Next Week Labor Action Becomes an 8-Page Tabloid! LABOR ACTION

Beginning with next week's issue, LABOR ACTION changes the dress which it has worn for ten years to become a tabloid of eight pages.

The pages will be exactly half the size they are now and double the number. The amount of printed material will be the same as it is now.

Any change in format is strictly limited in its effect, but we expect the change to make for an even better, more readable and more consistently interesting LA.

That aim depends, of course, upon many things more important than the format-we will only mention at this point that we have other plans which will bear fruit, we hope, before many weeks of the new tabloid LA have gone by.

LA's new look, however, was decided upon at the beginning of this year (it's been in preparation since then) and starts in coincidence with the launching of the Independent Socialist League Fund Drive, at the conclusion of which we celebrate the tenth anniversary of the founding of our paper and of the ISL (originally, the Workers Party). More than ever LA will be worthy of the ten years of socialist education to which we have contributed so greatly up to now.

There's a minor and a major reason for the tabloid change, both of them being well-known advantages of the smaller format which we think apply with special force to what LA is trying to do. (In addition, there are more technical advantages which do not affect the reader at his end but will tend to make the editorial work somewhat easier in the circumstances under which our overburdened staff works.)

The minor reason is the greater convenience of the tabloid form-for reading, binding, carrying, etc. The more important reason has to do with the internal organization of the contents.

LA, both as a weekly and as a socialist-propaganda organ, is not, of course, merely a newspaper in the sense of the daily press. Much of its contents—and the part not least appreciated by its readers—consists of "feature" material: political interpretation, analysis, comment and discussion, on current history, socialist problems, the labor movement, etc. ,

It's quite a combination we necessarily have to make-from labor news and views to socialist education and discussion of the problem of Marxism today, from education for a labor party in the United States to exploration of the complicated questions of European politics. One of the standard characteristics of the tabloid form-with its greater number of pages and smaller area on each page-is that it makes possible greater compartmentalization and better internal organization of varied material in the same available space. That's better fitted for our task.

A LOOK AHEAD

We don't always need a quarter of the paper-namely, the front pagedevoted to major news coverage. A good part of our readers find our longer interpretative and analytical articles the most valuable part of the paper, but we don't always want a couple of such articles to overshadow in bulk everything else in the issue. The week's developments don't always call for a lead story on a news event, but the large-size newspaper format pretty much makes that mandatory. A few weeks of the tabloid LA will demonstrate what we mean more clearly.

Here's a rough "table of organization" for the new-look LA. Page 1 will feature the two or three main news events of the week, or the main political feature of the issue, as well as headlining the most important inside stories. Continuations go over to the last page, so that the paper merely has to be flipped over for the "jump." Page 2 and 3, facing each other, will carry the main survey of the rest of the week's news: news of the labor movement on the one side, international politics on the other. Page four and five-the "inside spread"-will be organized as the standing feature section-editorials, reviews of books, magazines, and films, "World Politics," "Not in the Headlines," and regular columns. Page 6 and 7, also facing each other, will ordinarily be a kind of magazine section: longer articles on issues of the day and political discussion.

Incidentally, next week starts a new column we've been trying to promote for some time. It's a column to be called "You and Science," taking up the impact of social and political events on the scientific world and vice versa. It will appear every other week or so conducted by Carl Darton, who knows his field.

Also new, on the inside-spread pages will be a department called "Reading from Left to Right." That title was used in LA some years ago; this time it heads a boxful of magazine "clippings," significant items from the

FEBRUARY 20, 1950

A PAPER IN THE INTEREST OF SOCIALISM

FIVE CENTS

MINERS DEFY TRUMAN'S T-H IN FIGHT FOR ALL OF LABOR!

Kutcher Starts Suit to Test **Purge Program**

WASHINGTON, Feb. 9-The government's loyalty program was challenged as unconstitutional and contrary to proper judicial procedure in a crucial civil suit filed today by the legless veteran, James Kutcher, in the U. S. District Court at Washing-

ton, D. C. Kutcher's attorneys, M. J. Myer of Chicago and Joseph L. Rauh, Jr. of

Washington, requested a mandatory injunction directing the administrator of veterans affairs to restore Kutcher to his clerk's job in the Newark VA. Kutcher, who lost both legs in battle at St. Pietro, Italy in October 1943, was fired from his job in October 1948 solely because of admitted mem-

bership in the Socialist Workers Party. At a press conference today it was emphasized that Kutcher was refused any hearing on the main issue involved in his discharge, namely, whether or not the SWP actually advocates violent overthrow of the government. Both Kutcher and his party deny that they are "subversive" or advocate the overthrow of the U.S. government by force or by unconstitutional means.

Carl Gray, administrator of veterans affairs, J. Howard McGrath, attorney general of the United States, the three members of the U.S. Civil Service Commission, and the twenty-one members of the Loyalty Review Board of the U.S. Civil Service Commission were named as codefendants in the

-The cop charged into the picket line, his club swinging. It was the third time the striker had seen that face behind the club. The billy hit him on the temple and drew blood. The club caught up again on the side of the head and knocked him down. Staggering a bit, he picked himself up, resumed his place on the line, wiped the blood off his mouth, and spoke in honeyed tones to his attacker:

Don't Whitewash the Strikebreaker

-"It's all right, Harry," he said to the cop. "No hard feelings. I know you've got to do it; it's just your job!"

You never saw that happen, eh?

It's happening here, now.

Philip Murray's steel union has given the embattled coal miners a half million dollars in support of their fight. Make no mistake about it: that was a great gesture of labor solidarity. And not just a "gesture" but one of the most concrete forms of support-something to cheer about. That puts the steel workers on the coaldiggers' picket line.

At the same time CIO leaders up and down the country are telling the men: We're behind the miners, but it's all the fault of those Republicans. Truman had to use the Taft-Hartley Law against the miners! it's his job!

Truman's Fair Deal strikebreaking isn't going to be whitewashed that way. Nothing in the T-H Law compels the president to apply the blackjack against the miners any more than he was compelled to use it against the steel workers.

The labor movement claims that the Taft-Hartley Law is not an aid but a hindrance to the proper settlement of strikes. Truman has claimed to be against T-H for other reasons than the desire to corral labor votes. The Republicans are 100 per cent right when they gleefully point out that Truman's use of the law means that it is necessary in a "national emergency." If it weren't necessary in the president's opinion, why resort to it at all?

No union man in uniform would excuse himself before his brothers for clubbing a picket line with the story that he "had to do it." No president who is against TAFT-HARTLEYISM would leap in to break a strike with the hated law, against miners who are striking LITERALLY in order to be able to fill their children's stomachs.

The man in the White House who was elected by labor's support and with the support of the CIO and AFL is the man who is swinging the T-H club while Murray gives a half million dollars to defend his victims.

The Fair Deal administration is not any "friend of labor." Labor will have a friend in the White House only when it organizes its political'strength to elect its own men, its own candidates, with its own labor party. Labor can trust neither the Democratic nor Republican sectors of the capitalist party. That's being acted out in the pitched battlelines drawn up over the coal mines.

By GERALD McDERMOTT

Meet the Miners!

Relief rolls are swelling in the

mine creas as the workers apply

for aid. In most cases miners must

prove they have no cash and they

must sell their cars before they

can get a handout. In the Union-

town district of southwest Penn-

sylvania, 8,300 families qualified

The workers are determined to

stay out despite their terrible

plight brought on by months of

struggle with the coal barons.

Said one: "I'd rather work any-

where than in a mine. You're al-

ways in the hole—in the hole with

your dough and in the hole with

your life. If I were to die today

my wife would have to buy a suit

to bury me in. My whole life is

going into the mines or striking

for a decent break for my wife

and kids." (N. Y. Times, Feb. 14.)

for relief in a two-week period.

PITTSBURGH, Feb. 11—Two yellow-dog injunctions issued by a strikebreaking judge at the request of the Truman ("friend of labor") administration are the climax, as this is written, to a ten-month campaign to grind 400,000 coal miners under the heels of a few monopolists. The back-to-work order wrung from John L. Lewis by the government strikebreakers has so far fallen on defiant ears. The chips are down.

As of tonight, Truman has taken every necessary step to threaten the United Mine Workers with the annihilation of its treasury and the decapitation of its leadership. As of tonight, the miners have taken the steps necessary to hit the united front of Washington and big business where it is felt most-shut down the mines. The nation's coal supply is less than enough for twelve davs' requirements.

If the miners—the rank-and-file miners—do not back down before this last hail of calculated blows, the operators, their class and their government will have to retreat. If the miners hold out, Truman will have to seize the mines. That is what Lewis is aiming at, and has been for several months. The alternative

could well be what Lewis once declared impossible—digging coal with bayonets.

What is the background of this latest coal crisis? Day after day of headlines, month after month of charges and countercharges, strikes and half strikes, legal actions and rebuttals may have obscured the nature of the present struggle for some. The situation, as reported over the last several years in these columns, can be summed up briefly.

(1) Coal, which was in short supply all during the war, is now being overproduced in terms of the capitalist market for it.

(2) The coal industry is being swiftly monopolized by a ruthless group of the Sixty Families which

own America's economic life.

(3) The monopolists have been and are trying to use their increasing control over the industry both to wipe out the independent operators and beat the miners into submission.

(4) Truman has played their ame, in every important like a well-drilled quarterback. (We do not mean to imply he is calling the signals-his Wall Street coaches are doing that.)

current periodicals, court action.

Occupying page 6 next week will be an LA feature story which so far has appeared only in the French language in the magazine Confrontation Internationale. It's a "Story Behind the News" piece which will probably get entitled "The Strange Case of Noel Field: Profile of a Stalinist Spy." Field was the American who was accused in the Budapest trial of Rajk of being an FBI agent in Switzerland and who has since completely dropped out of sight.

And we can't exactly say what will be discussed on the other pages because it hasn't happened yet.

Over all, LA remains the voice of independent socialism, in the fight for a better world against both capitalism and Stalinism, with both a clear line of political education and plenty of room for the most stimulating discussions and controversies in the socialist press. We hope the new LABOR ACTION will convince our readers that we are trying to do that job better than ever.

Kutcher contended that Executive Order 9835 and Section 9-A of the Hatch Act, under which he was discharged, both violated the U.S. Constitution and were wrongfully applied in his case.

The Hatch Act deprived him of the curity of the United States, contrary to the First Amendment. It arbitrarily (Continued on page 4)

ISL Launches Fund Drive For Tenth Anniversary

'By ALBERT GATES ISL Secretary

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Every militant and socialist knows the difficulties which a socialist organization has in financing its activities, especially its press. Those who are familiar with our movement know also how it has literally accomplished wonders with its meager financial resources. But this would have been impossible without extra efforts and appeals for assistance. In the past we have not hesitated to call upon our friends, readers of our press and sympathizers to come to our aid and the response to our appeals has been uniformly excellent.

We are once more asking for this assistance to help us to continue our socialist activity. The recent plenary meeting of the National Committee of the Independent Socialist League decided to. initiate a \$12,000 fund drive in connection with the 10th anniversary of the ISL and LABOR AC-TION. The fund drive began on February 15 and will end April 30, when the ISL will hold a series of meetings, socials and banquets in connection with May Day celebrations and the 10th anniversary of our organization.

Increased costs of all materials, especially in connection with our press, make it mandatory for us to issue this appeal. The success of our fund drive will ensure the

issuance of LABOR ACTION and The New International for the coming period. This alone would merit any assistance you readers may give to us.

But we are doing more than just trying to hold our own. We have already taken steps to improve the issuance and appearance of our press. Beginning with the January - February number, The New International will appear bimonthly and in a new format, nearly book size. Though appearing bi-monthly, it will contain the same quantity of material as the monthly NI. We are certain, however, that you will find the new NI even more appealing than the

old. Beginning next week, LABOR ACTION will appear in tabloid form. For a more detailed account of this change, see the story elsewhere on this page.

Plans for issuing new types of literature, organizing speaking tours and other public activities have already been made.

Branches of the ISL have already selected their directors of the fund drive and we have been given assurances by them that their quotas will be met. The Socialist Youth League, which did so splendidly in the drive of a year ago, promises to do even better this year.

friends, readers of our press and

our sympathizers to aid us too. Help us build a better ISL and a stronger press in order to carry on our indispensable socialist propaganda.

Yetta Barsh, director of the fund drive last year, is again director of the 10th anniversary drive. Send all funds in her name to 4 Court Square, Long Island City 1, N .Y.

The quotas of the branches of the ISL will be found on page 2. A regular weekly column will appear in LABOR ACTION reporting the progress of the drive and touching on its highlights.



We are now calling upon all our

UAW Broadens Demands for The Hatch Act deprived him of the rights of free speech, press, and assemblage, without the existence of a clear and present danger to the security of the United States contrary. By WALTER JASON

DETROIT, Feb. 12-The United Auto Workers (CIO) committed itself to a

major struggle for a union shop and the elimination of the notorious "company security" clause as the basis for settlement of the three - week - old Chrysler strike, involving more than 125,000 workers directly and indirectly.

This commitment was the decision of the Chrysler delegates' conference, which last week drew up a whole series of important contract improvements it sought with the reopening of the contract. Both Norman Matthews and Walter Reuther had already taken the position that the fight for the 1950 contract (the present one expires in August) must be made now, and it could be made under the five-day reopening clause in the current contracts.

Chrysler Corporation is trying desperately to confine the current negotiations to the pension question. It has challenged the union's right to reopen the contract. The purpose of the corporation is clear. If the present walkout can be limited to a dispute over pensions, the UAW would face another major fight at Chrysler this fall. And no one believes that the union could stand two major fights in one year, for already the hardship cases among the strikers are

By broadening the struggle, the UAW is also in a position to rally stronger support from the men in the shops. Ford already has a union shop, and General Motors has a maintenance-of-membership clause, while in the Chrysler plants the union has a continuous struggle to get the small minority of less than 10 per cent to pay union dues, since these "hitchhikers" get the benefits of unionism.

TIGHTENED CONTRACT SHAPED

Elimination of the "company security" clause - whose key sentences read: "The corporation reserves the right to discipline any employee taking part in any violation of this sec-" tion of the agreement. The union

agrees that it will not oppose the dis- nizes that the corporation has the charge or discipline of anyone who instigates, leads or induces another employee to take part in any unauthorized strike" - would renew the power of the chief stewards and committeemen in the shops. Now they always face discharge if their departments or divisions walk out in protest over some major violation of the contract by the company or at the introduction of speedup.

Another major contract change proposed by the union is the deletion of Section 2: "The union recog-

EINSTEIN WARNS ON H-BOMB: 'General Annihilation Beckons'

By MARY BELL

The U. S. government has announced that it will produce the hydrogen bomb. Once again the peoples of the world are brought face to face with the fact that modern civilization is rushing to its own destruction.

As the A-bomb differed in quality and magnitude from the conventional, old-fashioned TNT bombs-those pitifully inadequate "blockbusters" - so the H-bomb differs in quality and magnitude from the A-bomb. Albert Einstein, the physicist whose theoretical works laid the foundation for modern atomic development, wrote in the November 1945 Atlantic Monthly, speaking of an atomic war (with A-bombs only): "Perhaps two-thirds of the world's population will be killed, but enough persons capable of thought and with enough books' will survive to begin anew and civilization will re-establish itself."

But Einstein's statement this week on February 12 warns: "If successful, radioactive poisoning of the atmosphere and hence annihilation of any life on earth has been brought within range of technical possibilities. The

exclusive right to manage its plants and direct its affairs and working forces." Under this clause the corporation has repeatedly put in a ninehour day and decided overtime on Saturdays without bargaining with the union. The corporation has often taken the attitude: "It's none of your damn business. Read the contract; it says so."

A model FEPC is also part of the contract demands.

A sore point in the Chrysler setup (Continued on page 2)

ghostlike character of this develop-

ment lies in its apparently compulsory trend. Every step appears as the unavoidable consequence of the preceding one. In the end, there beckons more and more clearly general annihilation.'

SEES POLICE STATE AHEAD

Einstein goes on in this statement to describe the inevitable and already visible consequences of the administration's policy and the theory of security through superior military power:

"Within the country-concentration of tremendous financial power in the hands of the military, militarization of the youth, close supervision of the loyalty of the citizens, in particular of the civil servants by a police force growing more conspicuous every day. Intimidation of people of independent political thinking. Indoctrination of the public by radio, press, school. Growing restriction of the range of public information under the pres-

sure of military secrecy. "The armament race between the USA and the USSR, originally supposed to be a preventive measure, as-

sumes hysterial character. On both sides, the means to mass destruction are perfected with feverish hastebehind the respective walls of secrecy. The H-bomb appears on the public horizon as a probably attainable goal. Its accelerated development has been solemnly proclaimed by the president. . . .

"Solemn renunciation of violence (not only with respect to means of mass destruction) is undoubtedly necessary.

"Such renunciation, however, can only be effective if at the same time a supra-national judicial and executive body is set up empowered to decide questions of immediate concern to the security of the nations. Even a declaration of the nations to collaborate loyally in the realization of such a 'restricted government' would considerably reduce the imminent danger of war."-(N. Y. Times, Feb. 13.)

Socialists have proclaimed the need of world government for over a hundred years. But we consider it futile for people to think that this need can be fulfilled by precisely those ruling

(Continued on page 4)

BATTLE OF STARVATION

The post-war period has seen mounting "surpluses" of coal. The ending of war production cut demand. Export markets fell off as European mines resumed production. And the technological revolution (that is exactly what it is) which the aspiring coal monopolists have introduced has poured forth more and more coal to feed the above-ground stockpiles which are the black-jack used by the operators in contract struggles.

When the old contract ran out on June 31 of last year, a record supply of coal was above ground. The operators sat back and demanded virtual surrender.

The union set about the long, grim business of cutting down the stock-(Continued on page 4)



LABOR ACTION

Yugoslav 'Decentralization Reforms' Have Nothing to Do with Democracy

By HAL DRAPER

Page 2

The much-tooted "decentralization of economy reform" in Tito's Yugoslavia, publicized in some sections of the American and radical press as being somehow connected with a tendency toward democratization, is purely and simply a technical measure with no political overtones. Details on the new setup were given this week by Edvard Kardelj and Boris Kidric, the latter chairman of the State Planning Commission.

Association of this economic reorganization of Yugoslav industry with democratization is strictly for foreign consumption. As a technical device it is not even confined in Eastern Europe to Yugoslavia.

However, not long after the break with Moscow, when Belgrade oriented toward seeking economic assistance in the West, the Yugoslav propaganda office started making every effort to convince American public opinion that Tito-Stalinism is not only opposed to but also "better than" Moscow - Stalinism. (One of their most successful publicity coups was a story planted with the New York Times correspondent at the Danube Conference last year, Camille Cianfarra, to the effect that the break with the Cominform occurred be-



(Continued from page 1) is the wage differentials between Detroit plants and out-of-state plants, where pay for the same work is much lower. The vital importance of the demand "Equal pay for equal work at all plants," is emphasized right now by the very disturbing shifts of production from Detroit area plants to out-of-state sites.

The UAW has a long and bitter strike at Federal Mogul in Detroit over this question. Ford has announced shifting operations from River Rouge to new plants, creating the threat that 25,000 Ford workers here will lose their jobs permanently. Chrysler has in the past two years shifted work from Dodge to its Indiana plant, where pay scales are nine or more cents an hour lower for the same work!

The tricky wording in the holidaypay clauses of the current contract with Chrysler will be eliminated if the UAW has its way in negotiations; also the ambiguities on seniority, including a notorious seven-day clause which gives management the right for that period to lay off workers out of turn!

Many other improvements were suggested at the Chrysler conference. It is rather interesting that before the conference the UAW Chrysler had already prepared a list of

cause the Yugoslavs refused to pledge | Belgrade's propaganda product and the Export-Import Bank military support to Russia in the his own elementary realism. On Feblooming World War III; this old ruary 8, the new decrees are "almost wives' tale achieved page one of the of revolutionary importance when Times and then disappeared.) considered in the light of the prevailing political doctrines of Eastern

At the present juncture, after having already received some economic assistance direct from the U.S., the Tito regime is desperately trying to secure more financial support from ern sense because the real power is three other Western - controlled sources: the International Bank for not in the civil services, federal, re-Reconstruction and Development, the publican or local." International Monetary Fund, and that it needs no underlining. The forthe Export-Import Bank. The three loans desired would total \$36 milmer is demonstrably off-base. Not lion. Last Thursday, February 9, Foronly has the "new table of industrial eign Minister Edvard Kardelj met organization" nothing to do with powith U. S. Ambassador George V. litical doctrines, but it is also in the Allen for two hours in an attempt to wind in Russian - controlled Eastern get the U.S. to render its "assistance" Europe as a technical economic measin this matter-that is, give it the ure.

green light. As Times correspondent M. S. Handler paints the background:

said that in all 110 trades in all branches of industry had been ear-"The request . . . was related to considerable strains that the Yugomarked for municipalization. This slav national economy was underwas a new form of nationalization, going. The export drive, which ceneffected by the municipality instead tered on the production of non-ferof the state." (The weekly, East Eurous metals and the cutting and rope, Jan. 12.) transporting of timber to ports, can

Europe." But on February 9, "the

program cannot be interpreted as a

trend toward liberalism in the West-

vested in the Communist Party and

The latter comment is so obvious

In Czechoslovakia, for example:

"On December 27 Bratislava Radio

In the recently published book by

(neo-Stalinist type) convinces him-

"Anyone who could gather a thou-

Last week we discussed in these go up only provided that new macolumns the recently announced chinery is obtained on a considerable "electoral reform" in Yugoslavia, according to which a candidate can get "... Kardelj ... and Kidric ... on the ballot by getting 100 signaemphasized the crucial nature of the tures. This, it was heralded, under-

export problem in relation to the cut the single-party dictatorship and five-year plan. was the biggest step toward democ-"Another solution that the governratization-in principle, anyway. It

ment is offering is decentralization of was also claimed as being unique to industry and transferring operational Tito Yugoslavia. It is not. responsibility from the central gov-WHERE'S THE CANDIDATE? ernment to six of the republican governments [Yugoslavia is formally a federation of republics; the "autonone of the leading CP fellow travelomy" enjoyed by the republics is a ers in England, Konni Zilliacus (who legal fiction of the standard Stalinist more lately has become pro-Titoist variety, as in Russia-H. D.]. Greater while remaining exactly the same efficiency and higher production are pro-Stalinist he has been right along) hoped for under this new table of entitled "I Chose Peace," and issued industrial organization. . . . by Penguin Books, one finds almost

"The urgent nature of the problem. an encyclopedia of the rationalizaexplains the gesture of the Yugoslav tions whereby the Western liberal government in seeking the good offices of the U.S. government in helpself that the Iron Curtain domain is ing it to get fresh capital." really democratic. One of these is on the last Czechoslovakian elections, as

NO STEP TO FREEDOM

scale. . . .

Stalinist an electoral farce as any-It should be understood that it is body has seen in East Europe. Zillinot the "new table of industrial oracus writes on page 214: ganization" itself which is the fake; the propaganda dressing refers exsand signatures, however, was enticlusively to the linkage of this puretled to stand as an independent canly economic move with any lessening didate. Two attempts were made, one of the political straitjacket blanketin Prague and one in a small town. ing Titoland. The new decrees transfer responsibility for heavy indus-In both cases, the candidates were tries of regional importance to the given every facility by the Czech Home Office, including the supply of governments of the republics. But: paper for posters, but were unable (1) The governments of the republics are, as the Titoists would be the to get as many as a thousand signa-

tures." first to proclaim aggressively, as com-This writer confesses that he never pletely the creatures of the Titoist party (Communist Party of Yugoslaheard of this wrinkle at the time. Ap-

The last two weeks' developments have made it necessary to stress in these columns the illusory nature of the wish-fantasies of those who are waiting with bated breath for Tito to go democratic. Such misunderstandings of the nature of Tito-Stalinism bode no good for the development of socialist anti-Stalinism on a healthy basis and have to be exploded. But meanwhile the REAL job which is being done by Titoism, despite itself, in shaking the foundations of world Stalinism goes on as before.

The Russian masters are especially jittery today about the development of national-Stalinist ("Titoist") tendencies in their Asian movements. Here where nationalist hatred of imperialist control is firmly rooted, the danger to Moscow in this direction may be most acute. In any case, the latest issue of the Cominform organ, dated February 3, lays the warning to Asia hot on the line:

"The main activity of this espionage and diversionist Anglo-American Titoist center will be directed toward planting agents in the Communist Parties of India, Viet-Nam, Malaya, Indonesia, Japan and other countries."

Making allowances for the Cominform's special language, this is exactly equivalent to saying that it is in these areas that the Kremlin is most afraid of the heresy. In the name of the socialist fight for the annihilation of Stalinism as well as capitalism, we cheer it on: as national-Stalinism corrodes the Communist Parties, new vents can open for the building of a really independent socialist movement unattached to either of the world's imperialist blocs and freed from ALL forms of Stalinism

ISL Secretary Gates and WDL Secretary Blast Government Purges in N.Y. Forum

NEW YORK, Feb. 12-In LABOR ACTION's Sunday evening Forum, Albert Gates, Independent Socialist League secretary, and Rowland Watts, Workers Defense League secretary, differed little in estimating that our civil rights are more seriously jeopardized today than ever before and that there is greater apathy among the masses of the people, the labor movement in particular, in doing anything about the situation.

Gates maintained that "socialists are more concerned with civil liberties than other people precisely because they are opponents of the kind of society in which they live." He compared the assault on civil liberties following the First World War with that of today, and underscored the differences, especially the attorney general's unique "list," which is not a law and from which there is no appeal.

He traced its spread from government to business, where it is now being introduced by corporations into union contracts. He spoke also of the illegal techniques of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and its function as a "thought police." He cited recent FBI activities in New Jersey, where they are sifting signatures on Communist Party election petitions to ascertain who the "subversives" are under their philosophy of "guilt by association.'

"The tragedy of the situation," concluded Gates, "is that the labor movement, which is menaced by these infringements of democracy, does nothing. The reason is that it is allied with the administration from which emanates the drive against civil liberties. Such a state of affairs has introduced a new political category: the 'totalitarian liberal.'"

Speaking for an organization which has done much honorable work on

behalf of civil liberties, Rowland Watts also took to task government by presidential decree, a device popularized by Roosevelt and continued by Truman, for by-passing Congress and the courts. He spoke of its use against the Japanese-Americans and the conscientious objectors in the last

FDR STARTED IT

Mr. Watts also felt that in the anti-Stalinist struggle too many democrats and socialists had joined the

camp of the totalitarian liberals. The WDL, Watts said, was still trying to find some legal method of challenging the attorney general's list, perhaps a mandamus action or a taxpayers' suit. One of the difficulties is finding attorneys of prominence who will risk their careers in order to make the fight.

In demonstrating the difficulty of the labor movement in fighting against the encroachments on civil rights, Watts traced the alliance of the labor officialdom to the Wagner Act, whereby the government became a partner in assisting labor to organize. "While the labor movement grew from three to six million members. the labor bureaucracy became a part of government," said Watts. He cited the cases of Bell Aircraft in Buffalo, where unionists were barred because they were "poor security risks." The WDL secretary announced a new case the WDL had just acquired

in Hackensack, N. J., where the United Paper Workers (CIO) were on strike against the Continental Paper Company and the AFL tried to start a back-to-work movement. An ordinance of 1911 forbids passing out leaflets. The union was willing to abide by the ordinance until its hand

was forced. Watts also spoke of the undemo-

in achieving the desirable end of defeating the CP within the CIO. Some unions, he said, also have their own "subversive lists," to keep out those who are opposed to the incumbent administrations. Both speakers stressed the necessity of education and organization in

the absence of any widespread movement to stem the drive against our civil liberties. Questions and discussion were handled by the chairman, Stan Grey.

cratic methods resorted to by the CIO

Shachtman Speaks In L. A. on Titoism

23

S.

LOS ANGELES, Feb. 10-In his first visit in two years, Max Shachtman, national chairman of the Independent Socialist League, spoke to an audience of 80 people here this evening on "Tito and the Split in the Stalinist International." Many old friends and sympathizers of the ISL were on hand to give Shachtman a warm welcome.

He dealt with the origin of the Tito-Stalin struggle, tracing its origin in the nationalist degeneration of the Russian Revolution and the Communist International. In a thoughtful and vigorous speech, Comrade Shachtman described the irreconcilable conflict between the nationalist currents inside the Stalinist tendency, which is producing new conditions on the world political scene.

An extended question and discussion period followed the meeting, and many who attended stayed long after its formal adjournment, to continue the discussion and to greet Comrade Shachtman personally.

Cleveland UAW Strikes Pesco for Union Shop

By JOE HAUSER

CLEVELAND, Feb. 11-650 members of Local 363, United Auto Workers (CIO), voted unanimously to strike against Pesco Products in this city starting on February 6. The strike actually started on the preceding Friday, when the union bargaining committee walked out of a meeting with management and called the membership out one hour before quitting time.

There are several issues involved in the strike. The main issue is the company's method of negotiating, which consists mainly of stalling and contempt for the union. The two major demands, union shop and a pension and medical plan, had already been postponed until a future date and the disagreement lies over local shop issues involving classifications and retroactivity. Pesco Products is part of the powerful Borg-Warner Corporation, and its profit figures show it could give a 74-cent raise to all employees and still make an adequate profit. The company just recently moved into a new factory. The strike has been in effect for one week, and is 100 percent solid. The general attitude is that "the company had it coming to them." Picket lines and a soup kitchen are being maintained 24 hours a day in spite of February weather.

The Militarization of America—VIII **BOY SCOUTS' MILITARIZATION** STEPPED UP BY ARMY DRIVE

The Report of the Reserve Establishment of the armed forces includes a page about the Boy Scouts as the only organization not directly sponsored by the military which was nevertheless thought of as one of the agencies under the military wing.

This close relationship of the Scouts to the military is a recent thing even though there has traditionally been an obvious patterning of Scout uniforms after military uniforms.

During World War II "Scouts cooperated in the recruiting programs

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 last year published the booklet "New Evidence of the Militarization of America." All the information and quotations used in the present series of articles comes from this

Major General James M. Gavin, wartime commander of the 82nd Airborne Division, and elected as chairman of the executive board of the council

Maj. Gen. Julius Ochs Adler. General Gavin in his address said that the army was concerned "with the minds and hearts of boys rather than with weapons" as the nation enters "into a war of ideas for the survival of our way of life." Some local Scout units spend a great

deal of time in military drill with a drum and bugle corn

February 20, 1950

suggested improvements which were the same as those of the delegates. In fact, it is rather ironic that everyone is trying so hard to outdo the other in "militancy" by suggesting contract changes that the proposed contract is almost a perfect and unrealizable one.

The big danger is that the major and decisive points might get lost in the shuffle with the 60 other important but not decisive suggestions.

Besides the contract proposals, one other question took much time at the Chrysler delegates' conference. It concerned voting, and it led to a disgraceful walkout on the part of the Dodge Local 3 and part of the Plymouth delegations, thus giving the newspapers a chance to write about "disunity" in the UAW.

Many delegations were elected by Chrysler locals on the same proportional basis as for conventions. Apparently Dodge didn't elect them at all; instead the top officers and shop committee chose themselves arbitrarily, without consulting the rank and file. Their twelve delegates (they should have chosen at least 26) wanted rollcall votes instead of hand votes, and before waiting for any decision, they walked out in a huff. charging railroading, etc. It was a disgraceful exhibition of petty political maneuvering which is still the curse of the UAW.

Thus the whole conference on the contract was held without Dodge Local 3, the biggest local, being present. Dodge 3 officers are defensive about their actions now; they have put out a leaflet trying to explain what they did. (They had attended other meetings without raising any question of voting.)

Perhaps the real explanation can come from reading the Daily Worker, for suddenly it has become fulsome in its praises of Dodge 3 officials and its clique at the Plymouth local. Certainly nothing can be gained in the strike by having some of the secondary leaders play the Stalinist game of "rule or ruin."

This example is only the most overt case of the political maneuvering-and very dangerous and irresponsible maneuvering-that is going on in this strike by power-hungry, unprincipled blocs of secondary leaders who lack any program, any political responsibility, but are desperately trying to decide everything not on merit but on vote popularity.

The UAW needs badly a resurgence of its old-time spirit and sense of responsibility, above all in the Chrysler strike.

via) as is the Belgrade administration, all of them having the same relation to General Rankovic's UDBA, the secret police or GPU.

(2) The regional committees which will assume the new responsibility for industry will consist of "chairmen holding federal cabinet rank, competent republican ministers, and persons appointed on the recommendation of Premier Tito." If that makes any difference, not even a majority of the regional committees will be made up of personnel responsible to the regions even formally, it seems. In addition, over each of eleven industrial sectors there will be a "collegium" which will preside over both the federal and republican industries within its jurisdiction. The collegium, of course, will be a body responsible to the federal state.

According to Kidric's announcement, this reshuffling is not a new development; only its public proclamation is new. Three industres - textile, leather and rubber-were given over to the republics a year ago, presumably as a test run. Cement, glass and food products are slated to be next.

It is curious to read Handler's dispatches in the Times as they alternate between deadpan delivery of



By L. G. SMITH

Total

Last week news crowded out the press column, so here are the subscription scores for two weeks. The sub score is calculated in units of six-month subscriptions, and the single-sub column shows the actual number of subscribers

Sub Single City Score Sub Detroit Cleveland Chicago Bay Area Reading Buffalo New York St. Louis Akron Pittsburgh Miscellaneous 12

49 30 That isn't enough for two weeks.

parently, no American correspondent wrote home that it represented a trend to "democratization," as it does when employed by the Titoists. (It was not even hailed by the Fourth International - Trotskyists, world's prize suckers in swallowing some kinds of Stalinist hogwash.)

As this is written, the press reports that no "independent candidate" has yet appeared in Yugoslavia with his 100 signatures (there will be a national "election" to the parliament on March 12). Time is getting short, and if the Belgrade stage managers are going sto trot out their symbol of "democratization" in the flesh they had better hurry to pick the supernumerary who will speak the lines, even if they have to release someone from jail to do the job.

ASIAN JITTERS

The least they can do is produce an "independent" who will likewise fail to get his required signatures. If a suitably reliable "non-party" Titoist can be exhumed, he can even be allowed to fill his quota and actually make the run-even get elected . . . why not? It might impress George V. Allen, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the International Monetary Fund, and

Many branches still have numbers of prepaid sub cards which they have purchased but which have not been sold. How about some action on these? The most valuable asset we can have is a large number of subscribers who read our press regularly and are influenced by it. You can talk socialism to people only when you see them, but the paper will reach them week in and out and will talk socialism to them in every issue In another place in the paper you'll find our ad for The New International. It is coming out this week in

a new, attractive and handy format. The articles in this issue are just a foretaste of what can be expected in future issues. The NI staff has been expanded and its members are going to work with a will, which promises a much improved magazine.

as well as the distribution of posters and served as messengers and orderlies in the recruiting of WACs, Waves, army, navy, coast guard, and marines." Scouts served as orderlies for draft boards. They contributed \$1,957,512,934 through the sale or purchase of war bonds and stamps.

> They were urged through the pages of "Boy's Life" to learn Lord Mountbatten's instructions on commando training. The editor of this Scout magazine in the February 1943 issue wrote: "So thoroughly do these instructions fit in with the Scout plan to 'Toughen Up, Buckle Down, Carry on to Victory,' and so replete with good Scouting . . . that the letters and instructions are here printed so that every Boy Scout may benefit by them."

> The commando instructions contained the following:

"Try and get someone to instruct you in unarmed combat so that you know how to deal quickly and silently with a sentry and thus prevent him from giving the alarm.

"Never forget that the fundamental requirement is a very high standard of discipline. If your leader asks you for ideas or suggestions or proposals, then you give them, but when your leader gives an order, obey it. If he cannot rely on instant obedience and on complete conscientious performance of an allotted duty, then you may be sure that the unit will be caught out in battle."

SCOUT WAY-TO WEST POINT

Throughout the war Scout publications repeatedly orientated boys in the army way. For example, the February 1942 "Boys' Life" quoted Col. Ryder, commandant of West Point, as saying: "The Scout program is exactly what the soldier wants it to be." The November 1942 "Boys' Life," under a West Point picture, stated: "These are West Point Military Academy men. War Officers in the making. They look like us. Can we look like them? Can we be like them? Yes? Yes! Take the Scout Way."

Since the war, military influence in the Scouts has continued to increase. The Boy Scouts of America and the army air force entered into an agreement "whereby twelve liaison officers have been designated by the army air forces to cooperate in making more effective the Air Scout program. Each of these twelve officers have been assigned to one of scouting's twelve regions to work in cooperation with the regional executive staff of that region." The magazine "Scouting" for June-July 1946 states that the "request for this agreement came from

booklet

the commanding general of the army air forces.

The air force point of view toward its work with Scouts is reflected in th following comment from an official military report:

"The U. S. air force will continue to support the Air Scout program for its public relations and public education values and although the existing agreement between this headquarters precludes the active use of the Air Scout movement as a personnel procurement source it is recognized that the program presents an admirable medium for the dissemiination of the missions, objectives, and problems of the USAF to a widespread and receptive public audience."

The March 1947 "Boys' Life" described Scout experiences at a summer camp at West Point where "army enlisted personnel taught them marching drill, how to get ready for inspection, army songs," until, as "one fellow aptly stated, 'we were just a bunch of buck privates going through the mill.'

IN MILITARY FASHION

During the school year the West Point Military Academy celebrates "Boy Scout Day at West Point." In 1948, 10,000 Boy Scouts from nearby states were present on this day, watched military parades, were shown around the post by cadets, and otherwise feted.

When the Boy Scouts from all over the United States assembled in preparation for going overseas to the World Scout Jamboree in France in July 1947, they were taken to Camp Kilmer, N. J. They "spent the day in military fashion and stood retreat at sundown," according to the account of the "New York Times." (July 22, 1947).

The military influence appears at the local level through the sponsorship of Scout troops by American Legion posts and through the appointment of officers or former military officers as Scout officials. The "New York Herald-Tribune" of June 4, 1947 described the appointment as chairman of the Activities Committee of the Greater New York Scout Council of a former "military attache with rank of Colonel, at the American Embassy in Stockholm." Military men are also invited to serve as speakers at Scout events. For example, a major was the principal speaker at the Scouts' annual pilgrimage to Theodore Roosevelt's grave.

The annual meeting of the Greater New York Council Boy Scouts of America for 1948 featured as a speaker

partici pate in military parades.

The emphasis of scouting on the local level can be seen from an examination of their wartime program. Out of 13 major national programs assisted by the Scouts, the American Legion ranked third. The American Red Cross was aided by 48,436 Scouts. and the United War Fund-Community Chests by 39,588, whereas only 220

aided the Y.M.C.A. The American military authorities are not only aware of scouting's usefulness to them; they are aware of its potentialities if military groups in other countries want to use them. For example, in Germany even Girl Scouts are forbidden to wear uniforms. One newspaper report stated: "Because of the American Military Government's viewpoint on scouting, Girl Scouts wear no uniforms. . . ." (Los Angeles Daily News, Sept. 12, 1948).

Stoolpigeon Test

Add the following to the ways in which U.S. militarism is following in the tracks of the Stalinist totalitarianism which it claims to detest: The navy is requiring candidates for reserve officer training to turn

stoolpigeon.

Such student candidates are being required to sign a "loyalty certificate in order to certify that they do not belong to any organization on the attorney general's 'subversive' list." In addition, the certificate asks whether the applicant has ever attended any meetings or informal gatherings of such organizations and, if so, to list the names and addresses of other persons attending.

This "stoolpigeon demand" has been denounced by Americans for Democratic Action as "imitating Communist totalitarianism policies and devices," and "leading the nation down a dangerous path by insisting on making informers out of the youths under its control."

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PSYCHOLOGY—SEE?

PUNDITS PONDER PROBLEM OF LOVE'S LABOR LOST

By PHILIP COBEN

We don't pretend that the stuff we're going to quote represents exactly the heaviest kind of thinking now going on in employer circles on labormanagement relations. But what it lacks in quality, it makes up in quantity. There's lots of it being poured on.

The general idea animating both the heavy-type and light-type thinkers on the subject is to convince labor that organizing to fight against exploitation in industry is some kind of ignorant error-like crossing the street to avoid passing under a ladder. (Which, by the way, is not always an act of superstition, particularly when there's a pail of paint slopping around on top of the ladder.)

The exhibits in this column will be of the light variety.

Take Walter Granville, design decorator of the Container Corporation of America. He's got his eye on that pail of paint too:

"If every wall in an office or factory were painted in cheerful warm color combinations, people would work together better and be happier," he has announced. Productions would be increased, and plants would have as little labor trouble as the Container Corporation of America itself, which has 40 different color combinations used in its offices, all designed by Walter Granville's department.

He says the employees don't get into the habit of "slipping out for a cup of coffee" out of sheer boredom (which, as everybody knows, has been a real problem on the Chrysler assembly line . . .). They just love to relax by counting the 40 different combinations.

The "grizzled old veteran employee" (who, I suspect, is the same commentator that figures in other stories of the type) is reported to have remarked: "Sure, it's a matter of color. Just show us some more green stuff and we won't strike."

IT'S PSYCHOLOGY-SEE?

In fact, there's virtually a campaign on to convince workers that they go on strike simply because they're bored. That's the contribution also of Vice-President Fred Smith of the William Valve Company of Cincinnati, giving the lowdown to the Louisville Area Association of Management.

"If you look closely," said Smith, squinting a little himself, "you will see that plants using mass production techniques have the most labor trouble." Why? Simple. Their jobs don't keep their minds occupied. Boredom. "And as mass production spreads, boredom will spread too.

-"Hey, Joe, I'm gettin' restless. Howzabout knocking off and takin' in a movie?

-"Nah, kid stuff, no kick in it. Let's go on strike-it's such FUN!"

Of course, no one's going to pretend that the above-mentioned two pundits have solved the whole problem. Can anybody be perfect? Some industries present special difficulties. Coal, for instance. How could you keep even one color combination, let alone 40, on the walls of the coal seams in the diggings?

So the Chamber of Commerce of Huntington, West Virginia, paid no attention to hues (except for the usual hue-and-cry about the "reds"). The local C. of C. orator instead told a state businessmen's forum that the ticket was "to smoke John L. Lewis out with advertising, as the A&P did." The meeting agreed to launch an anti-union ad campaign in the West Virginia press, cost in the thousands. We suggest the testimonial technique:

My uncle offered me a \$5,000 a year job as a bank vice-president," says Walter S. Ammoniak, - 53-year-old miner, "but I told him: No, I'd rather be useful, here in West Virginia, digging the coal that keeps the American system of free enterprise running. It's a PRIVILEGE to be a coal-digger!"

LOVE THAT FOREMAN!

43

The U. S. Chamber of Commerce, on the other hand, has a less expensive scheme. It's all explained in a booklet available to members for only 25 cents (coin or stamps), entitled "How to Strengthen Employee Loyalty With Letters." The booklet describes in clear, simple language what kind of letters to send, what their tone should be, and on what occasions to send them.

"Letters from management to employees work miracles," says the Chamber. That this is true is well known to experts in labor-management relations, who no doubt could cite numerous examples. The only one I know of personally was a letter which miraculously stopped a bitter 10-week strike; it read in part: "We beg to inform you that we hereby accept the union's request for an eight-cent increase in wages. . . ."

Then there's the "Freudian psychodynamic approach," used by Dr. Robert N. McMurry, who charges corporations \$125 an hour for advice on their labor troubles. According to Time magazine for January 16, the doctor tells his suck—pardon, clients—where unions come from: "Management has failed to be the kindly protective father, so the union has become the caressing mother

By GEORGE WHITNEY

Every housewife in the country must by now be aware that the A&P grocery chain is conducting a gigantic publicity campaign against the government's anti-trust suit.

The anti-trust complaint against A&P requests of the court that both the A&P food processing and manufacturing interests as well as A&P's produce-handling subsidiary, known as the Atlantic Commission Company, be separated from the chain of retail outlets and that the retail outlets themselves be divided up into seven separate chains of stores. The government charges that the A&P in its present form is a violaion of the antitrust laws and constitutes a monoply in the fields of manufacturing, distributing and retailing of foodstuffs. A&P has replied through its advertisements that its only fault is that it has regularly undersold all other re-

tail grocery outlets, that it has consistently offered the highest grade foods at the lowest possible cost to the consumer, and that the basis of the whole attack is some sort of sinister plot to destroy the A&P.

The magazine "Consumer Reports" has begun a series of articles which quote extensively from the court records on other instances where A&P has been in court for unfair practices; reproduces some very interesting quotes directly from the minutes of various top executive meetings of the A&P chain.

OUT OF THEIR OWN MOUTHS

Records and testimony bear witness to the fact that the only places where A&P has sold foodstuffs at prices below the prevailing average in the industry has been where they were forced to do so by competition from independent stores or other chains. In the regions where such competition has existed, it is true that A&P has often sold foods below cost price in its efforts to run the competitor out of business. This is the very essence of the way a monopoly operates: run everyone else out of business in a certain area with unfair practices and then skyrocket the prices at your own discretion.

And where A&P has found it necessarv to sell foods cheaper than the regular rate in areas of competition they have made up for it by charging far above that rate in those areas where they have a virtual monopoly on the trade. Here are three separate quotations from three separate A&P executives:

(1) "It might be necessary for us to operate unprofitably for several weeks . . . prior to the time the competitor plans to open so that people in the community will be impressed with our low prices and will continue to shop with us after the competitor has opened shop.'

who spoke for a unanimous three- is not noticed, the same beans remain judge Court of Appeals in a case involving this process: next one.

"When ACCO purchased in the open market for A&P, even though it paid the market price, it always came out with an advantage, not only in the quality of merchandise but in price. Suppose an item was selling in the market at 100. ACCO could buy it for A&P and have its choice of the quality at 95. The balance of the trade could buy at 100 and pay ACCO a 5 percent brokerage. Thus the price to A&P was 95 and to A&P's competitors 105."

SWINDLING THE CUSTOMER

In every grocery store there are always stock losses due to spoilage of perishable foods, losses in weight due to drying out, bones and scraps from the butcher's counter, pilfering, etc. A&P, as hown in prior criminal cases against them in which they were found guilty, made up for these losses very neatly.

Instead of billing the manager of an A&P store according to the wholesale price of the foodstuffs consigned to him, he was billed for them at the retail prices. Any shortages, whether natural and unavoidable or not, then showed up readily when the cash returns were checked against inventories and in many cases the manager was required to make up shortages from his own pocket. This naturally led the manager to take steps to avoid working for nothing.

The manager introduced all kinds of systems for overcoming what is a natural and expected shrinkage in the grocery business. This was accomplished, as shown in the criminal case against A&P in the courts of the District of Columbia in 1935, by shortweighting customers. At that time the superintendent of weights and measures found that, out of 80 whole chickens bought, more than half were short-weight; and out of sixty dressed chickens purchased, fifty-five were short-weight. In this case A&P plead "nolo contendere" (no defense) and paid fines on 22 counts against them.

Another method of making up shortages, familiar to anyone who has ever worked in one of the chain stores, is to place a can of (say) beans on the counter and then add it in with the purchase made. If the customer notices this (which is rare) the clerk laughs and says he thought the beans



'Losses' Made Up by Gouging This is explained by Judge Minton belonged to the customer. If the ruse on the counter to be "sold" to the

> The writer had the manager of one local chain store tell him that he has sold the same can of food forty or fifty times in the course of a single day. Whether or not A&P used this method is not mentioned; the reader may use his imagination.

40 PER CENT FRAUD

In any event the general system of short-weighting and other A&P methods soon began to pay off. Before long the natural stock decreases connected with the grocery business were completely offset and many stores began to show STOCK GAINS. The method employed by the store-checking supervision was never to tell a manager where he stood but merely to tell him that his shortages were either acceptable or unacceptable; if he was told the latter, the manager knew he had better get busy or he would be looking for another job.

This system worked so well that over a number of years "stock gains" -that is, the money that had been cheated from the consumer-became a major factor in A&P profits. In the three-year period from 1939 to the end of 1941, profits from the retail end of A&P's interest alone amounted to \$17,400,000 (total profit of entire system was \$70,000,000). Of this \$17,-400,000, all of \$7,000,000 or 40 per cent was due to stock gains.

In other words, the money that A&P cheated out of its customers during this period represented 40 per cent of the entire profit from the retail end of its business. This evidently is what Pie in the Sky A&P means when it advertises that "A&P PRICE - MARKS EVERY ITEM."

It would be foolish to imagine that these short-change and short-weight practices of A&P are not used by its competitors as well. This indicates the wisdom of the shopper who forgets his reluctance to appear impolite, checks the weight of every item bought in any of the chain store, and also keeps a sharp eye on the cashier who adeptly adds the bill up so rapidly that the average customer cannot keep up with the process.

Under capitalist monopoly, the savings from large-scale and efficient production enrich the monopolist; the consumer can go hang. That's "free

Bankers vs. Insurance Moguls Investment bankers cheered as he advocated increasing taxes.

That sounds like the famous "Man bites dog," but it has an easy explanation. He was Congressman Lynch and he was advocating increasing taxes on insurance companies. And the reason the investment bankers liked it is because: the big life-insurance concerns, to a large and rapidly increasing extent, are buying up the best new bond issues at private sales. Thus they get the cream and leave the skim milk of the bond market to the investment bankers, who don't like getting the short end of the deal.

"Not only are the life-insurance companies invading your field and taking your business away from you," said Lynch, "but they want you to pay their taxes besides. But the free ride for them has ended

Lynch was referring to the fact that the insurance companies have been paying no taxes whatever on their multi-billion-dollar annual incomes. This is the result of a joker slipped into the tax law by the insurance lobby. That situation was slightly changed a few months ago, so they are now being asked to pay a comparatively small tax of about \$60 million on their total income in the past five years. Thomas I. Parkinson, head of the giant Equitable Life Assurance Company, is leading the crusade against taxation.

Of course, it's not only the investment bankers who are paying the taxes for the insurance moguls; you and I are. But the investment bankers have the knife out for their rivals in the bond market. Thieves fall out.

The Kind of "Statism" They Like

Daily newspapers recently missed three fine chances to protest against the expansion of the "welfare state." Nor was any objection raised from the direction of big business.

(1) The Shipbuilders Council of America, spokesman for private shipyards, urged Congress to get busy and pass a bill (which was approved a few days later by the House Merchant Marine Committee) asking bigger subsidies for more shipbuilders and operators.

(2) The Moore-McCormack Lines asked the U.S. Maritime Commission to renew the government subsidies on these lines' ships to South America.

(3) The American Tramp Shipowners Institute asked the Maritime Commission to let all tramp ships climb on Uncle Sam's subsidy gravy train. Who's yelling about the Welfare State for big business?

Remember the predictions, just after the war's end, that within a few years the sky would be dark with everyone riding in his personal light airplane, as a result of making the world safe for democracy? More enthusiastic souls began talking about plans for skyway traffic policemen.

Of course, nothing has come of it. For the past few years, indeed, the light or personal plane business has been going steadily downhill. For the first 11 months of 1949 only 3250 light planes were shipped from factories, with the year's estimate at not more than 3500. Soon after the end of the war the annual output reached 30,000.

Business reports now are that the emphasis is on "four-place businessexecutive planes" rather than the two or three-seater cruisers for John Doe. And there aren't enough business executives to darken much of the sky, especially when seated four in a plane.

The "record amount" of home building last year has not solved the housing problem: most of the houses built were beyond the reach of middleincome families. So testified Richard J. Gray, head of the AFL Building Trades Department, before a subcommittee of the Senate Banking Committee.

'LET 'EM DIE!' MEDICO TRUST LIMITS NUMBER OF DOCTORS

currently mobilizing a welt-heeled

campaign against national health in-

surance, also stands piltoried before

the people for opposing and blocking

an even more elementary health need:

the training of enough doctors to

Statistics show that there are few-

er doctors today per thousand peo-

ple than there were forty years ago.

This shortage of medical men is not

a "natural" result of any process

that has been taking place, but the

result of an artificial and deliberate

limitation on the education of medi-

This charge has now been publicly

made by high educational spokes-

men. A committee of college deans

was appointed last year by the

American Conference of Academic

Deans to study the problem of ad-

missions to medical schools. Its re-

port, now made to the Conference of

Deans and the American Association

of Colleges, is one of the bluntest

attacks made on the medical profes-

Thousands of qualified pre-medical

sion as it is organized in the U.S.

students are being refused admission

to the medical schools even though

the latter have the facilities to ac-

commodate them and the additional

Dean William S. Guthrie of Ohio

State University said the survey

showed that many of those rejected

had "good academic records and pos-

sessed the readily acknowledged per-

sonal qualifications." This means, he

added, that three-fourths of the ap-

plicants cannot get into the medical

schools no matter how well qualified

doctors are needed.

cal students by the profession.

serve the population.



Page 3

LABOR ACTION

How A & P Chain Cheats You:

who gets things from that stinker of a father."

When you get down to fundamentals on why men join unions, it turns out "that the men's real, unconscious motive was a craving to improve the emotional situation surrounding their jobs."

The same magazine, the following week, quoted another authority, a Mr. Imberman, to another effect. It seems that the real trouble is that the labor leaders get mad because they're highhatted by the snooty set. He cites the case of a labor leader whose daughter was frozen out of a sorority because of her father's unrespectable occupation. Diagnosis by Imberman: "The impotence of the father to deal with such a situation is not unrelated to the fury with which he pursues his strike ends." Time writes:

"The businessman, says Imberman, should ask the labor leader over for a Saturday night's bridge game, nominate him for the local country club, invite him to work in the Red Cross and Community Chest drives. The employer's wife can help by shepherding the union man's wife into uppercrust women's clubs. But Imberman leaves one big question unanswered: Will a union leader still have the loyalty of his unionists when they see him drinking cocktails with the boss?"

"TO THE PICKET LINE, JAMES!"

That's one trouble also with the savants of the Harvard Business Review who had the same idea: "If an employer wants to avoid labor trouble, he should invite the president of the local union to join his luncheon club. If he really hankers for industrial peace, he should get the union leader's daughter enrolled in a fashionable dancing school."

The sad fact about this last line of advice is that so often it really works. No, it isn't bribery-not the down-to-earth kind, anyway. It doesn't even have to be the result of a deliberate policy followed by the "business community" after reading the Harvard Business Review.

Too many labor leaders have long since risen out of their own class, what with \$10,000 a year salaries, butiers, and other appurtenances and emoluments of the upper middle class, whether or not their daughters make that sorority or pal around with Miss Moneybags socially. The capitalist atmosphere is an all-penetrating miasma, and as soon as a labor leader stops thinking and living like a worker on one of his assembly belts, he can easily become simply another businessman (dealing in the commodity labor power) rather than a labor leader.

It's a sensible bit of advice for businessmen, that one about playing footsie with the labor leader instead of blackballing his daughters-quite sensible from capital's point of view, in many cases. The worker's point of view is going to be different, however, since Mr. Moneybags isn't going to invite the whole darned shop into his luncheon club.

A few men can rise out of their class and become traitors and renegades to their own working people; the mass are going to remain where they are. They can rise when the whole class rises together, to real social power. That's why democratic rank-and-file control is so important in a union even if you do trust your leaders now. That's why Gene Debs said: "I want to rise with my class, not out of it."

But Debs was a real socialist, never sold his soul for \$10,000 a year; and wanted to be known as a working-class leader, not a "labor statesman."

League for Mutual Aid Announces Dinner, Musicale to Finance Work

NEW YORK-The League for Mutual Aid will celebrate 30 years of continuous service to those in the labor. liberal and progressive field facing economic emergencies at a dinner in the Hotel Brevoort, Fifth Avenue at Eighth Street, on Saturday, February 25. at 6:45 p.m.

National in scope, the League is non-political, non-partisan and draws no line of color or creed in granting loans and job placement.

Increasing requests for loans and help in finding new jobs are reported by Adelaide Schulkind, the League's. executive secretary, and a further rise in both is expected because of continuing layoffs in industry. Inadequate unemployment insurance also increases the need for the League's

assistance. Reservations are \$3.75 and there will be no appeal for funds at the dinner.

(2) "Whenever we get wind of the opening of one of their stores now we set up a special program three weeks ahead of time, so that by the time they are ready to open their doors for business there isn't very much they can do to entice trade from us . . (3) "Some competitor may . . . make a drive for business, cutting the gross and reducing prices, where we, to protect ourselves, would have to follow suit. But if this were done in one part of the division, some other unit should be able to pick up the loss."

SOAKING EVERYBODY

A&P thus is able to undercharge temporarily in one area, where competition demands it, and make up for it by overcharging in another area where no competition exists. It is also able to do this because it has its own food-processing and manufacturing subsidiary and its own distributing subsidiary which furnishes food for both A&P stores and others as well. It is thus able to charge competing outlets a brokerage fee of 5 percent and in some cases a double fee of 10 percent, thus making it possible for A&P to far undersell its competitor where necessary and realize a much greater profit where no price war exists. ACCO (Atlantic Commission Company) bought foodstuffs from farmers for the open market and charged the farmers 5 percent brokerage fee; then turned around and sold the foodstuffs to competitors, charging them an additional 5 percent for brokerage fee.

Impressed?

Mrs. Perle Mesta, Washington society dame appointed by Truman as minister to the Duchy of Luxemburg, has impressed the Luxemburgers, according to an article in the This Week magazine section of the N. Y. Herald Tribune. It repudiates the rumor that this has been because of her skill in teaching canasta to the Grand Duchess. Instead:

"The Luxemburgers, being a hardheaded people, are vastly impressed with her own business background. They know she inherited a fortune from her father, an Oklahoma oil man, and another from her late husband, a Pittsburgh manufacturer. Mrs. Mesta has judiciously managed her complex inheritances to keep them intact." (Jan. 29.)

The Luxemburgers are probably merely unacquainted with the wellknown American ability to inherit fortunes through hard work and Yankee know-how.

paper publishers always heatedly deny that they jump when big adverisers crack the whip. If that is true, then the A&P case merely that they have jumped before any whip had to be cracked.

The 'Free Press' Rolls Over

The "free press" in this country has rolled over like a good doggie

with regard to the government anti-trust suit against the A&P. News-

The official organ of the AFL's political arm, Labor's League for Political Education, has pointed out how the press covered the A&P story. When the government suit was filed, it was one of the most important consumer-interest stories of the year, but most papers played it down. Even the New York Times (which is not the worst offender by far) buried it in its financial section on page 43.

When the A&P began buying full-page ads in papers throughout the nation, newspaper coverage perked up-mirroring the chain's ads. LABOR ACTION has carried the story about the three Washington, D. C. newspapers which refused to accept paid ads by a small businessmen's organization attacking the A&P-and about the fourth paper which did take the ad because, one of its executives said, it didn't get any A&P advertising anyway!

No New York paper carried a declaration by the attorney general criticizing certain assertions in the A&P ads as false.

When rightist columnist David Lawrence turned one of his daily columns over to a government statement of the case against the trust, the New York Sun, which has printed Lawrence's stuff without interruption for 20 years, failed to run it.

In Russia the press is rigidly controlled by decree of the totalitarian state. In capitalist United States, the press is flexibly controlled by the dollar.



The American Medical Association, they may be. reactionary "doctors' trust" which is

One paragraph in the report was taken out by the Conference of Deans for fear that the doctors would resent it too much. It ran: "Annually several thousand students fully qualified in training, personality and temperament are denied admission to the professional training of their choice. That set of conditions constitutes a most serious threat to the continued health and

well-being of the American people." The AMA has denied that there is a shortage of doctors and is opposing current legislation in Congress to promote the training of more doctors.

The AMA's anti-health crusade on the issue of heatth insurance has, it seems, run into difficulties. Although the association claims that it wants to bring the "truth" to the masses of people with its lushly financed campaign of propaganda, it has recently issued a dictum against member docfors appearing as speakers in forums on the question.

The reasons for this order, given on the advice of Whitaker and Baxter, the AMA's high-priced publicity directors, is obvious. Every time an AMA physician has debated health insurance, his arguments have been torn to confetti.

Bright side of the AMA campaign is pointed out by the Committee for the Nation's Health, which claims that, thanks to the doctors' expensive publicity drive, millions of people have heard of health insurance who might not otherwise have given it a thought-and they're for it. in spite of the "55 million pieces of literature . . . circulated by the AMA's \$2-million lobby."



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LABOR ACTION

February 20, 1950

REPORT FROM TOKYO: Will Nosaka Be Rehabilitated?

Japanese CP in Quandary as Cominform Blast Seeks to Impose Suicidal Line-Toeing Course

By TAKETO YAMABE

TOKYO-The first issue of the official Cominform organ, "For a Lasting" Peace, for a People's Democracy," for the year 1950 published an article entitled "The Situation in the Japanese Communist Party." In this article the writer, who signs himself "The Observer," took violent issue with the theories of Sanzo Nosaka, Japanese CP leader.

The CP, stunned by this action, was plunged into very serious confusion. At first it branded as "enemy propaganda" the January 6 United Press cable from Bucharest which reported the fact; it went so far as to assert that to believe such a story would be tantamount to believing that Stalin had died twenty times over, or that Mao Tse-tung had suffered ten defeats.

However, a cable from Moscow on the following day reported that Pravda had run the same article and endorsed the Cominform's attacks. The CP was more confused than ever.

In addition, the same day's press carried some remarks by Isao Nakanishi, CP member of the House of Councilors, in which he supported the Cominform position and attacked the bureaucratism of the CP's leadership. All the papers carried this matter for several days, discussing it with enthusiasm in editorials and feature articles. The Information Section of the Russian embassy also printed and distributed the contents of the Pravda article.

In the light of their scoffing at the original report, the Stalinists' faces were red. Here is the text of their effort to extricate themselves on this point: "As should be plain to anyone who reads with an open mind the joint statement published on January 8 . . . we did not deny that the Cominform organ carried an article on the situation in Japan. We merely made our position clear on the distortion of its contents by the foreign cablegram and on the provocative fashion in which the subject was treated."

The CP bureaucracy, fearing an intra-party rift, first expelled Nakanishi on the 10th for breach of discipline, and then went further and expelled his entire unit, eighteen persons in all. The Central Committee was scheduled to meet a week later, and since it was obvious that it would never do to leave the problem hanging in mid-air in that fashion, the

SPD's 'Ostbureau'

Party, in a recently published pam- consists of petty-bourgeois elements has revealed new claims for its

Polithuro published a rather long declaration, entitled "Our Attitude," on the 12th. The January 13 issue of Akahata (Red Flag), in which this declaration appeared, published the full text of the Cominform attack on Nosaka for the first time.

This declaration was the first policy statement of the Japanese CP on this question, professing to bow to the international authority of the Cominform on the one hand, while strongly apologizing for and supporting Nosaka on the other. Finally, a Peking cable dated the 17th stated that the Peking organ of the Chinese Communist Party, the "Jen Min Jih Pao" (People's Daily), contained in one of its editorials a violent criticism of the inconclusive character of the JCP's declaration.

This constituted an almost fatal blow to the CP bureaucracy, which convened the Enlarged Central Committee two days later. The 18th plenum of the Enlarged Central Committee, attended by two hundred members from all over the country, was held from the 18th to the 21st. Needless to say, the "discussions" were conducted in an atmosphere of studied secrecy, to which no news reporters, Japanese or foreign, were admitted, and its end product was a declaration of self-criticism on Nosaka's part and a simple resolution pledging loyalty to the international proletariat.

Effect on Cold War

This affair constituted a crisis of the greatest magnitude for the CP, but its implications for the USSR's Far Eastern policy and the American occupation policy are also tremendous. Let me point out a few examples of what I mean.

There have been two elements in the CP's tactics and strategy from the outset. One is the vehemently anti-American, violent-revolution position of Secretary General Tokuda, whose motto is "national independence." The other is the moderate, peaceful-revolution position of Nosaka, who invented the slogan "the beloved Communist Party" immediately upon his return to Japan. These two represent the aspirations of two layers of the population that support the CP, each of which has attractive power for its own special layer.

The first layer consists of young workers in their twenties and thirties. many of whom were recruited into Tojo's Kamikaze Corps during the war, and whose mentality is still one of militant nationalism, nothing but the "Kamikaze spirit" with a thin coat West Germany's Social-Democratic of revolutionary veneer. The second such as th inflation-ridden middle

to the CP's distress. The first half of that declaration pays homage to the international authority and recognizes the errors in Nosaka's theories. However, this difficulty is easily overcome in practice, for, the document goes on to state in no uncertain terms, "Our party has now corrected the faults

[contained in these theories] and is developing along correct lines." The second half of the document lashes back at the Cominform in rather harsh terms, stating that it was "extremely regrettable" that the article had criticized the Japanese party and its leaders without taking sufficient account of the Japanese situation, and concluding, "Comrade Nosaka, as the most courageous of popular patriotic figures, has won the confidence of the masses."

Most of the foreign press regards this declaration as an attack by the Japanese CP on the Cominform and a rejection of its criticisms, and concludes from this a possibility of the Titoization of the Japanese Communist Party movement. But this is a mistake. This declaration was made to prevent disturbances within party ranks, and was meant primarily for home consumption. For the CP, relying for its continued existence on the Nosaka position and on Nosaka's personal popularity, it was simply impossible to acquiesce fully in the Com-

inform's attack. Something had to be done to keep Nosaka alive politically. Furthermore, as a party which con-

stantly asserts its freedom from the domination of a foreign power, the JCP was obliged to make some show of backbone. The language of the declaration, which at first glance seems so bold, is based upon these reasons and is by no means evidence of resistance to the international authority.

Chinese CP Lines Up

The CP quelled any disturbance within its own ranks by means of this declaration, and took up its reply to the Cominform separately. The meeting of the Enlarged Central Committee which began on the 18th was the object of concentrated attention in and out of the party, since it was felt that here the party's official stand would be formulated.

But just before that the Jen Min Jih Pao, Peking organ of the Chinese Communist Party, had attacked the JCP's declaration and thrown the party leadership into even further consternation. The Jih Pao, giving full support to the Cominform position, stated flatly that "the views and attitude of the Political Bureau of the Japanese Communist Party [as expressed in the declaration] are ob-

has been clearly snubbed, and has become a "living corpse."

The attitude taken by the JCP in this affair was governed throughout by considerations of how to prevent disturbances within the ranks and maintain whatever strength the party still has. Nakanishi's expulsion was based on the same considerations.

It was Nakanishi's theories, in fact, which were in accord with the Cominform's demands. Last September Nakanishi proposed a document in which he took a position even more extreme than Tokuda's. When he was expelled, he said, "If we had gone out on a general strike in last year's labor fight, we could have broken the back of reaction."

Is It Titoism?

However, since every such attempt on the CP's part had ended in failure. and since it was felt that loss of working-class support had been due to that very fact, Nakanishi's proposals were not adopted; on the contrary, he was ordered to moderate his views. But since Nakanishi is an intellectual who returned from Shanghai only since the war and has little support within the party, there could be no possibility of a split ensuing on his expulsion.

There was a considerable number of persons who, when they saw the CP's original declaration, read into it the beginnings of Titoism. But this was the interpretation only of those who failed to understand the true significance of the declaration: of Titoism there is not the slightest possibility.

In the first place, the Communist Party of Japan, unlike that of Yugoslavia or China, has not enough mass strength to defy the Kremlin. It rather bases its continued anti-American existence solely on the Kremlin's prestige.

In the second place, Titoism is a phenomenon possible only where a Communist Party has taken power. Until it takes power, the Kremlin's prestige is a mighty prop for any Communist Party, apart from which the party cannot exist. For the JCP, the day of its desertion from Moscow is the day of its own doom. How much more must this be true, then, under American occupation, where "patriotism" and "nationalism" are synonyms for anti-American and pro-Sovietism!

If by some chance the Chinese Communist Party should become Titoized, the possibility that the Japanese Communist Party would follow suit is very great; at such a time a split within the ranks or the Titoization of the JCP would become a genuine

The attention of the Kremlin has clearly shifted to Asia. Its principal rival, in Asia no less than in Europe, is America. Japan is one of the principal battlegrounds on which the two powers are clashing. The Kremlin, through its attack on the Nosaka position, is demanding an intensification

of the JCP's anti-American activities. The Tokuda approach is the one which satisfies the Kremlin's demands, but it is at the same time the approach that has cost the CP its popular following in Japan. Tokuda leans toward the Kremlin, Nosaka toward the Japanese people. If it cuts itself off from the Kremlin, the JCP cannot exist; but, at the same time, if it abandons the Nosaka position, it cannot hold on to its popular following in Japan. Even Tokuda himself is fully aware of this

The JCP is unable to resolve this dilemma. That the Kremlin is satisfied with this attitude is unthinkable, and the Japanese Communist Party must in all likelihood steel itself for another reprimand.

(Translated by Leo del Monte)

Kutcher Suit

(Continued from page 1)

discriminates against government

workers as a class by depriving them

of liberty and property without due

process of law. Its provisions banning

organizations and parties are so vague

and indefinite they provide no ade-

quate guide for the conduct of gov-

ernment employees and lend them-

selves to arbitrary and discriminatory

application by administrative officials,

The Presidential Executive Order

9835'is challenged as unconstitutional

on these and additional grounds. It is

condemned as an ex-post-facto law,

punishing government employees for

prior conduct; as based on the un-

lawful theory of "guilt by associa-

tion"; and as contravening standards

set up by Congress in the Veterans

Preference Act of 1944. The complaint

declares that the loyalty procedures

fail to meet the requirements of due

process of law and the president has

no statutory authority for their pro-

The complaint states that govern-

ment representatives admitted Kutch-

er's position gave him no access to any

confidential or classified information

which might threaten the security of

the United States. Under the loyalty

procedures the case against Kutcher

consisted entirely of secret informa-

tion and FBI reports which were not

as in Kutcher's case.

mulgation.

disclosed to the plaintiff. At the hearing, no witness testified nor was any evidence introduced against him of wrongdoing. Kutcher had no right to subpoena, confront or cross-examine witnesses or rebut their secret charges. None of the hearings were public.

Kutcher's fight for reinstatement is backed by hundreds of organizations representing millions of Americans alarmed by the restrictions upon democratic rights in the loyalty program. Among them are the national CIO, American Civil Liberties Union, Americans for Democratic Action, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the American Veterans Committee, the United Automobile Workers (CIO), as well as hundreds of CIO and AFL international, state and local bodies.

George Novack, national secretary of the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee which is directing the veteran's defense, said: "The discharge of this legless veteran solely because of his political beliefs raises issues of democratic liberties and job rights which go beyond the discrimination against Kutcher and his party, important as they are in themselves. Through this major court test we hope to obtain a clear and conclusive judgment on the violations of constitutional rights and proper legal procedures involved in the loyalty program. We intend to carry the case to the U.S. Supreme Court, if necessary."

not expect more from the above gen-

tlement with the development and

production of the super-weapon. The

super-bomb is being used in peace-

time more as pressure against Rus-

Thus Thomas J. Hamilton suggests

in a N. Y. Times dispatch from Lake

Success on February 6, "... It might

be worthwhile for Mr. Acheson to

point out that we have an undeniable

present advantage over the Soviet

Union. We have more atomic bombs

now, and can certainly make them

at a faster rate than the Soviet Un-

ion." But this diplomacy is futile.

For one day Vishinsky will announce

the Russian H-bomb, and the old

race of stockpiling will go on to its

This race for world-destructive

weapons is growing in its nightmar-

ish proportions. It is the responsibili-

ty and inevitable doom of both Sta-

linism and capitalism, two social or-

ders which can find no solution to

their internal problems, no path out

of their ruin. The conflict is not one

of principle, but of seeking to hang

on to life through conquests of colo-

nies, markets, spheres of influence

and (above all) of complete world

inevitable end.

military power.

sia than as a plea for peace.

3

(Continued from page 1)

classes whose governments are responsible for the H-bomb race to destruction

We think world government is possible and necessary. But the movement toward it will come from those who have no vested interest in the present governments or in the private ownership of industry, and hence have a vested interest in peace and security above all else. These forces are most concentrated within the labor movements of all countries and their strength must and will be felt in an independent movement against H-bomb destruction.

The horror of the H-bomb diplomacy has forced politicians and government leaders to look for some way out of this madness.

On February 2, Truman's decision to make the H-bomb shocked Senator Brien McMahon, Connecticut Democrat, into making a speech before the Senate where he pleaded that at "almost any cost" the United States must seek some international arrangement to neutralize the atomic and hydrogen weapons. He proposed a five-year fifty - billion - dollar plan for world recovery in exchange for an agreement on atomic control.

On February 6, Senator Millard atomic weapons. And Assistant Sec-Tydings, Maryland Democrat

world-wide inspection

On February 8, Secretary of State Dean Acheson, made a special reply to the speeches of Senators Tydings and McMahon. While lauding the goal of world peace, he deplored their proposals. He said, in effect, that Russia will recognize nothing but force and that the United States plans to act accordingly. He cited as examples of effective blocking of Russian policy the United States efforts in Greece (where it gave monetary and military assistance to the reactionary dictatorship of King George; Turkey (where it also gave loans to a reactionary regime); China (where the S. experienced its most dismal failure in sponsoring the corrupt Nationalist regime); and Germany (where denazification and democratization are nowhere near realization).

A few days later, in response to a tremendous world reaction on the Truman - Acheson H - bomb policy, which has by now also become an issue in British politics for both the Tories and Labor, the administration line underwent a slight change. On February 11, Senator Connally, a Democratic spokesman, said that the United States might renew its efforts in the United Nations for an attempt at an international agreement on

The American labor movement has t vet spoken independently on

Einstein Warns -

"Ostbureau"—its anti-Stalinist underground organization in Russian-controlled East Germany. The Ostbureau works mainly for informational purposes, according to the pamphlet, and if the claims are true (there are no obvious reasons to doubt it) even the secret files of the Russian GPU in Germany are under its eyes.

The system, says the pamphlet, has penetrated most branches of the Russian administration and of the SED (Stalinist party), manned by underground workers who gained their experience against Nazism.

'There are few things that the SED, the Soviet military government and the MVD [GPU] have not tried in their fight against the Ostbureau. But not once have they succeeded in infiltrating their agents into the Ostbureau.

"Today in the East Zone, there is hardly a town or village, a street car or a house where there are no observers working with the Ostbureau. They sit in the office of every SED party official, in the anteroom of every Russian post service, and in the rooms in which the files of the MVD are kept up to date."

The Social-Democrats' willingness to reveal the extent of their organization is undoubtedly in part a measure of psychological warfare against the suspicion-ridden Stalinist bureaucracy, and in part a warning to individuals in the Russian zone that collaboration with the Kremlin occupation might not be even the practical thing to do.

Jim Crow, D. C.

The city of Washington, the nation's capital, is the "nation's greatest shame" because of its Jim Crow system.

That was publicly stated by Ralph J. Bunche, the director of the trusteeship division of the UN, in a Lincoln's birthday speech on February 11 in Rochester.

Bunche denounced "the segregation and daily humiliation" to which Negroes are subjected in the shadow of the White House, in a city where no Negro could "live and work with dignity" and which has not yet admitted Lincoln's "moral dictum that the Negro is a man."

Jim Crow in Washington is in one respect a sharper test of the sincerity of the major parties' declamations. against racism since conditions in the city are wholly under the control of Congress and there is no possibility of raising the "states rights" cry.

classes and intelligentsia. The Cominform attacked the No-

saka position in the following language:

"Nosaka says that Japan has all of the conditions necessary for a peaceful transition to socialism even under military occupation . . . and that [the CP] is capable of taking power by democratic means via parliamentary institutions. . . . That this Nosaka theory has absolutely nothing in common with Marx-Leninism is obvious. In essence, his theory is anti-democratic and anti-socialist."

Lost Mass Following

The Cominform, demanding of the CP that it reject Nosaka's theories, points out that "the Japanese economy is completely in the hands of American monopoly capital and is aiding and abetting the aggressive schemes of American imperialism." and demands further that Japan "sever its ties with imperialism and proceed along the road to democracy and socialism.

In the first place, the mere fact that it was attacked by the Cominform was in itself a great shock to the Japanese CP. It is not surprising that they were dumbfounded by it. International solidarity, the authority of the Kremlin, the prestige of the Russian and Chinese Communist Parties-these have been assets to the Japanese CP's propaganda. For the JCP, basing itself as it does upon an international authority, there could be no greater loss of face than to be criticized by that

very authority. In the second place, whatever popular support the CP has in Japan is due to the Nosaka line. The last two years of adherence to Tokuda's tactics of violence have cost the CP most of its mass following. The CP leadership in the National Congress of Industrial Organizations (Sambetsu) shrank from one-half to one-third in the space of a year and alienated the working masses. The CP now, thanks to Nosaka, has managed to hold on to a tiny portion of the intelligentsia. "CP minus Nosaka equals zero" is no exaggeration.

For Home Consumption

With Nosaka under heavy attack, the CP is in a quandary. That is: for the CP, relying as it does on an international authority, to oppose that very authority means to cut the ground out from under its own feet, to throw away its own authority, and is therefore impossible.

The January 12 declaration of the Politburo gives accurate expression

viously incorrect and inexpedient. adding, "We hope that at the coming meeting of the Enlarged Central Committee this attitude will be changed and the appropriate steps taken to cor-

rect Nosaka's errors." For the JCP, the Chinese CP's hope was clearly a command. The Chinese Party, like the Cominform, was "hoping" that "the Japanese people wage a determined revolutionary struggle against the American imperialists and Japanese reactionary forces." We here in Japan had the impression that the JCP's attitude had been determined for it by external forces even before

the Central Committee met. On January 20, when the meeting of the Enlarged Central Committee had been adjourned, a Resolution on

the Cominform's Criticisms was disclosed to the multitude of Japanese and foreign journalists who had been besieging CP headquarters. The resolution, a simple statement

scarcely one-tenth the size of the original declaration, was an introduction to Nosaka's complete capitulation-4"self-criticism," in CP parlance—in the following terms: "Those theories of mine which were pointed up by the Cominform were in basic error." The party also recognized these errors as such, concluding, "In the future we shall do our utmost to avoid the repetition of such errors and to be worthy of the expectations of the international proletariat."

Saving Face

The JCP capitulated unreservedly to the international authority. However, it was not possible to punish Nosaka, as was expected in certain quar-

ters. Ito of the Politburo, at the time of the resolution, reiterated the party's attitude "on Comrade Nosaka." Said Ito: "Comrade Nosaka, in full accord with the spirit of the Enlarged Central Committee's resolution, is fighting for the independence, freedom, and peace of Japan .We here fully appreciate Comrade Nosaka's determination and sincerity, and, mindful of the respect due to him for his more than twenty years of vigorous activity, we

have profound hope and faith in the leading role to be played by Comrade Nosaka in the active struggles of the future.

At the present time, to lose Nosaka would be tantamount to losing the CP. The anxiety of the CP's leadership is clearly seen in its going out of its way to make such a declaration in order to preserve Nosaka's political existence. But to the Japanese, to whom "face" is no important and whose thinking has been conditioned by the medieval warrior-code, Nosaka

problem. It is for this reason that some persons interpret the Cominform's warning to the JCP as an indirect admonition against the possible Titoization of the Chinese Communist "hopes" for the JCP, has given a clear reply to that question. Regardless of what it does or does not want, the Titoization of China is an important

with the future.

Party. The Chinese party, in its ate Armed Services Committee and problem, the solution to which rests an agreed disarmament gradually over a period of years with constant

for a world conference for disarmament in conventional as well as atomic weapons, to "end the world's nightmare of fear." Chairman of the Senof the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy, Tydings said it was "essential to strip the world down to the rifle. I am advocating

retary of State Hickerson also made public a statement that Truman's speech did not "close the door" to new approaches in the UN on the question of international control.

But just as old-fashioned "blockbuster" diplomacy was all that followed in the wake of the A-bomb (which could kill only 100,000 at one stroke) on the basis of past performances and economic interests we can-

Washington's foreign policy, which is daily revealing its primary dependence on atomic armament. Yet the only road out is a mass struggle of the peoples of all lands against these governments of death and destruction. There is no other way. The question of our times grows clearer with each lap in the atomic race: the struggle for socialism, or world destruction

Miners Defy Truman - -

(Continued from page 1)

piles through the three-day weeka strategy whereby supplies would be reduced while the miners could eke out an existence. Counting on starvation and on the abject misery of the aged, the children and the crippled as an ally, the operators began to cut off payments to the Welfare Fund. Faced with bankruptcy, the fund trustees suspended payments.

This blow at the miners' pensions and welfare fund was also a warning to the Steel Workers, who were at that time negotiating for a similar program. The steel magnates and coal magnates are virtually one and the same. A pension and welfare plan in the steel industry would make the miners' plan more secure; contrawise, the destruction of the miners' fund would prejudice the fight of the steel workers.

In addition, the rank and file, already working without a contract, were stung by the suspension of welfare and pension payments. Payments were suspended on September 19. Coal mining was also suspended September 19.

LEWIS SOUGHT ALLIES

At that time, the UMW leadership did not expect that a month-long steel strike would render their own strike largely ineffective. The United Mine Workers Journal bitterly scolded Murray for accepting factfinding but apparently thought that

the steel magnates would be satisfied with their victory through Truman's stacked board. Big business, however, pressed its advantage. The obstinacy of the steel-coal magnates as they forced a steel strike was undoubtedly influenced by their campaign to starve out the miners. The payless weeks dragged by; the stockpiles still towered. The miners were now even more on the defensive, Lewis began to appreciate this and prepare for the savage attack in earnest. He began to seek allies—not Republican politicians this time—but real allies, the labor movement.

On October 13, at a press conference, AFL President William Green, whom Lewis had called a "neck grown over with hair" not so long ago, became "the able president of the American Federation of Labor' at a Lewis press conference. On October 14. Lewis dramatically offered aid to Murray. At the same time, he redoubled his efforts to find a week spot in the solid front of the operators.

A few years ago, this was always possible. But Pittsburgh Consolidation Coal Company, the captive mines, and Appalachian Coals, Inc., held the small operators in line. The independents would have liked to break away and settle first; to do so would have postponed the bankruptcy with which the monopolists were threatening them. But the best that Lewis could do was the Kentucky agreement with a tiny handful of insignificant operators.

Independents were threatened with boycott by powerful coal brokers if they signed; a few who did were immediately tied up through lawsuits by Pittsburgh Consolidation under (of all things!) an anti-trust ' crats. law!

THE SHOWDOWN COMES

On December 5, the miners retreated to the semi-strike of the three-day week again. Negotiations proved futile. The operators would not renew the "willing - and - able" clause. Without that clause, Lewis would be unable to regulate the stockpiles under a new contract; and at the end of a new contract, the miners would face a bigger stockpile and a longer strike than ever. The

"overproduction" sickness of the coal industry is a relentless thing. Under the pressure of the situation, Lewis began to move toward the position which he has become famous for opposing in America and ridiculing abroad — nationalization of the mines. Hints at this solution began to appear in his statements and in editorials in the UMW Journal.

Company stores cut off credit. Hunger gnawed at the miners' bellies. But the three-day week gnawed at the stockpiles.

A month ago, bitter locals in the heart of the fields began a wildcat no-day week. At first this was taken as a Lewis maneuver, but it was not. The stockpile was not low enough vet: the timetable was thrown off. Lewis lieutenants scurried through the fields, trying to effect a return to the three-day week, but they met defiance. The big locals of the captive mines and Pitt Consol proved ready for the showdown ahead of time.

TRUMAN'S COLD DECK

This is where Truman stepped in. He had been biding his time. His Fair Deal flimflam had been going famously-he had kept the labor movement paralyzed with empty promises while more and more bankers and industrialists quietly swung from the Republicans to the Demo-

Truman waited for the "emergency" to "force" him to act, and hoped the miners would back down. A few of his fellow Democrats in Congress even tossed the miners some surplus potatoes-after all, the miners' support was of great importance in the 1948 victory.

Then Truman blandly offered the miners a stacked deck-seventy days of fact-finding and full production. Seventy days of full production would have wiped out the results of months of strike and semi-strike! Lewis refused. His statement of rejection was a message that no digger would misunderstand - ignore any injunctions.

The UMW leadership tried to the last for a "deal." Up to the moment of the injunction, the newspapers reported "informal" meetings between UMW "representatives" and "spokesmen close to the White House." There can be no doubt that Lewis asked for government seizure. But Truman and the operators still hoped that they could bluff the miners down.

Truman gave his answer by announcing that he no longer had the power to seize the mines. This was simply a reply to Lewis; until recently, Truman has been claiming that and all sorts of other implied powers.

But as this is written, the back-towork order is being ignored. The CIO has tardily swung into action. There is less than a 300-hour supply of coal. Truman can loot the UMW treasury and he can lock up John L. But the miners have made it plain that he will do so at the risk of an unprecedented national. economic crisis and the complete destruction of Truman's role as the 'champion of labor.'

It is risky for the correspondent of a weekly to make predictions, but Congress is in session and could quickly give him the powers to 'seize" the mines. Has such a bill already been drafted and filed away for use by the Justice Department?

Right now, every worker must throw the weight of himself and his union into the scale. Hands off the miners! Every ounce of support from every section of the labor movement is needed for the miners! As the fury of the capitalist class and its government hangs over the heads of the miners and their union, no one in the labor movement need ask for whom the bell tolls.