

Europe Suspects M-Plan 'Strings'

Part of the Marshall Plan dollars have gone for a poll to determine what the recipients of those dollars think about their benefactors. The results are amazing—to Marshall Plan officials and to those who were sold on the idea that the Plan was just, good and true. The poll sampled the opinion of France, Austria, Denmark, the Netherlands and Norway.

"These people are absorbed by the thought that there are strings attached to this too-beautiful thing," was the comment of one Marshall Plan official on the results.

Conducted by the Foreign Opinion and Market Research organization for the Economic Cooperation Administration, the poll revealed that out of every 100 persons questioned, only four gave the Marshall Plan credit for French recovery from the war and German occupation.

It seems the American side of the Atlantic has been better propagandized to accept the benevolent motives and effects of the Marshall Plan than has the European. Only 38 percent of all Frenchmen who were polled thought the Marshall Plan was "good for the country."

A note of touching irony was supplied by Thomas D. Hodges, chief of the ECA information and research section who complained that Europeans who opposed Marshall Plan aid "know more about the plan than those who favor it." This was explained away by being blamed on Communist propaganda against the Plan among the working class. Since it is believed that the Marshall Plan is losing the battle against Communist propaganda, the United States is attempting to stimulate a counter-propaganda campaign to show that the Marshall Plan is not the "too-beautiful thing" with "strings attached."

"GOOD SAMARITAN" POLICY?

The question might well be asked: if the Marshall Plan is all-virtuous and doing nothing but good for Europeans, why does the United States have such difficulty in "selling" it to the very people whom it is supposed to help? It is quite apparent to Europeans, if not to Americans who consider the United States only as a Good Samaritan, that there are "strings" attached to the Plan. The United States is getting its quid for its quo.

The "strings" consist—and this is to leave aside for the moment the supplementary North Atlantic Pact,

the military complement of the Marshall Plan—not of the stated lofty aims and the written words of the binding documents, but in the actual increasing domination of Western Europe by the United States. The results of this linkage of economies are reflected in the current dollar gap that is causing a crisis in international economic relations. The dollar gap is the fundamental imbalance, as ECA put it, in world trade caused by the excess of United States exports, which has considerably worsened the long-existing dollar shortage in Europe.

ANSWERS OUR CRITICS

When revolutionary socialist critics of the Plan pointed to the inevitable subordination of the European economy to the American, to the detriment of the former, the supporters of the Plan, particularly its "socialist" supporters, who regarded it as an international WPA project, demanded to be shown where in the language or interest of the Plan, this charge was evident. The demand was based on purely formal considerations of the worst sort.

But the ECA, supplied one answer indicated above in the foreign balances of Europe and the United States. As important as this factor, is the devaluation of the European currencies, which followed as a consequence and established the unchallenged position of the American dollar, once again, at the expense of Europe.

FURTHER INTERFERENCE

The aforementioned imbalance is leading U. S. Marshall Plan officials to further "influence" the European economy, the latest step being the integration scheme proposed by Paul Hoffman, ECA Administrator, to knock down the trade barriers in order to unify the European economy and make of it a mass market, further subject to American exploitation. This is all to be done on the basis of "free competition," of the type that keeps businessmen awake nights, according to a recent spokesman for the scheme.

We can only conclude that the suspicions of the Europeans as reflected in the poll figures are a consciousness that the effects of the Marshall Plan have to do with profit and loss statements, keeping American exporters and importers in the black, a containment of the East by the West, and nothing to do with the human requirements of security for the many.

New Union World Body, Repudiating Stalinism, Faces Catholic Issue

By E. GARRETT

Last week, in London, 261 delegates, representing close to 50,000,000 workers in 53 countries, created a new organization of world labor, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU).

With the total Stalinization of the World Federation of Trade Unions, it became impossible for organizations not under Stalinist domination to remain in the WFTU. Few did, and none of any consequence after the withdrawal of most non-Stalinist unions from the WFTU. A world center pledging the cooperation of unions dedicated to "free unionism"—that is, unions which will not tolerate dictation from the state, unions free to act as the representatives of labor—has, accordingly, been in the making for at least a year, and actually for longer than that.

Working men and women, especially those who are truly responsive to the links of international brotherhood that bind workers of all lands together, will rejoice at the founding of the ICFTU and look forward to its development as a genuinely potent force for FREE labor, and the freeing of enslaved labor.

The full text of the conference decisions is not yet available. However, what the press has reported of its constitution indicates, in that respect anyway, an auspicious beginning. It is to be hoped that some of the signatory unions take the document seriously enough to practice what it preaches. Thus, it is reported that the constitution affirms the right of labor to "trade unions which shall be free bargaining instruments and which derive their authority from their members," affirms the right of labor to social justice and security, affirms that workers cannot be free unless they have the "democratic means of changing their government," and calls for mutual assistance to labor everywhere in defying "totalitarian infiltration."

FIGHT OVER CATHOLIC UNIONS

These are basic principles and it seems to us safe to say that the new organization will be accorded the allegiance of workers to the extent that it effectuates these principles.

As reported in the press, there was apparently only one major difference

of opinion among the conferees. That difference, which threatened to stymie the conference in its preliminary stages, concerned the Catholic Trade Unions which, though affiliated to a Catholic international, asked admission to the ICFTU.

Strong objection to their admission came from the socialist unions, notably those of Belgium and France, to whom the problem of Catholic unionism is a very real one and whose objections are well founded in experience as well as principle.

AMERICANS PUT ON PRESSURE

Their argument is a simple and uncontested one. Religious unionism is in contradiction to free unionism. More specifically, the Catholic unions were created as dual unions to the free unions, are guided ideologically by Catholic Church policy, not labor policy, and serve in effect to divide the working class along re-

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AUTO WORKERS FIGHT DANGEROUS PRECEDENT—

Company Asks UAW to Write Witchhunt into Union Contract

In Paterson, N. J., Local 669 of the United Automobile Workers, took a stand on the question of civil liberties which should be an instructive lesson for the entire labor movement.

In its current contract negotiations with the Wright Aeronautical Corporation, the company demanded of the union the right to fire any employee "belonging to a subversive organization." This demand, first rejected by the union's negotiating committee, was unanimously rejected by 2800 members of Local 669.

In his report to the local Gabriel de Angelis, member of Local 365, International Representative of the UAW, working in the district under the direction of Martin Gerber, declared that the UAW would "make a national issue of the clause and will attempt to bring additional pressure to bear on the company to remove

the clause. . . . We will not be a party to it."

An indication that this issue is not lightly regarded in the UAW is the fact that Emil Mazey, UAW Secretary-Treasurer, advised the local not to sign the contract with this clause in it.

ISSUE OF CIVIL LIBERTIES

In a formal statement issued by the local union, the issue was met head on. The statement itself pleads the cause of civil liberties. It points out quite correctly that the company's demand leads to the victimization of members of the union, who can be, and as experience shows, usually are, fired without charges and without a fair trial.

The statement goes on to denounce the whole affair as a witch hunt; and charges the company with using the local as a guinea pig. This the local rejects without any equivocation.

The local asks, in effect, what is the

purpose of the company in making its demand, when not even the government has made the kind of demand which the company has in its proposed contract. It would be bad enough under any circumstances, but coming as it did in contract negotiations, the whole attempt of the company is indefensible.

The local understands that given this right, the company would be in a position to decapitate the local, which has a militant record. The company could, with such a blank check, simply fire one militant after another, under the pretext of the rejected clause. Since no trial is provided for, since no proofs are required, a person charged with being a "subversive" by the company, would have no redress in fighting the charge. He would find himself jobless, in effect out of the union.

THE LESSON OF BELL AIRCRAFT

We have already seen how this has worked out in the Bell situation in Buffalo, where outstanding militants, charged with being subversives, were not taken back on the job. There were no formal charges in that case. The members declared to be subversives had no opportunity to learn who made the charges against them, upon what evidence these charges were based, or to defend themselves. They were thus victimized in a most brutal and illegal fashion. The losers in that situation were not only the people so penalized, but even more, the Bell local of the UAW itself.

We do not know whether the unionists of Local 669 acted as they did with the Bell situation in mind, if they did, so much the better. But it is clear that they grasped the real significance of the company demand. The pity of it is that the whole labor movement, and particularly the top officialdom of the CIO, acting with unusual obtuseness, do not approach the problem with the intrinsic intelligence of UAW Local 669.

It is worthy of final comment in this story to note that this same Local 669 was under heavy attack by Stalinists at the last convention of the UAW, and that it is a local which long ago signed anti-Communist affidavits. This did not, obviously, placate the high officials of Wright Aeronautical Corporation, who would like to reduce the union to a plant tool of company with its own particular "red scare." The local told them where to go. It ought not budge one fraction of an inch from its incontestably correct position.

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UN Assembly Ends Talkfest But World's Problems Remain

By GORDON HASKELL

The fourth regular session of the United Nations General Assembly was concluded last week. During this session the Assembly took action on some 33 "major" matters. But it did not solve a single important question which could begin to relieve the world of the terrible state into which it has fallen since the war.

When the United Nations was first being formed in San Francisco, most newspapers, statesmen and the "heavy thinkers" hailed it as the answer to the prayers of a war-torn world. LABOR ACTION stated then clearly and without hesitation that the United Nations would not and could not solve any of the problems which have to be solved if the world is to become a place where people can live in safety and security. We were denounced as gloomy prophets and defeatists. Let the record of the fourth regular session of the Assembly speak for itself.

DISARMAMENT. The Assembly voted to request the Security Council to continue its study for the reduction of "conventional armaments." Russia and its satellites said: either include inspection and control of atomic weapons or there will be no control of non-atomic weapons.

The Assembly voted to have the big nations continue closed-door consultations on dealing with atomic weapons. The Russians said that unless their proposals are accepted there is no point to further consultations.

CONCLUSIONS: Nothing will be done about disarmament, except to build more arms, atomic and "conventional."

COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND TRUSTEESHIPS: The Assembly voted to get an advisory opinion from the International Court of Justice on the legal status of Southwest Africa, which has been annexed by the Union of South Africa. It expressed "regret" that the Union refused to furnish information on this territory, or to place it under UN trusteeship. The Union still refuses to pay any attention to the Assembly.

The Assembly voted to give Somaliland back to Italy under trusteeship for ten years, to give Libya independence in 1952, and to defer action on Eritrea till next year.

The Assembly voted ten resolutions providing for international review and investigation of conditions in the colonies. It called on colonial powers to submit information on what they are doing to "help" their colonies toward political independence, and called for investigations into illiteracy, health and other matters in the colonies.

Britain, France and Belgium have stated that they will resist some or most of these investigations, as they would cause "unrest" among the colonies.

The Assembly also voted a series of resolutions designed to improve conditions for the fifteen million people in the African and Pacific trusteeships which have been placed under the tender mercies of colonial powers. But the resolutions simply "urge" the powers having control over these peoples to give them a square deal.

With regard to Korea, the Assembly told the United Nations Commis-

sion there to prevent civil war. The Russian countries voted against, and as Russia controls Northern Korea and would be the source of any civil war which might break out there, this commission might as well stay at home.

CONCLUSIONS: By and large, the colonies remain exploited and the colonialists remain exploited colonialists. The Assembly urged the colonial powers to do things which they openly state they have no intention of doing. If the condition of the colonies is to be improved, they will have to win these improvements for themselves largely by their own efforts.

WAR AND PEACE: During the past year open warfare has raged in at least three parts of the world. The central danger facing all peoples is World War III.

The Russian group proposed a resolution for a non-aggression pact among the "Big Five," outlawing the atom bomb and condemning the United States and Britain for prepar-

ing war. The Assembly voted this down, and passed a resolution urging all hands to get together and settle their differences in the spirit of the UN charter. If a resolution could do it, it would have been done the day the charter was signed.

War is raging in China, with the Stalinists backed by Russia and the United States keeping out only because they couldn't find anyone in China to back. But the Assembly voted that all nations should keep hands off China, respect her territorial integrity, honor existing treaties (some of which deprive China of some of her territorial integrity) and permit her people to freely choose their own political institutions. Of course, neither side in the civil war has any intention of letting the Chinese people choose anything freely.

The Assembly welcomed the announcement that the Dutch, their puppets in Indonesia and the Republic

Constitutionality of Rent Law Upheld by Supreme Court

By an 8 to 0 vote, the Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of the 1949 Federal Rent Control Act. The case arose out of a dispute before the U. S. District Court in Chicago presided over by Judge Elwyn R. Shaw.

Readers may recall that in that case, Judge Shaw held the entire Federal Act to be unconstitutional because it allowed for "local option" in the application of the Act, that is, permitted cities and states latitude to maintain rent control or not as they saw fit. The Act itself was the result of a compromise between the Administration supporters and his Republican-Dixiecrat opponents.

Reasoning that Congress would not have passed the Rent Control Act without inclusion of the clause on local option, Judge Shaw thereupon ruled the Act itself unconstitutional, because of an unconstitutional delegation of power by Congress. It is apparent that the Judge thought his ruling to be in conformity with the real feelings of a majority of Congress who detest any form of rent control. When Congress included the "local option" clause in the act, there is not the slightest doubt that it hoped through this means to lay the groundwork for the destruction of the Act itself.

The Supreme Court decision is unquestionably a blow to those who would end rent control today. Even

Housing Expediter Tighe Woods hailed the decision of the court as a vindication of his "policies" of rent control. But this must sound like a wry joke to many who recall that it was Woods himself, using the loophole of "local option," who began such a swift cancellation of rent control in so many areas, that alarm spread throughout the nation. He was forced to withdraw his acts, but at the same time and with the same abandon with which he tried to end rent control in these areas, he joined the real estate interests in New York City to fight the local Sharkey rent control bill.

The decision of the Supreme Court

should have an important bearing on the New York dispute as well as halting for a time the efforts of the real estate lobby to destroy rent control and thus begin its long cherished hope of gouging even more than at present the millions of families suffering bad housing at high costs.

However, the reactionary press is emphasizing that the Act upheld by the Supreme Court is a "local option" law and is hopeful that more and more localities will avail themselves of this loophole to throw out rent control completely. Thus the decision of the high court is merely a delaying one, but as such to be welcomed as a plug in the dike.

Doctors' Trust Holds Powwow to Plan Attack on Health Insurance Program

The American Medical Association is at it again. At their third Annual Clinical Session in Washington last week the chief topic was not how to provide better medical care, but how to prevent Truman's national health insurance bill from passing next year.

The worthy doctors are preparing a multi-million-dollar propaganda campaign. Their biggest single backer is the insurance companies. They will spend millions of your insurance dollars to prevent your getting government medical insurance. They will, of course, be supported by the press and every other major machine for opinion-manufacture in the country.

The campaign will be gigantic. The insurance companies will spread 1.5 million anti-health-program pamphlets. Full page ads will appear in at least 12,000 daily and weekly newspapers. A bureau with 1,500 speakers will be set up. Every insurance agent and every doctor is expected to display anti-health-plan posters in his or her office.

Meanwhile, every doctor's bill, every hospital bill, every special clinical fee which has to be paid by the poor people of the country is the strongest kind of propaganda FOR medical health insurance.

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AFL Pulls CIO's Anti-CP Tactic on Dubinsky—

ILG Faces 'Discipline' for Supporting Morris

By MARY BELL

There have been "reprisals against Dubinsky's ILG (International Ladies Garment Workers Union) for his refusal to join the AFL labor unions" in their political endorsement and support of Mayor William O'Dwyer in the recently concluded New York election campaign. The ILG support of Newbold Morris, the Republican-Liberal-Fusion candidate, through the Liberal Party, of which the ILG is the mainstay, led to harassment of Joseph Tuvin, ILG delegate to the Central Trades and Labor Council, a request for investigation of him by the council president and his resignation. What further action will be taken by the AFL central body remains to be seen. However, the situation is so serious that there is a real possibility that the 200,000-member ladies garment union will withdraw from the AFL council.

In another international labor union and in relation to a different set of parties, the same thorny problem is raised by the AFL action as that which has racked the CIO during the past year.

SIMILAR ISSUE IN CIO

The issue arose in the CIO, as unionsists everywhere remember and in most cases have had personal ex-

perience with, in relation to the dissident political program of the Communist Party. On a national scale, they supported Henry Wallace and in various localities backed candidates of their Independent Progressive Party, in opposition to CIO support of Truman or local "progressive" Democratic candidates.

1949 has been the year of the big anti-Stalinist campaign in the CIO, and they are everywhere on the run. They have been defeated mostly fair, sometimes foul, means. In the latter category, Philip Murray felt called upon to invoke the decision of the 1946 CIO convention, which with CP support at time, required officials of CIO councils to adhere to the decisions of national CIO policy. At its 1949 convention, the CIO went all out to forbid Communists, the only sizeable body of political dissidents in its ranks, to hold office in the CIO, for reasons of their political disagreement.

MINORITY RIGHTS BLACKOUT

While we are accustomed to the hardened old AFL bureaucracy, the trend to monolithism in the younger CIO union was all the more to be deplored. And while Labor Action didn't give two hoots for Communist policy or its Kremlin-backed politics in the inter-CIO struggle, it was

mightily concerned about the failure of the official CIO to provide for the rights of minorities and to give minority groups the right to political expression. Its present monolithic discipline would bar even Walter Reuther's periodic avowals to form a labor party... sometime somehow.

The present quarrel in the New York City AFL body, while it involves another set of political differences also among non-working-class candidates, over whose candidacy Labor Action is also not concerned, is basically similar to the CIO con-

trovercy. It, too, involves the rights of minorities to differ from official policy and to express and act according to their point of view.

Labor Action is concerned in two respects: (1) that the right to democratic expression is preserved, even if the differences are over; (2) that the channels of democracy are kept open for the formation of a labor party, which might, in its initial stages, also be a minority opinion. The AFL controversy is therefore of high importance, even in the second respect. William Green himself was

constrained to threaten to form a labor party prior to Truman's election.

We can only hope, despite the fact that we are non-partisan towards both Morris and O'Dwyer, that the ILG carries on a vigorous fight in behalf of its right to dissent. Such a fight would help to stem the monolithic tide and give to the democratic forces in both labor organizations.

The growing danger in the American labor movement is the trend to "Conform! Adhere! Abide by! Agree with!" If the labor movement is to remain healthy, it must be reversed.

THE MILITARIZATION OF AMERICA—II

Military Men Infest Washington Posts

Not only does the size of the military establishment and its proportion of the budget reflect its growing influence in American affairs but the number of military men in important government posts reveals the influence of the military in traditionally civilian spheres.

The two most influential men in the government have been Admiral William D. Leahy, President Truman's chief of staff, and General George C. Marshall, the former secretary of state who has shaped a good portion of current U. S. foreign policy. General Marshall's assistant was Brigadier General M. S. Carter. An assistant secretary of state, John E. Puerifoy, attended West Point. Serving under General Marshall abroad were: Lieutenant General Lucius D. Clay as military governor in Germany; General MacArthur in control of Japan; Lieutenant General Bedell Smith as ambassador to Russia; Admiral Kirk as ambassador to Belgium; General Holcomb in South Africa.

The men who surround Truman on his trips and vacations are for the most part military men.

For example, on his August 1948 trip aboard the official yacht, he was accompanied by Brigadier General W. H. Graham, his physician; Captain Robert L. Dennison, his naval aide; Admiral Leahy, his chief of staff; Colonel Robert Landry, air force aide; Major General Harry Vaughan, his military aide; and two civilians—his press secretary and his special counsel.

MILITARY IN ECA

Congressman R. J. Twyman of Illinois in the April 30, 1948 Congressional Record listed a number of military and retired military men who are holding government posts in the field of foreign affairs, stating that the president "has seen fit to staff the traditionally civilian positions of government, particularly

in the diplomatic and consular service, with retired army and navy officers."

Another member of Congress, former Senator William Langer, chairman of the Senate Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, told the Senate on June 4, 1948 about "military men who were taken out of the army by the high military authorities and placed in the civil service of the United States where we cannot get rid of them without changing our entire civil service structure."

Military men are also being appointed to jobs in the Economic Cooperation Administration, the Marshall Plan's ECA. Two examples at the higher rungs: Colonel Arthur G. Syrian was appointed as chief of the Transportation Division, and Edward Gould, a colonel who served on Eisenhower's wartime staff and was with the AMG in Berlin until his appointment to ECA, was named assistant to the Comptroller for the ECA in Europe. Military men also honeycomb the Marshall Plan missions to the various countries.

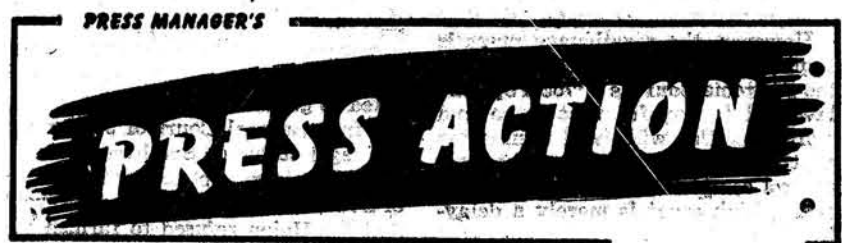
STATE DEPARTMENT GENERALS

The State Department likewise is honeycombed with military men in positions of influence. One of the most important positions, that of director of United Nations Affairs, has been held by Colonel Dean Rusk, who was nominated in February by Truman as an assistant secretary of state. General Marshall not only received salary from the armed forces while serving as secretary of state but also had three military aids furnished him by the army.

Here is a partial list of State Department functions filled by military men: director of the Office of Departmental Administration (described by the New York Times as the "Executive Secretariat in the State Department"); the executive officer of the above; executive assistant to Assistant Secretary of State Puerifoy; the executive officer of the Office of Far Eastern Affairs; the chief of Foreign Service Administration; the special assistant to the Undersecretary of State; the chief of the Division of Communications and Records; the head administrators in the Office of Foreign Liquidation; the chief of the Acquisition and Distribution Division; the assistant secretary of state for transportation and communication; etc., etc.

When General John H. Hilldring was made an assistant secretary of state, according to the New York Times of May 8, 1947, "he brought with him in the State Department 26 of his assistants in the War Department." When General Hilldring resigned, General Charles Saltzman, vice-president and secretary of the New York Stock Exchange, took his place. The executive officer to General Saltzman is a major.

The exact personnel as named



By L. G. SMITH

Total subscriptions received for LABOR ACTION during the week ending December 10 are given below. These include resubscriptions as well as new ones. As most branches are concentrating on selling the six-month prepaid sub. cards, the Sub. Score gives two points for subs of one year duration. The Single Sub. column indicates how many individuals have got subscriptions during the week.

Branch	Sub. Score	Single Sub.
Los Angeles	5	5
Detroit	3	2
Cleveland	4	3
Chicago	4	3
Seattle	2	1
San Francisco	7	7
Buffalo	2	1
Philadelphia	6	4
New York	6	3
St. Louis	6	3
Morgantown	1	1
Bayonne, N. J.	4	2
Miscellaneous	4	2
Totals	54	37

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

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

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

above shifts from time to time, but the tendency is a definite one.

A device whereby military men exercise tremendous influence over groups that by law must be partly or entirely civilian is the Military Liaison Committee. Such a military committee was authorized by the Atomic Energy Act. It became so powerful and was so devoted to the idea of military control that it exercised behind-the-scenes pressure for giving the military establishment custody and maintenance of all completed atomic bombs. (Hanson Baldwin, in the N. Y. Times, June 10, 1948.)

The Military Liaison Committee prefers either to be eliminated and have military men serve directly on the Atomic Energy Commission, or to have the commission eliminated and the whole project turned over to the military establishment. Despite the military's desire to have complete control, there is already enough acceptance by the commission of military ideas that not one appeal to the president has been taken by the Military Liaison Committee from any action of the commission, though the law provides for such an appeal.

And the Atomic Energy Commission-placed Brigadier General James McCormack Jr. in charge of research, development and application of atomic energy for military purposes. "The commission," said the Army and Navy Journal for October 30, 1948, "has given a soldier complete supervision over one of the most important phases of its work." (Next week: Military influence and the Marshall Plan)

YOUTH and Student CORNER

By JULIUS FALK, National Secretary SYL

The Conference on Democracy in Education

On December 17 and 18 there will be a student conference in New York called the Conference on Democracy in Education. The origins of this student affair are vague, though there is reason to believe that it was originally inspired by two Stalinist-controlled organizations: the Association of Internes and Medical Students (AIMS) and the Student Division of the National Lawyers Guild. These two organizations (or individuals from them) undertook the organization of several pre-conference planning meetings which saw the broadening of the list of sponsoring organizations.

At the last planning meeting there were approximately 50 representatives of student groups from the New York campus. Of these 50, the majority were non-Stalinists and militant anti-Stalinists. There is no doubt, though, that if the Stalinists had wanted to pack these loosely organized meetings they could have done so with ease. Whether their failure to do so was a matter of tactics or of inefficiency is not clear.

The conference will be divided into four panels. Each participating club is entitled to send one delegate to each panel. The problems and resolutions to be discussed and voted on at the panels are: (1) discrimination against minority groups in the academic world; (2) academic freedom; (3) student economic difficulties; (4) the effect of international tensions on education. The fourth panel on international tensions was pressed for by the Stalinists with the obvious plan of using it as a sounding board for their pro-Russian line. However, judging by the sizable number of anti-Stalinists who will be at the conference this move may well prove inconvenient for the Stalinists.

Following the panels there will be several meetings which will be capped by a forum which is expected to attract several thousand students.

SPONSORS LISTED

Some of the educators sponsoring the conference are: Reinhold Niebuhr of Union Theological Seminary; Arthur G. McGiffert, president of Chicago Theological Seminary; Randolph C. Smith, director, Little Red Schoolhouse; Professor Goodwin Watson of Columbia University's Education Department. On the speakers' list for the final forum are other individuals of similar persuasion plus a Stalinist and fellow traveler or two.

The organizations which have indicated their support thus far are varied, from the Young Progressives of America to a large number of socialist and anti-war clubs affiliated with the New York Student Federation Against War. The latter organization expects to have its point of view represented through approximately 40 delegates. In addition to the above organizations, support has come from several NAACP chapters, Students for Democratic Action at

Brooklyn College, World Federalist United Nations Council at Columbia, the Columbia AVC, and a number of others. The list is impressive but not nearly what it should and could be.

The week-end conference will climax the series of planning meetings and students politicking which has been going on with increasing excitement and confusion for the past two weeks. The confusion is to be found primarily among the anti-Stalinist clubs.

A number of these clubs have refused to participate in the conference on the grounds that it is a Stalinist front or, at the very least, is heavily loaded with Stalinists. The claim that it is a Stalinist front at this point is inaccurate, for the percentage of conscious and militant anti-Stalinists who are sponsoring the conference is high. That it is heavily weighted with Stalinists is indisputable. However, the anti-Stalinists who refuse to sponsor the conference because there are active Stalinists in it are in actuality facilitating the Stalinists' objective of using the conference, and any permanent organization which may develop out of it, for their own purposes.

NO ABDICATION!

It is the same story of the disorganized liberal who is terrified of Stalinism and flees from it instead of meeting it head on. If all the anti-Stalinist clubs on the New York campus were to pool their forces within the conference, the Stalinists could be beaten on every issue.

Almost any student organization can become a sponsor. It is a good opportunity for liberals and socialists who agree on certain fundamental questions of democratic rights for students to actually do something about it and at the same time expose the Stalinists who will attempt to take over. Nevertheless, the policy of many student organizations remains to abdicate in face of the Stalinists. This policy has proved to be more than negative—it is destructive. One example of this was the withdrawal of the Columbia Student Council from official sponsorship of the conference, thereby endangering the conference's access to the facilities of Columbia University for its panels and meetings.

No student movement can exist for any extended period of time if it has Stalinists and anti-Stalinists within it. The Stalinists on campus are no less corrupt than their totalitarian mentors and everything they do in an organization is directed toward using it for their own totalitarian ends. But there is no reason to believe that the Stalinists have the strength to so abuse the conference if the anti-Stalinists unite on a broad but effective level. For then the Stalinists could easily enough be pushed aside by those student organizations which are genuinely concerned with the increasing encroachments on academic freedom.

HOLIDAY BOOK OFFER

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Titoism and Independent Socialism—III PRO-TITOISM OUTSIDE THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE

By HAL DRAPER

III

Titoism, as national-Stalinism, has its impact not only in the satellite states of the Russian empire. It has flowered also in the Stalinist movements which do not have a state machine under them.

This development has its root in motivations which long antedate Yugoslav Titoism; but its current manifestations have reached the present level only because of the impetus provided by the latter.

In Norway, the general secretary of the Communist Party, Furuboten, and about half the party leadership have been purged as Titoist. In Italy, exportation groups under the name of Friends of Yugoslavia, according to reports, are arising inside the Stalinist movement; similar reports from France indicate similar stirrings. In what way is this related to Titoism?

The motivation of national-Stalinism outside the Russian empire (where there is obviously no question of self-determination or national independence of a state power) can be illustrated by two problems which have in recent years beset both the American and French CPs.

As we have discussed in LABOR ACTION in connection with the CIO split, the Communist Party of the United States has been forced into a suicidal split perspective by considerations basically of Russian foreign policy. Even given the bureaucratic road taken by the Murray machine, the reaction of the CP in orienting toward a split and even a possible "third federation" not only cannot be explained on the basis of any view of the interests of American labor; it cannot even be explained on the basis of the far narrower interests of the Communist Party of the U. S.

In imposing a split perspective on the CPUSA, the Russian masters in the Kremlin are not only being scornful of the interests of American labor; they are equally uninterested in the effect of their policy on the future of their own puppet party.

When Bella Dodd, formerly a leading woman trade-union leader of the CP, broke with the party earlier this year, it was precisely on this ground. She did not break with Stalinism; she broke because Russia, for its own narrow national interests, was imposing a suicidal policy on the American party.

Or, to take the other example: in the last miners' strike in France, though it was based on entirely legitimate and necessary economic demands of the workers, the means with which the strike was waged by the Stalinist leadership of the CGT were determined by Russian foreign-policy interests and not by the interests of French CP control in France, let alone the interests of the French workers. When the Stalinist union leadership ordered the flooding of the mines, it was a case of pure adventurist economic sabotage designed to hamstring the Marshall Plan recovery; it had nothing to do with either the necessities of winning the miners' demands or with political opposition to the Marshall Plan. Such policies have served tremendously to weaken the French CP, and have served to bring the CP to its present low point of influence as compared with the period after the war.

TITOISM AND THE STATELESS CPs

It is an oversimplification to think of Stalinists (even the Stalinist leaders) as being merely the puppets of Moscow. They act as such; but for them the end goal is not simply service to Russia but, through it, the achievement of Stalinist power in their own country. They too want to be like Stalin.

Where they act as puppets of Moscow, it is because they see the road to Stalinist power at home as coming through the ever-greater power of Russia. On this ground, many or most of them can still convince themselves that it is worthwhile to take a beating (as the U. S. and French CPs have had to take a beating) in order to enhance Russian power.

Above all, there was no way for them of seeing that "Stalinist power" and "Russian power" are separable terms. The rise of anti-Russian Titoism in Yugoslavia and its stirrings elsewhere point to such a separation, encourage it, give it a new center toward which to look.

Discontent in the Communist Parties against dictation from Moscow is nothing new, even since the consolidation of Stalin's control in the international Stalinist movement. Such breaks as Bella Dodd's are likewise nothing new. But they have been given a tremendous IMPETUS by the fact that their motivation is similar to Titoism, and so Titoism exercises a compelling magnetic pull. The common factor is: the antagonism between the national Stalinist interests and the interests of Russian imperialist nationalism. Generalized thus, Titoism has a common basis whether or not the dissident Stalinists do or do not have a state power under their feet. It is equally national-Stalinist.

Naturally, we have been speaking of the direction of a tendency and not evaluating degrees of possibility. Where Titoism is raging in Eastern Europe, it is (at least as yet) only nibbling at the stateless Communist Parties. Victory for national-Stalinists in a satellite state means that they control their own state; victory for national-Stalinists (in say) the American or French CP merely means control of a party under attack in a hostile capitalist environment, with no power to turn to. Outside the Russian empire, Titoism will lead to great discontent, individual breaks, even group breaks, but is much less likely to lead to the actual conversion of a CP into a Titoist party.

TITOISM AND THE NEO-STALINIST TENDENCY

Rather, the Stalinist elements thus broken from the CPs by Titoism in the capitalist countries will, I think, tend to merge into another current set in motion by Titoism.

We have been discussing thus far the appeal of Titoism in the Communist Parties themselves, first inside the Russian satellite dominion, and then outside it. But Titoism has had important effects outside the ranks of the CPs, among those elements who have come to be known as neo-Stalinists (not exactly the same as the common designation "fellow travelers" though the two overlap).

In the United States it is highly interesting to find that four prominent leaders and personalities of the ill-fated Wallace movement have gone over to Tito: O. John Rogge, Jo Davidson, Louis Adamic, and William Gailmor. The number of those who are less prominent is undoubtedly relatively great. In England, the very model of a modern neo-Stalinist, Konni Zilliacus, has come out for Tito. In France, such well-known fellow-traveling intellectuals as Jean Cassou, Claude Aveline and Martin-Chauffier have declared for Belgrade as against Moscow. None of these people have changed their views one whit by so doing.

What is characteristic of the neo-Stalinist type is that he has been drawn into the Stalinist orbit of sympathy (while often repelled by Russian totalitarianism) not by socialist ideals, even mistaken ones; not by a manipulation of his pro-working-class ideology, which he never possessed; but by his revolt against the degenerating capitalism in the midst of which he lives. He looks toward planning as the key to the difficulties of the social system, and Russia appears to him as the archetype of a planned society. He looks to the state to take hold and fix things up, and in Russia the state has taken hold.

He may be repelled by the accompanying totalitarianism, but he is attracted by the feeling of the new possibilities inherent in a completely stultified economy. Russia shows the way . . . it shows a progressive way out of the impasse of capitalism . . . it is therefore "progressive" . . . it is even "economic democracy" without political democracy (Wallace) . . .

Not in the Headlines

ECA at Work

Although it has been very hush-hush, Washington has been pushing the ECA in collaboration with Great Britain, to provide the wherewithal for a big port development job in Portuguese East Africa. Until last year, Britain owned the port concession at Beira, but sold it to the Portuguese for about \$16,000,000. Although nobody's talking, a three-fold aim is involved. Should war come, a large port out of easy bombing range would be a strategic asset. Furthermore, the area produces both chrome and copper, strategic war minerals. Finally, long-term plans are being worked out for an eventual railway tieup between the port and Northern Rhodesia. (Socialist Leader, Nov. 19.)

the party. The Johansen group was afraid that the Furboten group would murder its leaders. Prior to the election, although the parliamentary group was sceptical, Furboten was confident of Communist success. After the electoral disaster Furboten's followers accused Johansen's followers of inefficiency, and threatened reprisals. At the end of October Furboten and his entourage resigned their party offices, whereupon the Central Committee expelled them and called an extraordinary party meeting. After a violent discussion Furboten's followers walked out, and the meeting suspended their membership.

"Meanwhile the chairman of the party, Johansen, went in fear of his life, and decided to go into hiding. But the strain was too much for him—his nerves cracked, his mind gave way, he became violent and a police ambulance took him to a lunatic asylum, where he still is."

U. S. Deportations

Four days after Holland formally set up its puppet Republic of Indonesia, the Indonesian community in the United States was hit by the U. S. Immigration and Naturalization Service. The bureau sent out letters ordering many of the Indonesians in the country to report to Ellis Island "in complete readiness for deportation."

This national group, barred from citizenship by the remnants of the Oriental Exclusion Act, has been protected over the last three years by the Workers Defense League, which has repeatedly made representations to Washington in its behalf and has secured the posting of bonds for many of its members. (WDL Bulletin.)

Estonian Resistance

As a result of the mass deportations of last March and April, Estonians have gone into hiding in the woods, forming new groups of resistance together with Germans who have escaped from POW camps. So reports the Stockholm newsletter "Behind the Iron Curtain," on November 4, with no further details on the political character of the movement.

The partisan movement was strongest in Estonia in 1945 and 1946, gradually subsided in 1947-48 (when agricultural collectivization made it harder for the peasants to supply them with food), and now appears to be taking a new lease on life.

In Norway's CP

The London periodical "East Europe," in its issue of November 10, adds some details to the news of the recent split in the Norwegian Communist Party, as follows:

"It seems that the Norwegian Communists have been divided into two main groups. One, faithful to Moscow, has been led by the chairman of the party, Strand Johansen, and eleven of its members have been deputies of the Storting. The other, led by the secretary-general of the party, Per Furboten, has younger and more militant members, who have formed a paramilitary organization.

"The recent Norwegian election, in which not one Communist deputy was returned, caused a profound split in

Democracy is preferable and maybe even Russia will eventually get it if left alone by Wall Street; in any case its absence in Russia is to be deplored; but aside from such regrettable features Russia shows the way. . . . And in all this, the fate of the working class plays no role whatever for these neo-Stalinists, no more than it did for them before they became neo-Stalinists.

MADE TO ORDER

This political tendency became pro-Russian-appeasement in their foreign policy (while remaining no less American patriots at bottom) not because of the "socialist" facade of Stalinism but because of its bureaucratic-collectivist realities. They are attracted by Stalinism as a social system, not by the power of Russian imperialism. As long as the two were inseparable in practice, they could not separate them in thought. It is Tito who has separated the two in practice.

For these ideological representatives of the pull of Stalinist bureaucratic collectivism on our times, Titoism is made to order. It offers the same social system, but not with the deplorable Russian trimmings, which are especially disconcerting to American patriotism today.

Titoism is no less Stalinist than the Russian system. That is why it appeals to this stratum; and to others beyond it. At the same time, Titoism is national-Stalinism. Our subjects are released from the imputation of being Russian patriots, which they are not and have not been. The neo-Stalinist tendency runs into and merges with pro-Titoism on the common basis: attraction to bureaucratic collectivism as a social system, opposition to Russian nationalism and its requirements where these conflict with them.

For them, Titoism is not a disease of Stalinism, to be cheered as such. It is Stalinism, their Stalinism, or closer to it, their very own. Through it it becomes a disease of liberalism, from which the neo-Stalinist tendency flows on the one side while on the other side it flows into the swamp of Stalinism.

We have now discussed the impact of Titoism on (1) the Stalinist parties based on the satellite states; (2) the Stalinist parties outside the satellite states; (3) the neo-Stalinist tendency outside the Stalinist parties.

(Next week: pro-Titoism among the anti-Stalinists)

Kostov Repudiates Confession In Bulgarian Anti-Tito Trial

By SAM FELIKS

The pattern of Stalinist confession-trial was set forth once more, this time in Bulgaria. Following close on the heels of the Rajk trial in Hungary and the Sarajev trial in Yugoslavia has come the trial of Traicho Kostov.

This time the script did not come off as was expected. The star performer, Kostov, former No. 2 man in the satellite state, refused to play the part and pleaded not guilty—after having made the usual confession which was the green light for the trial. He admitted guilt for "ideological errors" but denied being a police agent.

These trials are a reflection of the growing difficulties that are plaguing the Stalinist parties of the Cominform bloc. The Russian campaign for the integration of these satellites into the Russian economy is meeting with growing resistance from elements among the indigenous Stalinist bureaucrats. The drive against Titoism is meeting with only lukewarm response following the short-run failure of Russia to crush the Yugoslav defection.

Not only has the drive for anti-Titoism been meeting with a tepid response but Titoism (that is, national-Stalinism) is on the rise. Sympathy for the Tito brand of Stalinism is manifesting itself among all Stalinist parties, the latest being the French CP, where a denunciation was issued this past week against "Titoist deviationists."

"NO IMAGINATION"

The difficulties faced by the Bulgarian CP have been manifesting themselves since early summer. The peasant resistance to the bureaucratic establishment of farm cooperatives has resulted in a decrease in the total acreage under cultivation. Bulgaria, which in pre-war times was a grain-exporting area, now has to import grains. Following the June plenum of the Bulgarian CP, there was a decision to cease setting up cooperatives and to return much of this land back to private cultivation.

The Yugoslavs, who have had the outstanding experience with Russian pressure on this score, have issued a long blast at the Kostov trial. Vladimir Dedier, director of information, said on December 6 that "the aim of the trial in Sofia is to place Bulgaria in an even more unequal position in relation to the Soviet Union, subordinate the Bulgarian government completely to the NKVD, suppress the voice of those Bulgarian Communists and patriots who are fighting for relations of equality between Bulgaria and the Soviet Union, and find justification for the difficult economic situation prevailing in Bulgaria."

This Titoist also went on to condemn "the methods used in the Sofia trial (which) show the complete lack of imagination of the organizers of the trial. It is nothing but a replica of the Budapest trial." However, for a first effort the Titoists themselves did not do too badly in the trial of the White Guards, reported last week. It is in anticipation that we look forward to the "imagination" which is to be demonstrated when Tito may bring his star performers, Zujovic and Hebrang, to court.

The overwhelming majority of the Bulgarian defendants held positions in the economy, trade, construction, bank and industry. The major empha-

The Army Is Willing

CHICAGO, Nov. 28.—A signed article in the Chicago Tribune, by Walter Trohan, today stated that "The Defense Department has plans for a military dictatorship if war should come with a devastating atomic attack on the national capital."

"One of the nation's outstanding military leaders" is quoted as telling the correspondent that "the military will take over under disaster plans if civil government is blasted."

The plan is based on the heavy concentration of the government in the mile from the White House to the capitol building, all of which could be blasted by a Nagasaki-type bomb. An attempt at dispersal of federal agencies would necessitate a public-works program far surpassing the pre-war PWA.

Defense Secretary Johnson has publicly spoken of such disaster plans as being "in the course of preparation." They provide for army control of given areas or on a national scale if necessary.

AMA War Chest

For the first time in the history of the American Medical Association, its House of Delegates has established an annual dues rate of \$25 for its 142,000 members. The anticipated income of \$3,000,000 is to be used "to meet the constantly increasing responsibilities of the AMA on a broad front." (N. Y. Times, Dec. 9.) But, basing ourselves on past experience, it's a sure thing that organized Big Medicine is going to pour its money into the campaign against health insurance.

sis of the charges was a reflection of the internal difficulties of the Stalinist regime. This, in turn, was amalgamated with the charges of being "imperialist agents" and "police informers."

KOSTOV VS. TITO

In the refusal of Kostov to confess at the trial, it is to be noted that he did confess to what are almost plausible charges: hostility toward Russia, certain errors in respect to peasant policy and allowing hostile elements to infiltrate the CP. However, he refused to budge on the "imperialist agent" accusation. This, however, was a decisive point. The Russian overseers had to show that anyone who makes these mistakes, or pursues a hostile policy toward Russia, MUST be an imperialist agent from at least 1932.

Open antagonism has been demonstrated between Tito and Kostov. Tito has openly denounced Kostov as a police agent of long standing about whom Tito tried to warn the Russians. Kostov, on the other hand, found little to admire in the Titoists. He found Rankovitch (Tito's GPU head) to be "a man of limited capabilities."

Kostov's area of agreement with Tito may have been on the necessity of a Balkan federation. But in this concept each may have found a different meaning. Tito conceived of the Balkan federation as an area for his private imperialist plans in which Yugoslavia would be the dominant nation.

Thus one of the charges that Kostov wanted to annex Bulgaria to Yu-

goslavia was partially admitted by Kostov. He stated that the difference between the Yugoslavs and the Bulgars at the 1946 meeting in Belgrade was that Tito wanted to annex Pirin (Bulgarian) Macedonia, while the Bulgars wanted to exchange the Pirin region for territory ceded to Yugoslavia after World War I. It also adds more detail to the policy pursued by Tito in the Balkans.

TOBACCO SABOTEURS

The other defendants, who did confess, indicated the "lack of imagination" about which the Titoists commented. They became anti-Russian agents, they said, because Kostov produced documents "proving" that they were police agents in the past.

The trial also produced some interesting evidence as to what is considered anti-Russian espionage. Angel Timov, former director of the state tobacco monopoly, said that on Kostov's orders he visited Finland, Hungary, Denmark, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Rumania and had sold Bulgarian tobacco. These sales, he said, exhausted stocks and caused non-fulfillment of the Bulgarian-Russian agreement. It is now to be assumed that the Bulgars were looking for something they could use in exchange for their tobacco.

These trials cannot solve any of the economic difficulties that face the East European satellites of the Russian empire but are a manifestation of the underlying crisis of Stalinism. Further trials can be expected in Czechoslovakia and Poland as the process of Russification is pushed in those areas.

INDUSTRIAL KILLER

BUSINESS NEGLECT CAUSED DONORA SMOG DISASTERS

Despite the cautious wording of the recently published reports by air-pollution scientists and the U. S. Public Health Service on last year's smog deaths in Donora, Pennsylvania, three points stand out clearly:

- (1) capitalist greed was responsible for the disaster;
- (2) the same thing can happen again in many cities and towns in this country;
- (3) smog is shortening the lives of countless thousands of human beings.

Air pollution in Donora was investigated by government agencies in October 1948, when in a four-day period, twenty persons had died and 5,190 of the 13,000 inhabitants in the area became violently sick from breathing the "black cloud." In addition to the human beings, 250 chickens, ten dogs and other animals died during the four days.

The evidence indicates clearly, according to the government reports, that the assassin was a combination of simple sulphur dioxide and other irritant gases which pour out of factory chimneys in Donora as in thousands of communities like it. Other assassins that can cause smog are the solid particles or iron oxide, zinc oxide, silicates and carbon—all of them very common substances in everyday factory smoke in almost every city and town. These substances, plus the weather, can cause another Donora tragedy anywhere.

LIVES SHORTENED?

Tragedies such as Donora will not occur very frequently, the reports assure us. Less dramatically, but more important, however, is the fact that the oxides and other irritant gases in the air decrease the span of peoples' lives and increase the number of diseases—with no one being aware of it. And that is going on in every industrial community, every day.

Donora is an excellent example of this fact. If the mass tragedy of 40 per cent of its population's becoming violently sick had not struck Donora, no one would have checked the death records of the town for the last few years or sought out other health statistics there.

When the government investigated the weather reports of the four-day period of the tragedy, it discovered that the town had similar weather conditions five years ago. When the death records for that period were investigated, it was found that there were twice as many deaths then as in a normal month.

An investigation of cities and industrial towns would produce some very interesting facts. Wherever there is any air pollution it will be found that more persons will be suffering from heart conditions and asthma in comparison to the national average. The span of human life will be shorter, too, of course, in those communities.

Air-pollution experts have pointed these things out over a period of years, but capitalist propaganda and bribery have permitted this situation to get worse and worse. A few government officials have pointed out the reasons for the complete disregard for human lives. Dr. Louis McCabe of the United States Bureau of Mines at a recent meeting accused big business and its political lackeys of "thwarting all campaigns because they fear eradication costs."

BUSINESS AIDS SMOG

At another meeting of air-pollution scientists, at Leland Stanford University, Pasadena, California, the entire blame for this inhuman situation was placed on capitalism. Speaker after speaker pointed out that big business is joining anti-pollution committees being set up by an aroused public to delay the work and defeat the purpose of the committees. That big business has hired engineers to write lengthy papers on the "minutiae" of the problem; that trade journals are attacking anti-pollution experts as "do-goodness"; and that boss-controlled committees in various communities are giving factories and industries a clean bill of health.

Air pollution can be overcome immediately, but the owners of the mills, factories and refineries don't want to spend the money. Labor must make it one of its demands. The health of its families and the entire community are involved. It is an important demand and should not be neglected.

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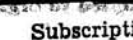
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Gov. Warren's Jobless Solution Delights Private Enterprise

By A. GARBER

Armed with over a month's accumulation of research data on the problem of increasing unemployment in the State of California, a two-day conference called by Governor Warren came up with an answer of reducing taxes on investment capital as the means of solving unemployment. Other recommendations by the state-wide conference fell directly in line with this major proposal. They included suggestions to secure greater efficiency in government by economizing in tax expenditures, to eliminate alleged chiselers on the unemployment insurance rolls, to examine state pensions, relief and unemployment insurance "in the light of their possible stimulation of migration to California," and to reduce freight rates on heavy industrial and agricultural cargo. Thus what had been hailed weeks in advance as a forthright effort to swoop down upon a social problem before it grew out of hand, developed into no more than a public-sponsored forum for the policies of the business interests within the state.

In contrast to the proposals of the Governor's conference, the State Federation of Labor presented a full employment program for California. The Federation advocated the maintenance of consumer purchasing power by calling for higher wages, lower prices, a seventy-five cent per hour minimum wage, and shorter hours. In addition, the State Federation of Labor recommended the enactment of a State pre-paid medical care plan, the full use of funds and aids available under the 1949 Housing Act, a broader and carefully planned public works program, the continuance of apprentice training, and a special law making available farm surpluses to unemployed and low-income families.

The Conference completely disregarded this program, except for one section on minority groups which took up the Federation's proposal for state and local FEPC legislation and endorsed it. Of course, in its passive approach to the unemployment problem, the State Federation called for industrial peace and cooperation between labor and management to achieve common aims. Here the Federation found a hearty response in the Conference which proposed that labor-management difficulties be smoothed out in order to attract new industries to the state. But despite this tottering plank in its employment program, the recommendations of the Federation of Labor aimed at the wiping out of unemployment in the state, whereas the Governor's conference flouted the issue and became just another lobby for the vested interests.

CALIFORNIA JOBLESS RISE

Unemployment in California has shown a continual increase during the past six months. According to the latest figures released by the State Employment Service for the month of November, almost 350,000 workers are jobless, with the prospect that the total number of unemployed will reach six hundred thousand by March, 1950. In the San Francisco Bay area alone over fifty-six thousand are seeking work through the State Employment Offices. Eleven per cent are Negroes and about twenty-two per cent, veterans.

In his opening address to the two thousand representatives at the Conference, Warren declared that all segments of the state's economy had gathered "in the spirit of a town meeting." A glance at the leading elements at the Conference reveals that the Governor's town meeting represented a select group, rather than a democratic one. Of the eighteen working sections of the Conference, only one was headed by a representative of labor, C. J. Haggerty, State AFL Secretary. Seven sections were headed by representatives of private industry and including the president of the S. and W. Fine Foods, a farm equipment executive, and the president of the Plomb Tool Company. The rest of the sections were chaired by professors, political figures, and the Director of the Catholic Welfare Bureau. The coordination of all the sections was left in the hands of Leonard Firestone, Los Angeles industrialist; Colonel Heron, executive of the Crown-Zellerbach Corporation and E. E. Olsen of the faculty of the University of Southern California.

It is significant that the major proposals came from those conference sections headed by business representatives. Out of the group on trade, finance and service arose the recommendation that the Governor appoint a committee to consider the entire Federal, State and Local tax structure with the objective of revising all taxes which serve as deterrents to investment capital. Such a suggestion appears as a logical approach to unemployment once the composition of that group is revealed. The Southern California representatives serving as consultants in that section included the president of the Founders Fire and Marine Insurance Company, the general manager of Milron's Westchester, a vice president of the Bank of America, and an attorney for the baking industry. What can lambs expect here?

Condensed from a talk delivered by radio news commentator A. Garber over radio station KPFA-FM (Berkeley, California). Garber can be heard by all residents of the San Francisco Bay Area over this station every Thursday evening at 7:45-101 on your dial.

Governor Warren made clear in his initial remarks that he refused to consider a public works program an answer to the problem of unemployment. He tossed the issue to private business by saying, "... it is and should be private jobs that we seek to create." He puffed with pride, of course, when he outlined the state's current construction program which calls for a total of two hundred and twenty-five million dollars to be spent this year on highways and buildings. Considering California's position as the second most populated state in the U. S. and the first state in automobile transportation with over four million registered cars, one can see how piddling a public works program this is, let alone a solution to the needs of the unemployed. Why, if all this construction money were to go for jobs for the unemployed, it would scarcely provide two and one-half months wages. Warren's purpose throughout

Liberal 'Stalinophobia' Weakened Fight On Feinberg Law, Helping CP Line

By PHILIP COBEN

Some parts of the story behind the action of the New York Supreme Court in declaring the "anti-subversive" Feinberg Law unconstitutional underline a few points about how to fight Stalinism—and how not to fight it.

The Feinberg Law is the act passed by the New York state legislature which provided for the creation of a list of "subversive organizations," membership in which would disqualify a teacher from working in the public school system. It likewise provided for periodical purges (to use the Russian term) or periodical "checkups" (to use the American euphemism) to make sure that the school system was pure and untainted. Its effect, obviously, would be to organize an ideological reign of terror among teachers, to straitjacket them into toeing the line and avoiding any possible imputation of subversive ideas. In fact, it had begun to have this effect before even being put into effect.

Faced with this clear and present danger to civil liberties, there were not a few liberals in the educational system who were opposed to it. As Judith Crist writes in the current issue of The Nation:

"Although there are at least three reliable liberals on New York City's nine-man school board, only one, Charles J. Benschly, dared speak openly against the Feinberg Law as an 'ill-conceived' piece of legislation. He did this on September 15; in March, when the law was under consideration by the board, he had voted in approval. ('Reliable liberals' indeed, as anyone can see.—P. C.) The state commissioner of education and many members of the Board of Regents were known to be opposed to the proposed bill from the start, but all were silent. The individual teacher knew, of course, that he could not with any safety speak out against a law that in the near future could be applied against him."

None of these liberals who privately condemned it was willing to undertake the fight against the law. (Quite apart from the main point we want to make, we should refer at this point to the inability of some people, including self-styled liberals, to understand how Germans who were opposed to Nazism yet "tolerated" its existence so long—that is, did not revolt against it; in the case of our American "reliable liberals" and the Feinberg Law, there was not even the threat of a concentration camp involved.)

AFL TEACHERS PULL OUT

One reason, Miss Crist (who is a member of the staff of the anti-subversive New York Herald Tribune) points out, is that the said liberals did not dare "ally" themselves with the Communist Party, which was the main butt of the Feinberg Law. The liberal logic was clear: the Feinberg Law is directed against the CP; the CP naturally opposes it; we liberals oppose it too; but opposition means alignment with the CP; this is unthinkable, because "Haven't we liberals yet learned to stay away from united fronts with the Communists?"

One result of this twisted logic was that when a Democratic politician with some liberal principles (not a Stalinist), State Senator Fred G. Moritt of Brooklyn, attempted to organize a non-Stalinist committee to bring a taxpayers' suit against the law, he ran into the other kind of "principled liberals" who would rather see civil liberties torn to tatters than taint themselves with the Stalinists. Moritt's plan was for the Catholic,

his speech was to shift the burden of creating jobs to the local communities, a responsibility they, too, cannot and will not handle.

California's job conference, which was attended by representatives from the Federal Government and neighboring states, and around which national interest centered, finally closed with the recommendation that it be reconvened in December, 1950. And Governor Warren moved into another show-case role in his conference on sex crimes. By Tuesday he will prepare his canned weekly radio address to the sovereign people of California on the firm steps taken toward solving the unemployment question and the Oakland Tribune will give him an inside streamer.

As for the three hundred and fifty thousand unemployed? They can be thankful that their plight served to bring together business and public officials in a closer embrace. Their rolls will be more carefully examined for "chiselers." They may have their compensation or relief reduced. But they may have contributed by easing the tax burden on investment capital. And the solution to unemployment? That still rests with the working classes in their trade unions, their own relief and unemployment action, and their continued battle with the predatory interests that dominate the state.

Protestant and Jewish educators in his group to file an affidavit attesting to their non-Communist status. This concession to the prevailing political psychosis, repulsive as it would once have been to liberalism, was not enough for some in his entourage. The Catholic in the group refused Moritt's invitation when he found that he would be allied with members of the American Labor Party. The legislative representative of the AFL Teachers Guild, Abraham Lefkowitz, backed out because the CIO Teachers Union (Stalinist-controlled) was participating. When Moritt also organized a committee of 55 prominent clergymen, lawyers and writers, Mrs. Rebecca Simonson of the Teachers Guild resigned from the committee because "there are on the committee those who have not proved themselves to be true defenders of democracy."

Fortunately, this attitude was taken only by some. Dr. Bryn Hovde of the New School for Social Research, Richard S. Childs of the Citizens Union, the Rev. John Haynes Holmes and Arthur Garfield Hays and others remained to press the suit.

When Justice Schirick of the New York Supreme Court handed down his decision, he was passing jointly on the Moritt-organized taxpayers' suit and on the petition of the Communist Party, both of which were before him. If the AFL teachers and their co-thinkers had had their way, the Communist Party would have been alone in pressing the unconstitutionality of the law.

STALINOPHOBIA AND SUICIDE

There are few enough things today which redound to the credit of the CP, or which the CP can even use to refurbish its credit, but its claim to being the only proponent of civil liberties is certainly the card on which it counts most. This fraudulent claim by the outfit which acts as the puppet of the totalitarian despotism in the Kremlin is given currency, not by any merits of its own but precisely by the cowardice and stupidity of so many liberals in handing them the issue on a silver platter.

Few things highlight this shameful state of affairs better than the fight on the Feinberg Law, since the Moritt group implied no united front with the Communist Party. If the presence of Stalinists or Stalinist sympathizers in any otherwise laudable enterprise is to be considered a "united front with the Communist Party," if every such enterprise is to be thrown into the same bucket with the transparent and hypocritical front-for-this-and-that organized by the CP, the preservation of democratic rights in this country will simply be sacrificed to the cold-war hysteria—which sacrifice is in fact going on apace—to the greater glory of Stalin and the further deterioration of what is left of American liberalism.

What is evident here is something which can accurately be termed pure and simple Stalinophobia: that is, the sacrifice of every other consideration for the sake of a sterilized anti-Stalinism. Not the least thing wrong with this is that it is completely and utterly incapable of fighting Stalinism—it can only aid it.

Part of the fight of Independent Socialists for consistent democracy is the realization that the presence of the Stalinists in a struggle for civil liberties is no reason for staying out of that struggle; on the contrary, it is an added reason for taking that struggle AWAY from the Stalinists, who wish only to use it for the purposes of their own totalitarian demagoguery.

UMW Pension Fund Improves Miners' Lot

By GEORGE BATES

The United Mine Workers' welfare and pension fund has been discussed in millions of lines in the capitalist newspapers in recent months. Editors have written editorials and reporters have put together hundreds of stories—all on how much the fund costs the mine owners and how bureaucratically John L. Lewis handles the fund. But very, very little has appeared on what the fund is actually accomplishing.

With this article we hope to encourage a series of more detailed and analytical articles by tracing a few of the important happenings in what is perhaps one of the biggest developments in recent years in the trade union field and far more important that the UMW pension fund or those of the United Auto Workers or the United Steel Workers.

Everyone who knows the mining areas of this country is aware that medical and health conditions are intolerable. Even doctors and social workers, for the past half century, have described the situation as "shocking" and "deplorable."

The death rate of miners has been 50 per cent higher than that of the general population. The average death age of miners is 55 years, whereas the average for this country's male population is 65 years. Life insurance rates for miners run high. A miner has to pay almost THREE TIMES as much for the same amount of insurance as a worker would who works in a non-hazardous industry.

Hundreds of surveys have been conducted in the mining areas over many years by government bodies and by well-meaning outfits. They all deplored the situation, but nothing ever came of it. The absence of hospitals, clinics and doctors, and the financial impossibility of the miners and their families to obtain health and medical care has too often been described to go into detail here.

Today things are a bit different, for the fund has been in operation for close to three years. The American press has been full of stories about the medical health plan of England. The newspapers have tried to write comedy around the free toupees and false teeth and the reactions of the English pharmacists and doctors who work under the plan, but kept quiet about the details of the United Mines Workers Fund.

Many persons in the United States who can tell you much about the English Health Plan are astounded when one informs them that in the United Mine Workers Fund there are now participating more than 1300 drug stores, 7000 physicians and 600 hospitals.

When the fund was about to start, local union officials were asked to locate all miners who are still living and have suffered serious injuries in the past, or the miners' families who were in desperate need of attention.

WHAT THE FUND DOES

The former miners were produced. Many in wheelchairs, others with legs missing, paralyzed men suffering with spinal injuries who had been bedridden for many years, and others. Every available facility was provided for these men, and everything that modern science has devised was made available to change these men into something resembling what they once were when they first went down into the mines. It was as if the union was trying to make up to these men for not having been able to bring in the fund sooner.

Dr. Draper, 'one of the executive medical officers of the fund, in describing 500 cases of this type recently, said: "Their transition from helpless, bedridden, literally rotting creatures to men in wheel chairs and on crutches and artificial limbs is one of the most dramatic stories in medical history."

And this dramatic story is yet to be told even in part by the capitalist press and its scare headlines.

After those with long-standing injuries and illnesses were taken care of, the next step in the program was to provide medical care and hospitalization for the members and their dependents receiving grants from the fund in the form of disability benefits or pensions. Plans are now being completed to develop a program of public health and preventive medicine for the improvement of the health and living conditions of the coal mining communities.

A medical advisory board made up of ten outstanding authorities in the field of medicine review each stage of the medical end of the program. Dr. R. R. Sayers, the former surgeon general, heads the board. There are also ten area administrators who arrange with physicians, druggists and hospitals in their areas to provide for service and who make payment on bills.

Here are the simple instructions that a union member is told to follow:

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UN Talkfest--

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lic of Indonesia have reached an agreement. Of course, the "agreement" was reached only after the Republic had been defeated in a bloody and treacherous war by the Dutch.

The Assembly further called for a complete arms embargo by all members against Bulgaria and Albania as long as these countries continue to send aid to the Stalinist guerrillas in Greece. The Russian group voted against. They have been supplying all the arms anyway. If it weren't for the fact that the guerrillas have been pretty well defeated by British and American arms supplied to the reactionary government, this resolution would mean even less than it does.

GOES FOR MINERS' HEALTH

During the past three years more than \$137,000,000 has been spent from the fund for the following: Disabled miners, beneficiaries, widows and children received more than one million payments, amounting to \$79,600,000.

Widows of 6,700 miners received death benefits amounting to \$6,700,000.

Hospital service for miners and their families cost \$11,200,000. During the first ten months of 1949 alone, 39,000 persons received 375,000 days of hospital care and 180,000 home and office visits were made.

Retired miners received \$37,250,000 in pensions.

Administrative expenses were around \$3,000,000.

When one looks at the huge sums that were spent for the disabled, the hospitalized, the old men, the widows, one wonders what these persons would have done if the fund did not exist. Of course, some would have been able to scrape together enough for limited hospital or medical care. But imagine what would have happened to thousands of children, old men and women and the disabled miners. What epic tragedy would have been undergone by thousands of these persons, if it had not been for the fund—this fund with its dozens of weaknesses and hundreds of limitations.

ly, seem to mirror the relationship between governments.

Wealthy, strong U. S. unions did not encounter too much difficulty in having their way. Were it simply a matter of weight of argument, there could be nothing said in criticism of this. But was it simply argument? It is, for example, reported that the independent Italian union center is so limited in its resources as to require the financial assistance of such unions as the ILGWU. Nothing wrong with that at all; it is one part of international cooperation. But did they feel compelled to vote the way Dubsinsky thought they should? If so, then there is a lot wrong with that—and the ICTFU can flourish only to the extent that it combats any such tendency.

In its latest issue, the Labor Leader, organ of the Association of Catholic Trade Unions, applauds the compromise. (The ACTU does not attempt to form unions, but insofar as it organizes union men, even though within the regular unions of the working class, along religious and therefore divisive lines it has been opposed by progressives in the American union movement.) The Labor Leader particularly commends Walter Reuther for his role in drafting and effecting the compromise and "takes particular delight in the thought that the action of the compromise may prevent the socialists from exercising the leadership in the new labor federation.

WHO IS BEHIND IT?

ACTU is fully justified in applauding the decision of the conference, for the problem was not simply one of trade unionism, or the inclusion of all anti-Stalinist unions into a new world federation. International politics is the decisive element in the situation, and here one must recognize the fine hand of the State Department. Several things point themselves up at once:

a. There is no doubt that the State Department, expressing itself through the AFL and CIO, wants the Vatican, through the Catholic trade unions, in the ICTFU.

b. The presence of the Catholic trade unions would act as a counterweight to the European unions which are EUROPEAN and social democratic and therefore are not to be wholly trusted.

c. Such a neutralization of the specific power of these unions must result in making Green-Dubsinsky and Murray-Reuther the supreme arbiters in ICTFU, which would be in consonance with the economic, political and military strength of the U. S. and meet the needs of American foreign policy in Europe.

The "principled" considerations of the European labor leaders, who undoubtedly understand some of the motives of their American friends, were somewhat tempered by their own interests: they knew they could not successfully prevent the inclusion of the Catholic unions, given

productive employment everywhere. But it didn't tell the nations how it can be done. At any rate, it's doubtful whether the unemployed in all lands can pay their bills with this resolution.

The Assembly tabled consideration of a pact on freedom of information. It approved a draft convention for the suppression of traffic in human beings and the exploitation of the prostitution of others. Britain and France voted against when their amendment to "exempt" the colonies from slavery and pimping was defeated.

Conclusions: Draw your own, if you have the stomach for it.

All the above is an extremely brief summary of the resolutions adopted and defeated, and many have been left out altogether.

The votes for and against have been omitted. But they followed a single dismal pattern. On many votes it was simply Russian imperialism on one side, and the other imperialisms on the other, with a few small nations twisting and squirming with the pressures. On other votes it was just a matter of all hands voting "against" when the shoe pinched them, and "for" the shoe pinching the other fellow. United action was achieved only on matters which are of little concern to any of us.

What further proof is needed of the futility of the United Nations when it comes to solving any important matter? Independent Socialists have said, and the facts bear us out: The United Nations is a debating-ground for the governments of the world. These governments represent ruling classes in all lands which oppress their own peoples and other peoples who have fallen into their power. They are preparing for World War III. This will be so till the oppressed in each country and in all countries organize themselves politically and depose the ruling classes which fatten on their oppression and prepare them to slaughter each other. Only when the common people have actual political power in their countries will they be able to send delegations to a world body to legislate peace, security and freedom.

New World Body --

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ligious lines, thereby sapping the strength of a united working class.

The socialist unions of the continent were adamant—until the U. S. delegation put the pressure on for a compromise which was eventually accepted by the conference. The U. S. delegation, in which Walter Reuther of the UAW-CIO and David Dubsinsky of the ILGWU-AFL, were leading spokesmen, proposed that the Catholic unions be admitted on condition that they disaffiliate from the Catholic trade union international within two years. The Catholic unions seem to have agreed.

However much the socialist unions were right in the matter of principle, there are important realities which condition the circumstances of the debate. The Catholic unions of today, in countries like France and Italy, are not simply like the unions which were set up by Vatican assignment in the pre-war years. The ravages of Stalinism in the working class have served to change somewhat the aspect of the Catholic unions and the chaos spawned by fascism and the war.

In some instances, at any rate, they have served as a channel for the repudiation of Stalinism, and an avowal of free unionism. In the process they have become, in significant cases and apart from their religious aspect, legitimate spokesmen of labor's choice.

Moreover, in a country like France, there is a large secular sentiment in the Catholic unions (that is, a sentiment for their disaffiliation from church connections), and the action of the conference may strengthen the hand of this already substantial and progressive wing. Given, for example, the condition of the French working class and the need for winning that section of the union movement which is still in the hands of the Stalinist totalitarians, a fusion of the anti-Stalinist unions seems essential. This necessarily includes at least some of the Catholic as well as the socialist unions.

In Italy, where the non-Stalinist, socialist unions are relatively weak, it is manifestly impossible to cut off, or to cut oneself off, from that sizable section of the working class which adheres to Catholic unions. As in France, the need exists to merge these unions into unions that are free in every sense, but that is something that can only be accomplished in the life of working class action. It may well be that the process will be speeded by collaboration in ICTFU.

THE BIG COMPROMISE

The compromise, thus, may prove to have been justified by the situation. There is nevertheless one aspect of acceptance that is not too healthy. The ability of the U. S. delegation to put over its proposition, regardless of its merit, reflects altogether too much the relationship of the U. S. to the rest of the non-Stalinist world. The union, unfortunately,

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