

DECEMBER 12, 1949

Curran Frames Independent Opposition Leaders in NMU

By N. R. GADEN

NEW YORK, Dec. 6—An embittered silence engulfed the National Maritime Union hiring hall in the port of New York. The membership which for the past few weeks has fought so courageously against the denial of its democratic rights by the Curran regime has been forced to face the fact that they are up against a machine so unscrupulous that only a careful and well-planned struggle will drive it from NMU control.

The regular membership meeting of the port of New York was held last Thursday night, December 1, at St. Nicholas Arena. The entire week preceding this meeting was devoted to feverish preparation for this event by the Curran machine. Based on the fact that the vast majority of members in the outports were unfamiliar with what had taken place in New York in the past period (the Pilot, union newspaper, has been censored since the convention), busloads of men were arranged for. Estimates ran from 800 to 1,500.

The New York membership have been treated to one week of terror organized by the machine and dished out by a squad of two hundred \$10-a-day Curran stalwarts. Curran was in complete control of the New York hiring hall, through which all New York NMUers must go to ship. Union books of oppositionists who dared to enter the hall were jerked. Protesters were beaten. The police stood by when squads of goons "dumped" distributors of anti-Curran literature outside the hall, or chased them from the street in front of the hall at the machine's request.

CURRAN-VISHINSKY AT WORK

The administration's plans were obvious. They had to get a majority at the membership meeting. The New York rank and file had to be intimidated to the point of absten-

Ex-GE Official Warns Danger of Monopoly Power

A maverick capitalist had his day before the Celler Committee of the House investigating monopoly and big business. T. K. Quinn, a former vice-president of General Electric who resigned from GE 13 years ago in protest over its monopolistic practice, sounded the warning at the "Frankenstein creature on our hands which threatens our democracy."

Apparently not impressed by the statements of that noble exponent of the Fair Deal, Attorney General J. Howard McGrath, that "bigness in itself is no crime," Quinn lashed out at the 54 corporations with assets of over one billion dollars.

"Their managements are self-perpetuating; the officers are not elected, but merely favored or picked from close associates for their position; and the individual stockholders have no more voice in them than the Russian peasant."

Quinn denounced as "simply not true" the claim that "business must be big to be efficient." He said that GM was not a more efficient automobile manufacturer because it owned Frigidaire, truck lines, diesel and aircraft engines, electric motors and washing machine plants.

"It doesn't have to own more than 100 factories to be efficient in making automobiles. Efficient production, even mass production, is keyed to the efficiency in a single plant."

"GM doesn't have to own Chevrolet, Pontiac, Buick, Oldsmobile, GMC Truck, Cadillac, etc., to be efficient," he added. "And it doesn't have to be controlled by billionaire Du Pont which owns scores of factories of its own and, incidentally, also controls huge U. S. Rubber. Socially and in the long run economically, the control is inefficient and nationally dangerous."

Quinn denounced as nonsense the statistics purporting to show that the number of small firms is greater today than a few years ago. Most of the so-called independents, he explained, are automobile dealers or electric equipment dealers who are controlled by GM or GE or similar giants and are "examples of complete subjection."

The big newspapers which have been carrying out the campaign about "Big Labor" and yelling that unions should be subjected to the anti-trust laws have been rather tepid in their coverage of the Celler committee. "The attitude of much of the press is in itself," Quinn said, "a blatant manifestation of the evil effects of concentrated economic power."

tion, at least. Enough uniformed outport men had to be imported for the meeting to make the vote look impressive. The findings on the charges would be read by the chairman of the Curran trial committee, against the fifteen officials who are led by Dave Drummond, New York port agent, who had the temerity to disagree with the leadership. The charges themselves were never accepted by the New York membership, as per the constitution, of course. But such small technicalities did not trouble the Curran machine at all.

Early in the afternoon of December 1, buses of outport men started to arrive for the meeting that night. When the doors were opened to the New York members, hundreds of these men were seated in front and on the sides. The police, with their nightsticks, were up and down and across every aisle. Pro-Curran masters-at-arms were stationed everywhere—at the entrance, on the stairways, in the passageways and in the arena itself.

The meeting was opened. The Honest Ballot Association counted the hand vote for chairman of the

Tito Stages Confession Trial to Hit at Russia

By SAM FELIKS

The Yugoslav answer to the anti-Tito trial of Laszlo Rajk in Hungary opened in Sarajevo on December 1. Ten White Russian émigrés, accused of espionage on behalf of Moscow's GPU, are in Tito's dock, with appropriate confessions. The tug of war between the Tito-Stalinist ruling class in Yugoslavia and the Russian ruling class thereby reaches another peak of intensity.

The Sarajevo trial also comes in reaction to the latest call of the Cominform, in late November, for renewed struggle against Titoism. This new Cominform blast was not, to be sure, directed so much against the Yugoslav regime itself as against the rising tide of Titoism in the other satellites. In reply, the Sarajevo trial will be used to expose the operations of Russian imperialism in its satrapies.

The ten White Guardist émigrés on the pan are themselves small fry. Big time may be reached when and if Tito uses his potential star performers, the former Yugoslav big shots jailed before the break as Cominform agents, Zujovic and Hebrang, who have been on ice for the past year and a half.

The Sarajevo trial has the following propaganda aims: (1) the Russians use espionage agents in the

European Intellectuals Protest Franco Terror

By WILBALDO SOLANO
General Secretary of the POUM

Some of the most representative figures of the French and European intellectuals—André Gide, Stephen Spender, André Breton, George Orwell, Carlo Levi, Jef Last, among many others—have just issued an urgent manifesto in behalf of the victims of Franco's terror.

There has hardly been an occasion since the end of the Second World War when such a gesture was so justified and so necessary.

The Franco dictatorship—one of the cruelest and bloodiest known to history—imperturbably continues its labor of exterminating the best sons of the working class and people of Spain.

Six fighters of the underground resistance have been assassinated in the streets of Barcelona by the Falangist police. Juan Gil Heredia, CNT (Anarchist) militant, was executed in the Ocaña jail. Jose Lopez in Barcelona, Gabriel Cruz Navarro in Zaragoza, Basilio Luna, Antonio Velasco, Juan Ortiz and Juan Velasco in Ocaña—all of them trade union militants—have been condemned to death. Different military tribunals are in the process of sentencing many other militant workers. The rifles of the firing squads are ready for them.

The hour of action, of an energetic

meeting. (All requests for a secret vote were turned down by the Curran administration.) Drummond opposed Curran for the chair and Curran was elected by a 3-1 vote. Out of some 4,000 men at the meeting, 1,500 abstained. From then on, it was Curran's show.

The charges against the fifteen were read by the chairman of the National Council trial committee. It sounds like a real Moscow trial. They were accused of refusal to turn in dues money, failure to settle shipboard grievances, refusal to obey the orders of the Curran-appointed administrator of the port of New York, collecting money for the Independent Caucus, devoting their time to factional work, etc. All of the fifteen were accused of these things in bloc.

The fact that one of them was on a three-month leave of absence while all this was supposed to have been done did not faze the accusers, most of whom were raised in the same school Vishinsky was. The fact that two others among the accused were not even assigned to ships, and took care of work that kept them in the (Continued on page 4)

"people's democracies" to keep the regimes under control; (2) the Russians' attitude in the satellites is one of an imperialist nation toward its colonies; (3) the Russians use agents from the political and social dregs of society, specifically elements with counter-revolutionary and even pro-fascist backgrounds and records.

ANOTHER MOSCOW TRIAL?

In form, the trial conforms with the standard Stalinist pattern, developed by the GPU in the Moscow Trials of the '30s and in the Hungarian/Rajk trial. The main evidence against the accused is their confession. The rules of evidence and the legal bases of the accusations are similar to Stalinist procedures. The Moscow Trial pattern is now a Russian export product and has not stopped at the Yugoslav border.

In spite of the totalitarian pattern of the trial, however, there is a vital difference between this one and the Moscow Trials. Whereas the charges against the defendants in those trials, as in the Rajk trial and the forthcoming Bulgarian trial of Kostov, flew in the face of all known facts about the past record and character of the accused, the propaganda aims of the 'Sarajevo' trial are entirely based on plausible charges and are in complete consonance with the notori-

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and powerful international action, has sounded. The appeal of the "Committee of Protection and Aid to Spanish Democrats," simple, direct, concrete, must be the point of departure for a vast world movement against the Franco terror.

"DEMOCRATS" ARE SILENT

On more than one occasion discussion has been provoked by the indifference of the masses before the crimes of our epoch. It has been stated and restated to the point of satiety that it is not easy to set movements in motion such as those which do to save Sacco and Vanzetti or Thaelmann from death. Unfortunately, this is so.

The very fact that a group of intellectuals had to serve as the initiators of the action we are now engaged in speaks for itself. What is the workers' movement doing? Will the large trade-union organizations of our day remain silent once again?

That the "democratic" strategists of the war remain silent, that those who in the shadows prepare the inclusion of Franco Spain in the Atlantic Pact refuse to speak out, that

O'Dwyer Wants a Raise But Cuts Relief Checks

NEW YORK, Dec. 6—A new wage bill has been presented to the Board of Estimate of New York City. This bill has the personal sponsorship of Mayor William O'Dwyer and calls for a \$15,000-a-year increase in his present \$25,000 yearly salary.

The mayor is not a selfish man, however; the bill also provides \$15,000 a year more for the city comptroller, making his yearly salary \$35,000, and the president of the City Council gets his salary doubled from \$15,000 to \$30,000 per year. The borough presidents get a mere \$10,000 increase and the members of the City Council who "are not required to give all their time to the city," are favored with only a \$2,500 raise, bringing their yearly salary to \$7,500.

Along with the news of the increase to these officials comes the news of a \$2.00-a-month average decrease in the checks of people on the city relief rolls. "To those who have shall be given, and from those who have not shall be taken away."

These proposed increases are meeting strong opposition from various sections of the city and for various reasons. Newbold Morris is "heart-sick" at the thought that public officials who "should receive satisfaction from serving the public" are attempting to wrangle such exorbitant increases. "You don't go into public life to make money. There is something more precious and beautiful in public life," said Morris. Perhaps, but so far there has not been much evidence to prove that our public officials have discovered what it is.

The danger in granting these increases to top officials, Morris told the members of the board at the open hearing, is that it is going to be very difficult to deny wage increases to teachers, subway employees, bus drivers and other city employees. These employees have been fighting for wage increases over the past years and have been told of the "danger of inflation," "impoverishment of the city" and the necessity to "raise the fares, to pay for any increases in salary," etc.

The United Public Workers (CIO) declared that there should be a rise of \$50 for all city employees instead of large increases for just a few. The Citizens Union called the proposed increases excessive and certain to "set a bad precedent for thousands of less favored school and city employees." That bad precedent is worrying a lot of people. It would be a little difficult to grant the mayor \$15,000 and deny \$50 to a city worker. The worker might not understand it.

If the mayor felt he was underpaid he might have made it a point in his election campaign. "Raise the standard of living of the members of the City Council."

O'Dwyer, of course, did not want to bother the people of New York during the campaign with his finan-

cial troubles and with those of the other top city officials. His plan was to have the measure quietly passed by the City Council, approved by the Board of Estimate and then signed by himself. If he succeeds the bill will go into effect on January 1.

The people of New York would be entirely justified in raising a mighty rumpus about all this by demanding a referendum on the question of these increased wages to officials who "serve" the public; by protesting this granting of tens of thousands of dollars to top officials while denying cost-of-living increases to the workers of the city; by protesting the method of putting this grab across by the vote solely of those who will benefit by it.

AVC Fate Still Hangs in Balance After Confab

By R. L. FERGUSON

CHICAGO, Nov. 27—Delegates representing approximately 8,500 voting-strength members concluded the fourth annual convention of the American Veterans Committee here over the Thanksgiving weekend by voting a 5-1 victory for the slate of the liberal "Independent Progressive" caucus over the "Anti-IP" caucus, representative of totalitarian Stalinism in AVC.

From beginning to end, the proceedings were dominated by those AVC forces which reflect closely the imperialist cold war now raging between America and Russia. After years of struggle the factional lines at this convention were thoroughly hardened, with the familiar programs of the two camps locked in irreconcilable opposition and their adherents consciously endeavoring to gain advantages over the opponent by violating "when necessary" the spirit and practice of the democracy they formally support.

The appearance of a small new caucus, "Grass Roots," and its political evolution provided an interesting further lesson on the need for clear thinking based on the realities of present-day life in the shadow of World War III.

OPTIMISM JUSTIFIED?

It is safe to say that many AVC delegates returned to their homes with a considerably more sober view of AVC's future than that expressed by outgoing Chairman Harrison, who had said: "The AVC was born again Friday night. The twin devils of factional disruption and financial hardship have been buried. Nothing can now stop the AVC from becoming a powerful and independent force."

Would that this were the case! If putting the pro-Stalinists "in their place" and obtaining a surprise donation of \$50,000 were all that were involved in assuring AVC's growth, all would indeed be easy. But they only scratch the surface. Yet it is to their credit that the membership gives a response in this situation indicating their desire to continue building the organization as a liberal veterans' grouping in spite of the self-defeating proposals it carried at this convention.

Conspicuously absent from the convention were those new labor faces which delegates at previous conventions have hoped would appear as a result of the closer "alignment with labor" that AVC has formally stood for. This year again the hopes of some are similarly aroused that now, if only because of the necessity to recruit and grow outside of those middle-class and student fields that already have been tapped to a probable maximum, this turn will actually be made. It remains to be seen whether the new leadership, aware of the problem, is capable of effecting its solution.

By and large the political program of AVC and the unions coincide closely. Their growing "respectability" and concurrent flouting of democratic procedures in dealing with the opposition is similar. Neither the unions nor AVC stand to gain from this, and an alliance cemented on this basis with top labor leaders, if achieved, would have small chance of really rallying union vets on a large scale.

RIGGED ELECTION SETUP

The convention met in circumstances unusual somewhat. Had it not been for a decision of the New York Supreme Court, modifying a previous ruling, three days before its opening, the convention could have discussed policy only and not held an election of officers. As a consequence of the

New CIO Electrical Union Convention Maps Plans, Line

By GORDON HASKELL

Some four hundred delegates gathered in Philadelphia during the week ending December 3 for the organizational conference of the new International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (IUE-CIO). The chief business of the conference was to adopt a provisional constitution, and to place an official stamp of approval on the organizational setup worked out at the CIO convention in Cleveland during October.

The IUE-CIO was chartered at Cleveland after the expulsion of the Communist Party-controlled United Electrical Workers (UE) from the CIO. At that time Philip Murray appointed James Carey to head the administrative committee which runs the new organization. The committee itself was made up of the men elected by the anti-Stalinist caucus at the last UE convention.

Since that time, the IUE has been engaged in a knock-down-drag-out fight with the Stalinists for the allegiance of the workers in the electrical and machine industry. The new CIO outfit has sought to get votes of affiliation from as many UE locals as it could reach. The Stalinists have tried to obstruct any chance for their membership to vote on affiliation, and have relied chiefly on court injunctions to prevent the IUE from winning its membership. Despite these efforts, James Carey announced last week that the IUE now represents about 238,000 workers in the industry of its jurisdiction.

One of the highlights of the conference was Carey's attack on the courts. In a fiery speech he urged the courts to wake up to their political responsibilities in ousting the Stalinists from any influence in the American labor movement, and attacked the judiciary for abiding by "dry and dead court precedent and intricate questions of law" in rendering decisions in the UE-IUE struggle.

This attack on the courts was in line with the whole ideological line of the conference. The IUE leadership regards itself as the defender of Americanism, patriotism, and American foreign policy in the ranks of labor, as against the Stalinist bearers of Moscow policy.

Their fight was endorsed by President Truman in a message to the conference, by Secretary of Labor Tobin, Secretary of the Air Force Symington and other big-wigs who addressed the conference and praised it in flattering terms. Carey feels that with backing from the executive branch of the government, the courts should fall in line also, re-

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French Imperialism Ravages Algerian Villages to Terrorize Nationalists

PARIS, Nov. 19—The daily France-Tireur, today gave details—names, places and specific acts—on a colonial outrage perpetrated by the French government which is second in its monstrosity only to the "dirty wars" waged by the same government on the Indo-Chinese and Madagascar peoples.

Scene of the "crime against man" (as the newspaper terms it) is Algeria, where French imperialism still holds sway under the new name of the "French Union." Here are the leading facts, omitting the lists of names of victims carried by France-Tireur and other detailed references to places and acts. This information was published in Algérie Libre (Free Algeria) and in La République Algérienne before being taken up by the big independent Paris newspaper.

What it adds up to is a "punitive expedition" by the French colonial police, directed against a village people and designed to terrorize nationalist sentiment by simple brutality in the worst tradition of imperialism.

On September 28, under the pretext of looking for a deserter named Cherchar who had gone into hiding, nineteen gendarmes descended on the villages of Ouled-Bouid, Ouled-Saada, Beni-Hidoussa, Ouled-Mansour, Ouled-Maamar and Sidi-Smail. For two solid weeks they carried on a veritable orgy of looting and wanton destruction.

Stocks of food, stores of grain and fruits, houses were ravaged; oil was even used to ruin the soil. The objective was successfully achieved of making the places a wasteland in which the people could no longer live; the houses were made com-

pletely uninhabitable. Estimates on the number of houses thus sacked are from 400 to 600. The women and children were forced to flee toward Algiers and the plain. According to reports from non-governmental eyewitnesses, about 7000 people entered upon this exodus.

The men, in despair and confusion, followed their families; they were harassed by the police, arrested, whipped and beaten, forced to undress and be led by a leash for the amusement of the gendarmes (who are selected by the benevolent colonial power along the same lines as Nazi SS men). Women and young girls were raped. The mosque at Sidi-Smail was violated.

In the colonial offices, this is called "teaching the natives a lesson."

Reflection is cast on the character of the French Socialist Party when it is added that the governor-general of Algeria, Naegelen, is a member of the SP—like Minister of Interior Jules Moch, a faithful servant of French imperialism even in its more bestial forms.

The Paris government, informed by France-Tireur of the outrage, at first demanded an explanation from the governor-general, who made the gesture of sending a commission of inquiry to the spot. But administrative pressure was exercised to prevent reporters from going to the scene of the crime. The commission returned about October 8—since which time full and complete silence has reigned about the affair.

Meanwhile speeches are being made in the UN about "the rights of man" and similar interesting subjects.

Israel-Jordan Peace Hung Up On Issue of Jerusalem

By AL FINDLEY

The Palestinian question, which has scarcely left the news columns since the end of the war, is now once again before the UN in the discussions on the fate of Jerusalem.

The original partition resolution on November 29, 1947, provided that Jerusalem was to be a separate unit governed directly by the UN. Since then it has been occupied and divided by the two main powers of the area, Israel and Jordan. It is quite obvious to all concerned that neither of these two states will give up the city. To Israel it means giving up one-tenth of its population. To Jordan's Abdullah it means giving up his only success and his greatest prestige point as ruler of the "Holy City."

Nor would such a move be correct from the standpoint of the right of self-determination of peoples. The Jews and Arabs of Jerusalem want to, and have a right to, be free of ALL foreign control and to rule themselves in their own states.

The stage for the current session was set by a proposal of the UN Conciliation Commission (U. S., Turkey and France) which proposed an internationalized, demilitarized Jerusalem, with a limited autonomy for the Jewish and Arab sectors. Under pressure, the Conciliation Committee modified its proposal and allowed the FORMAL sovereignty of the Jewish and Arab states and the participation of the inhabitants as citizens in their respective states, yet retained real power in the international foreign body.

This ambiguous and unrealistic plan was endorsed by the U. S., Britain and France with amendments to make it more "practical." The representatives of Israel and Jordan denounced it as allowing for too much "international" interference. On the other hand, the Vatican, the Arab rivals of Abdullah and the Stalinist bloc considered that it did not go far enough along the road of internationalization and proposed that the original "dictum" of the partition resolution be applied. This proposition, in the form of an Australian resolution and Russian amendments, has been carried in the UN subcommittee by a small majority.

Since the UN assembly requires a two-thirds vote, it seems unlikely that either proposal will be accepted.

SWEDISH PLAN LIKELY

There are two possible lines of action for the UN. One is postponing decision. The other is taking shape in the form of a compromise solution by Sweden that will have

Russification at Peak in Rumania And Hungary

The Russian campaign for the "Russification" of the Eastern European satellites in the sphere of culture is strongest in Rumania and Hungary—perhaps because, being the only non-Slav states in the region, they are furthest removed from the Russian language and its culture.

The Christian Science Monitor correspondent in Budapest reports, for example, that Russification extends as far down the scale as breadmaking. Eight Russian bakers have arrived in Bucharest to teach the local boys how to knead dough in the "proper" way.

In Budapest a comprehensive program making Russian a compulsory subject in school is under way. Last year, when students had free choice, only 3 per cent took Russian as compared with 30 per cent for English, 29 for French and 53 for German. In the present school term, 66 per cent will learn Russian, which is now mandatory in all secondary schools.

Teachers are put through high-pressure courses to train them to teach loyalty to the Russian regime along with the language. In announcing the new course, the CP organ Szabad Nep said: "Nobody unacquainted with Soviet achievements can become a good specialist, good artist, scientist or teacher." What this actually means, of course, is that without a knowledge of Russian no one will be allowed to become any of these.

Students are told they must "turn to Moscow instead of Paris" to become cultured. A resolution of the Hungarian Politburo published on October 27 demands that all leading cadres of the CP must learn the Russian language. In Rumania a Rumanian-Russian "friendship week" started on October 31. The Russian campaign against "cosmopolitanism" has been imported into the country.

Clearly the aim of this cultural terror is to counter the magnetic appeal of Titoist "national-Stalinism." The Kremlin hopes that this will be its long-term effect. Meanwhile, it cannot be doubted that the process only rubs the Rumanians and Hungarians raw on precisely this point.

the support of the U. S. and England. This will permit Israel and Jordan to retain their control under UN supervision and will contain a clause (which will amount to a pious wish) to consider the question of the internationalization of Jerusalem at a future date.

Since the UN has usually followed the policy of legalizing the existing conditions (partition was passed only after the UN's hand was forced by British withdrawal and a de-facto state-within-a-state set up by the Jews), the net effect of any resolution passed by the UN will at most be along the lines of the Swedish resolution.

Israel at present is proposing that New Jerusalem be given to Israel and that UN rule be limited to the Old City or to the holy places. Since neither the Old City nor any of the so-called "shrines" are in Israeli-controlled territory, the Israeli government is magnanimously giving away its neighbor's rights. Abdullah, on the other hand, is forced to reject all international rule since his portion of Jerusalem is composed primarily of the holy places.

The never-ending rumors of peace negotiations between Israel and Jordan are now reaching a crescendo. The theory is that the only way Jordan and Israel can remain in full control of their respective sectors of Jerusalem is by presenting the world with a peace treaty and by each legally recognizing the other's rights. There can be no doubt that such a position is logical and desirable. Not only will it solve the problem of Jerusalem but it will be the beginning of a series of peace treaties with other Arab states.

Unfortunately, while it is a possibility, a quick peace between Israel and Jordan is unlikely. Israel both wants to come to terms with Abdullah as the most moderate—at present—of all the Arab states and at the same time fears Abdullah's ambition of a greater Syria (backed by Britain) as a long-term threat in the Near East. Then, too, Abdullah cannot sign a peace treaty with Israel that does not contain some territorial gains. Otherwise he would be discredited not only among the people, but more particularly among the Arab nationalists. These concessions will not be obtained from Israel.

RUSSIAN LINE SWITCHED

The position of Stalinist Russia as the only great power in favor of complete internationalization and as the leader of a strange group of bedfellows—the Catholic bloc (Vatican and Greek Orthodox), the Stalinist bloc, plus the Arab states—has aroused the greatest amount of discussion. This current position of Russia is in sharp contrast with its position of two years ago, when the Stalinists tried to prove that they were the only true friends of Israel.

The change of attitude of Russia and her satellites did not come suddenly. LABOR ACTION was the first to predict a reversal of Russian policy toward Israel as early as October 1948, over one year ago. During the past year, LABOR ACTION has reported the continued development of anti-Zionist statements and actions in Russia and the Russian puppet states. Zionism and especially left-socialist Zionism, is currently being denounced as "Trotskyism." A few months back, LABOR ACTION foreshadowed Russia's present anti-Israel position on Jerusalem.

Among the reasons usually given for Stalin's attitude on Jerusalem are: Russia wants a say in the Near East through the Trusteeship Council; Stalin wants to assume the mantle of protector of the "orthodox" interests in the Holy Land, etc. These factors play a role, but are secondary to Russia's main motives. These motives are more DIRECTLY connected with oil and power politics.

The ONLY reason Russia supported Israel was to get Britain out of Palestine. Stalin momentarily revised his pro-Mufti position to accomplish this end. He never completely severed connections with the Arab rulers. While most arms were sold to Israel, a sizable quantity was sold to Syria and provisions were supplied to the Egyptian army. Having accomplished the aim of ousting the British, the Stalinists are once again turning to the Arabs, whom they consider the decisive element in the Near East. Their appeal is not primarily to the people, but to sections of the ruling class. This is in line with their theory and practice of "national" revolt in the Near East, and with their new consideration: they hope to bring sections of the rulers close enough to them so that they can get oil quickly.

Thus they renew their flirtations with the Mufti and others. In addition, internationalization, in taking Jerusalem away from the Jews, also takes it away from Abdullah, Britain's most reliable Arab ally.

Wide publication was given to a Tass News Agency release of an article in Pravda which said that Israel was a tool of U. S. imperialism, that Israel did not win the war in Palestine but achieved victory through international politics. This last statement is a complete reversal of the previous position.

the truce and the cease-fire were a maneuver to save the Arabs.

The Stalinist "World League for Truth" has been distributing—amid much similar propaganda—handbills showing the U. S. and Britain standing guard over Arabs, while figures representing Israelis plunder their homes.

The complete cynicism of the Stalinists is seen by the fact that while on the one hand they are concentrating a great deal on the Arab refugees (N. Y. Times, Nov. 25), on the other hand Poland has declared in the UN that Arab refugees cannot expect to be returned in large numbers to Israel.

Will It Be Enforced?

Truman OKs Anti-Jim Crow Housing Order

By HERMAN SWEETS

The Truman administration last week issued a long-overdue directive banning racial segregation in federally-aided housing.

Realty interests, in the North as much as the South, immediately set up a hue and cry against the order, charging that it would "raise havoc" with private building. Southern Jim Crow interests were, of course, outraged, especially as they depend so heavily on federal funds. Interestingly, however, spokesmen at a convention of the New Jersey Association of Real Estate Boards wailed that New York and New Jersey realtors would be hardest hit.

Whatever it was that impelled the administration to take this step now, at long last, it is one that will be enthusiastically welcomed by every decent element in the country. There is no excuse—none whatsoever—for the long delay. Even the Supreme

Court has had an opportunity to rule that segregation in housing is illegal—and such things are never decided quickly by the slow-moving citizens of the court.

If the directive presages an energetic campaign in the next session of Congress for the full civil-rights program, so much the better. The housing order is, in itself, an excellent one. We cannot, however, forget that it is only a segment of what is urgently demanded in civil-rights legislation and directives (for there is much that lies within the administrative power of the government). It takes only the willingness to announce, and enforce, what is already within its power to do—as witness this housing directive.

It would be foolhardy to assume that because a directive has been issued, the fight is won. The real-estate will fight it tooth and nail, and do everything to stymie its realiza-

tion. Furthermore, there is a tremendous gap between a directive and its enforcement. Housing officials have not usually been overzealous in working in the public interest and all too frequently a little too zealous in effecting landlord wishes. An expression of solid support on this issue from liberal and labor groups throughout the country is indicated. At the very least, it might serve to keep some housing officials on the "straight and narrow," and remind the administration that it must continue with what it has started.

No doubt Truman had coming election campaigns in mind, the politics of legislative maneuvering and much else, when he authorized the announcement of the policy by a subordinate. No matter—he has made commitments in the field of civil rights, as in other fields, and he must be reminded that he is expected to come across on all. The directive, we say, is a good one, but insufficient. Much else still be done to meet the crime of segregation.

The real-estate brigands have, in fact, made one telling point. They point out that the directive still allows the government to erect segregated projects. If so, demand must be made that this be corrected at once.

No More Second Fiddle

For over ten years there has not been a single constructive piece of legislation passed. Bit by bit, the various labor gains have been whittled

away until today there is in the last analysis no protection for collective bargaining except the militancy and economic strength of the workers themselves.

Perhaps this is how it should be. But to admit this and then, in the same breath, speak of labor's political prestige and its elected "friends" is somewhat unrealistic.

If labor continues to play the role of second fiddle on the political bandwagon, it will continue to suffer new defeats on both the economic and on the political front.

Obviously, the only solution is for organized labor to control its own political destinies—select and elect its

own candidates. Whether this involves the building of a new party or the complete revamping of the Democratic machine is largely a matter of speculation. It may be necessary for labor to junk the Demos and start from scratch. Such a new party would, of course, bear no resemblance to the Wallace omnibus.

CHANGE THE STRATEGY
But the important thing is not so much the formal title of labor's political apparatus but the organic composition of it. Labor's platonic flirtations with the moist-eyed "friends of labor" has been one of its greatest mistakes. This type of an affair is as synthetic as washing your feet with your socks still on.

If labor intends to flex its political biceps, it is going to have to come up with its own political talent. The average shop steward would make a better congressman than 99 per cent of the professional "friends of labor" we've been electing. And once elected, the guys from the shop wouldn't get round heels from being pushed over by the lobbyists into the NAM's bed.

It may be argued that labor is by no means ready for such political gambits. That the political tides are still sweeping out into the seas of reaction and that labor's best strategy is to continue to handle the oars but not direct the course.

Well, that's what labor has been doing for almost a generation. Its net gains have been a few pats on the back for some labor leaders and an almost unbroken string of defeats for the rank and file.

Until labor starts to mobilize its vast political resources from the shop levels, the same old dreary story of retreat, of victory indefinitely postponed and the hard, blunt fact of a government, not by the people, but by a moneyed oligarchy will be repeated.

Right—Dress!

A Detroit clothier, Harry Sufirin, who for several years sponsored the radio commentator, Jim Crowley, has cancelled his contract because Crowley supported George Edwards, UAW-backed candidate, in the Detroit mayoralty election. Sufirin, who gets most of his business from workers and their families, explained: "We want to stay in the clothing business." He added that one of his customers objected to being told from Washington how to vote in Detroit—that is, to support Edwards.

Detroit's unionists, more concerned about freedom on the air than they are about Sufirin's desire to stay in business, are planning to show the clothier that the interests he is catering to are not his customers.

PRESS ACTION

By L. G. SMITH

For some weeks now the prepaid subscription card drive has been under way. To date, a number of branches have bought their quota of prepaid cards, but others have not. Yet even those branches which have bought a number of cards have, in most instances, not been sending them in so that we can enter the new subscriptions.

We want to urge all literature directors to get the sub card campaign hopping. Comrades should be reminded at all branch meetings to sell the cards, and reports of sub cards sold should be made to the branch regularly.

Below are listed for the information of the comrades those subscriptions which had come in before December 5. This list does not distinguish between prepaid subs and others, but all subs are calculated on a six-month basis for scoring purposes. We're also indicating how many in-

dividuals were sold subscriptions or induced to resubscribe to the paper.

Branch	Sub.	Single	Sub.
Los Angeles	8	5	
Detroit	4	3	
Cleveland	10	6	
Chicago	24	18	
Seattle	4	4	
San Francisco	19	15	
Reading	6	6	
Buffalo	2	1	
Philadelphia	5	3	
Brooklyn	9	9	
New York	18	18	
Long Island City	14	8	
Newark	2	1	

The score for many branches is poor. Branches not listed have sent in no subs. Much more can be done if the comrades put their minds to it. Remember: no one becomes a socialist unless he learns something about the ideas of socialism. Sell him a sub to LABOR ACTION, and he'll learn.

SPARKS in the NEWS

Dog's Life—I

A fashion show on the latest thing for your pooch's wardrobe was held on November 23 in the Cotillion Room of the Hotel Pierre, New York.

"On a green-carpeted runway winding through rows of luncheon tables, one model after another presented the latest in canine attire," wrote the N. Y. Times. "There was soft piano music in the background, and two commentators." The doggy ensembles included one of lynx fur. A pointer wore a coat of camel's hair "with dark accessories for contrast."

One of the commentators, a Mr. Harbison, described as "a well-known dog psychologist," admitted: "Maybe it does have its humorous aspects."

Dog's Life—II

On the other hand, in Omaha, five assorted dogs appeared on a downtown picket line, each wearing a sign which read: "The Wages Paid by This Shop Shouldn't Happen to Us."

One-Way Confusion

The U. S. government, which tries to appear as the "champion of oppressed peoples," found itself in a corner at the UN on November 23.

A spokesman for the Herero tribes of Southwest Africa, Rev. Michael Scott, who had testified at the Workers' Defense League inquiry into forced labor in South Africa, was attempting to get a hearing before the Trusteeship Committee of the UN in order to protest the oppression of

the Hereros by the South African government.

Permission was finally obtained, AGAINST the opposition of the imperialist colonial powers and of the United States. According to the N. Y. Times of November 24, the U. S. "really" supported Scott during most of the debate. But, it adds, "as a result of the confusion in amending a resolution, the United States finally opposed the operative motion."

When any imperialist power permits its "confusion" to get to the point where it votes FOR the colonial people—that will be news.

Porkchop Morals

"CHICAGO, Nov. 29—A group of meat packers today protested on economic and moral grounds against importation of Polish hams."—Associated Press dispatch in N. Y. Times.

An Urgent Need

Local New York of the ISL has been regularly mailing packages of food and clothing to needy workers in Europe. The relief committee has urgent need for clean, wearable clothing for children of school age, especially in the 12-14 year old group. Please bring your contributions to the City Office of the ISL at 114 W. 14th St., NYC, 3rd floor.

WHAT'S ON AT THE LABOR ACTION SCHOOL

Following is Session 6 (last) taking place next week—

TUESDAYS

Dynamics of the American Labor Movement

by Ben Hall
8:00 - 9:10 p. m.

Dec. 13—Prospects for a labor party.

Significant Events and Documents in U.S. History

by E. R. McKinney
8:00 - 9:10 p. m.

Dec. 13—"Manifest Destiny": the ancestry of Point Four.

The Modern State

by Max Shachtman
9:20 - 10:30 p. m.

Dec. 13—Trends in the United States.

FRIDAYS

Problems of the New Asia

by Jack Brad
8:00 - 9:10 p. m.

Dec. 16—Which way for Asia? Socialist prospects.

Contemporary Problems of Marxism

by Hal Draper
9:20 - 10:30 p. m.

Dec. 16—War economy and the trends of modern capitalism.

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

Just Envious

"Down-to-earth organization methods patterned after labor unions will be adopted by the high command of the Republican Party, Guy Gabrielson, national GOP chairman, said in Cleveland today."—Cleveland Daily News, Nov. 1.

That's the bunch that helped pass the Taft-Hartley Law to curb labor's bad, bad organizational methods.

Spelling It Out

In Melbourne, Australia, union workers in a soup factory signed a new contract which provides that in the future the company's alphabet soup will contain—in addition to the ABCs—a tiny reproduction of the union label.

HOLIDAY BOOK OFFER

You'll be giving your friends gifts for the holiday season this month. You might even want to make a gift to yourself—if the price is right. Well, it is right—see below.

Why not give your friends—or yourself—something really worth while, something of lasting value?

Below are special combination offers by LABOR ACTION BOOK SERVICE, good only between now and January 1.

The offers listed combine the following publications: (a) Subscription and/or bound volumes of LABOR ACTION (b) Subscription and/or bound volumes of THE NEW INTERNATIONAL. (c) The book THE FIGHT FOR SOCIALISM by Max Shachtman, paper-bound unless otherwise noted. (d) The two-in-one book, THE NEW COURSE by Leon Trotsky, and THE STRUGGLE FOR THE NEW COURSE by Max Shachtman, paper-bound.

Any of these combinations

Combination	You Pay	You Save
(1) Three separate 1-year subscriptions to THE NEW INTERNATIONAL	\$5.00	\$1.00
(2) Three bound volumes of THE NEW INTERNATIONAL (1946-47-48)	10.00	2.00
(3) Four bound volumes of LABOR ACTION 1945-46-47-48	10.00	2.00
(4) One-year sub to both LABOR ACTION and THE NEW INTERNATIONAL	2.50	17%
(5) THE FIGHT FOR SOCIALISM and One-Year Sub to LABOR ACTION	1.50	25%
(6) THE NEW COURSE and One-Year Sub to THE NEW INTERNATIONAL	2.75	\$.75
(7) THE FIGHT FOR SOCIALISM and THE NEW COURSE	2.00	20%
(8) THE FIGHT FOR SOCIALISM (clothbound)	1.50	25%

Send your orders in NOW to LABOR ACTION BOOK SERVICE, 4 Court Square, Long Island City 1, New York.

Titoism and Independent Socialism—II NATIONAL-STALINISM: THE BASIS OF TITOISM

By HAL DRAPER

II

We emphasized two ideas last week: (1) that Titoism is spreading as a disintegrative force in the Russian empire not because it is ceasing to be a form of Stalinism, but precisely because it is a form of Stalinism; (2) That Stalinism is not merely an ideology but is a social system, common to both Tito's Yugoslavia and Stalin's Russia—the social system which we call bureaucratic collectivism.

Titoism arises within this social system. More than that, Titoism arises and spreads as a disease of this social system.

This disease is national-Stalinism. We shall see both the similarities and differences between this disease of the Russian empire and the anti-imperialist nationalism which arises under capitalist colonialism.

In the Eastern European satellites this phenomenon has been highlighted from the beginning; this is its home ground. This is also where Titoism has its sharpest impact, though muffled by the totalitarian shroud surrounding these countries.

In the Balkan satellites—in Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary—the impact of Titoism has been marked by purges at the very top. In Albania, there has been the execution of the former general secretary of the CP, Koci Xoxe, and the purge of a good section of the party leadership. (The Yugoslavs now have a Koci Xoxe "labor brigade" working on Albania's border, to the increasing nervousness of Prime Minister Enver Hoxha.) In Hungary, there has been the Rajk trial. In Bulgaria, there is the trial of Traicho Kostov for Titoism.

With the death of Dimitrov—whether naturally or not is anybody's guess—Tito's right-hand man Djilas revealed that Dimitrov himself, at the time of Russia's first threatening note, had told the Yugoslavs to "stand firm." Dimitrov himself had been the first, in January 1948, to publicly launch the demand for a Balkan federation, only to be slapped down hard, equally publicly, by Pravda. Dimitrov had not "stood firm," but had shut his mouth, looking with hope to his neighbor Tito to carry the ball. Outside of Tito himself, Dimitrov is the only No. 1 man among the Stalinist sub-fuehrers who has stepped out of line in public even for a moment.

IN THE BALKANS: THE SPECIFIC DRIVE

It is in this area of the Balkans that even the specific drive behind national-Stalinism is closest to that in Yugoslavia. Bulgaria, for example, of all the countries is nearest to Yugoslavia in its economic conditions. If Yugoslavia is the most backward and agrarian country of the region, Bulgaria is a close second.

This specific drive behind Titoism is the contradiction between Russian domination and the overweening need of industrialization in these lands, the contradiction between the Russification of their economies and the national economic drives of the sub-fuehrers.

I have written in detail about this economic motivation elsewhere (in the New Internationalist, September-October 1948) and only put it in its context here. In January 1949 Tito himself stated baldly that his break with the Russians arose from this specific dispute. The Russians' plan called for keeping Yugoslavia as predominantly a producer of certain raw materials and food, a bread basket, agrarian, backward economically; the Yugoslavs had higher ambitions for their satrapy, the desire to give it a modern industrialized economy, without which they (the Yugoslav bureaucrats) were fated to remain second-rate procurals of Russian imperialism.

Since Tito's statement, the Cominform has also obliquely referred to this same cause of the break. In the October 14, 1949 issue of the Cominform organ, "For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy," a long blast against Titoism begins: "In 1947, Tito pompously declared that the Yugoslav Five-Year Plan would be completed in 1951. But none of the conditions necessary for the fulfillment of the plan had been created in the country. The plan contained unreal, astronomical figures and, in general, was framed in such a way as to break economic relations with the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies..."

But Titoism in Yugoslavia was only triggered off by this economic motivation; it is only the Balkan specific form of the drive behind Titoism in the Russian empire. The basic drive, common to all the satellites—and, as we shall see, in a different form, even outside the countries behind the Iron Curtain—is a galloping disease that is not at all peculiar to Russian imperialism alone.

THEY WANT TO BE LIKE STALIN

For the new Russian imperialism runs into the same contradiction as the capitalist imperialism which preceded it: the irrepressible conflict between the foreign masters' national interests and those of the native rulers (let alone the people of the subject country).

Under capitalist imperialism, the native bourgeoisie (which is created by imperialism itself) is not and can never be satisfied merely to be the broker in the exploitation of its own people, getting only a cut of the fruits of exploitation. "Why share at all with the foreigners—let alone hand over the major share? This is our country—why can't we exploit our own people ourselves, since they have to be exploited by someone?"

This is the nationalism of the native ruling class. This is what national independence means to them, at bottom. The mass of colonial people press for freedom from below, and the native bourgeoisie seizes its opportunities above.

So also with the native Stalinist sub-fuehrers. The basic drive behind their Titoist tendencies can be given in six words, which also constitute the title of a book recently published by Professor George S. Counts. It is a translation of a Russian textbook for the education of children in the glorification of Stalin, and its title is: "I Want to Be Like Stalin."

That is all that Tito wants in the last analysis: "I Want to Be Like Stalin"—that is, I want to be in my country what Stalin is in his; I want to do here just what he did there; I want to be the Genial Boss, not merely the local gauleiter of a foreign Genial Boss.

Therefore the "honest" indignation, even naively honest indignation, that one finds spread over the speeches and articles of the aggrieved Yugoslavs especially in the first months of the break: "Why are we bad Stalinists just because we too want to be like Stalin, because we want to do in Yugoslavia exactly what he did in Russia?" Therefore the element of perfectly "honest" protestation that filled their writings, and a lingering amount of belief that Moscow could not but eventually understand and sympathize with their point of view.

IN THE NORTHERN SATELLITES: RUSSIFICATION

Today the Yugoslavs' standard formulation for their grievance against the Kremlin is the demand for "equality of all socialist countries." The term equality adequately represents for them what is actually at stake—equality among dictators, rather than national subordination.

The Kremlin, of course, does not choose its denunciatory epithets with any scruples about truth, but when it denounces the Titoists as "Trotskyists" it is under no illusion that it can thereby impress them with the character of their heresy. It is with the same kernel of honesty as was mentioned above that the Titoists protest to the heavens that they are better Stalinists than Stalin! (For one thing, they insist that they can build "socialism in one country" even without Russian aid, whereas the Cominform tells them that socialism-in-one-country is impossible—except for Russia.)

While in the Balkans the economic drive behind Titoism is the urgent need for industrialization, in the northern satellites it necessarily takes a modified form. Poland and Czechoslovakia are already the most industrialized countries east of Germany.

But the Russian plan for Eastern Europe calls for the integration of all East European economy in subordination to the Russian war machine. The economies of these countries have been forcibly distorted in line with Russian national interests, not Czech or Polish: forcibly oriented east, with widespread dislocations in their traditional grooves of industry and trade; limited to production which would not be vital in case of their being overrun in the third world war, while basic industry is concentrated toward the east of Russia itself; in a word, forcibly Russified, in addition to being pillaged. The Titos, Ana Paukers, Kolarovs, et al. dreamed in their time of being the Stalins of their countries, came the (Stalinist) revolution. Instead they have the same kind of power as a party unit secretary in a town of Uzbekistan.

It is in this context that Titoism arises as national-Stalinism.

(Next week: the drive behind Titoism outside the Russian empire)

Militarization in America: Documented Study of Trends

By PHILIP COBEN

"A marked trend toward military control over American life and institutions has developed as an aftermath of the Second World War."

With this opening sentence, the National Council Against Conscription launches its factual summary of what is actually happening in the United States at the same time that the government poses as the protector of freedom and democracy in the world. It will be possible in this series only to hit the high spots of its fully documented study.

The NCAC pamphlet continues: "Never before in American history has the military establishment had so much money to spend, so many officers or ex-officers in important civilian government posts, so much influence in the formulation of foreign policy, or such an ambitious publicity department as it does today. Never before have we seen such careful plans being prepared for control of labor and industry, nor such widespread influence exercised in the field of public and higher education as is true now."

Introducing its summary "of the published evidence of military control of the U. S.," the NCAC pamphlet first fixes attention on the "military mind." One citation will be enough:

THE MILITARY MIND

"A high ranking officer" in the American army, according to a newspaper columnist, said: "The army always expects war, which is what civilians can't understand though that is what you pay us for. You expect peace. When Germany and Japan quit, you throw your hats in the air—and turn the future over to the diplomats. We had our sights on the next war long before we got to Tokyo."

"War with Russia?" "Who else? Not with Russia because Russia is Russia but because she is the potential enemy. It happens to be the army's business to work out our defenses against the rest of the world. Russia happens to be the only power—for the time being, at least—that could take us on." (Page 5-6)

The attitude which reeks from this statement is, of course, nothing new for militarism. Somebody once said that if the military had their way, they would fortify the moon to repel invasion from Mars. At the time, this was supposed to be a semi-humorous exaggeration. In our own days of the marvels of science, we find a feature article in Life magazine discussing in utmost seriousness precisely this possibility—except that the projected "fortification of the moon" (or, in the magazine feature, of space ships) has the more down-to-earth purpose of international rather than interplanetary warfare.

The attitude is nothing new, but what is new is the tremendously heightened control of all aspects of American life by the same minds which produce such statements. They

With the accompanying article, LABOR ACTION begins a series of articles on the militarization of America based upon the mountain of factual data assembled by a committee of well-known liberal and labor leaders, the National Council Against Conscription.

A thick pamphlet published by the council, "New Evidence of the Militarization of America," came out in February of this year, under the sponsorship of leading figures of the NCAC. These include: Pearl Buck, Louis Bromfield, Albert Einstein, Victor Reuther, Ray Lyman Wilbur (former secretary of interior), W. S. Townsend (president of CIO transport service union), Robert Gordis (ex-president, Rabbinical Assembly), W. J. Millor, S.J. (president, University of Detroit), C. S. Johnson (president, Pisk University), James G. Patton (president, National Farmers Union), and others.

The factual data, quotations, etc., are from this pamphlet, unless otherwise noted. Editorial comments and conclusions are solely those of LABOR ACTION.—Ed.

are no longer merely fire-eating colons yearning for a little blood and thunder from the sidelines, but "statesmen."

A peep at the total picture is assembled by the NCAC under fifteen subject headings.

The Budget

The military budget of the U. S. has risen to figures so stupendous that its proportions appal even its sponsors.

In 1947 about 32 per cent of the federal budget (about \$12.5 billion) was appropriated for the army, navy and coast guard and another \$8.39 billion for agencies related to the military. In the 1948 budget more than \$10 billion or 37 per cent of the budget was appropriated for the three services plus \$7.8 billion for related agencies—bringing the total to 66.3 per cent of the budget.

In 1949, there was a large increase. The total sum available to the military will be more than \$20 billion in the fiscal year.

The total appropriations for military and related agencies were \$23,973,020,015 or 62 per cent of the total budget. The appropriations for 1949 are only a beginning, since contracts and program are authorized which will require even more money in subsequent years. Beardsley Ruml's estimate is at least \$30 billion a year.

As a result, the nation's economy is at the mercy of the military. In contrast with the above figures, here are Truman's estimates for budget expenditures in his August 15, 1948 statement: for social welfare, health and security—a little over \$2 billion; for housing and community facilities—less than a third of a billion; for education and general research—only \$86 million.

"The concentration of so many billions in the production of military material inevitably means less production of consumer goods. Those consumer goods that are produced are in greater demand; the prices rise, and we have inflation. A former head of OPA, Paul Porter, told a Senate Banking Committee in August 1948 that the current military spending program was one of the chief contributing factors to mounting inflationary pressures."

The speaker of the House of Representatives made the point when,

speaking of the federal aid-to-education bill, he said: "We can't do anything on bills that will require money until we find out what the military requirements are and, then, the state of our finances." (Washington Post, April 4, 1948.)

About a month later, the press reported: "The military preparedness program has been given top priority in Congress by Republican leaders. Enactment of the draft and passage of money supply bills for rearmament are considered more important than all pending... social reform measures on the calendar.... As a result such expensive proposals as federal aid to education, public health assistance, federal subsidies for public housing, and similar measures are to be dropped in the House despite Senate approval." (Cecil Dickson, Knickerbocker News, Albany, May 11, 1948.)

These effects are neither automatic nor regular in their application. The United States is the wealthiest country the world has known; it has a tremendous belt of fat around its belly unlike the older and dried-up capitalism of Europe. The anti-social tendencies arising from militarization of the economy are fought by the labor movement, and as long as labor fights all the effects of militarization are slowed up—but only slowed up.

Meanwhile, the outside military spending program has the apparent beneficial effect of counteracting the forces inherent in the profit system leading to economic depression and crisis; just as it was the outbreak of the Second World War which substituted mass slaughter for apple-selling. As the magazine Business Week said on April 24, 1948: "an intensive armament program would have much the same effect on the domestic economy as a shooting war. It is the size of the military budget and the size of the army—not the shooting—that puts the pressure on the country's economic life."

Instead of catastrophic crash and crisis (à la 1929), it sets forces into motion which, while tending to counteract acute depression, replace it with a chronic and permanent drain upon the economy as a whole, only to lead eventually to the far more acute crisis of war itself.

(Continued next week)

Not in the Headlines

Frats Get Brotherly

The National Interfraternity Conference has come out with a reversal of its previous policy on racial and religious discrimination. Last year the National Interfraternity Conference maintained that the problem of discrimination could not be considered by the conference, except in the case of kicking out one fraternity that had insisted upon its right to admit a Negro student.

This year, due to the pressure applied by Midwestern and Northern student delegates, the NIC has come forth with a wishy-washy resolution to the effect that individual fraternities are allowed to reconsider the discriminatory clauses in their membership provisions and to do away with these clauses if the spirit moves them. Although we have little sympathy for the students who find it necessary to belong to an exclusive frat in order to get along in the world, it is encouraging to note that even these people are becoming more aware of the fight against discrimination.

Oregon Jim Crow

Scandal has been stirred in the capital city of Oregon by a disgraceful incident involving police intimidation of a Negro farm laborer, in which the cop has been let off with only a "stiff talking-to."

Ward Jackson, an AFL shipscaler, who had found work outside the city because work in his own trade was slack, came back to Salem to cash his check. He was promptly accosted by Patrolman Archie Wilson, who told him: "We don't want any n...rs in Salem. Be damn sure you get the first bus out of town." Jackson complied, but eyewitnesses sent in protests to city officials.

The Portland Journal has openly denounced the outcome as a "white-wash."

Real Wages Down

The average industrial worker today can buy about 10 per cent less with what he earns now than he could five years ago—even though he is making about 20 per cent more in money wages.

This figure is admitted by the National Industrial Conference Board, a conservative research organization supported entirely by employers. Judging by previous statistics issued by this employers' organization, the truth is undoubtedly even higher than 10 per cent.

Rights of Man

The New York CIO Newspaper Guild has signed a contract providing for one week's paternity leave for the FATHER when mother and baby come home from the hospital.

Papers for Sale

The American Medical Association is planning a new advertising campaign—one of the biggest in the nation's history—to smear health insurance as "socialism" (which it isn't). This was announced by Clem Whitaker, \$100,000-a-year press agent for the reactionary doctors' trust, in a speech to a convention of small-town publishers.

Having been exposed in two states as press-bribers (swapping fat ad fees for favorable editorial policy), the AMA is sensitive about public reaction to the new drive. Whitaker defiantly predicted that it would bring

new charges of "bribery of the press."

In California, it was John Hunton, secretary of the state medical association, who declared that the newspapers demanded advertising as the price of supporting the anti-health doctors; he boasted that after the ads were placed, "the response from the editors in publicity was far beyond anything we expected."

But the AMA still nervously claims that the "press-bribe" charges are "fraudulent."

They Like Ike

General Eisenhower, who was boomed by a lot of liberals and labor men as alternative candidate to Truman at the last Democratic Party convention, has some more substantial supporters too. Wrote the Wall Street Journal recently:

"Top GOP politicians, looking for their next presidential candidate, sounded out a group of prominent industrialists in New York last week. The businessmen's favorite: Eisenhower, whether he runs as a Democrat or Republican." The general's backers think he's the only one who can beat Truman and stem the trend toward a "welfare state." A worried oil man offered to plunk "millions" into a "beat-Truman" war chest."

Ford Making Out

On top of the news that General Motors made its biggest pile in history this year, and that Chrysler made profits of \$97,651,458 for nine months of 1949 as against \$59,887,061 a year ago, comes the information that the third member of auto's Big Three is also far from being bankrupt.

Ford, the only one of the three not required to make public the financial status of the entire corporation, filed a report in Massachusetts, covering the parent company only, which showed that assets had increased by nearly \$124,000,000 during the past year.

Gougers Stay Happy

Truman was elected with the promise that he would keep rent control on, but the Federal Landlords Committee, a real-estate lobby outfit, is paying as little attention as the pledge deserves. In a letter circulated to landlords (made public by the New York Tenants Council) the rent-booster predicted:

"From information obtained from our representatives in Washington and from official sources in Congress and in federal agencies, we are certain that our efforts will be victorious and there will be no renewal of rent controls when the present law expires in June, 1950."

TB Color Line

The Michigan CIO is protesting the action of the Detroit Board of Education in favoring the sale of single-bar Christmas seals in the public schools by the Detroit Tuberculosis Sanatorium, giving it the go-ahead signal days ahead of the Tuberculosis and Health Society which sells the double-bar seals.

The former runs a pretubercular camp which bars Negroes; whereas the T. and H. Society does not discriminate.

The Jim Crow single-bar Detroit TB Society happens to be headed by the president of the city's Board of Education, Dr. Burt Shurly.

Tito Stages Trial - -

(Continued from page 1)

ous practices of the Russian secret police.

Tito has right on his side in his denunciations of the actual activities of Russian imperialism and does not need to invent a fantastic dream-plot; the materials of truth are right at his hand and serve his purpose. This difference exists whether or not the specific accusations against the specific men are proved—and the totalitarian procedure of the trial scarcely even permits judgment on this score.

The White Guard Russian émigrés on trial have an interesting background that goes back to the days of the October Revolution, according to the indictment. This group of exiled Russians was part of the counter-revolutionary armies which fought against the young Soviet republic. After the collapse of this counter-revolutionary force, they emigrated to Yugoslavia, where they continued their political and conspiratorial activities.

A different counter-revolution (Stalin's) triumphed, but they continued to plan for the restoration of the monarchial regime. During the Second World War, these émigrés found little difficulty in offering their services to the native fascists, the Ustachi, and to the German Gestapo. At the end of the war, they evidently were able to make the transition to the new totalitarianism, some finding their way into the service of the GPU.

HOW GPU WORKS

After the end of the war the White Guard Russian colony in Sarajevo was visited by the GPU (now MVD). The pressures used to make the White Guards act as Russian agents may be guessed at—in particular, the threat of revoking their Russian citizenship, which would have opened them to punishment as Ustachi agents

by the Tito regime. The use of such elements by the GPU has long been known.

When the break came in June, 1948, these White Guards were rounded up with other Russian agents such as Zujovic and Hebrang. Since that time they have been on tap for an opportunity such as this. When the Russian government demanded the return of its citizens, Tito offered them the entire White Guardist colony of 12,000. After that, Stalin did not express much concern for these second-class citizens of his—politically unreliable ones at that.

The key group of those on trial are those from the Russian Orthodox Church. The principal link in the group was Vladislav Nekudov, an assistant priest who was supposed to have transmitted information from Leksy Krishkov, another priest, to Pavel Veliseyev, a secretary at the Russian embassy in Belgrade. But the important link could not be brought to trial.

For this unfortunate development the responsibility must go to the UDBA, Tito's GPU. Father Nekudov was "permitted" to commit suicide. Since people were going to ask questions over what may seem a rather irregular development, Father Nekudov also conveniently managed to write a note in which he absolved the UDBA of blame.

All of the defendants offered a largely plausible account of Russian activities in the satellite area, including the impressment into service of the most corrupt elements, for whom the Russian government offered protection against their former crimes.

This results in consequence! One of the most interesting individuals on trial was one Arsenyev Boromovitch. During the war he served as chief prosecutor of the Ustachi in

two courts-martial which sent 27 Partisans to their death. After the war he received Russian citizenship, delivered information to the Russian embassy, and induced other émigrés to do the same. In both instances he professed that he did nothing wrong; he viewed it as a job.

COMMON DENOMINATOR

This type of testimony is just the kind needed for this trial, from the Titoist point of view. It indicates the corrupt individuals whom the Russians employ, not only in Yugoslavia but in other countries as well. This is one of the essential appeals of the trial.

The common denominator for all on trial is that the Russian government conferred Russian citizenship on them only after they had been thoroughly questioned and investigated by the MVD. All defendants had devoted their lives to anti-Soviet and counter-revolutionary activity. They had all collaborated with the fascists to one degree or another, and they all ended up in the service of the MVD, and then they all confessed, in one degree or another, to the UDBA.

It now remains to be seen what the reaction of the Cominform will be to the sharpest Tito attack yet leveled. The trial of Kostov, soon to open in Bulgaria, which is no doubt delayed so that the new script can be rehearsed, will be the first indication. Tito, on the other hand, has not necessarily played all of his cards.

Tito has held off the trial of one Vladimir Krasnikov presumably because he is too sick to go on trial. Krasnikov is a former counter-intelligence officer in the czarist army. He was the officer who was ordered to hunt down Lenin in 1917 when Lenin was hiding in Finland. When he is brought to trial, presumably after the Kostov trial, there will be another answer to the Cominform.

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Spanish Stalinist Leaders Publish Charges Against Catalan CP Head

By RAMON PUIG

PARIS—The Stalinists have finally been forced to give publicity to the crisis in the PSUC (Stalinist party of the Spanish province of Catalonia) and to the expulsion of its general secretary, Juan Comorera. After a prolonged silence on a fact which is now well known, their hand has undoubtedly been forced by the comments in the greater part of the Spanish émigré press.

Mundo Obrero, the organ of the CP of Spain, has at last published in its November 10 issue the resolution passed at a meeting held on September 2. For two long months the Stalinist leadership has been vainly looking for a way to prop up its collapsing structure by bureaucratic means.

The resolution is signed by the so-called secretariat of the PSUC—"signed," not written, for the line is naturally that which has been handed down by the Cominform's delegate, the "eye" which Moscow has in all of the Stalinist parties.

It fills an entire page of Mundo Obrero, as is customary in such cases—a page of massive, indigestible prose, more difficult to chew on than raw cotton. The first accusations against Comorera, constituting the preamble, so to speak, are the following: factional activity; attempting to oust all the members of the secretariat; eagerness to take over the party newspaper; retention of the funds of the party; finally, a desire to go directly to the party militants.

In a Stalinist party these incomprehensible proceedings are good coin, except the one about appealing directly to the party militants; for the CP leaders, this is really a crime to be condemned. For them, their rank and file play no part, not even in questions relating to their own party's course. Their only to obey without murmuring or muttering, like soldiers in an army before the general staff. This is what so-called "democratic centralism" is reduced to after straining through the Stalinist sieve.

There is no point in making an extensive analysis of the long string of commonplace accusations which the CP bureaucracy always brings up when it wants to get rid of some of its elements, especially when it wants to shift the blame for a policy which is always foreign to the interests of the working class of its country. But some of the charges leveled against Comorera in this case are particularly absurd, even laughable.

PARTY OF "MONSTROSITIES"

For example: the CP resolution says that Comorera, who has been general secretary of the PSUC since its formation, "was never in agreement with its principles"; that he "impregnated all the party documents with ideological influences foreign to the working class"; that during the war he was in favor of the "annexation of Mallorca by Catalonia"; that he "pursued a policy of looting the peasants," wanted "to divide the People's Army," etc. He also criticized the expulsion of "Victor Colomer, Serra Pamie, Del Barrio, Ferré and other monstrosities from the lower depths of reaction."

These confessions, which they present as if they were accusations, prove what we have said many times and which we repeat: that the Stalinist PSUC is in no sense a working-class party. They now reveal, by implication, that the first central committee of the party, the one which functioned during the crucial period of the Spanish civil war, was made up of "monstrosities from the lower depths of reaction," headed by a general secretary who was an "adventurer" and who aspired only to be "president of the corporation."

The Stalinist bureaucracy would have overlooked much more than that if Comorera had not felt a desire to be independent of the tutelage of the Spanish CP—that is, of the apparatus composed of La Pasionaria and her gang. We do not know what motives or circumstances caused Comorera to go in this direction. But this is the fact. On another occasion

we will write about the absorption of the Catalan PSUC by the Spanish Communist Party, with documented evidence to prove our assertions.

UNEASINESS RIFE

The IUE has been launched with more official blessings from government bureaucrats than any other union in the history of the American labor movement. Though the delegates in the corridors grumbled at the long-winded speeches by the government brass, and wanted to get down to business, they did not do anything to make it plain to these government officials that the IUE is going to conduct a struggle for wages and conditions which may well prove embarrassing in the future to the government and its employer supporters.

It is particularly interesting to point out that Symington is, in civilian life, an employer of electrical workers, through Emerson Electric which he controls.

The general temper of the conference was pre-empted by a feeling of uneasiness and concern over the future organizational setup of the new union. The feeling was not organized in caucus form, and the uneasy delegates had no clear-cut program or policy to offer against the line of James Carey. The feeling of concern showed itself mainly in attempts to limit the powers of the president of the union in the provisional constitution.

Article 6 of the draft constitution presented to the delegates provided that between meetings of the Executive Board the president should have full power to direct the affairs of the union. Further, that "the president shall have the authority to appoint, direct, suspend or remove such organizers, representatives, and employees as he may deem necessary." After some debate "subject to the approval of the Executive Board" was inserted at the beginning of that sentence.

This minor matter shows the attitude of the delegates. Though Carey and others insisted that this amendment merely stated in words the idea of this section, the delegates were willing to leave nothing to chance or good will.

A similar struggle took place over Section 17, which provides for the suspension or revocation of local union charters. The draft presented to the conference provided that when the president thinks a local is violating the constitution, he can appoint one or more members of the Executive Board to hold hearings. The conference insisted that this be changed to read "not less than three" members of the board, to prevent any private deals between the president and any single member to discriminate against locals.

By and large, the provisional constitution is more democratic than the old constitution of the "UE. It maintains the autonomy of the districts. Presidents elected by the districts are members of the Executive Board. Officers will be nominated by conventions and elected by membership referendum, on a local basis. Constitutional amendments will also be subject to referendum. A member brought up on charges in his local may appeal to higher bodies, including the convention. But the higher bodies have no right to discipline a member if his local declares him innocent of charges. Delegates to con-

ference in Paris in the summer of 1950 is being projected, to include two French veterans' organizations, a social-democratic German veterans' organization and a similar one in Italy, to which the broadest possible representation of all vet groups "devoted to democracy and peace" are to be invited.

Possibly the highest point of enthusiasm reached by the convention came at the banquet Friday night when out of a clear sky AVC received a generous and totally unexpected \$50,000 gift from 83-year-old Mrs. Anita McCormick Blaine, wealthy Chicago patroness of liberal causes. After months of fighting deficits and Stalinists, this financial shot in the arm raised morale to a high point.

A number of organizational changes were made: the elevation of the presidency and vice-presidency to a more or less honorary and unpaid status; the hiring of a full-time executive director for organization; new faces on the incoming NPC, including some members with union affiliation or background, like Reginald Zalles, a director of the Massachusetts State CIO, Loren Grey, formerly from UAW-CIO, and Robert Nathan (of the Nathan Report) for CIO. The feeling persists even among the most skeptical that AVC may perhaps be able to survive this period of disinterest in vet organizations as such. If it does, it will be in the measure that AVC finds support among unionists. These, on joining, would present demands of their own, particularly on the bonus at first, since they know that the present AVC stand on the bonus practically precludes growth among labor's rank and file. This is a position made clear many times by the Labor Vets Group in AVC, which was active at the 1947 and 1948 conventions but had no delegates at this convention.

It should be frankly recognized, however, that AVC stands in mortal danger of becoming purely a sect of middle-class veterans espousing liberalism, a sort of "front organization" for the liberal wing of the Democratic Party and its various associates, devoid of real life and unique attractiveness to the unorganized veterans. In that role it might exist by artificial measures for years, if only to be a foil for the administration against the Legion and Veterans of Foreign Wars on the one side and against the Stalinists on the other.

IUE-CIO Convention Plans -

(Continued from page 1)

ventions must be either officers from their locals, or workers actually working in a shop under the jurisdiction of their local. This will prevent top officers or employees of the union from picking up "proxy" votes.

DANGEROUS OMISSION

The old UE office of director of organization is abolished in the IUE constitution. This office made the president a figurehead. In the IUE-CIO the president will be the real executive officer of the union. Though this concentration of powers in the hands of the president also gave rise to uneasiness, the delegates were persuaded to accept it as a normal arrangement in the labor movement.

The constitution carries the same provision as the CIO constitution barring members of the Communist Party, other "totalitarian or fascist organizations" or those who consistently follow their policies, from office. But it also includes a much more dangerous provision, or rather, omission. In setting forth qualifications for MEMBERSHIP in the union the draft stated that all workers in the industry would be admitted, "regardless of skill, age, sex, nationality, color, religious or political belief or affiliation." The conference voted, without opposition, to strike the words "political belief or affiliation" from this provision.

This is not only undemocratic in general, it is particularly dangerous in the IUE at this time. Now that the danger of union dictatorship of the Stalinists has been eliminated, a very real danger is rising in the IUE of dictatorship from the extreme conservative right-wing, connected with the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists, and also from the possibility of a consolidation of a Carey machine.

ACTU THREATENS

This is not simply a vague danger—it is a very real one. Already the ACTU stalwarts are driving for the elimination of all liberal and radical elements from the union, regardless of their attitude towards the Stalinists. The formal elimination of the freedom of political belief and affiliation in the union will give aid and comfort to this campaign.

The recent experience of the membership in the NMU and other unions should serve as a warning to the militants in the IUE of what lies ahead of them if they do not stand up now for the rights of dissident opinion in their new union.

This reactionary trend is one of the

fruits of the undemocratic, machine-type manner in which the top CIO leadership has decided to proceed against the Stalinists. Another fruit of the same tree is the hamstringing of the workers in the whole electrical industry with regard to their contract demands on the employers.

The IUE-UE fight has made it possible for the employers to break off all negotiations with the UE on the grounds that it is not clear who represents the workers, and at the same time to refuse to negotiate with the IUE.

The employers are sitting pretty, and the workers will have to wait till next spring, when the NLRB elections are over, to start negotiations. This means that they will miss out on the whole fourth round of demands by the union movement.

This situation could have been prevented if the CIO leadership had supported the membership in an INTERNAL, democratic fight against the Stalinists instead of deciding to get them out by organizational measures from the top. Democracy does pay in the labor movement—right into the checks of the workers.

"SANE" TALK?

In the meantime, the struggle for position in the organizational setup of the IUE will go on. Though Carey has broken openly with the ACTU forces, especially in District 6, he shows no sign of organizing a real campaign against this attempt of an organized religious body to dominate the union. The militant and socialist elements in the union are completely unorganized. Unless they get together and work out a program of democracy and militancy in the union it is likely that they can be cut down one by one.

In the Economic Report of the Chairman to the conference, Carey points out that the electrical workers are lagging behind workers in other industries, particularly with regard to wages. The report promises a program of struggle to catch up with the other unions, and to obtain a broad social security program from the employers.

Yet, despite all its militant talk, this program has some strange phrases for an outfit which really intends to fight. In pushing its demands, the report says the union will be "hard-headed, realistic and practical. It will take into account the ability to pay of the various companies. It will take into account the pay differentials," etc.

That is all very "sane" talk, but it does not always sound like the talk of a leadership which is really

determined to make a thorough change in the situation of the workers in the electrical industry.

WHOSE BLESSING?

The organizational setup which has prevailed till now will continue to the first constitutional convention of the IUE-CIO. That is to take place not later than next September. Though many of the delegates would have preferred an earlier date, the argument was that NLRB elections will not have been conclusive till the summer of 1950. Only then will it be possible to establish which locals are actually in the IUE.

What happens between now and the first convention will be of the greatest importance to the future of the new union. ACTU is organized and organizing to get control, with the blessings of the church. Carey is building his own political fences, with the blessings of the government brass.

The militants would do well to map a plan of action and a program for the new union, and try to get the blessings of the membership. If a real fighting union is to be built, those blessings are the only ones which do not carry a curse with them.

How the government permits the tax laws to be rigged so that the wealthy can escape payment of taxes is not exactly a secret, except to people who think labor's best friends are in Washington. But how this process is carried a step further is revealed by an item in "Labor" railroad union weekly, for November 19: "Another big scheme of this sort came to light a few days ago. This time, a 'smart' lawyer arranged a deal in which two 'religious foundations' became the owners of a huge 95,000-acre Montana wheat ranch, valued at nearly \$5 million, and a 52,000-acre California cotton ranch, worth \$2 million.

The former owners of these ranches remained as 'managers,' undoubtedly at very good pay, and no more taxes will be paid to Uncle Sam on the ranches' profits.

"Some idea of the size of these profits can be gained from reports that the federal government this year paid over \$4 million to the owners of these two ranches, to support the prices of their products.

"Thus, Uncle Sam gives millions to the two ranches with one hand, but his other hand is tied now so he cannot collect taxes on their profits."

It Is Better to Give . . .

AVC Convention - -

(Continued from page 1)

ers, the IP leaders proceeded to the handling of issues of domestic and foreign policy in their customary Fair Deal-liberal routine. They were confident that the CP could not represent a threat even as a bothersome tiny minority on the incoming NPC. The IP strategy then turned to wooing the votes of what was considered to be approximately 40 delegates—out of some 300 at the convention—who supported the new "Grass Roots" caucus.

NEW GROUP WOBBLERS

On the morning of the first day "Grass Roots" announced its formation by the Minnesota and Rhode Island delegations: "We feel that if either the IP or Anti-IP caucuses is successful in following its expressed policies, AVC will die an early death. We believe that the only way that AVC can become the dynamic organization it formerly was is to revive those critical functions it once fulfilled, and return to its original democratic principles." The rough outline of the "critical approach" it advocated was highlighted by its opposition to "encouraging totalitarianism in any form," whether it be Franco, Tito or Stalin, and support establishment of a European federation, providing it is accomplished by their own volition without coercion or direction from the United States."

Basic to an understanding of the "Grass Roots" program is the fact that it was hastily thrown together by well-meaning people, some of whom came from the 1948 "Build AVC" caucus, who considered it possible for AVC to have an "enlightened" platform which could influence Washington; or that at the very least such an approach had to be used tactically, inasmuch as outright opposition to the State Department program would not "get to first base." By different supporters its program was undoubtedly interpreted as pacifist, semi-socialist, or old-fashioned liberal.

The "successes" it achieved in knocking out in platform committees some of the most excessive of the new demands of the IP leaders were later dispelled on the convention floor, and the group showed rifts under the blandishments of IP leaders who pointed out that the consistent Stalinist minority welcomed the breach among the liberals.

Two major illustrations suffice to indicate how this worked out. Willard Straight, for the IP leadership, on the floor withdrew the majority stand on "Carrying out the ERP in full and without reductions" in favor of the "Grass Roots" minority plank which reads exactly the same plus the phrase: "provided it not be used as a coercive measure to direct the political or economic character of the recipient nations." A really tremendous victory for grass-rootsism!

On the North Atlantic Pact resolution there had appeared three minority positions — Stalinist, "Grass Roots," and one in opposition to these two as well as to the IP's, but which lacked a prepared statement. By a series of three amendments to its own resolution on the floor, IP "liberalized" its endorsement of the pact by (a) striking out endorsement of the Mutual Defense Assistance Program; (b) urging that the pact be administered democratically and opposing inclusion of Franco Spain; and (c) deploring the inclusion of Portugal. This "dressing up" of the IP resolution succeeded in winning some dissident IP and Grass Roots votes and revealed the platonic-protest character of the "Grass Roots" statement which began with the phrase "Since the North Atlantic Pact is a fait accompli, we urge, etc."

In this debate the spokesmen for the CONSISTENT minority position blasted the Stalinist minority as taking a disguised pro-Russian stand; the Grass Roots minority position he termed illusory and illogical, since its premise was not opposition to but acceptance of the ERP and the A-Fact, however reluctant, along with the majority position.

Independents, dissident IPers and Grass Rooters had succeeded in the platform committee in throwing out a number of the IP leadership's "detailed proposals" for supporting or extending the State Department's line. Scorching remarks about our IP "military strategists" could be heard, ridiculing the IP attempts to call upon veterans of World War II to endorse (1) "creation of a combined command of the Atlantic Pact nations with full power to secure standardization of weapons and training procedures, and to prepare a unified strategy for common defense; (2) full integration of the military, industrial-mobilization and atomic-energy programs of Canada, Great Britain and the U. S.; and (3) acceleration of the atomic-energy program and preparations for industrial mobilization and civilian defense under civilian leadership and control."

The fact that these were not even brought to the floor indicates merely that the IP leaders are content with achieving the essence of their demands, knowing that Truman's Washington will sooner or later take care of the details anyway.

SAME POSITION ON RIGHTS

On domestic affairs the convention distinguished itself in no important respect from last year or from the current political stand of labor in practice. It continued its stand for amendment rather than abolition of the federal "loyalty program," calling for fair legal procedures. It denounced as outrageous the recent assaults on minorities by the Peekskill, Groveland and Chicago mobs and rebuked Governor Dewey of New York and Mayor Kennedy of Chicago for their crass neglect in failing to enforce the law or in restraining mob-cooperating officials under their control. It urged "repeal of those provisions of the Smith Act which endan-

ger freedom of speech and freedom of political opinions and beliefs" rather than calling for its outright abolition.

As though to blast ADA Vice-President George Edwards, who recently secured passage of such a bill in Detroit, the convention ripped "the hysterical attempt at thought control evidence by bills introduced in numerous state legislatures and city councils which would require teachers and other state and city employees to take loyalty oaths."

An international veterans' conference in Paris in the summer of 1950 is being projected, to include two French veterans' organizations, a social-democratic German veterans' organization and a similar one in Italy, to which the broadest possible representation of all vet groups "devoted to democracy and peace" are to be invited.

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Frame-up in NMU - -

(Continued from page 1)

that what had taken place at the union hall for the previous week might take place that night, went to see the police commissioner. They requested that the police remain absolutely neutral and simply maintain the peace. Thanks to this committee, the police did not play the role they had at the previous meeting or at the hall during the week. They were on their best behavior. But, of course, as far as the membership was concerned, in light of their previous role, their mere presence was intimidating.

ONLY FIVE GIVEN FLOOR

Curran, as chairman of the meeting allowed only five of the defendants to take the floor. Throughout their presentations he heckled them from the chair. After arbitrarily deciding that allowing five of the accused to speak was enough, he gave the mike to Vice-President Warner, who incidentally, is not the accuser. Warner raved and ranted for 45 minutes about the accused being "reds," "Moscow agents," etc. He did not even begin to attempt to deal with the framed charges.

It should be pointed out that the five accused who were permitted to speak made it clear that they considered the charges illegal; that prior to the charges being presented they were unconstitutionally removed from office. They also pointed out all the above-mentioned facts, proving the falsity and corruption of these charges against the only union officials in New York who did a job for the membership.

The recommendation of the trial committee was immediate suspension from office. Once again a hand vote, not a secret vote, was taken. Once again the vote was 3-1 with approximately 1,500 members not voting.

Many of the men from the outports were seriously shaken. This was the first time they were able to hear the opposition point of view. But they were sitting with each other. They had come to "do a job for Curran," and sitting with them were the squad leaders assigned to them by the administration. That night they voted as they were told, but the speeches of Drummond, Becker, Keeley, Williams and Fuchs will be remembered by them and they will carry them with them.

These men from the outports received an education in what Curranism means. They were brought up to New York to vote the "Commies" out of the union and discovered that they were voting against the men who had built the very Rank and File Caucus which had decimated the Communist Party machine.

The Independent Citizens Committee headed by Norman Thomas was present at the meeting despite Curran's desire to keep it out. Earlier in the day this committee, realizing

hatred for the Curran machine.

Now that one phase of the fight is over, separation between the two caucuses must once again take place. The CP will of course shout "splitters," but this dissociation from them must be achieved because they will wreck the fight for democratic unionism in the NMU.

INDEPENDENTS MUST PREPARE

The perspective of the Stalinists in maritime, as elsewhere in the CIO, is a third federation. They consider the CIO a reactionary formation, and they are already speaking of the NMU as a "fascist union." This moulds their tactics in the present situation.

Curran now has the membership intimidated. He would like to rid himself of the leadership that has led the opposition to safeguard his future. This is his last chance, perhaps, but the whole labor movement is watching him. The CIO is waging a fight against the beginnings of the third federation (UE). Anything Curran does now might hurt the CIO in its fight. If he does get rid of anyone in the opposition, he had better have good grounds or it will raise a nation-wide stink.

But since the CP does not care about the CIO and is looking outside it already, its people in maritime would be perfectly willing to sacrifice themselves to Curran's ax, sacrifice also anyone else willing to follow their suicidal road and the promise of a third and "better" federation. This means that they will urge others in the opposition to act without caution and themselves act the "hero" by pursuing an adventurous course, thereby giving Curran a hook to hang his hat on. The rank and file will shy away and anyone associated with them will become discredited.

The Independents must prepare now for the decisive fight in the near future. To prevent the beheading of its leadership it must attempt to give the administration no cause for expulsions. To further prevent victimization, it must call upon the CIO itself to call off Curran's attacks. CIO locals should be contacted and told the truth of what is going on in the NMU. It is possible that the call of the NMU Independents will not be answered by the CIO but at least it can focus the spotlight on a machine that would prefer working in the dark.

Most important of all, the Independents must supply responsible leadership and organization to the membership of the NMU now. The time is not far off when the Curran machine's actions and policies of the past period will blow up in its face.

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