freezing of national economies in their existing shapes," to break down trade barriers, to stimulate competition and to encourage Europe to develop a single economy as opposed to a watertight, compartmental economy of a national basis. The phrase employed by Hoffmann, the Marshal Plan administrator, is "integration of European economy." It might appear that this is something similar to the proposed socialist unification of Western Europe, together with a planned production and distribution of resources. Hoffmann, of course, quickly countered such ideas or interpretations by explaining that what he had in mind might not be realized during this century-certainly not during his

2-is now being evolved by the ECA people and Hoffmann: the so-called clearing union, or central dollar fund setup. Under this scheme, which aims to finance a free-trade system and stimulate a more rapid exchange, the United States would drop its production credits and create a huge dollar fund permitting the mutual convertibility of Marshall Plan nation currencies. A new organization to manage this fund would be set up, and its total resources at first would be close to one billion dollars. It would act as a central clearing house for European currencies which would be freely convertible, contrary to the present arrangement.

against British objections. The British, anxious to preserve their small dollar hoard, oppose such integration of their resources and reserves into such a central system which might result in a further drainage of what remains to them.

tion of rival and regional trade blocs, the basic conflict being between England (anxious to hold together its narrow sterling bloc) and the Continent as a whole. But even within the Continental bloc France, which is its leader, struggles desperately to keep out Western Germany whose industrial recovery (the most amazing of all) threatens its leadership. Thus, all the old rivalries exist, even if in new and quite different forms, and it is highly doubtful if the type of central dollar pool described above could actually be formed.

tegic reason, of course, is a part of its plan to weld together Western Europe as one mighty, prosperous and centralized area standing as a bulwark against Russia and Stalinism. America wants free convertibility (under such a system, the dollar is absolute master since it is the most powerful and desirable currency); a lowering of tariffs (without any effort to lower its own tariffs correspondingly) and an end of the quota import system which makes governments all-powerful in determining and regulating imports. Integration of Europe's economy can be conceived of in many ways, it goes without saying. The American conception is one of bureaucratic control from above, with financial manipulation, all of which is aimed at strengthening American intervention and influence in Europe's social and economic life.

work contain elements of great potentiality and even revolutionary significance, provided they are executed in a proper way and under the leadership of others. The whole drive of European economy is and must be toward "integration," toward destruction of barriers and the free interchange of production and goods. Today, this movement remains in the hands of bourgeois and reactionary leaders who attempt to stifle, rather than give full vent, to such movements. At best, they

POLISH CAMARILLAS

'RUSSIAN MEN' SILENTLY PURGE CP 'COUNTRY MEN'

By A. RUDZIENSKI

The arrest of the French diplomats in Poland accused of espionage has distracted the world's attention from the recent appointment of the Russian Marshal Rokossovsky as "czarevitch" of Poland.

Although, as we predicted, "Czarevitch" Rokossovsky has not provoked the far-reaching events so anxiously expected by the Anglo-American bourgeoisie, he has proceeded to make certain "readjustments" within the official Stalinist party, causing a real panic among the dignitaries of the "popular democracy" in true Asiatic or Georgian style.

The arrests have reached the ministries and the leading posts in the Stalinist party. Of course, the purge was primarily directed against Gomulka's "nationalist" faction. Not only has Gomulka (Wieslaw) been arrested, but also those who in their time dared vote with him, such as Zenon Kliszko, Kowalski, and many others whose names we do not know. But the purge ordered by the new 'Grand Duke Constantine" Rokossovsky has not been limited solely to the Gomulka wing of the Stalinist party; the antagonism existing between the Stalinist leaders and militants who were shaped and hardened in the underground struggles inside Poland, on the one hand, and on the other those who lived in Russia during those years eating the well earned bread of Stalin's lackeys, has been brought into the open; the breach is now official.

THE TWO CAMABILLAS

The former, called the "krajowcy" (country-men), conserved something of the traditions of the old Polish revolutionary movement; similarly they preserved a certain attachment to their country, a regard for the Polish workers' movement, and the remnants of a feeling of independence with regard to Moscow. To this group belong (outside the Gomulka faction) Minister of Industry Minc, Chief of Militia Jozwiak, Prime Minister Cyrankiewicz (who is not important politically and has no Communist past) and various others of lesser importance.

To the ranks of the second group, whom we can call "russkiye liudi" (Russian men), belong the "Czarevitch" Rokossovsky, "President" Bierut, Minister of Security Radkiewicz (a White Russian), General Zawadzky, and various others.

During the first period of Polish occupation, the Kremlin mainly used the "nationals" for the official posts of prestige. The "Russian men" remained in the shadows, controlling

"FREE PRESS"?

the key positions. There was always an antagonism and rivalry between these bureaucratic camarillas, which the GPU took Machiavellian care to foment.

Page 3

The "Russian men" always felt themselves the real bosses, nearer the Kremlin heaven, and looked down with scorn on the "native" puppets. Now this struggle has broken out with a fury and hatred, since Stalin considers the "natives" as a potential source of danger, the potential "Titoists," whom he wishes to eliminate.

Panic has seized the reigning camarilla in Warsaw to such a degree that the position of Berman himself, considered until now the brains of the government, is not considered very sure. In spite of his Jewish antecedents, Berman is suspected of a true attachment to Poland and is considered a "national" and not a "ruskij chelaviek."

CANNIBAL WAR

The same thing has occurred to poor Minc, former economic dictator of Poland, whose merits in the economic reconstruction of his country are undeniable. The "nationals," who take seriously the interests of their country, constitute a danger for the Russian occupiers.

Their liquidation is being carried out, not in the Bulgarian or Hungarian style, but silently, in the night, in the dungeons of the GPU: all means are being used to cloak these events from the eyes of public opinion in the country and the world. The elimination, first political and then physical, is proceeding according to ruthless plan, accompanied by a fierce hatred, cannibalistic in intensity.

The purge has been broadened also to take in the "paputchikis" (fellow travelers), the leaders of the shadowparties who surrendered to Stalinism with so much servility. The vice-ministers arrested, in their majority, belong to these groups. And of course the Polish intellectuals have begun their "self-criticisms" and entered the road of moral self-destruction, among them the "grand priest" of literary crticism, Zolkiewski, a semi-intellectual of the new Stalinist stamp. Similarly, the notorious Borejsza, ex-dictator of the press, is considered excessively "national," and has fallen into disgrace.

The appointment of Rokossovsky is. having grave consequences in the reorganization of the official Stalinist party. The struggle goes on in silence, in conspiratorial silence. It seems that Stalin fears to provoke Polish resistance. But the silent purge prepares the way for a bloody slaughter in Poland.

Not in the Headlines

Back to Methuselah

in the CIO Cheyfitz was a leading Stalinist. He was one of the founders George Bernard Shaw, the most of the Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers

duction has been restored, is to "integrate the economic life of Western Europe by counter-acting those tenden-

cited at length.

MORE DISCUSSION ON-

its historic and social vitality and its sense of being the

tive figures would reveal many weaknesses, most sig-

nificant of which would indicate a tendency toward a

leveling-off of the rate of recovery, together with un-

favorable contrasts between pre-war productive rates

and costs; a weakness in the availability and invest-

ment of fresh capital and no decline in the proportion

of worn-out machinery used. Important as such factors

are-for they indicate the truth of the Marxist conten-

tion that the continuation of capitalism results in social

and productive stagnation-there are more significant

things to be considered, namely, the functioning and

operation of capitalism in Western Europe, now that it

Anne O'Hare McCormick, in the N. Y. Times (De-

cember 19) places her finger on the new and feature

issue at stake: "the plan tended to produce exactly the

opposite effect. In putting the prime emphasis on na-

tional production, and distributing aid on the basis of

dollar deficits, it helped fortify the historic economic

boundaries and encouraged the participants to narrow

their sights and concentrate pretty exclusively on their

own patricular projects and problems." Production is

now tapering off steadily not because the need has de-

clined (the reconstruction of France, Italy and Western

Germany even to a level of 1939 would still be a work

of years of effort, demanding billions of dollars), but

because of marketing difficulties and exchange controls.

tion, which is now listed in the category of "overpro-

duction"! With dozens of cities requiring reconstruction

from the ground up, there are now 6 million idle tons of

steel in countries, such as Germany, able to produce

comparatively cheaper than France or England. Protec-

tive tariffs and exchange regulations prevent the export

or import of this idle steel. A N. Y. Times reporter quotes

a trade expert as follows: "It is as cockeyed a picture

as could well be imagined and makes a mockery of the

talk about economic cooperation in Europe." Other

examples of the blocking of trade and its flows could be

Plan, Phase 2, is, enters the picture. The purpose of

the new phase of this plan, we are told, now that pro-

It is here that the question of what the Marshall

The most sensational example is that of steel produc-

has attained such a high level of recovery.

"COCKEYED PICTURE"

To be sure, a careful analysis of even the produc-

world's cultural and productive center.

working class together with the powerful resources which still remain. American officials, of course, would lifetime. which unquestionably supplied a powerful stimulus to OLD RIVALRIES REMAIN Instead, a new economic scheme-the heart of phase It is estimated that Western European production as

Such a plan, now under discussion, runs smack up

The tendency in Europe is now towards the organiza-

Why does the United States propose this? Its stra-

Yet it must be recognized that the tendencies at yield only to that which is absolutely essential.

articulate nonagenarian in the world, recently had a letter published in the Glasgow Forward advising pacifists that it's all right to oppose war before it breaks out, but that they have to fight after it does. He wrote:

"A country that engages in war rightly or wrongly, is like a ship that has struck a breaker and is leaking. The order must be 'All hands to the pumps,' no matter how faulty or wicked the navigators may have been. You and your family and your neighbors must shoot or be shot. Pacifists should do all they can to prevent war; but if it nevertheless breaks out it is too late to do anything but fight." With this echo of the classic formula of the patrioteer - Stephen Decatur's "My country, right or wrong,"-Shaw's metaphor of the endangered ship is as powerful a justification for national unity behind a Hitler, a Mussolini or a Stalin as it is for rallying behind British or American imperialism. Shaw himself would not mind that, being an old admirer of the three gentlemen mentioned.

More on a Turncoat

et

A short item entitled "Turncoat" in the December 26 issue of LABOR ACTION gave the case of Edward Cheyfitz, described as "a former member of the CIO national executive board who resigned several years ago to become assistant to Eric Johnston," who was a featured speaker before the recent convention of the National Association of Manufacturers, where he advised the assembly on how to do labor in.

We now have a further fact to add on this turncoat: he was, as described, a former CIO executive member, but J. Mullen-a CIO official.

Union and an important CP wheel for many years. It is this Stalinist hack who went over lock, stock and barrel to the NAM, from one form of reaction to another.

Pritty Boys

Press reports from Britain sometimes have occasion to refer to the group of "Independent Labor" members of parliament, meaning Konni Zilliacus, D. N. Pritt, Lester Hutchinson, J. Platts-Mills and L. J. Solley. The Socialist Leader, organ of the Independent Labor Party, for December 10, drew its readers' attention to the fact that these so-called "Independent Labor" MPs have nothing to do with the ILP. They are, in fact, well-known fellow travelers of the Communist Party, which has indeed voted to support them as against Labor Party candidates in the next election. The Socialist Leader suggests they be tagged "Pritties."

Question and Answer

Announcement in the Salt Lake City Tribune:

"The minister's sermon will be: 'How Can We Deal with the World Crisis? "Mrs. will sing: 'Search Me, O God.' "

Let 'Em Starve

In Clairton, Pa., the city fathers went to a local bank for a \$50,000 loan needed to buy relief food for steel strikers' families. The bank flatly refused the loan to Mayor John



German Arms and Socialist Policy

Comrade Eugene Keller's discussion article, "Socialist Policy and the Rearmament of the New Germany," resembles nothing so much as a ride on a roller-coaster. There is the same slow initial ascent, the same hairraising turns and drops, the same confusion of impressions at the end of the ride.

The article is very unclear and incomplete, especially in motivatthe main thesis. But the thesis itself is clear. "The German Social-Democrats," says Keller, "have not as yet, to our knowledge, taken any position on the military plans for Germany. It would seem to be their task not to oppose the rearming of the German people; to oppose it would be utterly unrealistic. But they must oppose the re-creation of a type of army that existed up to 1945; they must fight the vesting of control over a future German army in the government of Adenauer and his associates."

"It would be plausible and practical to propose and build a militia based on the existing mass organizations, such as the trade unions, peasant organizations, etc., with election and rotation of officers and a certain number of hours per week devoted to training in the many special skills needed in a modern army."

MILITIA WON'T WORK

Let us be very generous and grant that it should be the position of socialists to advocate such an army, for all of Keller's reasons, stated and unstated. His solution, however, is an impossible one. A militia such as he proposes was possible in the 19th century when the rifle was still a key weapon. World War I spelled the doom of this concept. The Red Guard of the Russian Revolution quickly

proved inadequate and was soon transformed from just such a militia into an army more closely approximating one of the regular type. Modern conditions of warfare imposed it. In an age of mechanized warfare involving complex military machinery of all sorts (tanks, communications, aircraft, guided missiles, radar, landing craft, aircraft carriers, sub-



marines, etc.) such a militia is useless for the purpose Keller intends. Modern warfare is not a sparetime activity. At best such a militia could engage in guerrilla actions, hardly more. Needless to say, any half-alert reactionary could slash the proposal to ribbons. Keller is, therefore, left with his problem still unsolved.

How did Keller work himself into this fix?

He seems to rule out the defeat of Stalinism by other than military means: "How," he asks, "can the onslaught of the Russian armies be stopped?" As far as Germany is concerned, he states, it is by the creation of a "qualitative army." "The new German army, however, no matter how 'qualitative' it be, must have an ideology. It must at the least be able to feel that it is fighting for a country of its own, if nothing more sublime." But have all political possibilities

been exhausted? Obviously not. We hardly need the direct evidence of socialist friends who have recently returned from Europe to be aware of the great yearning for peace which possesses the European masses caught between two giant imperialisms. It is this desire for peace which the CP has in part capitalized upon in building up its forces in Western Europe. It lies, in part, behind Schumacher's denunciation of the "Adenauer government in the Bonn parliament as an agent of the Western powers." It makes possible our proposal for a Western Union opposed to both Washington and Moscow.

TROTSKY'S SLOGAN?

If our program for an Independent Western Union is not realized, then will be the time for us to take up the program with which Keller begins. A program for the democratization of the army such as we advocated in World War II will then be in order. Keller's position is a very inept variation of Trotsky's slogan of conscription under trade union control which was, among other things, prompted by the political and military demoralization of the French bourgeois cadres before Hitlerism, by what Trotsky felt was a lack of opposition to the war on the part of the working class, and by an anticipated

rapidly maturing revolutionary situation during the war-none of which conditions currently obtain in the

case of Germany. Further there are many issues of a high order of priority to be taken up (occupation, partition, low production levels, dismantling, the DPs. etc.) before international tensions reach the acuteness which led Trotsky to advance what we in any event considered a confused slogan.

Insofar as Keller seeks to ground his position it seems to be based upon an extension of the right of nations to self-determination. ("But the first necessity is the unconditional recognition of the right of the Germans as a nation to have their own armed forces.") Of course, the socialist movement advocates the right of all nations to govern themselves. We advocate it, among other reasons, because self-determination removes one more impediment to the confronting of the national bourgeoisie by its own working class.

REARM NOW?

While we can recognize the right of a bourgeois nation like Germany to have its own army, it is hardly something we agitate for, any more than we agitate for its right to have prisons or cops. Concerning these institutions, we can advance numerous proposals, including their abolition. The governing condition is the advancement of the interests of the working class. Keller's task here is to give reasons for rearming Germany other than the statement that 'to oppose rearming "would be utterly unrealistic."

Keller, it should be noted, is even for rearming Germany now, i.e., before Germany can exercise the right of self-determination, and while it is in all that is essential an instrument of United States imperialism, a fact which does not square with his theoretical premise.

Keller concludes by asking us all to "pluck up what little courage it takes to defy the State Department on an exceedingly vital issue."

We are perfectly willing to issue a modest defi to the State Department, an institution whose unconditional right to existence we can only grudgingly admit in any case, but before we do we would like further clarification of the position Keller is advocating.

the next time around.

James M. FENWICK

WISCONSIN EDITOR TELLS **OF 'CANNED EDITORIALS'**

The many direct and indirect ways in which big money influences and controls the press is usually discussed in terms of the big-city newspapers, many or most of which can afford to resist the most open forms of pressure. A good part of America, however, still relies for its news and views on the small-town newspaper; and it is here especially that big business runs riot with the "freedom of the press."

Among the most interesting direct testimonials on how this takes place appeared recently in a small-town Wisconsin newspaper and was given further circulation by the weekly Labor published by the railroad unions. William Bechtel, editor of the Grant County Independent, wrote the following exposé:

Canned Editorials

One of my pet peeves is guys from New York who write free editorials and send them to us small-town papers, hoping we'll be fool enough to print them.

To cite an exact case, let's talk about the Bloomington Record, published by Clem Slaats, only about 15 miles from here. Like many other weekly editors, Clem runs an editorial every week, under his own masthead, but the editorial isn't written by Clem.

It's written by George Peck. As far as a casual reader knows, George ight be just another of Clem's employees. But he isn't.

George Peck, you see, runs one of the biggest propaganda mills in the United States. From his swank New York office, George and his boys turn out editorials by the dozen, to earn their pay from the large corporations. Then they mail them out to us in the sticks, and, whenever we swallow the bait and print them, George clips them out, shows them to his sponsors, and says:

"See, I got that attack on labor into 75 papers last week. Our argument against federal aid to education was printed in 150 papers. When we attaaked extending social security, we got into nearly 200° papers. And no one charged us a cent."

The Bloomington Record ran one of George Peck's editorials not long ago, demanding that the U. S. post office system be turned over to private business. I wonder which one of George Peck's millionaire bosses asked him to sneak that into our small-town newspapers?

One of them apparently would like a monopoly on our postal system. There should be some good profits in that.

I cite the Record only as one example of a small-town journal whose editorial department has been infiltrated by George Peck. Hundreds of other papers turn to Propagandist Peck for help. . . .

You've got to give George Peck credit. He has freed hundreds of small. town American newspapers of the chore of writing editorials. If it didn't have a frightening resemblance to the thought-control of Hitler Germany, it probably wouldn't be complaining.



LABOR ACTION

efficient foreign administration.

THE REVOLT OF 1947

ture. Like locusts, every official brought his swarm of

retainers. In place of her modern Japanese taxation

system, there was introduced the system of repeated,

uncertain, pyramiding taxes, much of which remained

in personal pockets. Cynical repression replaced the

The Formosans were pressed to the limits of endur-

ance. When cholera broke out in 1946 the Chinese officials

sold UNRRA medicines on the black market to the help-

less victims at whatever the traffic could bear. A thou-

sand lepers were loosed from the leprosariums because

the administration would not spare funds for their main-

tenance. Japanese as a language was suppressed and

Chinese made mandatory. Bribery became the national

means of getting along among a people who had lived

under the Japanese code of honest administration. Con-

cubinage was introduced. Prostitution became common.

strip a people of wealth, they did not know how to

operate a modern industry. Gradually the modern in-

stallations came to a halt. Agriculture and industry

both fell into decline. Black-market prices rose to 800

per cent of official prices. Inflation is increasing daily.

of 1947-an unarmed uprising of desperate people. The

object of the revolt was not yet independence but sim-

ply the reform of government, to lighten the tax bur-

den and reduce corruption. To guarantee this the For-

mosans set up local governments of their own which.

however, acknowledged the sovereignty of the central

ple. Troops poured in from the mainland and were let

Chiang's response was the massacre of 20,000 peo-

regime and agreed to carry out its laws.

This was the background of the Formosan revolt

While the medieval minds of the Kuomintang could

January 16, 1950

Jamaica Gag

When the governor of the British colony of Jamaica, Sir John Huggins, recently instituted his new gag law, a stink was raised which penetrated to London and finally brought about the withdrawal of the act, temporarily at least.

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The gag law approached in character the new decree being issued in the Russian satellites to guard "national secrets." It would make it a criminal offense to give or receive information about a case under trial in a magistrate's court, to publish anything that has been discussed in the island's Executive Council, etc. As a result of the furor, the British colonial Office issued an order to hold up the law pending an inquiry, contending that the British Official Secrets Act, which applies to Jamaica also, is sufficient.

But the Jamaican government has threatened to reintroduce the same law, or one like it, if press behavior continues to be "unsatisfactory" from their viewpoint.

Feline Fair Deal

According to a Long Island University instructor, Milton Fisher, what this country needs is annuities for cats, who (or which) are too often left out in the cold, cruel world when their owners die.

Ailurophiles (cat-lovers, in common parlance) have to face the choice: Shall cats retain their ancient rugged individualism or become helpless dependents on the welfare state? Taft, Eisenhower and other rugged individuals, as well as Truman and the ADA, will have to face this burning question.

Chiang, Washington, and Stalinists Vie for Control but -**Powers Ignore Formosa's Right to Freedom!**

(Continued from page 1)

Page 4

he is a real old China hand, having made a considerable fortune in his buccaneering days. Haldeman-Julius, the inveterate muckraker, once accused Hoover of owning a leading interest in a smuggler shipping line engaged in the China slave and opium trade.

The less raucous but more consistent spokesmen for Chiang, like Representative Judd, bridled at this radical approach. They pointed out that Chiang was merely asking for a substantial military mission and the \$90 million already voted by Congress for Asiatic arms. Since Chiang must reckon with politics, and not just naked force, his representatives are unwilling to yield the anti-Communist crusade in China to other hands. Let U. S. support the Kuomintang clique, guarantee its continued existence and stand by till the next world war. These corrupt looters desire mainly to retain a toehold while being kept well-heeled with American dollars.

Sordid motives and intrigue are common factors in this desperate effort to save something from the wreckage. The navy looked with favor on the Hoover-Taft plan because of the two excellent harbors on Formosa. Adoption of their thesis would shift the balance of power among the branches of the armed forces, since neither the U.S. air forces nor the army have any strategic interest there. U. S. intervention would not only be a big naval operation but, since the island is too close to China for land-based planes, the air task forces for the area would come under navy control.

CHENNAULT AND MAC ARTHUR

Inside each of the military high commands are factions susceptible to such pressures as General Chennault's. Chennault recently acquired all remaining Chinese airlines, with the probable connivance of important government circles. As his attorney for legal. defense of this acquisition he has employed William Donovan, former OSS chief and a personage with many connections in Washington departments..

Looming over the scene is the shadow of General MacArthur, His voice is that of Senator Knowland of California, who favors extending the general's jurisdiction to include the entire western Pacific, with Formosa as the useful immediate level for such extension. Knowland's special contribution to the hue and cry was the revelation of a State Department document that Formosa could not be held by Chiang and that the U.S. could and should do nothing about it. Pointedly, this secret document leaked from Tokyo.

All these groups have in common, besides personal and financial motives, the basing of policy on ruthless strategic needs from the simplest military viewpoint and utter disregard of the peoples involved. This is the spirit of the thinkers of the American Century and Pax Americana. The direct economic motive of dollar imperialism is lacking. And this is not necessarily a sign of progress, but rather an indication of the low estate of capitalism.

Acheson and Truman reached their decision from the somewhat higher level of international politics. Their Formosa policy was an application of the thesis

in the White Paper on China. Acheson pointed out that reaucracy-and its provincial, cliquish, stultified culthe Kuomintang was not short of funds, munitions or men; if they needed military advisers they could be hired. The State Department directive stated that intervention could "involve the U.S. in a long-term venture, producing at best a new area of bristling stalemate, and, at worst, possible involvement in open warfare.'

LET THE FORMOSANS BE HEARD!

Intervention was discarded because it could not serve the higher political interests of U.S. diplomacy, which is now shifting its base to India and Japan. The State Department, for example, is heavily involved in the British Empire Conference at Colombo, Ceylon. The State Department also cherishes the thesis that, if not open Titoism, at least deep fissures, can be made in the Chinese CP leadership by a more benevalent policy.

But like the rabid militarists, this "enlightened" policy has power politics as its point of departure. And like the former, it disregards the Formosan people.

Nor is the Chinese CP in any different position. It too simply asserts its legal right to Formosa, basing this right on the notorious Yalta decision where small and large nations were distributed as on a chessboard.

None of these groups have proposed to let the pawns speak for themselves. No one in a position of power has spoken up in defense of the rights of the six million Formosans. Yet no one has a better right to be heard.

There is no better single criterion for nationhood than the struggle of a body of people to become a political entity.

Formosa is largely peopled by Chinese, many of them old settlers dating back to the collapse of the Ming dynasty in 1644. After the Sino-Japanese war of 1890, Japan took Formosa and held it for 50 years. During this time the island was transformed. It became alienated from the main currents of Chinese life and instead entered on the road of modernization taken by Japan.

It became an integral part of the inner empire and was an administrative unit of the central Japanese government rather than a colony. It became the Hawaii of Japan, its sugar bowl. Extensive railroads, airfields and harbor installations were developed along with modern mines and industrial establishments. Yet its people did not become Japanese.

THE ORDEAL OF FORMOSA

While the Formosans never became quite reconciled to Japanization, the gap with China became wider than they knew. Formosa was a relatively modern society while China groaned in the agony of the most corrupt warlordism. When Chiang and his carpetbaggers moved in on the island in 1945 they were received as liberators because of the feeling of common cultural origins. But the Formosans soon saw their error.

The Kuomintang brought with it its secret police, its inefficiency, the personal squeeze, labyrinthine bu-

Truman Economic Report Points—

depression, at least within the next happen politically during 1950 depends to a very great extent on the ability of the country to continue with something like its present degree of prosperity.

On the other hand, however, the TRENDS in the economy are not as reassuring as the general optimism of the president's report would seem to imply. And that is important too. For if there is one thing that needs to be firmly grasped by working people, if they are to know how to act in their own best interests, it is to look at the TRENDS and not at the situation as it is at any particular moment.

One trend of vital importance to workers is unemployment. According to the report, average unemployment during 1949 was 3.4 million, or about five per cent of the working force (or one out of every twenty employable workers). Even during December, after considerable improvement had taken place from the

ilies of America spent more than they earned during the year. That means that they will have even less to spend during the coming year. And as the rich do most of the "saving," it is safe to estimate that another third just about broke even.

Now, what policies does the president propose which, if carried out, are to bring us to the 300 billion mark in five years? They are the usual policies of the "Fair Deal," with one difference. All the commentators who represent business interests agree that the policies proposed in the economic report tend to create a more favorable atmosphere for the capitalists than was the case last year.

Specifically, there is a general proposal to change the tax laws to favor the big boys, with a vague promise that this will also result in an over-all increase in revenue. Further, there is no insistence, as there was six months ago, on a general wage increase

prices are leveling off, and that the early part of 1949, or that even with workers should look for improve- a high general level of employment

ward since 1948. A third of the fam- jor wage increases during the past astating. But even a new Marshall year is now reflected in an economic report which doesn't suggest that wage increases are necessary.

loose on helpless civilians. The people fell into despair.

a foothold. Whatever the reason, the fact is clear.

.

Yet, at no time did the Communist Party ever gain

The dwindling fortunes of the Nationalists do not

have a long future on Formosa, left to themselves.

Barring U. S. intervention, the people will grow strong-

er against this rotting power. On the other hand, a

Stalinist invastion will not only bring war to the

island but, if victorious, will establish a new Chinese

and Stalinist tyranny. The people of Formosa have not

been participants in the Chinese civil war and neither

side has a claim to rule them. Of recent years their

only politics has been first anti-Japanese and then anti-

Chiang. Their only desire is to disengage themselves

two years an independence movement has begun to

grow. From Hong Kong and Tokyo its agents have begun

to organize a Free Formosa party. This movement is

still in its infancy and it is small, because the police

regime keeps it suppressed. Yet it is bound to grow as

against the Kuomintang because the latter can only grow

weaker. If Stalinism conquers, this movement will be

Socialists should defend the rights of the Free For-

mosans. Its people have a right to peace and this is

oppose the Stalinist invasion as much as the Chinese

dictatorship. This program for a Free Formosa also

Let the people decide their own future! That is the

possible only through independence. Socialists should

All this does not yet make a nation. But in the last

Hatred for all things Chinese went underground.

Stalinism has no strength on this island.

from Chinese political struggles.

suppressed with a far heavier hand.

applies to other areas such as Tibet.

only democratic road.

True, their policies have led to drawing big business into extension of the social-security program. But everyone recognizes that necessary as such a program is, it will not solve the problems of the economy.

As for the president's rosy predictions of a \$1,000-a-year increase for every family in five years, it is perfectly safe to predict that this will not become a fact. Rather, the chances are that five years from now the working people will be somewhat worse off than they are today.

There are three major reasons for this. First, there is no reason to believe that either total unemployment or the proportion of unemployment to the total labor force will decrease, short of a full-blown armament economy. It is more likely that in five years there will either be a deep-Instead, the president states that er recession than we had in the

Plan and further props to the dying capitalist system abroad cannot hope to restore the American economy to long-term health, as such a program necessarily distorts normal economic development here.

Thirdly, the final resource for keeping the American economy out of major trouble is government spending, and particularly government spending on armaments. Though such spending can keep the economy going at a relatively high level, it does not increase the real standard of living of the people.

In the meantime, the public shift of government pronouncements to an openly pro-businessmen's economic point of view should make organized labor stop and think a bit. Labor has allied itself through its leaders with this government, and through its leaders it has got to depend on it more and more for support and favors. But the nature of this alliance has been one in which labor does the work and delivers the vote, and the Democratic politicians

NOT IN THE HEADLINES Bavaria]. The administration of jus- edge can of course always quit and

Moscow Outrage

In Moscow four boys were recently given prison sentences of 14 years ling one sheep. The state

tice, the educational system, the fi- cash in to a merry tune if he cares been accompanied by the reassertion animate a man anyway?" of Nazi influence ad, indeed, direction in commerce and industry." And he adds, "There is a disturb-Let 'Em Die ing tendency on the part of some United States officials to treat this as 'normal' or 'natural.'" In the recent German election, when it was clear that the German people demanded to have their country back and to regain national independence, American authorities in the country claimed to be appalled by this "resurgence of nationalism." But they do not seem to be appalled by the return to power of real Nazis and pro-Nazis.

nance ministry, all are full of for- to; the capital is filled with fixers mer Nazis. This development has who are without a fraction of Clifford's experience. But what motives

(Continued from page 1) few months. It is important to keep that in mind. For what is going to

successfully claimed that one sheep stolen by four boys constituted grand larceny.

The place was Moscow, IDAHO, in the United States, and the four young victims of this outrageous sentence were Indian boys.

Mazey Answers

Emil Mazey, secretary-treasurer of the UAW-CIO, has blasted the charges, made by Truman's committee on religion and welfare, that the "Get the Boys Home" drive which started among the armed forces during the demobilization period was launched by subversive forces, Communists, etc.

Mazey, who was himself one of the leaders of the movement in the South Pacific, having been drafted into the army while president of the Briggs local, said there was not "a single member of the Communist Party" among the leadership of the campaign.

Not Appalled Now

Writing in the Dec. 15 N. Y. Times, Drew Middleton, correspondent in Germany, notes "the return of thousands of former Nazis to positions in the state and local governments [of taché with Clifford's inside knowl-



By L. G. SMITH

The subscriptions to LABOR AC-TION continue to come in. Further efforts by branch literature agents and organizers are necessary if we are going to increase subscriptions to the paper to a more substantial extent. The score for the week ending January 7 is given below, on the basis described in this column before:

	Sub	Score
Branch	Score	Subs
Los Angeles	. 1	1
Reading	2	1
Philadelphia	. 4	2
New York	5	4
Akron	3	2
Streator	4	2
Pittsburgh	1	1
1444 Mar 1997 Mar 1997 Mar 1997	_ /	
Total	.26	17

The Lost Leader Clark Clifford, Truman's ghost-

writer and his "liberal counsel... one of the strongest liberal forces," according to the New Republic, quit his job last month on the ground that he had to make more money. His salary had just been upped to \$20,000 a year but the Alsop brothers wrote in their Washington column that he just can't continue "to eat roots" - not even \$20,000 worth of roots a year. The New Republic's Washington columnist writes that "we sit and brood" over this liberal's action, and hints strongly: "Any White House at-

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Marx" by Franz Mehring. They are

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bargain for this standard biography.

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tion NOW.

New mark for downright foulness in the American Medical Association campaign against health insurance comes from the New York State Journal of Medicine, one of the or-

gans whooping up the AMA drive, which had this to say: "We readily admit that under it (the present system) a certain number of cases of early tuberculosis and cancer, may go undetected. Is it not better that a few such should perish than that the majority of the population should be encouraged on every occasion to run sniveling to the doc-

AMAzing Story

"The American Medical Association won't leave a bone unturned in its efforts to defeat the government's health program," declared a doctor at the AMA national conference early in December. Naturally, all the bones thus turned -and purses picked-will belong to their patients.

Equality

"The Golden Rule has been literally and figuratively Penney's backbone.... No one in the company makes a salary of more than \$10,000 a year; top executives get a percentage of sales in addition to the maximum salary." (From Trends, published by the NAM.)

company is equal but some are more equal than others. Or as the NAM Golden Rule reads: "Do unto others as you would other do unto you, and those who do others the most will



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high point in July, unemployment was 3.5 million, and 1.6 million more than during December of 1948. Further, there has been a rapid rise in the number of workers who have exhausted their unemployment benefits without being able to find a job. This means that unemployment is not just a matter of turnover between jobs but is long-term unemployment for increasing numbers.

INVESTMENT LAGS

Another trend is the continued falling-off of business investment. Six months ago, when the president submitted his previous economic report, he stated that the key to the whole question of continued prosperity was business investment. At that time, he urged businessmen to continue to act as if there would be prosperity by not laying off workers, not cuttnig production, and by continuing to invest in plant.

As purchasing power gradually caught up with the goods piled up in inventories, the capitalists did, in fact, increase production slightly in many fields. But they have not yet shown enough confidence in their own economic system to invest their money in substantial amounts in new plant or plant improvement.

Such continuous investment is vital to the capitalist system. The president states in his report that this economy must either continue to grow, or it will go into a sharp decline. And the only way in which it can grow "healthily," that is, through private investment, is precisely the way in which it is failing to grow.

But then why are we not in the midst of a depression? Most of the answer can be found in two words: government spending. The ratio of all government payments to the total national output increased from 20 per cent in 1948 to 231/2 per cent in 1949.

That is quite a bit, even in this vast economy. It is approaching a quarter of the whole national output. A part of it is spent on things of benefit to the people, such as schools, highways, and various municipal, state and federal services. But an increasing share of it is spent on various direct and indirect subsidies to business, and on preparations for World War III. Expenditures for past, present and future wars are up to 76 per cent of the budget.

PRO-BUSINESS SHIFT

Savings are another index of a healthy capitalist economy. Yet the trend in this respect has been down-

ment to higher productivity rather than to an increasing share in the total product through wage increases. That is what the capitalists and all their spokesmen have been saying

for years, and it fits their plans of speedup like a glove.

The report proposes an increase in social-security payments and a widening of their coverage to additional groups in the nation. It is quite likely that some such measures will be passed by Congress. The union drive for company pensions during the past years has converted some of the most rock-ribbed opponents of improvements in social security into ardent supporters of social security financed by taxation rather than out of profits.

EVERYTHING OK?

Another trend noted by the president has been a sharp falling-off in exports during the latter part of 1949. This was caused by the devaluation of foreign currencies and by the inability of other nations to sell to the United States. This trend is of major importance not only to the American economy itself, but to the stability of the whole capitalist world.

The report proposes to overcome it chiefly through the "Point 4" program of encouraging technical assistance and investment in the more backward countries. But so far nei-BUFFALO ther Congress nor the big investors have shown much inclination to splurge in foreign investment. The most significant aspect of the CHICAGO

report is the soothing effect on government thinking of the failure of the 1949 recession to work itself into a full-blown depression. Most of the proposals for increasing business activity are purely technical in character. The report shows little of the apparent crusading spirit of the one submitted six months ago.

Working people may well take note of the complacency. For at bottom it means that the administration feels that everything is now working out satisfactorily and labor can take care of itself in the "normal" processes of collective bargaining.

FOR BETTER OR WORSE?

This shift in thinking can be NEW YORK CITY blamed chiefly on the leaders of the labor movement themselves. Since the election victory of Truman at CHelsea 2-9681. the end of 1948 the labor leaders have taken the position that, since they have a friend in the White House, their policies should be such as not to embarrass "their" administration. The failure to fight for ma-

there will also be a constant increase in the army of the unemployed.

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tween John R. and Brush). Educa-

tional program for evening begins

213 S. Broadway, Room 201.

Second, the Marshall Plan and the whole European economy is heading into a storm of major proportions. Should this develop into full collapse, the effects here would be dev-

make policy and have the power Perhaps the politicians' shift will convince some workers who have gone along with this policy in the past that it is high time that they organized their political forces in such a way that they have the power. A careful reading of the president's economic report might help that conviction along.



All readers of LABOR ACTION are invited to attend meetings, classes, lectures and socials sponsored by local branches of the INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST LEAGUE. For general information and literature of the ISL, and for local information not given below, write to: INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST LEAGUE, 4 Court Square, Long Island City 1, New York. For information on the SOCIALIST YOUTH LEAGUE, youth organization of the ISL, write to the SYL at the same address. Telephone: IRonsides 6-5117.

> Brooklyn - Brownsville Branch: Wednesday, 8:15 p.m. at De Luxe Palace, 538 Howard Ave. (near Pitkin).

Queens Branch: Write to ISL at City Center, 114 West 14th Street.

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171.5

Industrial Branch: Thursday, 8:15 p.m. at City Center.

In other words, everyone in the get a percentage in addition."