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JOIN THE WORKERS PARTY!**

LABOR ACTION

FEBRUARY 28, 1949

A PAPER IN THE INTEREST OF SOCIALISM

FIVE CENTS

UAW Conferees Back "One at Time" Pension-Wage Strategy; Ford First

By WALTER JASON

DETROIT—At the one-day conference called by the top leadership of the UAW-CIO to outline in detail its 1949 economic goals and the tactics to achieve them, the most significant fact that appeared was the absence of any important opposition to these plans.

Only one speaker, John Anderson, president of a small GM local, challenged the "one-at-a-time strategy" and he was effectively answered from the floor by a Chicago delegate, Karl Shier, who indicated that in the context of the auto industry situation the plan to concentrate on Ford was the best. As usual, references to supplementing economic action with political action by the building of a Labor Party, which the speaker made, were greeted with much applause, even by some of the top UAW leaders.

The Stalinists had one important spokesman there, Francis Danowski, of Plymouth Local 51, but he didn't present the "Rank and File" viewpoint, as the Stalinists now dub themselves.

MAZEY PRESENTS TACTICS

The main speech at the conference was delivered by Reuther, who gave it the usual militant tone he specializes in when dealing with UAW gatherings. Among other things, he blasted the steel industry and its refusal to expand steel production, the fear propaganda being spread by big business in widely advertising current layoffs as a means of curbing all fourth round labor demands. He informed the delegates that the March 14 executive board meeting would go "all out in building an organization in every community in the country," in referring to political action.

Emil Mazezy gave the report on the tactics, and why Ford was picked. Certainly the Ford Motor Company is most vulnerable to attack on this question and it appears that the UAW leadership is preparing for an all-out fight against Ford. Two interesting sidelights came out in this discussion. The crisis at Ford's will come on the day the UAW convention ends in July! So that the whole convention can and probably will be used as a rallying point to get the whole UAW steamed up to support any Ford strike, and also to get nation-wide publicity for the UAW pension fight.

Secondly, Philip Murray, president of the CIO and of the steel workers, has a contract which has a deadline one month after the Ford deadline! Murray is perfectly content to let the UAW-CIO take on the fight. And the Reuther leadership is very willing to take the lead, for despite all the fine speeches of Reuther about CIO policy, and the great labor leader Philip Murray, the facts are too obvious for anyone to ignore.

If the UAW waited for CIO leadership, it would have to wait a long, long time. As a matter of fact, in basic industry like steel, the weight of the labor movement is stronger and the steel workers could provoke a first-class crisis by striking, but that is exactly what Murray is seeking to avoid. He prefers to ride on the UAW bandwagon, if a victory comes at Ford.

A third report at the conference was by John Livingston, vice-president in charge of the FE drive. The best that can be said for it is that the newspaper reports that the UAW organizers shouted red-baiting remarks at the East Moline workers were cooked up by a local newspaperman. (A story on the FE situation appears elsewhere in this issue.—Ed.) The

fact remains that Livingston is the wrong man for this job which should combine a real organizing talent with an appreciation on how to win the FE rank and file over.

Livingston is too much of the red-baiter at heart to give that kind of leadership. And the top leadership of the UAW-CIO is responsible for letting him handle this campaign, which thus far has obtained, for the most part, unfavorable publicity.

DETROIT—The primary economic objective of the UAW-CIO in negotiations with the auto industry in 1949 is the establishment of an adequate pension plan with a minimum payment of \$100 a month for auto workers reaching sixty years of age and having lengthy seniority in the shops.

The first target chosen for cracking the auto industry on this program is the Ford Motor Company, because it is the most "vulnerable" from any point of view, and perhaps a "pattern" can be set if victory comes at Ford.

Since the UAW is tied down by contracts at General Motors and Chrysler, which in theory exclude bargaining on pensions in 1949, the Reuther leadership hopes to break through this obstacle by winning a victory at Ford which the other corporations must follow.

Of course, the ranks show every sign of supporting this economic objective. The Ford locals are approving it, and even in locals where Stalinist influence is strong, the CP program of making a straight 30 cent hourly wage increase the main objective, does not carry by itself. The ranks vote for both a 30 cent increase and a pension plan program.

RANKS DECLARE

For no one is against the pension plan. How can they be? The question is what kind of pension plan, and who pays for it? Dick Leonard, former UAW-CIO vice president, and ex-Ford director, tried to sell an inadequate pension plan and it helped retire him from active leadership in the union two years ago.

Unlike the confusion that exists on the wage-price spiral issue, the ranks are clear on the idea and value of an adequate pension plan. Since nearly 75,000 autoworkers would be immediately eligible under the UAW proposal, even a "recession" and subsequent unemployment would not deter the fight for a pension plan. It would be another argument for it. "Retire the old men on a pension, and give the young jobs."

Not the least of the reasons the Reuther leadership decided for the pension plan was precisely the fact that the economic outlook is beginning to look cloudy. And the pension proposal gives the union most "elbow room," irrespective of which way the economic picture looks six months from now.

MAJOR SHOWDOWN

Although early indications were that Reuther leadership thought it might be able to win a pension plan by negotiations, the attitude of the Ford motor company has become increasingly hard, and it looks like a major showdown will be necessary.

Thomas Thompson, president of Ford Local 600, nearly threw a monkey wrench into the Reuther plans when he wrote a public letter to Reuther urging him to try to call a nation-wide industry-labor conference to negotiate a pension plan on a nation-wide scale. Because GM and Chrysler could easily use the alibi that

"under our contract we are not under any obligation to take up this issue," and thus avoid a meeting, and then Ford could say, "we will, when they will," the Thompson proposal simply played into Ford's hands.

As far as this writer is concerned, Reports on Tactics



EMIL MAZEZY

Reuther's scheme of concentrating on Ford, who is on record for a pension plan, and who is vulnerable in the competitive field with GM and Chrysler, is sound strategy. "One at a time" strategy makes sense. Critics who oppose it fail to understand either

the difference between a basic industry like coal mining, and the competitive aspects of the auto industry, and the whole history of labor-capital relations in the auto industry.

If Ford is cracked wide open on this question, then either Chrysler or GM can be taken on next. GM will be the toughest nut to crack because the corporation has the union tied down to a contract until 1950, and it may prove exceedingly difficult for the UAW to find a way around it, if at all.

GM CONTRACT

In this connection, it is almost amusing, but more accurately, tragic, to see how the Stalinists and other factional opponents of the Reuther regime seek to exploit the "escalator" clause in the GM contract, under which the GM workers probably will get a two cent cut from the recent increases they obtained under this very same contract.

How easy it is to forget that these same opponents sabotaged the GM strike votes, and the fact that the whole American labor movement was in disastrous retreat until the UAW broke the no-wage increase front of big business by the Chrysler strike and the threat of another at GM.

But outside of the howling in the Stalinist press, it is unlikely that the demagogu on this issue will convince many rank and files. It is interesting to note that in the local union elections, many former "left-wingers" are running on slates which either ignore the anti-Reuther issue, or candidly admit that as far as "international union" politics are concerned they are not against Reuther.

Unemployment Compensation Figures Show Grave Problem for Calif. Labor

OAKLAND, Calif., Feb. 20—Unemployment compensation claims in the San Francisco Bay area for the week ending February 10 were double those for the same week last year. During that week 4537 more claims were filed than during the previous week, bringing the total to 70,231 claims. This means that in the area covered, one out of every ten workers is now unemployed.

The figures cited above are only a part of the unemployed, as considerable numbers of workers, such as farm laborers and others, are ineligible to file unemployment compensation claims. This figure also does not include those whose claims have terminated, that is, workers who have now been unemployed for a long time.

For the State of California as a whole the Department of Employment figures show 400,404 unemployed, up 4 per cent from last week. Unofficial estimates indicate that the total number of unemployed in California is actually over 500,000.

NEGROES HIT HARD

After all "seasonal" and "weather" and other "temporary" factors have been taken into account, the stark fact remains that tens of thousands of families in California are not only deprived of their support, but have no immediate prospect of getting a steady income over and above their meager compensation checks.

At the present time it is difficult to get figures on the number of workers whose compensation has run out.

Yet every worker has friends or relatives who have now been unemployed so long that they are anxious to get work of any kind, even far below the skill and compensation for which they are qualified, regardless of the fact that taking such work reduces their skill qualification with the State Employment Service.

The Negro workers are particularly hard hit by the current unemployment. Spokesmen for the Negro community estimate that in San Francisco 40 per cent of the employable Negroes, both men and women, are out of work. That means that whereas for the working population as a whole one out of ten is out of work, among the Negroes four out of ten can find no jobs.

No one in California is ready to say at this time whether this situation is "temporary," whether it will remain as bad as it is or will get worse. In Oakland and San Francisco the CIO has already called conferences to discuss the problem, but they have been unable to come up with any solution except for proposals to send delegations to different public officials to discuss the problem and to propose larger sums for relief.

SEEK EXPLANATION

The fact that no one knows whether or not this situation is "temporary" is small compensation to the half million workers and the families who depend on them for their support. The bills have to be paid each week, and that is "permanent."

For the unemployed we have one suggestion to make right now. It won't pay their bills, but it will be a start toward getting the problem solved. All the unions here claim that a great victory was won by the working people at the polls last November when Harry Truman and a Democratic Congress were elected. Yet now, four months after the election, half a million of the "victors" and

Moral Commitment For War Alliance Gets Green Signal

Kutcher Hits Political Blacklist; Asks Clark to Reverse Dismissal

NEWARK, Feb. 24—James Kutcher, legless veteran, today requested General Clark to revoke his dismissal from a clerks job in the Newark Veterans Administration because of his membership in the Socialist Workers Party and to give a public hearing to his party so that it could be removed from the arbitrary blacklist of so-called "subversive" organizations.

Clark is the principal speaker at the New Jersey State Democratic Committee's Jefferson-Jackson Day Victory Dinner here tonight. Kutcher has just returned home from the Beth Israel Hospital following his sixth operation since both his legs were shot off in battle at St. Pietro, Italy, in 1943. The full text of Kutcher's open letter to Clark follows:

"It is now over four months since I was fired from the Newark VA solely because of my political ideas and since I personally appealed to you in Washington to rectify the injustice

against me and the Socialist Workers Party to which I belong.

"I am still out of work and nothing has been done to restore my job. On the contrary, after my visit to your office where you promised to discuss my case with the VA Administrator, General Gray, I received word that he was compelled to approve my discharge.

"Gray stated in his letter that my dismissal was mandatory because I admitted membership in the Socialist Workers Party which you as Attorney General had designated as 'subversive.' Both my party and I have denied this false accusation and challenged the right of a single government official representing one party to restrict the rights of another political party. We and many others concerned with civil liberties vigorously protested your procedure of setting up such a political blacklist without notification, without charges or evidence, and without any hearing.

"I hereby repeat my request that you take immediate steps to restore my job and at least grant a public hearing at which the Socialist Workers Party can prove the falsity of the accusations against it.

"I urge this not only for myself but for all government workers who are entitled to hold political opinions without fear of persecution and for the many labor, veteran, religious and progressive organizations which back my fight for reinstatement.

"I would present this appeal in person if I had not just undergone my sixth amputation-operation since my legs were blown off at St. Pietro, Italy, in 1943.

"I should like to remind you that Thomas Jefferson, whom you are celebrating tonight, was a firm defender of free speech and free political activity. I cannot believe that the author of the Declaration of Independence, who also had revolutionary views, would have approved any resort to thought-control and police state methods. He firmly opposed the Alien and Sedition Laws from which your political blacklist was copied and pardoned those who had been unjustly victimized by the previous U. S. Attorney General through these instruments of oppression."

It has become clear this week that the debate over the North Atlantic Pact, which a week ago flared into its first public discussion in the Senate, is over the problem of what verbiage in the pact will best do two quite different things: (1) commit the United States to a Western military alliance in preparation for the Third World War, and (2) allow the government to claim before the people, whenever necessary, that no such commitment has been made.

This was put as well as could be expected in a sentence by New York Times Correspondent James Reston: "Since last Monday's debate in the Senate considerable energy has been expended on finding words that will scare the Russians, reassure the Western Europeans and satisfy the Senate. Many ingenious ideas have been put forward for doing this..."

The ideas naturally have to be ingenious, since ordinary folk inexperienced in the ways of "diplomacy" (international doubletalk) might have difficulty in reconciling the two.

The unprepared discussion in the Senate was rather a setback for the State Department scheme, since the two leading Senatorial spokesmen on foreign policy (Connally and Vandenberg) specifically repudiated any "moral commitment" for military action to implement the North Atlantic Pact. Since then the State Department seems to have recovered its ground. The following Friday Secretary of State Acheson called in the Senate committee and persuaded them to throw away their monkey-wrenches; he also condescended to let these paladins of the people peep at the secret draft of the pact which has been lying on his desk and which last week had been seen only by Connally and Vandenberg.

So far none of these privileged characters have seen fit to make any noise about the fact that the people AND the bulk of their elected representatives are being expected to discuss and think about a proposition of fateful importance without even knowing what is being proposed. The "breeze of isolationism" which blew

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Transit Strike Ends in Philadelphia Quill Forces Poor Settlement in Wages, Conditions on Local

By FRANK HARPER

PHILADELPHIA, Feb. 20—The trolleys, buses, and subways are running tonight here for the first time since midnight, February 10. The 10-day strike of Local 234 Transport Workers Union—CIO, against the Philadelphia Transport Corporation for higher wages and better working conditions ended with an 8-cent per hour wage gain for the employees.

The original demand presented by the union negotiators, headed by International President Michael J. Quill and Local President Andrew J. Kaelin, called on the PTC to grant a 25-cent per hour increase. By the seventh day the demand was for only 13 cents. The company upped its offer to 7 cents but this was rejected by the union. Negotiations then broke off.

When Mayor Samuels called together new negotiating sessions on Saturday the 19th it was evident that at least on top levels peace was in the offing. The union within two hours dropped its demands to 11 cents. The final sessions on Saturday afternoon were attended by an array of "top brass" of all interested parties. At this session the offer of an 8-cent raise was accepted by the union negotiating committee.

SPLIT ON APPROVAL

In order to get ratification of the contract by the membership and a back-to-work movement under way the Quill forces had to develop the first split in the union ranks since

the strike began. The executive board of the local was overwhelmingly opposed to acceptance of the contract. In order to circumvent the executive board the negotiating committee called a meeting on Saturday evening immediately after the company's offer was made public.

At this meeting Quill in a clever tactical move pushed for approval of a resolution calling for a secret ballot the next day on contract acceptance. It is a well known fact that a secret ballot favors the inactive and more conservative section of the membership. Nevertheless no grouping should have been opposed to the secret ballot. In the course of the stormy exchange of opinions, charges, and countercharges the opposition to signing the contract became mistakenly identified with opposition to the secret ballot. To complete the confusion the vote taken showed clearly that the majority at the meeting opposed the secret ballot despite the fact that Kaelin ruled that the motion for the secret ballot had carried.

On Sunday noon the local's executive board voted 23 to 9 to reject the contract. Despite this organized opposition at the special membership meeting a few hours later Quill was able to get the members back to work and the contract approval 100 per cent assured. The business of this meeting was supposed to concern itself only with the issues of the secret ballot which Kaelin had ruled settled in the affirmative the previous meet-

ing. The discussion afforded the machine with an opportunity to attack those who opposed the contract acceptance as "office seekers," "local politicians," "small minority," "screwballs," and eventually "communists."

The opposition to signing the contract stated here unqualifiedly that they were in favor of the secret ballot. The motion for a secret ballot was finally put to the vote and passed, thus guaranteeing each union member the right to have his say without fear of ridicule or reprisal.

POOR CONTRACT

The new contract provided for very few improvements in working conditions. This was the most unfavorable aspect since these demands were second only to the wage demand. The union sought a guaranteed workweek particularly for the extra men who are required to report at the barns

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Stalinists Drive Local 638 Out of UE Membership Votes Unanimously to Quit UE, Joint Auto Workers Union

PITTSBURGH, Feb. 14—Following months of continued Stalinist attempts to squash them as an opposition force in District 6 of the United Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers Union by depriving them of their anti-Stalinist leadership, the members of Wiegand Local 638 voted unanimously at a membership meeting held yesterday to leave the UE and join the UAW-CIO.

Behind the story of the switch of this local from the UE to the UAW is the revolving tale of Stalinist methods used to retain control of the UE in rule or ruin bureaucratic fashion. The CP gang could tolerate no opposition. It drove Local 638 from the ranks of the UE and forced it to join the UAW for self-preservation.

The UE district leadership, once it realized it could not stop the local and its leaders from remaining in op-

position, forced this local to take the action it did. Thus, the blame for such a "split"—if it may be called one—rests entirely with District 6 leadership.

Although Local 638 has for quite some time been an opposition local, the present action flows from several incidents that began almost a year ago. At that time three international UE officers came to Pittsburgh to report to steward bodies on the UE. One meeting was held in East Pittsburgh, where the Local 601 Rank and File Group challenged the leadership on the question of signing affidavits under the Taft-Hartley Act. The three international officers took a verbal beating. That same evening the three international officers held another meeting in Pittsburgh's Fort Pitt Hotel for other locals in the area.

It was there that Tom Nolan, pres-

ident of Local 638, together with John Duffy, vice-president of the Allis-Chalmers local, challenged the international officers on the same question. As reported in LABOR ACTION at the time, the Stalinist leadership, fearful of another drubbing, adjourned the meeting. Nolan and Duffy left the meeting, together with others. While still in the hotel, they discovered that after the opposition left, the meeting had been called to order again. They started back into the meeting only to be barred at the door by one of the District 6 representatives. In their attempt to get back in, a fight took place and they were arrested. Charges were then brought against them.

Some time later, during a strike that took place at the Mine Safety Appliance Co., Nolan and his local

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NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

Sees Blunders in UAW's FE Drive

CHICAGO, Feb. 14—The fast-moving campaign to unite all farm implement workers under the banner of the UAW-CIO got under way the week of January 27.

Since that date, thousands of papers have been passed out at the gates of Farm Equipment-CIO organized plants.

The UAW organizers (composed of members from all the staffs of the union) had finished distributions at Harvester plants in Chicago on Wednesday and took off for Moline.

They were distributing their papers when they noticed a group of workers standing off watching them.

The 45 organizers continued to pass out papers but soon a group of 250 had assembled. It is not known what actually started the melees, but fists, pipes, crowbars started flying.

The UAW tried its best to hold its own but was overpowered by greater numbers. They were driven off. FE immediately filed suit for inciting a riot.

UAW named seven names and 14 John Does in a counter-suit. Black eyes, broken noses, bruised bodies were the result.

MOLINE SITUATION

How explain the participation of 250 workers in an attack on UAW distributors?

It is an accepted fact that the Stalinists can whip up a sentiment, where they have rank and file support, in any direction they want.

638 Quits UE

(Continued from page 1) were helping on the picket line. A Stalinist stooge, also on the picket line, called Nolan a "company stooge"

and other choice terms and a slight squabble took place. A cop nearby arrested the Stalinist.

RANKS UPHOLD NOLAN

This was added to Nolan's "anti-union" crimes and he was tried by a typical Stalinist court appointed by District 6's leadership and both he and Duffy were ordered expelled from the UE.

Local 638 refused to recognize the expulsion. (The Allis-Chalmers local will not recognize Duffy's expulsion either.)

Nolan functioned as president, although the district refused to let him sit on the district committee.

Then began the Stalinist attempt to force the local to obey the commands of District 6. Organizers were sent to the local, threats were made to the local, the district sent people to the homes of members of the local.

Leaflets were poured on the plant. The members of Local 638 refused to obey the Stalinist orders. They kept their own president.

It became apparent that the district and international were ready to use various technicalities to place a dictatorship over the local when they saw they could not win the membership.

DA Weighs Tresea Evidence

NEW YORK CITY—District Attorney Frank S. Hogan and his aides in the Homicide Bureau are weighing testimony about the 1943 murder of Carlo Tresea, anti-totalitarian editor, given before the Grand Jury on February 8 by Benjamin Gitlow, former high Communist Party official.

Summoning of Mr. Gitlow before that body followed urging of such action by Norman Thomas, chairman of the Tresea Memorial Committee, in letters to Mr. Hogan, because of statements by Gitlow in a book about Communists high and low, The Whole of Their Lives, published by Scribner's last October.

The statements in point had to do with both the Tresea killing and the apparently related disappearance of Juliet Stuart Poyntz, described as a disillusioned agent of the OGPU (Russian secret service).

Mr. Gitlow was with the Grand Jury a full hour, and most of the questioning was done by Assistant District Attorney Louis Pagnucco.

Neither he nor anyone else in the prosecutor's office would comment on the testimony given. Power to return indictments for felonies lies with the

raiding of the UAW. So the orders in the Moline Harvester plant were to treat the distributors as one would scabs.

The Moline plant could not possibly have 250 Stalinists. The local leadership may be members of the party. However, it is a known fact that the international (Stalinist) leadership cannot control the local at will.

The leadership is made up of native militants, who participated in the largest number of job actions in the country last year. Suffice to point out that this plant was out for seven weeks last year on a minor wage classification fight, and the international tried its damndest to get them back to work.

It is also important to point out that the wages for production-workers in the plant are way over the UAW organized John Deere plants in the same town.

Both operate under the piecework setup. The contract, while not being the best, is far from the worst, and the militancy of the workers takes care of a good deal of the contractual difficulties.

This is not true of most of the FE Harvester plants (tractor works, Chicago, Canton, Ill., Richmond, Ind., for example), but it is true at Moline.

UAW BLUNDERS

The FE leadership knows well that the union is deep-rooted in Moline. That is why they offered to hold an election within fifteen days to determine who should have the bargaining rights.

The UAW propaganda will never win FE the way they are proceeding now. Why?

They are relying on CIO policy and Communist Party baiting. The first never makes an impression on rank and filers and the second is useless where the ranks ask the question, "What will I benefit by switching unions?"

On top of this, the FE has come forward with the idea of One Big Union for all Farm Equipment workers in CIO. This has been successful

UAW-CIO where they felt they could live more healthily and use their union to fight for their own demands.

The Stalinists are happy. They have lost an opposition and now they will shout "splitters" all over the UE. But the culprits are the Stalinists themselves who drove the opposition out of the UE with frameups, totalitarian methods, slanders and trickery.

While a policy of remaining and fighting the Stalinists in the UE must be the attitude of locals which stand in opposition to CP domination of the UE, it must be remembered that the CPers will try trick after trick to decapitate the opposition.

When the UE tries to discourage opposition with cries of "splitter," it will be well to remember that they forced Local 638 to take the action it did.

Having pushed Local 638 into the UAW, the Stalinists will try to make other opposition groups feel as if they were deserted and thus dishearten them. It would indeed be unfortunate if this Stalinist trick was swallowed by opposition locals.

There is a big difference between jumping into and being pushed. Local 638 was given the "bum's rush."

Grand Jury. Murder is never outlawed.

"We were gratified by the news of this latest development," Mr. Thomas said. "Mr. Gitlow has stated publicly that he would gladly help in any way possible to clear up the Tresea case."

Meanwhile Tresea's friends remain divided in opinion about the identity and character of the slayers and plotters. Some continue to ascribe the crime to the fascists; others blame the Communists.

Undoubtedly that division will persist until there is an actual conviction in this case. And our committee will keep an open mind about the same question until conclusive proof is brought forward.

The Gitlow book tells of a feud between Tresea and Enea Sormenti, now said to be Communist chief in Trieste, Italian political storm center, which the author declares ended with Tresea's murder.

That crime Gitlow attributes to two factors: "1. Tresea dared to buck the OGPU on the Poyntz case; 2. He tried to foil Stalin's plans in Italy by keeping the Communists out of the Italian-American Victory Council."

THE DOPE PEDDLER



YOUTH and Student CORNER

By JULIUS FALK and JACK MAXWELL

Incredible Yipsels

It's a little hard to believe, but the letter is right in front of me. It came last week from the national secretary of the Young People's Socialist League (Socialist Party youth group). It also could happen only in the YPSL.

There are other groups just as, and more, bureaucratically run, but none that trips over its own bureaucratic feet in exactly the same boggling way.

It's a tale of two national secretaries, and begins last October when the YPSL published and circulated a document entitled "The YPSL Position on Trotskyism."

Which was an unusually crass and ignorant collection of slanders and atrocity stories about Leninism, Trotskyism and Bolshevism. Soon after its publication in October, at an executive committee meeting of the National Youth Council for Independent Political Action, this document was presented to the committee by the official YPSL representative there (named Mecartney).

Then the group's National Organizer, as the official YPSL charges in support of their modest proposal to oust the Socialist Youth League from the council.

At the beginning of this month (over three months later, you will note) the SYL published an Educational Bulletin which not only ripped apart this YPSL contribution to the enlightenment of our times, but also reprinted the whole document itself.

But in-between, during those long three months, an earth-shaking event took place: nothing less than a national convention of the YPSL and a change in personnel of its leadership. Among other changes of world importance, a new national secretary took office.

REPUDIATES DOCUMENT The letter referred to now comes to us from this new leader of the YPSL hosts, Charlie Taibi. In it we read: "I'd like you to know that the article published as the YPSL position is not the position we hold; and we demand [sic], accordingly, a retraction [sic] in the next issue of the SYL Educational Bulletin. The document in question obviously [sic] seems to have been written by John Mecartney, until recently YPSL Organizer, and is his own, personal, statement."

Taibi goes on to explain that the unlucky document "was never submitted for consideration by the various representative bodies of our organization" and "does not represent our official position, though we might agree with portions of it." (From this point on, the reader can insert all sics for himself.)

Now while we are willing to be charitable, the black angel on our left shoulder whispers that this repudiation of their own document would have come with better grace before the SYL exposed it as a piece of rubbish, and before this unauthorized (so we now hear) piece of rubbish was circulated through YPSL ranks to poison them against the Marxist movement.

But hold, enough! Every ray of light is welcome in this benighted world. And besides, Taibi's letter continues:

"If you were not aware of the fact that this was not our official statement, little can be said, except to warn you to check with us on matters of this sort; you have shown, it seems to me, though, an unseemly haste to get this whole business into publication form."

(In passing: the reader will note a curious difference in point of view about "unseemly haste." For the SYL three and a half months is an unconscionably and regrettably long time to take to answer a political attack. For the YPSL, it is "unseemly haste"—in fact, they often never get around to it at all.)

Now what about this YPSL document which was "obviously" somebody's personal statement? First of all, as we mentioned, it is entitled "The YPSL Position on Trotskyism"—right at the top, too, where everybody can see it. Naturally, a naive person who neglects to hotfoot it to a phone to call up Taibi would get the impression that is... the YPSL position on Trotskyism. (Hot on the heels of this singularly uninformative title, the document starts right off in its first sentence: "The YPSL reaffirms its traditional opposition to Trotskyism...")

and speaks throughout in the name of the YPSL. It is obvious that any obviously intelligent person would

at once understand, in a flash of obviously intuitive perception, that it was John Somebody's obviously personal statement.)

Secondly, the real test of the reader's intelligence comes at the end of the document, where the signature appears. This may seem like mere cavilling, but the signature reads: "Young Peoples Socialist League, 303 4th Avenue, New York 10, N. Y." If only it hadn't been spelled out! Mere initials like YPSL might have been properly understood to be this John Somebody's very personal pseudonym, obviously.

To make the going real rough, we recall the fact that this same helpless document was officially presented for the YPSL at the council mentioned; and another fact: The very stencils that were used by the YPSL in mimeographing it were kindly turned over to the SYL on its request, when we informed (the, then national secretary, Walter Petersen, that we intended to republish it with a reply! Of course, this was before Taibi took office and remolded things nearer the heart's desire . . .

PEANUT BUREAUCRATS So where are we? Oh yes, we have just learned that this document—entitled the YPSL position, signed by the YPSL, speaking in the name of the YPSL, circulated by the YPSL, presented to an outside body in the name of the YPSL—this deceptive document was actually put out by an officer without authorization, and that no one caught on to it until . . . the SYL rushed in unseemly haste, unworthy of gentlemen and scholars, to make mince-meat of it.

Taibi "demands" a "retraction." Merely to demonstrate that we are tolerant of anybody's imbecilities without undemocratic distinctions, we agree on the following easy conditions:

(1) That the YPSL also make public the fact that the document in question is repudiated by it, and explain the circumstances of its publication. A suggestion along these lines. This repudiation is not to be printed in agate type in the Agony Column of the Times. We propose merely a notice in the Socialist Advt approximating in size the advertisement which appeared in that paper, before the recent YPSL convention, inviting interested persons to apply for the job of national secretary of the league (no working conditions specified or promises of rapid advancement given). Since Taibi must have answered the ad satisfactorily, we assume he is familiar with it.

(2) This mischievous person John Somebody—yes, Mecartney!—what is to be done with him? Here is an officer of the YPSL (says Taibi) who took it upon himself to publish a false statement of the YPSL position, sign it with the official cachet, get it circulated by unsuspecting YPSLers, etc. without any democratic say-so by the group's assembled brains, until the avenging hand of Taibi smote the deception hip and thigh. Obviously, a bureaucrat! We are pained to learn of this bureaucratic mess in the high councils of an organization like the YPSL which makes a career out of yelling about . . . bureaucracy elsewhere.

This amazing affair could not possibly happen in the SYL, or, if it did, the offender would escape expulsion only by pleading possession of an ailing grandmother whose tenuous hold upon existence would be seriously affected by the resulting disgrace. It is not our place to insist that the YPSL take disciplinary action against their shameless ex-bureaucrat (according to Taibi's story). We ask only that we be informed of what is done, if anything—just for assurance of bona fides. We wait with the usual bated breath.

A last earnest of our good will. Not only do we here publish this gory, blood-reeking account, but we go further. From now on, on seeing any document of the YPSL innocently circulated and signed by that group, we shall:

(1) Make sure that it was not mimeographed or printed in the dead of night by the office stenographer or building janitor.

(2) Ask about the date of the next YPSL national convention to make sure that national secretaries and assorted functionaries are not switched on us before we do anything in unseemly haste. —H.D.

Philly Transit Strike

(Continued from page 1) three times a day. Protests were also made against the "swing" practice, which in transport refers to split shifts requiring operators to "swing" in the barn for several hours without pay between the halves of the shift.

The union also unsuccessfully asked for a uniform pay rate for all cashiers.

One of the glaring weaknesses in the conduct of the strike was the failure of the Transport Workers Union to bring the facts to other unions and to the public in the early phases of the strike. Although the CIO Council was continuously in touch with the strike situation, it was not until the strike was almost a week old that

the strike message was personally brought to the membership of the unions in the area. At the end of the strike leaflet distribution at plant gates were still largely in the stage of planning.

While the city's press played its usual strikebreaking role, the radio offered the union a fair amount of time to present its viewpoint. The local meetings on Saturday 19 and Sunday 20 at which the membership was urged to accept the contract were broadcast. Although these sessions were not a model of union democracy being marred by bureaucratic maneuvers on Quills part and by unwise tactics by those who opposed contract acceptance, it is certain that thousands of Philadelphians for the first time learned first-hand not only that opposition can exist in unions but that it can be expressed and vigorously on the union floor.

During the strike, the PTC attacked the union on other fronts other than the economic and propaganda fronts. Acting through Republican City Councilmen Louis Schwartz and Fred Garman, the company had introduced in the State Legislature an amendment to the Utilities Strike Ban bill. This Kephart amendment forces arbitration on and denies the right of strike to transit employees as well as those in public utilities. It was threatened that this amendment would be made retroactive to apply to the PTC strike. Also, the final negotiations were carried out under threat that the PTC would be placed in temporary receivership.

The aftermath of the strike: The pattern for fourth round increases in the area has been set at a level far below that necessary to increase real wages to the 1945 standards. The publicity of this largest of CIO locals here proved woefully inadequate to the task of not only influencing public opinion but even of reaching brother CIO members. The unions proved incapable of meeting the attacks on the legislative front, for they have no representatives in the city of Harrisburg. Finally the procedure by which Quill secured acceptance of the contract left a bitter taste with many labor unionists who have supported his fight in the TWU against the Stalinists.

With the Workers Party

All readers of LABOR ACTION are invited to attend meetings, class lectures and socials sponsored by local branches of the WORKERS PARTY. For information of WORKERS PARTY activities in cities not listed below, write to WORKERS PARTY, 4 Court Square, Long Island City 1, N. Y.

ALBANY: Write to Box 231. BIRMINGHAM: International Fellowship House, 21 West Preston St., 2nd floor. Public forums every second Friday of each month. Discussion group on remaining Friday evenings.

BUFFALO: 639 Main St., 2nd floor. Open meetings Thursday evenings. SYL meets Friday evenings. CHICAGO: 806 West North Ave. Tel.: Michigan 9003. Office hours: Wednesdays after 4:00 p.m. Meetings: Every Wednesday at 8:30 p.m.

CLEVELAND: WP Branch meets Sundays, 8:00 p.m., in the Croatian Home Association (6314 St. Clair Ave. Write to Bernard Douglas, Box 1130, Cleveland 3, Ohio. DETROIT: 9016 12th St. Meetings Fridays: 8:15 p.m.

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NEW YORK CITY: CITY CENTER: 114 West 14th St., 3rd floor. Open every day from 10 a.m. to 7 p.m. Wednesdays and Thursdays until 10:30 p.m. Tel.: WAtkins 4-4222. CENTRAL BRANCH: Wednesdays, 8:15 p.m., at the City Center, 114 West 14th St., 3rd floor. CHELSEA BRANCH: Thursday, 8:15 p.m., at the City Center, 114 West 14th St., 3rd floor.

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Editorials

Slave Labor

The proposed investigation of Russian slave labor camps made by the American delegate to a subordinate body of the United Nations, meeting at Lake Success, has produced the expected response from Russia. A heap of vulgar and crude abuse, topped off by a multitude of counter-accusations (some true, others distorted, still others fantastic) has accompanied the categorical opposition of the Russian delegate to such an investigation and his final remark that no "agents of American imperialism" will ever dare take a look-see into Russian insides.

But a remarkable and often unnoticed element is present in current Russian answers to such repeated investigational demands. No longer do we hear a violent denial of the existence of such camps! The evidence and proof is long since far too overwhelming for the Russians to deny their reality. Thousands of documents from survivors; maps and detailed descriptions of their location, character and type; elaborate documentation of their managers, etc.—all these have made it out of the truth for Stalin to conceal the overpowering question that slave labor, as we have long contended, is an organic, a "normal" part of Russian totalitarianism.

Ukrainians, Poles, Germans, Balts and Baltics by the millions have labored under this system which even surpasses Hitler's monstrous achievements in forced labor. The only question to be resolved is: what are the total statistics? Exactly how many camps are there; where are they all located; how many millions (is it 8 or 14 millions?) suffer in them; how many perish etc? The existence of such camps is now an established fact, even Stalin's delegate referred to the "correctional camps" which Russia has formally established?

We know only too well the motives of the American delegate, backed up by the AFL spokesman, and others who are pressing this demand for an investigation committee. For them, the principle point involved is the opportunity to score an excellent propagandist bulseye in the "cold war" with Russia. For the outright reactionaries, it is another splendid opportunity given them by Stalinist barbarism to again prove to their satisfaction that modern slavery is spelled out in the letters of "socialism," "communism" and "Marxism."

But be this as it may, it is necessary for socialists and labor everywhere to give its support to such a demand as this. The sooner the slave door gates of Russia are flung open and revealed to the world, the sooner will Stalinism tumble. The CIO, for example ought to be called on to wholeheartedly join in the demand for this investigation, and to aid other organizations, such as the Workers Defense League, which are working on this same problem.

The real way in which the socialist movement does not differentiate itself from others lies in the demand and assistance with which it presses its demand for an objective investigation, with the organized labor movement fully and properly represented. And, above all, by the way in which it associates itself with the cause of the slaves themselves. Labor is not interested in a mere expose of a propagandist kind. Its real interest lies in the immediate freeing of the slave laborers from the camps, and their safe return to their homes; wherever they may be.

Prices Down?

Prices have gone down. That is, some prices have gone down somewhat. If we didn't know that from our trips to the store, we could not fail to know it from the barrage of propaganda informing us of the downward trend. How calculated, and by whom, this campaign is not of immediate concern to us, except to note that certain circles appear to be particularly anxious to emphasize the point by way of blocking any governmental controls, and by way of blocking wage demands. How deep is the price decline, how permanent?

We were preparing to make comment on the price situation in bread, which leaves little room for cheering, when along came the New York Times with an extensive report which shows that prices are still a problem, and an issue.

First, on bread. We are indebted to a story by Oliver Pilat which appeared in the New York Post some two weeks ago. We'll quote briefly from Pilat's report which is based on Bureau of Labor statistics figures:

"Spot wheat dropped twenty five cents in price between January 1948 and January 1949. "Wholesale flour skidded 22 per cent during that same period, and retail flour fell 11 per cent.

"But the wholesale price of a one pound loaf of bread in New York remained unchanged, and the retail price actually inched upward!"

To which Pilat adds that the retail price of a loaf of bread in New York City was three cents higher than two year earlier.

So much for the price of bread. Not much reason to taper off on wage demands on that account. What about the over-all price situation? Here, we can capsule the findings of the Times' investigators as follows:

1. The cost of living has dropped, but "spottily" (in description of the Times).
2. Some of the peaks of price excesses have been chipped off, "with no prospect . . . of an approach to pre-war levels."
3. Food and clothing have come down, but many essential items have held their inflated prices, and some, like fuel and light, have risen slightly.

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The Times reporters agree that there is still "a lot of shaking down to do." And quote local businessmen over the country as admitting that cuts in wholesale or manufacturers prices have not yet been reflected in retail prices.

What it boils down to is that there has been, under various pressures (such as consumer resistance), a modest decline in the over-all cost of living picture. Some items, like meat which had reached scandalous heights, have dipped considerably—but even there not to pre-war levels, and other necessities such as bread and milk, have held "steady."

In other words, prices are still a major issue. They are still fantastically high, and put many necessities beyond the reach of multitudes. Wage demands based on the increased cost of living are demonstrably incontestable, especially when the price-wage pattern is viewed in the perspective of several years. The workers' real wage had been so severely hit by price rises that a few declines cannot offset the loss. And that leaves out of consideration a most vital point, namely that labor's legitimate concern is not merely maintaining a given, inadequate living standard, but in improving it.

In that connection, the plans of the Department of Labor are most interesting. The Department of Labor reasons that it is time to change the cost of living index on the basis of changed food and general living habits in recent years. That is a most sensible decision. It could, for example make a lot of difference in such wage negotiations as base themselves on Bureau of Labor Statistics. What it means is that some things which were not part of basic living pattern a few years ago, must now be included (mechanical refrigerators, for example).

The Times ties its survey in with an account of the European wage-price situation, and takes much comfort from the fact that U. S. labor's standard of living is higher than that of any European worker. We take small comfort in the misery of the European working class. What is indicated there is the active assistance of U. S. labor to European labor to help it improve its living standard at the same time that U. S. labor constantly advances its own standard of living.

A better comparison would be between the standard of the working class and the standard of the capitalist class. Compare the price-wage picture with the profit-price picture, and the facts will speak for energetic action to lower prices by controls, and to raise labor's wage standards.

Worthy Cause

We published in last week's issue a small item about the League for Mutual Aid celebrating its 29th anniversary at a dinner (reservations for which, at \$3.75 a plate, can be made at the League office, 104 Fifth Ave., New York City). We can think of few institutions more deserving of support than the League for Mutual Aid which, under the magnificent direction of Adelaide Shulkind, has been of immeasurable service to people in the labor, liberal and progressive movements who require emergency assistance without the slightest hint of political or factional bias.

It is impossible to detail the many services which the League for Mutual Aid performs—from lending money without interest to helping newly arrived DP's get settled in this country. The League hopes to buttress its finances at the anniversary dinner, which will be addressed by various well known speakers. It does not plan to make any appeal for funds at the dinner. We would therefore like to presume to make one for the League. A contribution of a dollar, of five dollars or more, is a contribution to a worthy cause.

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Threat of a New Civil War in Poland

Russia Wars Against Polish People

By A. RUDZIENSKI

In December 1948 there took place the "unity" congress between the two "workers parties," the PPR and the pseudo-PPS. (PPR is the Stalinist "Workers Party" and by "pseudo-PPS" the writer is referring to the section of the Socialist Party which went over to the Stalinists and remained legal.—Ed.)

Although the Stalinists declared that the split in the workers' movement between reformism and Marxism, between nationalism and internationalism, was now healed, the fusion congress in reality represented the funeral of the Polish workers' movement. The role of hangman and gravedigger fell to Boleslaw Bierut, president of Poland by grace of his boss, Stalin. Our readers will recall that Bierut was chief of the Polish section of the GPU, informer and hangman of his former comrades, liquidator of the Polish Communist Party and assassin of all the prominent Polish Marxists and revolutionaries.

It was to this creature that Stalin entrusted the task of teaching "Marxism-Leninism" to the Polish proletariat and of engaging in a critical evaluation of the 70 years of revolutionary workers' struggle in Poland. It is well known that the Polish workers' movement divided into two tendencies in the '30s of the last century: one, represented by the PPS (Socialists), argued for the reconstruction of Poland as the first point in the socialist program and its separation from Russia; the other, represented by the SDKPL (Social-Democracy of Poland and Lithuania), with Rosa Luxemburg as its leader, struggled for the social revolution in all Russia, upheld an internationalist criterion and argued for the union of the Polish and Russian proletariat as a condition for the liberation of both.

In her struggle against Polish nationalism, Rosa Luxemburg fought the program of national independence for Poland, Marx and Engels' old slogan, and counterposed to it Russian-Polish revolutionary solidarity and the autonomy of the historical territory of the Polish-Lithuanian state.

Although Rosa Luxemburg's opposition to the program of national independence stemmed from her struggle against a diseased nationalism and from her program of internationalist socialist revolution, as the very name of the SDKPL indicates, Rosa Luxemburg defended the historic rights of Poland to all the territories which belonged to her before the partitions beginning in 1772.

PURPOSE OF CONFERENCE

Now Bierut is attempting to utilize the internationalist program of the SDKPL for the vile aims of Russian imperialist policy, using the "internationalist" banner against the social and national resistance of the oppressed Polish people. The new party, the PZPR (United Polish Workers Party) is usurping not only the inheritance of the SDKPL, but also that of the CPP and the Left-PPS (formed in 1906 by Koszutska, Walecki and others as a reaction against Pilsudski's faction).

Needless to say, the fusion congress was empty of ideological content and devoid of theoretical discussion, the main "theoretical" being none other than one of Stalin's policies. The ex-secretary general of the pseudo-PPS, Cyrankiewicz, presented some "self-criticism" in the name of the pseudo-PPS, severely attacking the past of the PPS. The secretariat of the "united" party is composed of Bierut, as president, and three secretaries: Zambrowski, Zawadzki and Cyrankiewicz, the first three being members of the defunct Stalinist Workers Party (PPR). In both the politburo and orgburo, as well as in the Central Committee, the pseudo-PPS has a minority representation of about 30 per cent. There are no longer any obstacles to hinder the secret police in effecting their frontal offensive against the Polish peasantry, in expropriating and "collectivizing" it in the Stalinist manner of the Ukraine.

This purpose was again confirmed by the new polemic against Gomulka delivered at his former supporters, Kliszko, by Bierut's statements and the declarations of Radkiewicz, Minister of Security (Bezpieka), who threatened the "reaction" (the opposition) with reprisals for attempts against the agricultural cooperatives and collectives already established. (It is interesting that the Polish peasantry sees in the state farms a continuation of the hated latifundia system and rebels against them.) Radkiewicz accused the opposition of direct dependence on the United States, and of carrying on espionage in its behalf.

MASS ARRESTS

The reports of the world press confirm Radkiewicz's threats, since a short time ago new mass arrests of former soldiers in the underground army were made in Warsaw, on the ground that they were preparing new terrorist attempts against the government. Until now, all the opposition parties have abstained from an active and armed struggle against the regime. It would appear that the sup-

posed attempts are the work of the Stalinist police itself.

The class struggle, the civil war, grows sharper in Poland. A social war of the bureaucracy against the worker and peasant masses, with the aim of despoiling them of their remaining possessions and reducing them to the level of slaves, is on the order of the day. It is a war of Russian imperialism against the oppressed Polish people.

THREAT OF NEW MASS DEPORTATIONS

Some two months ago Warsaw was the scene of a trial before a military tribunal of representatives of the workers' opposition, leaders of the authentic Socialist Party, headed by C. Puzak, ex-prisoner of the czar in 1906, in Schlüsselberg, former secretary-general of the PPS in independent Poland, ex-president of the National Council (underground parliament during the Nazi occupation), one of the leaders of the Warsaw uprising of 1944, captured and condemned before a Stalinist tribunal in 1945.

Puzak answered the accusations of the MVD (secret police) with scornful silence, and was condemned to ten years in prison, a sentence which was reduced to five years by virtue of an amnesty. Puzak broke his silence to declare that he could not and would not alter his beliefs. The trial of the PPS accompanied the liquidation of the pseudo-PPS and its fusion with the Stalinist Workers Party (PPR), just as the trial of the Polish resistance government in Moscow in 1945 accompanied the creation of a Polish government of "national unity," a regime formed under the auspices of the three imperialist powers and which Mikolajczyk, the peasant leader, and Stanczyk of the PPS joined.

The methods of the MVD are contemptible and odious in their cynicism: one hand applies the whip to the rebels, the other scatters crumbs as a reward for capitulation to the cowards and opportunists.

PROFOUND MEANING

The trial has a profound political and practical significance: the Polish people have been accused before the bar of the MVD of aspiring to national independence and social emancipation. With whip in hand, the MVD has ordered it to accept dependence on Russia and national and social servitude as the ideal of "true, national independence." For this reason, it falsifies and twists history and the glorious tradition of the Polish workers' movement, especially its revolutionary branch, represented by the SDKPL, the party of Rosa Luxemburg.

The practical purpose of the trial is to aid in the domestication of the proletariat and peasant masses of Poland, with the ultimate aim of incorporating Poland directly into Stalin's Russian empire. After the "fusion" of the two "workers parties," the most important problem remains the destruction of the economic independence of the peasantry, the expropriation of its means of production by the totalitarian bureaucracy, in order to reduce it to a slave of the Stalinist state.

Although the enormous majority of the Polish peasantry are poor, possess small holdings and need state aid, the Stalinist government strives to destroy the peasantry by all possible means. This reactionary, anti-

peasant program is masked by beautiful slogans of "socialist cooperation and collectivization," when the technical base of Polish agriculture is far from such a possibility.

Poland today possesses between 800 and 1000 tractors, whereas the socialization of the land calls for around 200,000 tractors. The collectivization of agriculture can only be a product of the technical development of the nation and not of Stalinist "ukases." But the bureaucracy is implacable in its war against the laboring masses of town and country; its imperialist policy demands complete subjugation and oppression without limits, in order to crush each and every seed of resistance.

CALM BEFORE STORM

This resistance on the part of the oppressed people even penetrates the politburo of the official Stalinist party. In a politburo session, the leader of the more capitulationist tendency toward Moscow, Berman, called the attention of the Russian MVD representative, Malinow (always present at the Polish session) to the fact that the return of the deported soldiers of the Polish underground army, the AK, from Siberia to Poland would placate Polish opinion. Malinow cynically told Berman that he did not think it would take place since it would not be in accord with "the interests of the Polish proletariat," because the "AKites" were working well in Russia ("re-educating themselves," and that Comrade Berman "could study this at first hand in their company." Thus spoke the representative of the GPU to a puppet leader of Polish Stalinism.

In another session, when the problem was posed of purging the pseudo-PPS before proceeding to the fusion of the two parties, the same Malinow cynically declared: "If the interests of the proletariat demand it, we shall deport 300,000 oppositionists to Russia; I can assure you that the USSR will aid you in carrying out this task." A sepulchral silence accompanied Malinow's cynical statement.

Today this sepulchral silence covers the partitioned, subjugated and oppressed country like a mantle of snow. "Order reigns in Warsaw" as in the times of Nicholas I, II and III. But it is the calm before the storm. The bureaucracy is preparing for the final assault on the peasantry.

It is a whim or, more precisely, a paradox of history which has decreed that under the existing conditions the peasant holding should become the last bulwark of national independence and political liberty. The relative economic independence of the poor and middle peasantry stands in the way of the greedy expansionism of reactionary totalitarianism and defends the laboring masses of town and country from the subhuman exploitation, oppression and subjugation by the totalitarian bureaucracy.

Malinow, the cynical Russian overseer and spy at the sessions of the Polish politburo, presents the program of deportation of 300,000 oppositionists to Russia, if "the interests of the proletariat demand it." The laboring masses of Poland know already what this means.

But the day will come "when the people shall straighten their bent backs and make the little czar (Stalin) and the other masters run," as the old Russian song has it. And this day is awaited not only by the mistreated Polish people but by all the peoples subjugated and oppressed by the Stalinist autocracy, including the Russian people.

The BUND

LIQUIDATION FORCED BY POLISH REGIME

The following items are reprinted with permission from the Jewish Labor Bund Bulletin (February, 1949). They speak for themselves and require no comment. We would however suggest Stalinist be read for "Communist" in the text.

The Communist minority now ruling Poland with the blessing of Moscow has finally succeeded in putting an end to the existence of an independent BUND movement in that country. After the Polish parade held in Warsaw on December 15, 1948, when the last remaining shreds of an independent Socialist movement were eradicated, the fate of the BUND was all but sealed. A month later, on January 16, 1949, a liquidation congress of the Polish BUND took place. The participants dissolved the independent BUND movement and called upon its former members to join the "Unity Party"—actually the Communist Party in Poland.

Following is the statement regarding this tragic event, adopted by the BUND World Coordinating Committee.

BROKEN BY TERROR AND VIOLENCE

The liquidation of the Polish Socialist movement, which also caused the Polish BUND to be dissolved, was brought about against the true wishes of the Polish working class after the Communist rulers broke its resistance by shameful methods of physical violence, terror and corruption.

Now the ignoble period, marked by various "adaptation" measures and continuous ideological concessions on the part of the Socialist movement of Poland by means of which that movement had hoped to wrangle from the Communist rulers a chance to exist, came to a close. Simultaneously was stifled the attempt of the comparatively few Jewish workmen who remained alive to continue, after World War II, upon the ruins of the struggle of the Jewish Labor BUND under its own banner—the banner which had once inspired the Jewish working masses to the fight against tsarism, against Polish reaction, and, in the years of the recent war, against the Nazi cannibals.

To the long chain of Communist crimes a new link has now been added—the forced liquidation of the Polish BUND. The BUND in Poland—flesh of our flesh and blood of our blood—became a victim of the Communist crusade against the last vestiges of an independent Socialist movement.

With regard to this political and moral act of murder committed by the forces controlling the life of contemporary Poland—the very same forces which seven years previously, in December 1941, murdered in the Soviet Union the leaders of the Polish BUND, Henryk Erlich and Victor Alter—the BUND World Coordinating Committee feels obliged to state:

The liquidation of the BUND in Poland finally puts an end to all hopes of a significant Jewish community again developing there. The eradication of free civic organizations in Poland makes impossible the very existence of culturally productive Jewish activities.

WILL FIGHT OPPRESSORS

The guilt for repudiating the basic principles of the Bundist ideology and the shame for denying the glorious history of the old BUND in pre-revolutionary and pre-war Poland does not rest with the BUND membership; for the membership kept faith with its old ideals. The guilt rests with the individuals who brought about the party's dissolution; but the real culprit is the Communist movement, which has developed into an apparatus of oppression catering only to the principles of brute force, of blackmail, and of terror.

The BUND World Coordinating Committee proudly notes that a large majority of BUND and TSUKUNET (Bundist youth organization) members in today's Poland refused to betray the party's principles and the party banner—which had been a rallying point for hundreds of Jewish workmen for half a century. As does the vast majority of the Polish laboring class, these Bundists carry in their hearts a burning hatred against their Communist oppressors.

Plight of the Jews in Rumania

Rumania now has the largest Jewish community in post-war, not counting the Soviet Union—a group totaling half a million Jews. The Jewish settlement there dates back many years and is intimately tied to the country's history and traditions. Some of the Jewish communities in Rumania—as, for example, those in Cernauti and Iasi—are prominent in the annals of Jewish history. Most of Rumania's Jews speak Yiddish, are proud of their Jewish origin and of their Yiddish schools, and are deeply aware of their ties with creative Jewish elements all over the world.

The further national and cultural development of Rumania's Jews, however, appears to have become exceedingly difficult with the recent adoption of a resolution on national minorities by the highest authorities of the Rumanian Communist Party. A few excerpts from the document pertaining to Jewish problems follow:

"Bourgeois nationalists have tried to create, there are no divisions among Jews. This view is nothing but a diversion and a ruse to win over the Jewish working population to serve the vested interests of the Jewish bourgeoisie, who is a servant of British-American imperialism."

Everybody in Rumania knows only too well what it means to be ear-marked as an agent of British American imperialism. It is easy to imagine the consequences for the majority of the Rumanian Jews, who are known for their anti-Communist sentiments.

After the statement about the rights of the national minorities in Rumania (excluding the Jews) was issued, the Politbureau of the Communist Party initiated a spirited campaign against so-called "Jewish nationalism." Even some Jewish Communists were rebuked and punished for their lenient attitude toward the Jewish population. They were accused of "harboring disguised Bundist inclinations." In accordance with this new general line with respect to the Jews, the Communist regime in Rumania already began to eradicate all remaining signs of Jewish national life in Bucharest and other towns and cities throughout Rumania.

It is not difficult to prophesy the ultimate fate of the Jewish community in Rumania. It is at the mercy of an unchecked policy of national annihilation promoted by the Communists of Rumania under the guise of uprooting agents of British-American imperialism.

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Key to A. L. Strong Mystery Still Points to Chinese CP

By JACK BRAD

The analysis of the Anna Louise Strong case which was made in LABOR ACTION last week seems to have gained wide acceptance. During the last few days the New York World-Telegram and H. R. Knickerbocker, INS correspondent and radio commentator, have analyzed the case in a similar vein. Certainly no one has taken seriously the view of the State Department that Miss Strong is being groomed by the Russians to become, at this rather late date, an American spy.

At this writing there remain a few additional observations to be made, but no serious modification of the original idea seems necessary on the basis of events of the past week. The explanation of the Strong incident which seems to cover most of the known facts is that her arrest as a spy by the Russian police is an incident in the silent struggle between Russian imperialist objectives in China and the needs of the Chinese Communist Party. There have long been indications of difficulties between the two. The Strong incident is the first public declaration by Moscow of its determination, and a warning to the Chinese and all Communist Parties.

Russian expansion in Asia has already dismembered large parts of China; At Yalta it received special privileges in Manchuria. There are indications that the Russians have established a stranglehold over Manchurian economy. But this also creates undue problems and difficulties for the Chinese. For Manchuria, containing 75 to 85 per cent of all China's industries, is the biggest prize in China, and without it Chinese economy is reduced to complete dependency.

There have been rumors of conflict for several years now between

Russian and Chinese Stalinist policies. So much so that when the Russians marched into Manchuria in 1945 they brought with them "their own Chinese" under the leadership of Li Li-san, one time head of the Chinese party, who has since taken a post in top leadership and is key liaison man with the Russians.

The rumor will not down that Gen. Lin Piao, chief of the Chinese CP armies in Manchuria, is also part of the Russian group. Li is assigned to his staff. His army of 300,000 is the best equipped of all Chinese armies. He seems to have replaced the Chinese veteran Chu Teh. Mao Tse-tung's closest associate. Russian ambition seems to aim at a pan-Mongol and pan-Turk buffer zone extending from the Japan Sea to the Persian Gulf. As part of this vast and far-flung internal projection it comes into conflict with Chinese Stalinism in Manchuria, Sinkiang and possibly North China.

Miss Strong has been most closely identified with the Chinese CP in recent years. Indeed she is the only propagandist to have traveled throughout Manchuria in the post-war period and the only one to have had frequent interviews with the entire top leadership of the Chinese party. In an essay entitled "The Thought of Mao Tse-tung" and in her most recent book, "Tomorrow's China," she reports extensively on the Chinese leadership. Indeed, A. L. Strong had become the international publicist of the Chinese party.



The Yugoslav release brings us back to the question for whom could Miss Strong have been an agent? Surely not for the U.S. She is not even accused of that. Borba printed its revelations in answer to implied accusations that Yugoslavia had been the source for Miss Strong's espionage. Whatever sub-service information exists, it seems infinitely more likely from available data that she was an agent of the Chinese Communist Party, not as a spy, but an agent for its policies or a protagonist of its leadership, and as such came into conflict and became a symbol of the conflict with Russian ambitions in China.

It is interesting, however, that Moscow should be tainting her, ever so lightly, it is true, with Titoism. For it is just this tendency in the Chinese party—its desire to organize a strong, unified China—that is at issue. This is not yet Titoism. It has a long way to go for that. That is why Miss Strong's arrest must be viewed as a warning rather than a broadside. Nationalist tendencies in the multi-form Russian empire may take more varied forms than Tito has shown and the single connotation of Titoism will not be broad enough to include them all.

An iron curtain has rung down over Manchuria. Correspondents are excluded; reports are scarce. A silent battle is raging there which may be of greater importance for the future of China than the Yangtze front. It is a war waged in camera between factions for strategic positions. But its ferocity should not be discounted. The prize is enormous. Like all differences in Stalinism, it is waged in the top committees only, in semi-conspiratorial fashion. That is the anatomy of Stalinist inner politics.

Stalinist War on Church in East Is Not Over Religion but Power

By WILLIAM BARTON

The center of the current conflict between the Stalinist regimes in Eastern Europe and their church opposition this week shifted to Bulgaria as two church leaders, one from the Methodist and the other from the Congregationalist Church, were reported to have "confessed" to "espionage" and illegal currency operations.

Last week we indicated that the arrest and trial of the various churchmen in Eastern Europe is not so much a conflict over religious beliefs and practices as a campaign by the totalitarian rulers to upset possible rival social forces. The truth of this contention is borne out by the introduction in the Bulgarian Parliament by Foreign Minister Kolarov of a bill that would close all foreign religious orders, missions and congregations, and declare that the Greek Orthodox Church is the "only people's democratic church."

Actually, the church census of 1934 lists the total number of all Protestants in Bulgaria as 8,731, compared to five million members of the Greek Orthodox Church. The rival churches, unlike the Catholic Church in Hungary, for instance, have thus never had much power. Their suppression is another attempt by the totalitarian leaders of the totalitarian regime to upset any possible centers of opposition.

The more serious furor over the

Protest "Oliver Twist"

The Berlin demonstration against the showing of the anti-Semitic film Oliver Twist has brought into the open one of the most dangerous post-war developments. It appears that the British consciously and deliberately by-passed the established three-power censorship reviewing board and unilaterally proceeded to make the film public in spite of previous protests in England and in the U. S.

The British action, in the context of these protests, and the undue haste in releasing the film into the heated political tensions of Berlin can only be considered a provocation. The demonstration which succeeded in stopping the film was a healthy reaction on the part of the people.

Yet even at the demonstration the British succeeded in turning it into a riot by their free use of helmeted and club-armed German police. The brutality of these police is clearly visible in the published photographs. There is no reason to doubt that anti-Semitism played a part in this special viciousness.

There have been many suspicions in the last few years of anti-Semitism in high British Labor Party circles. Churchill, the old Tory, could rise in the House of Commons and accuse Foreign Minister Bevin of anti-Semitism in barely veiled terms. Ugly rumors, which have never been challenged, charge that anti-Semitism was a factor in British policy in Palestine.

All reports agree that anti-Jewish feeling is increasing among the people and working class of England. The defeat of Nazism has not destroyed one of its blackest features. (It has been asked: Has Nazism been victorious in its war against the Jews?) Anti-Semitism flourishes all over Europe, from London to Paris and from Prague to Moscow. In Britain, Mosley's "British Fascists" have attempted a revival, sensing the growth of this virulent hatred.

The Oliver Twist incident has already had serious effects in Berlin. The British-licensed newspaper Telegraph reports that "echoes of anti-Semitic circles." Latent anti-Semitism has been brought to the surface. Accusations against the Jews revive the old cries: the Jews control the black market—they don't belong in Berlin—they are disorderly. No doubt, among the horde of Germans, American, French and English operating on the black market there are also some Jewish DPs, but it appears that Jewish black-marketers have been the special target of attack in the streets of Berlin in the time-dishonored tactic of anti-Semitism.

Black-marketeering by anyone is not to be condoned, of course, but the British in particular (the other occupying powers to only a slightly lesser degree) are guilty of permitting and even assisting the spread of these ancient evils that the Jews control the black market; that the Jews in some unspecified manner are hindering German revival.

The British Labor Party has its responsibility on this score, and it is not a light one. This party claims to represent socialism—and socialism is not compatible with anti-Semitism. Whether Oliver Twist is or is not anti-Semitic (we have not seen the picture, of course) is, by this time, not merely an objective question but has become a symbol of this vicious racial disease. British labor can make a start here in cleaning their own anti-Semites out of the leadership of their party.

conviction of Hungarian Cardinal Mindszenty continues with the same volume as last week. The Hungarian government has apparently won the first round, as Hungarian bishops are reputed to be considering a letter from the imprisoned cardinal urging "an agreement" with the regime. But the incitement of anti-Stalinist fervor by the powerful Catholic Church hierarchy on its side of the cold war is becoming greater. The Pope addressed an assemblage of some 200,000 people in St. Peter's, setting his tone at "no compromise." In New York, thousands of children have participated in public prayer demonstrations. Fourteen Washington lawyers, led by former Assistant U.S. Attorney General Thurman Arnold, attacked the Mindszenty trial as a "brazen attempt" to prostitute the judicial process.

Although much of this indignation is not only consciously associated with Western propaganda efforts in the cold war, but points as well the Catholic hierarchy in glowing colors as defenders of freedom, this is not universally true. Interestingly, many Protestant clergyman have used the occasion to point out to Catholics that they are now protesting the same treatment that the church has approved against others. A sermon by Brooklyn Baptist Minister Rev. Robert McCall queried: "It is right that we should recoil from religious persecution, but why see it in Russia and be blind to it in Spain?"

The Eastern European regimes fear their people. They have got to direct popular resentment elsewhere and prevent organized opposition. That, plus the need to get in some propaganda licks for its side in the cold war, are the nub of the drive against the "foreign-led" churchmen.

"Union Guy" Tells Only Part of UAW Story

UNION GUY, by Clayton Fountain. Viking, \$2.75.

In one way, members of the UAW probably feel somewhat proud at the appearance of this book. Mr. Fountain rose from the ranks of the union to be a minor official, and now has told the story of his career. Naturally, the mere fact that he has written the book will please his union brothers.

But, in our opinion, the book is, unfortunately, a lost opportunity. Mr. Fountain had a chance to be the first person in this country to tell one of the most exciting stories in our labor history; he also had a chance to make an important, if limited, contribution to our sociology and our labor politics. A good, thorough book on the UAW would be welcome even if it differed from our views, for then it could provoke fruitful discussion; but the trouble is that Mr. Fountain hardly takes the trouble to start such a discussion. He is too interested in other things.

One of the things he is too interested in is himself. He has chosen to tell his story as an autobiographical memoir. That would be all right if he were a crucial figure in the union, but he is not; he is too narrow a funnel for the union history to get through, especially since his personality sometimes serves as a filter.

SEES FEW PROBLEMS

A more serious objection is to his intrusion of 100 pages of private experience. Mr. Fountain's marriages can hardly be of interest to anyone but himself; his experience in the Communist Party in the thirties COULD have been significant if he hadn't taken the easy way out of indulging in the "I confess" mannerisms. All that he seems to have learned from his experience in the CP is that Stalinism is "a religion." Well, suppose it is. Shouldn't a man writing this sort of book at least ASK, even if he cannot answer, such questions as: why does it win converts among workers? among intellectuals? Why do millions of European workers succumb to it? What likelihood is there that American workers will succumb to it? Can Stalinism be defeated by politics that accept the capitalist status quo or is it necessary to oppose it from a socialist perspective? Mind you, we don't at the moment object to his failure to agree with our views on these matters; we do object to the fact that while writing about the UAW he does not seriously raise these questions.

The second half of the book is about Mr. Fountain's experience in the

UAW. Mr. Fountain greatly oversimplifies. He is too interested in inter-union gossip of the sort that excites people a day after it happens but seems stale six months later. He is too interested in telling you what Walter Reuther told Clayton Fountain after being shot (a maudlin episode, in Fountain's telling of it, which might just as well have been left untold). But the fundamental questions raised by any consideration of the UAW are therefore skimmed.

What was the significance of the sit-downs in the 1930s? Mr. Fountain says nothing about that. How did the union manage to crack Ford? A few rah-rah pages on that. What is the meaning of the rise of the "Third Group" in the UAW during the war? Mr. Fountain conveniently looks the other way. How, in detail and NOT with vague platitudes, did the UAW handle the Negro problem? Mr. Fountain passes. How has Walter Reuther reconciled his early opinions with his later activities? No problem for Mr. Fountain.

In fact, the reader soon gets the impression that Mr. Fountain sees precious few problems. If you went just by his book, you would never know that there are still highly serious problems with regard to Jim Crow, to political activity, to membership education, to a host of other matters which the UAW faces. Mr. Fountain's book is too much razzle-dazzle, not enough sober and serious thinking. It is, in a word, uncritical—uncritical of the good OR the bad, uncritical of himself.

MISSED OPPORTUNITY

Not that Mr. Fountain's book does not have some uses. It shows perfectly the mind of a secondary union official. It has some interesting gossip. In many ways it does for the Reuther wing of the UAW what Henry Krause's "The Many and the Few" did for the Stalinist wing. Its portraits are all black and white; and Mr. Fountain is resolutely determined to convince his readers that now, at last, he is on the side of the angels. No doubt he is—and we are glad he is—but if only he had taken the trouble to see that there are different kinds of angels!

When you think of the glorious opportunity he had to write the pioneer book on the UAW; when you consider the way that story could encompass every exciting and significant issue facing the labor movement—you are astonished to see how one man could have told so little and left out so much. But then he was too busy backslapping his fellow angels.

William GOLD.

Even in Reprisals There's Graft In Franco Spain

Reprisals have already been taken in Bilbao against those who abstained from voting in the Francoist elections. For example, the Commission of Supply and Transport demands a certificate of having voted from all those who apply for their gasoline ration. All who cannot present such a certificate are denied their quota of gasoline. But even in this there is graft. The Commission's functionaries themselves have suggested to several of the rejected applicants for gasoline that by paying five pesetas more per liter "all difficulties will be ironed out."

In some offices and agencies the certificate of having voted has been demanded from all employees. They have to present the certificate in order to collect their month's salary. But, as happened on the occasion of the referendum, plenty of certificates were distributed among people who did not vote. Many election officials and clerks are nowadays devoting their time to a fruitful racket. For ten, fifteen and up to twenty-five pesetas they will supply certificates set aside on election day with just such a sideline in view.

Under the Franco regime, as is evident, even the elections serve as an object of graft. And to a very great extent the situation of elections in times past has been reversed: before, you were taxed to vote; now, you have to pay to abstain. (Translated from La Batalla, December 22, 1948 by O. S.)

If any more evidence of this were needed, the publication by Borba, Yugoslav CP organ, of its exchange with the Soviet Information Bureau on Miss Strong's book would be enough. The Yugoslav release quotes a letter from Miss Strong as follows: "I want to point out certain publishing changes that were made in Moscow by the editor of the Soviet Information Bureau. I do not have time to send you personally those changes, but the Soviet Information Bureau will send you a copy through their representative in Belgrade." Which means that up till a few months ago Miss Strong released her material on China through Russian propaganda agencies and her "notoriety," as Fass described her in its announcement of her arrest as a spy, is rather of recent origin.

We wonder what the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy, U.S. front organization which published her book here, will have to say at this bold description of the book as a Stalinist handout. This particular organization has circled some eminent persons—T. A. Bissan, Harrison Forman, Stanley Isaacs, Michael Straight, Arthur U. Pope, Freda Kirchwey, Leland Stowe and numerous other obvious non-Stalinists.

War Alliance—

(Continued from page 1)

through the Senate hall is being turned to fill out the Acheson sale; even Senator Taft has been won over to the Acheson formula.

This formula for the verbiage in the pact is something along the lines of a commitment to "military OR other action" to put teeth in the Western military alliance. Legally it does not violate Article I, Section 8, of the Constitution; actually it sets up a world-embracing equivalent of the Monroe Doctrine, with all of its implications.

As a leading Paris newspaper, Le Monde, recently pointed out, what matters is not the terminology of the treaty but the intentions of the United States (which means: of the government administration). Since the voice which the people theoretically have in Congress can be exercised only over the contents of the treaty and not over the secret plans and steps and "moral commitments" made even behind the backs of Congress, the tactics of the Washington war party are clear.

All this is freely taken for granted in Europe, as dispatches relate. The European press which has been touting for an automatic military alliance powered by Washington is now content to point out that "equally important with the text in deterring potential aggressors would be a highly organized system of common defense with increasing armed forces in Europe supplied with U.S. equipment." (Times)

"In higher official quarters in Western Europe emphasis is now put more and more on the collective military system that is to accompany the pact and give it the teeth that many expect it will lack in the operative clause of its text."

WORDS AND MUSIC

Washington is writing both the words and music: the words will be painfully constitutional to Acheson, but the music will be supplied by the war drums in the Pentagon Building (that well-known master of harmony Eisenhower conducting).

Simultaneously, two other moves in the cold war are pushed across the board.

(1) On Thursday of last week the Senate Foreign Relations Committee ended its hearings on a bill authorizing nearly \$5½ billion to carry the Marshall Plan through the middle of 1950.

(2) On Wednesday of this week the first concrete details were made known to the press on the grandiose Truman program (first announced in his inaugural address) for a gigantic drive toward American investment in all the "underdeveloped" areas of the world. This "bold new program" is to be placed before the UN Economic and Social Council this week. Readers of LABOR ACTION are already familiar with many of its details, since we have reported the advance blueprint of the plan revealed by the magazine Business Week. It is without doubt the most far-reaching state-planned project for world-wide economic imperialism ever launched.

Thus far the most interesting counter-reaction on the Russian side of the cold war has been the statement made publicly in France by the leader of the Communist Party there, Maurice Thorez, and which has created something of a sensation in the country. This was his thinly veiled threat that in case of war between the West and Russia, the French Stalinists would act as Russian fifth columnists. (Thorez's expression naturally was couched in other words: in this eventuality, he cried, "could the workers and people of France have any other attitude toward the Soviet army than has been that of the peoples of Poland, Rumania and Yugoslavia?")

STILL A RACE

That this WOULD be the Stalinist attitude is, naturally, not news; but that Thorez should proclaim it aggressively at this moment is significant in view of the tentative proffering of olive branches on their part that has recently been going on both in France and Italy.

Thus the cold war between Russian imperialism and Western capitalist imperialism spirals up—still far from the shooting stage, no doubt, but hardening in its forms. The hopes of the Western capitalist strategists that the Kremlin may be frightened into making temporary terms may indeed bring a lull, if their more optimistic expectations are realized, but only as a new starting point for new preparations. It's still a race between the Third World War of capitalism-Stalinism and the movement for socialist democracy and peace.

PROS AND CONS: A Discussion Corner

South Asia Union And Western Union

In the past it has been accepted as axiomatic that the countries of Europe and the backward countries of Asia are economically interdependent. The European countries with their large populations, high degree of industrialization but limited natural resources, have been compelled to lean heavily on outlying regions to supply their lacks, and have done it largely through colonial exploitation. On the other hand, the backward countries with their teeming populations, their abysmal standard of living and abundant natural resources crying out for industrialization, have to have help from the industrialized world to make real progress. Nothing has happened in recent times to change this economic relationship between the industrially developed and the undeveloped parts of the world.

Revolutionary socialists have in the past envisaged that when the period of colonial revolutions arrived and the pillars of imperialism were shaken in their foundations, the workers of the imperialist countries would unite with the colonial peoples in revolt, together to forge an international relationship of mutual benefit, based on mutual dependence. The period of colonial revolutions is indeed here

and imperialism has received a bad shaking up, but the proletariat of the imperialist countries, for reasons we perhaps understand, has not been active in the colonial situation up to now. That does not mean, however, that it cannot be.

Though the cloth woven by history is of a different pattern than what we had expected, still with the cloth at hand we must try to cut a suit to fit the existing situation. Do the positions taken by the Workers Party on the European question, as expressed in the proposed resolution for an independent union of European countries, and on Southeast Asia Union, as expressed in the editorial in LABOR ACTION, February 7, fulfill the requirement in respect to the colonial developments?

INTERTWINED ECONOMIES

The resolution on Independent Western Union, sound in its main approach, however, shows a failure to grasp the opportunity offered today to cement a bond between the working people of Europe and of the Far East. The resolution speaks of the countries of Western Europe as almost self-dependent economically. This cannot be true. Although, to be sure, the union of these countries would increase their united resources, it is still a fact that Europe as a whole must have the products of the backward countries.

The only reference the resolution makes to the colonies is when listing the democratic planks on which Independent Western Union must be based. Among them is "the renunciation by all participants of any imperialist rights to dominate colonies and possessions now under their rule." While this democratic demand is undoubtedly correct, standing as the only statement on the colonial situation, it is unrealistic and purely negative.

To say this and nothing more ignores an economic fact known to all, namely, that the economies of several of the European countries are so intertwined with their colonies that severing the ties is like cutting an artery. Furthermore, there is the fear that "to free the colonies" will simply make it easier for other imperialist vultures, notably the United States and Russia, to swoop down on the prey. Therefore, there is an opportunity, while renouncing all imperialist rights, for an Independent Western Union to offer the backward countries a positive economic program, as between free and equals, for dealings mutually beneficial to the Western European Union and to the Southeast Asia Union. Of course, a resolution of the kind submitted by the Political Committee cannot and should not go into the details of such a program, but the broad

PRINCIPLE involved should be recognized and stated.

COMMON STRUGGLE

At the same time the editorial on Southeast Asia Union implies that such a combination would be self-sufficient. The billions of people, the tin of Malaya, the hemp and steel of India, the rice of Burma, the oil and rubber of Indonesia, the talents of all these countries combined, contain the possibilities of a regional international economy organized on a division of labor depending on local resources and skills which could raise the people's lives to a modern standard—so says the editorial. But is this a realistic statement?

How fast and how far can industrial progress go "organized on a division of labor depending ON LOCAL RESOURCES AND SKILLS"? Of course, faster and farther than each Asiatic country could go by itself. But the crying need for machines, machine tools, railroads and rolling stock, all the products of the heavy industry of industrial countries cannot be excluded from a statement on the economic possibilities of Southeast Asia. In fact, on the ability to acquire these needs abundantly and quickly may depend whether or not a socialist union of Asian countries will survive or degenerate into bureaucracy and exploitation.

Speculating on what provisions an economic program for an independent Western European Union and a Southeast Asia Union would contain, these ideas come to mind. The European union would agree to pay world market prices for the raw materials produced by the Asian countries, and would guarantee the purchase of definite quantities. The Eu-

ropean countries would pledge the shipment to the East of stated amounts of the products of their heavy industry, to insure steady and rapid development there. The Eastern countries might pledge themselves to pay their workers certain wages and provide specified working conditions.

These ideas are perhaps very crude, but the principle is clear: independent of both the United States and Russia, and of a socialist tendency, is to be forged in the world, the economic interdependence of Europe and the East must be recognized. An Independent Western Union will have to make its appeal to the uniting Asiatic countries for a mutually beneficial relationship, as one group of peoples struggling for freedom from imperialist entanglements to another such group.

Susan GREEN