

NMU Independent Group Pledges Hard Fight for Union Democracy

dent Citizens Committee to investi- now: gate the present fight in the National Maritime Union (CIO), headed by Norman Thomas and including a number of prominent liberal leaders, last Tuesday held a hearing on the situation, attended by many newspapermen.

At this hearing, the Independent Caucus, the NMU group opposing the goon dictatorship being imposed on the union by President Joe Curran and his henchmen, presented its story, in a talk by David Drummond (New York port agent illegally ousted by the Curran machine) and in speeches by a number of rank-andfile seamen present, who also answered all questions shot at them by the reporters present.

The spokesmen for the Independent Caucus promised to wage a continuing struggle inside the union and through all available channels to assure their union's democracy. At the Tuesday hearing the group released

Statement by the Independent Caucus

The fight that is now raging in the National Maritime Union has been and will continue to be one primarily of civil liberties and the democratic rights of the membership. This struggle has now reached a point where it becomes necessary to present all of the pertinent facts so that interested outsiders may avail themselves of its real meaning. This fight is being led by the Independent Caucus, which was formed in September 1949 during the NMU convention. This was done when it became obvious to many of Curran's former supporters that he was intent on building a bureaucratic machine once again, which would wipe out every vestige of democracy within our union.

Attached is a copy of the original program of the Caucus issued in October 1949. [Not reprinted here-Ed.]

NEW YORK, Dec. 18-The Indepen- summarizing developments up to This program was attacked by Curran because it attacked and challenged his undemocratic rule and policies in the NMU. This program was also attacked by the "Voice of the Membership" group, sponsored by the Communist Party, Waterfront Section. The "Voice" demanded unity with the Independents, which was rejected because its members felt that all the "Voice" was interested in was to re-establish their former

position of control of the NMU. The leading figures of the Independent Caucus and the vast majority were in the lead in the fight against the CP control of our Union. The membership in the Port of New York up to and including the membership meeting of November 17, supported almost unanimously the stand taken by the members of the Independent

Curran and his cohorts refused even to run for chairman of the membership meetings, knowing that they would be defeated. Neither did they attempt to defend their point of view. The only opposition to the Independent program was offered by the Voice of the Membership group. It is significant that these meetings were completely clear of violence or trouble of any sort-being run on the basis of union democracy.

This was true up to the time Curran illegally and unconstitutionally took over the Port of New York hiring hall on Thanksgiving night with 200 men from the outports and with the assistance of New York City police. Since that time a reign of terror has existed around and in the hall, which resulted in the following:

(a) Union books taken from hundreds of rank - and - filers who were known to oppose Curran (see Art. 23 and Art. 24 of NMU Constitutionprocedure which may result in expulsion of members).

...(b) The already existing blackball system has been extended to include "opponents" of the administration. Steamship companies reject and fire men on obviously flimsy grounds.

(c) Brutal beatings organized and carried out by goons on the union payroll inside and outside the hall. Often the police have done little to prevent these assaults and when the goons have been arrested they have been freed with a reprimand.

(d) Curran has violated the spirit of the Constitution in controlling the last membership meeting by bringing in organized busloads of supporters and uninformed members into New York; by using the flagrantly false and lying charge that the "reds," by whom he means all the opponents of the administration, are attempting to win support of the membership.

Now that Curran has unconstitutionally removed the New York officials who disagreed with his bureaucratic, undemocratic policies, the administration has complete control of the hiring hall within the NMU. At the present time the shipping companies are only too glad to reject job applicants if they are requested to do

(Continued on page 4)

Independent Militants Join Forces—

Socialists in Italy Form New Party

By SAUL BERG

PARIS, Dec. 15—A great step forward by Italian socialists was taken last week at Florence, Italy. The stranglehold on the Italian socialist movement by rival leaderships, each completely dependent on either the U.S. or Russia for its political orientation, was broken. The majority of the anti-Stalinist socialist movement is now organized under an independent leadership, in a new party, the United Socialist Party (PSU).

To grasp the significance of the Florence congress, it must be remembered that the country's socialists emerged from the underground in 1944 after almost 20 years of isolation from the rest of the world during the fascist regime of Mussolini. The party was therefore far fresher, far more militant than the corrupt Socialist Party of France, for example. But it was at the same time distressingly lacking in education and understanding of the forces at play in the world today, and especially ignorant of the nature and meaning of Stalinist totalitarianism. Furthermore, it was plagued by a body of leaders, headed

by Pietro Nenni and Lelio Basso, who had become conscious agents of Stalinism before returning from emi-

As a result, rudderless, leaving the initiative at all times to the Stalinists, this great party-which numbered one and a half million at the time of its 1946 congress-steadily slid downward and completely lost leadership of the labor movement to the Stalinists.

Two years ago the wing of the SP led by Giuseppe Saragat set up its own organization, the PSLI (Socialist Party of the Italian Workers). This organization, however, held no

(Continued on page 2)

N. Y. City Relief Cut Is O'Dwyer's Xmas Greeting

NEW YORK, Dec. 16 - For this Christmas, approximately 160,000 families in New York City-representing close to 400,000 individuals-are getting a notice from the city's Welfare Department advising them of the fact that, beginning in January, the amount of assistance and relief they have been getting will be cut. This Christmas and New Year's greeting from their city fathers was prepared many months ago, but it obviously could not be sprung until after the last November election. It will affect hundreds of thousands of home-relief families, dependent children, people over 65 receiving old-age assistance, and those who are blind and in need of support.

Simultaneously, as every New Yorker now knows, the mayor and his top officials have carried out one of the crudest salary grabs to be attempted in the history of the city, with increases ranging from \$15,000 a year for the mayor himself-now resting in his Bellevue suite in preparation for a forthcoming vacation in California—to substantial increases for the city councilmen. It would appear that living costs in certain circles have risen tremendously (the cost of lobster, for example)-60 per cent in the case of Mayor O'Dwyer.

The cut in relief is not being presented as a cut. In fact, the letter announcing this "rebudgeting," as it is

called, informs people that it is actually an increase! By this logic, it is the mayor and his cronies who are receiving a cut, not the 400,000 relief recipients.

After informing the recipient that . . the amounts for certain items in your allowance have been changed to bring them into line with current prices," the letter continues: "However, the standard on which the relief budget is based has not been lowered. In fact, the quantity of food allowed for children has been increased"! That is to say, the relief recipient who is being "cut" an average of about 10 per cent per person 1 "actually" getting more, in terms of nourishment, clothing, etc., since-it is alleged—the cost of living has dropped below the amount of the .

SLOW-STARVATION BUDGET

This is hypocrisy with a vengeance. There is no truth in these fantastic contentions.

The New York Times for December 4 published price indices for the year 1949. These indicated that rents, food prices and utilities have remained appoximately the same during the year. There has been a discernible drop in the price of only one itemclothing. The Bureau of Labor Statistics reported that the food price level has dropped 1.8 per cent since

(Continued on page 3)

"Welfare State" or Garrison State? **Economic Development Committee Warns of Trend to Bureaucratization**

There has been a spate of editorials and speeches over the past year characterizing the Truman govern-ment as the "welfare state." Whether this term is used as epithet or term of approval, it is supposed to mean a New Dealish or Fair Dealish government concerned with social security, old-age pensions, minimumwage laws, civil rights, full employment, etc., etc.

Reactionaries of the stripe of Senator Taft change the phrase to "handout state" and charge that the country is "slipping towards socialism," which in their lexicon is symbolized by the British Labor government, which in turn is "the same" as "Russian communism."

The important progressive sectors of opinion—liberals, progressives, the labor movement - are, however, inclined to view the "welfare state" with unqualified approval. They claim: The government is concerned with social welfare and remains democratic: the big division in the world today is, between democracy and totalitarianism; therefore we should prepare to defend the "welfare state" against the Stalinist state.

One is supposed to assume that this war preparation is a democratic means for defense against a totalitarian enemy.

Whether for offensive or defensive purposes, war preparation today involves atomic weapons. In the UN debates over outlawing atomic armaments, the United States delegation insisted on on-the-site inspection of all atomic production. The Russians refused. Supposed conclusion: the United States is open and aboveboard, in consonance with its democratic welfarism, while the Russians, for totalitarian reasons, must insist on secrecy; we must therefore strengthen our allegiance to the "welfare state."

CAPITALISTS WARN

But last week, in the capital of the "welfare state," a blast was aimed at "the present trend towards undue secrecy in the conduct of national defense policies" of the United States military. This warning, which said that the present state of affairs

could lead to a "garrison-police state," came not from "overcritical Marxists" but from top business and industrial executives who make up the Committee for Economic Development! Such men as Marion B. Folsom, treasurer of Eastman Kodak Company, Beardsley Ruml, Fred Lazarus, Jr., president of the Federated Department Stores, Inc., etc.,sober men and capitalists all.

The very bigness of the war expenditures — and their secret management by a few - was cited by the committee as cause for alarm. An estimated \$20 billion a year of our national income currently goes for war preparation ("security" is the genteel committee's word), including non-military expenditures.

he committe was a description-not ours, but apt -of the trend to the garrison-state inherent in the present conduct of "national defense":

"The soldier and political policeman rise to power while the institutions of civilian society and freedom shrink. In the name of security, channels of public information dry up; the press becomes a mere purvevor of official handouts. Cut off from significant information, editors, commentators and group leaders become less accurate in their judgments.

The process of public discussion atrophies. Political parties decline. The power of Congress dwindles. Administration by civilians shrinks, relative to administration in uniform. The courts weaken. Cut off from information, the power of the citizen fades. Local plans are subordinated to central purposes.

"The free market is constricted. Labor is hedged in by special regulations. Consumers find their range of choice reduced. Decisions come to be made by an all-powerful Government. All freedoms suffer."

(New York Times, Dec. 15, 1949) These citizens are too substantial to be characterized as alarmists. Their report only emphasizes that this trend, which resembles Hitlerite Stalinist societies, against which the "welfare state" is pledged to defend us, is a demonstrable trend

(Continued on page 4)

What's Wrong With This Picture?

A curious argument is coming out of the Fair Dealers in arguing against the right-wing "economy bloc" in Congress.

The newspaper Labor, weekly of the railroad brotherhoods and staunch supporter of Truman, the Fair Deal and labor-liberalism, recently unwittingly presented as clear an example of it as any.

Here is an editorial which appeared in the December 10 issue of that paper (which, by the way, is one of the best published by trade unions). It is written, remember, as a defense of Fair Dealism. We might caption it: "What's Wrong With This Picture?"

We present it first in its entirety before comment:

Why Most "Economy" Talk Is a Fake

This newspaper always has been and is now for real government economy. There is no excuse for wasting even one of the people's dollars. But the Taft-Republicans, Byrd-Democrats and National Association of Manufacturers are indulging in political propaganda fakery when they talk of cutting Uncle Sam's annual expenditures by as much as \$10 billion.

The reasons why such talk is a fake have often been pointed out by Labor. Confirmation of our stand came this week from two impressive sources.

Senator O'Mahoney of Wyoming, who heads the Senate-House Economic Committee, said "the only substantial way of reducing expenditures, beyond what the President has attempted, is by further curtailing outlays necessary to combat communism, to prepare for national defense, and to meet obliga-

O'Mahoney backed up that statement by explaining that such things as defense, veterans' benefits, foreign aid and interest on the war debt now take 75 cents of each dollar spent by Uncle Sam.

The same kind of financial facts were pointed out in an "Editorial Research Report," written by experts who are paid to prepare impartial information for newspaper editors, most of whom will not make much use of this particular report. Among other things, it says:

"Various welfare programs, which are a favorite target of spending critics, represent a relatively small share of the total budget."

That's the whole of the editorial in Labor. It ends, believe it or not, exactly as printed above. Not another word apparently needs to be added, in the opinion of Labor's editor. For he has made his point: the right-wing economy-shouters are fakers since they also are heartily in favor of the situation where "76 per cent of all our expenditures this year are war-connected," to quote another statement by Senator O'Mahoney.

But the same newspaper has also filled its columns in ecstatic praise of Truman's "welfare state" and of the shining progressivism of the Truman administration which is thereby demonstrated. It is also as heartily in favor of steps to "combat Communism, for national defense and to meet obligations arising from past wars," of the Atlantic Pact and the Marshall Plan, etc. It is in favor of 99 per cent of the program of the Truman administration which ensures that the "various welfare programs" will continue to "represent a relatively small share of the total budget," while 75 or 76 cents out of every dollar to Washington goes for past, present and future

"WELFARE STATE" OR WAR DEAL?

How on earth could the editor of Labor have written his editorial without asking himself; "What kind of 'welfare state' is this that I have been

The railroad unions' paper is, of course, only the present case in point. The United States, as the wealthiest capitalist nation in the worldindeed, the only one in the world which is not visibly falling apart even now -can still afford to throw some "welfare" in the workers' direction while it girds for war. But by the proportion of 75 per cent to "a relatively small share," the welfare-state cry of the Fair Dealers is as gross a fake as the opposite tune from the economy boys.

Not the Fair Deal or the New Deal, but the War Deal, is still the sign under which labor and the American people are living. The only alternative to it that fighters for freedom and democracy can look to is the Socialist

"I should like to beg all who are unconvinced of the validity of the Traicho Kostov, former No. 2 man trial to read the speeches of the defense lawyers. They are extremely cogent and make use of every possible loophole in the prosecution's case and every excuse for the defendants.

> "But the evidence itself discredited the defense. The defense lawyers pleaded that their clients were 'in a tight spot' and could not refuse to become informers of the Horthy police when faced with torture, or, later, American spies when faced with exposure."

FOR THE "DEFENSE"!

But Kostov denied his guilt in court to the police-agent charges. Therefore his defense lawyer could ill afford to be "cogent.

This employee of the secret police actually got up and began to apologize because he was defending a criminal whom he knew was guilty. He pointed out that "the defense must assist the prosecution to find the objective truth in a case" and

that he was doing his stint only because the Constitution gave the accused the right to a defense.

The Titoists, commenting on the deep differences that exist in the Bulgarian CP over the trial, claim that the first prosecutor assigned to the trial committed suicide because he could not play along with the farce. The defense lawyer evidently was attempting to remove the stigma even from the cursory "defense" which he offered.

One of the interesting aspects of the Kostov trial which also appeared in the Raik trial was the attempt to link up the Stalinists who were connected with the Spanish Civil War as being "Trotskyites" or Anglo-American agents. Reaching back, the GPU this time pulled up Bela Kun, leader of the Hungarian Soviets in 1919 and later a faithful Stalinist wheelhorse. Bela Kun, who disappeared in 1938 after returning from Spain, was accused of being Kostov's accomplice in 1934 along with another "Trotskyite" named "Walter" who was really Josip Broz, now known as Tito.

Lest We Forget: Stalin's Birthdays

Biggest industry in Russia and Eastern Europe this month has been the manufacture of greetings to Stalin on his 70th birthday and pledges of love, devotion, admiration and extra labor. Which is a good time to remember Stalin's 60th birthday—in the

In that year a warm message came from Joachim Ribbentrop, Hitler's foreign minister, recalling their palsy-walsy session in the signing of the Stalin-Hitler Pact:

"Remembering those historic hours in the Kremlin, I beg you to accept my warmest congratulations on your 60th birthday." Stalin replied with a telegram:

cemented by blood, will long remain firm." The blood referred to by Stalin was that of the Polish people, jointly attacked by Russia and Nazi Germany, after the pact which gave Hitler the green light to launch his war machine.

"The friendship of the peoples of Germany and of the Soviet Union,

Kostov Execution Oils Single-Party Election Farce in Bulgarian Vote

By SAM FELIKS

in the Bulgarian Communist Party, was executed two days before the general election held on December 18. In the oft-postponed election, reinforced by this unanswerable argument, the Stalinist puppet regime counted itself in with a 97 per cent majority for its slate—the only slate.

Up to the last minute in court, Kostov maintained his innocence of the main accusations. But Bulgaria's CP announced that he had "confessed" once more before he mounted the gallows. Notwithstanding this face-saving claim, Kostov's refusal to confess during the trial was a blow to the GPU masterminds of Premier Kolarov.

At the Rajk trial in Hungary, where all of the defendants played their parts to the GPU's satisfaction, the lawyer's actions were worth about a footnote. Mervyn Jones, writing in the English Stalinist "New Central European Observer" for October 29 on the Rajk trial could say the following:

LABOR ACTION Wishes You A Happy New Year!

(Continued from page 1)

New Italian SP Formed-

On the Leadership of the New Union International

By GORDON HASKELL

"I don't want the confederation [the new International Confederation of Free Trade Unions] to be a branch of the world socialist movement. I am proud of the kind of free democratic capitalist union movement we have here."-David McDonald, secretary-treasurer, United Steel Workers

LABOR ACTION last week carried an article greeting the formation of the Confederation of Free Trade Unions as a necessary step in combating the influence of Stalinism in the labor movement, particularly in

It is perfectly true that the present World Federation of Trade Unions had come so completely under the control of the Stalinists that it was and is desirable for all trade unions to break from it. But to destroy the hold which Stalinism as a political and social idea has on the minds of millions of workers, a lot more will have to be done than to organize a confederation and pass highsounding resolutions.

The above quotation from David McDonald is a pretty good starter for getting an idea of what the founders of the new confederation have in

WANTS TO BE TEACHER

Of course, the new confederation has union leaders of all varieties in it. In fact, by opening the door to the Catholic unions of Europe, the leadership has indicated that it is willing to take in almost any union which is anti-Stalinist. In actual practice, this means that most of the union leaderships which have joined together are very conservative people indeed. Even the "socialists" against whom McDonald wants to protect the confederation are men who have lost out to the Stalinist leaderships in many countries precisely because they are conservative.

In the speech in which the above quotation appeared, McDonald also stated that in some European countries the unions are adjuncts of political parties, where the political interests of the party are put ahead of the economic interests of the workers. He said that the American unions have a big job to do in educating the European trade unionists to build the kind of a labor movement that we have in the United States, and that by these means they will be able to raise the standard of living of the peoples of Europe.

It appears that McDonald can't make head nor tail of what has been happening in America, where the unions each year are depending more and more on political action to get for them what simple economic action can no longer accomplish. He doesn't see that regardless of ideology, it is the inevitable development of statecontrolled capitalism which forces unions either to become "adjuncts" of political parties or to build political parties which they themselves

Now, why is it that the Stalinist political parties have been able to

CLEVELAND, Dec. 17-The first of

Cleveland's 20 suspended postal

workers has been notified by the post-

master general that his appeal has

been denied. He is Robert Williams.

employed for seven years in the

Main Post Office before his suspen-

sion last spring on charges of dis-

Williams will file a new appeal im-

mediately with the Civil Service Loy-

alty Review Board, last resource be-

fore his discharge becomes final. He

will be represented in Washington

by attorneys for the National Alliance

Williams had his first hearing over

a year ago in Cleveland when he was

suspended. He carried the fight to the

postmaster general and the case was

heard September 8. It is expected that

his appeal will be heard in Cleveland

by the Loyalty Review Board, toge-

20 Cents ea., bundles of 10-50

18 Cents ea., bundles over 50

of Postal Employees.

By JOE CLARK

make such great headway in the labor movements of France and Italy. and the social democrats have remained a much smaller force? And why is it that precisely in Britain the Communist Party has remained small with minor trade - union influence, while the Labor Party has the confidence of the workers to date?

Of course, there are many factors involved. But one which hits between the eyes is that in countries where capitalism has all but collapsed, the party which appears to give the most militant and consistent anti-capitalist program remains the strongest. In Britain, it seems that the Labor Party has gone just far enough in its economic and social measures to prevent the Stalinists from being able to make great political capital from the misery of the people.

McDonald represents the thinking of the labor leadership of the only really wealthy country remaining in the capitalist world. He can be "proud" of the accomplishments of the union movement here only in the same sense that Sloan or Ford can be "proud" of the fact that their capitals can make millions of dollars while the British and French capitalist has to content himself with thousands. McDonald will only be able to educate the European labor leaders to the benefits of American-type trade unions when he can transport American-type productivity and prosperity to Europe.

WHAT SOCIALISTS CAN DO

One thing that we in American will have to get into our heads if we are to educate anyone is that we are not a nation of wealth and power and relative freedom because we know how to do things better than others. And if our labor leaders try to impose their ways on the trade-union movements of other nations they will only hasten their ruin.

In America the AFL and CIO found it a simple job to oust the Stalinists from the unions by bureaucratic measures. But you can only expel large numbers by decree (dressed up with a little democratic garnishing) when the people you are expelling represent no real force in the working class. In many countries of Europe the Stalinists control the majority of workers because these workers see no hope in capitalism, and because the Stalinists convince them in action that they are more militant than the others in fighting for the demands of the workers.

Of course, the Stalinists do this demagogically. That is, they are interested in the workers only in so far as they can get them to fight against capitalism for the benefit of Russia's war plans.

But if the European socialist union leaders really want to build a powerful trade - union movement, they will have to change their ways drastically. They will have to realize that in the long run the only thing which can break masses of workers from Stalinism is demonstration in fact that the socialists mean what they preach, that they are really willing to fight for a better society.

ther with the appeals of others whose

cases are still before the postmaster

general. Under the government's

purge program all evidence is kept

hidden from the accused employee

and his attorney and all hearings are

The 38-day-old strike at the Timken

Roller Bearing Company in Canton

has been ended with a definite vic-

announced that it had dropped its

attempt to get a discipline clause

written into the contract. This clause

would have given the company the

right to take action against employ-

lence during the strike.

Zanesville and Wooster.

Canton.

Next-A Labor Party!

by Jack Ranger

A Hard-Hitting, Meaty, Simple Presentation of the

Need for an Independent Labor Party

25 Cents for Single Copies Independent Socialist League

es who allegedly had engaged in vio-

Agreement on a pension plan has

been reached and other matters set-

tled, all in the workers' favor. The

strike affected over 10,000 workers in

4 Court Square

Long Island City 1, N. Y.

Columbus, Mt. Vernon.

tory for the strikers. The company

OHIO LABOR NOTES_

Denied by Postmaster General

Cleveland Purge Victims' Appeal

In one way, it is to be hoped that the American unionists of the Mc-Donald type will, in fact, teach the European labor leaders a lesson. It must be very galling to the latter to have these upstarts from wealthy America (who have not yet learned about unionism and politics as much as the Europeans have forgotten) coming over to "educate" Europe to their ways. Those Europeans who have been seeing in America the main hope against engulfing Stalinism may begin to wonder a little whether the Western brother is quite as desirable a comrade in arms as

they had thought. LESSON IN REVERSE

Of course, there were smoother teachers at this conference than Mc-Donald. Walter Reuther was there too, and Dubinsky and the others who like to think of themselves as American social-democrats. They too represent powerful unions with wealthy treasuries.

We wonder whether some European unionist did not ask these brothers how it is that with their vast memberships and treasuries they DO NOT have a political party in America which they control and which represents the interests of the working people? Dubinsky might answer that he does have his Liberal Party in New York. But what could Walter Reuther, the leader of the "vanguard of America," say?

Actually, there is little hope that the present union leaderships, either European or American, are capable of learning too much. They are all adults and have lived through stirring and turbulent times which should have taught them a good deal. They learn only when things are rubbed into their noses. And it is time that the European and American trade-union rank and file taught their leaders that in order to remain leaders they have got to do more than attend conferences and pass resolutions and scratch each other's backs. It seems they will have to learn the hard way.

We only hope that both Russian and American imperialism will give them time to teach these gentlemen a good lesson in the kind of politics and the kind of unionism which can really defeat Stalinism as a political force. And that is the same kind which will attack capitalism at its foundations at the same time that it fights the Stalinist threat.

appeal whatsoever for the starving and embittered workingmen, since it followed a 100 per cent pro-American orientation and dragged at the tail of the Christian-Democratic government. Its only healthy element was a substantial youth wing, under the leadership of Matteo Matteotti (son of the Socialist martyr Giacomo Matteotti). Matteotti and the youth had joined in founding the PSLI only because they could not breathe the pro-Stalinist air in Nenni's party, but they opposed American imperialist policy, such as the Atlantic Pact, and opposed participation in the Catholic

SARAGAT WEAK

government of De Gasperi.

The 1948 elections in which Saragat's PSLI participated showed its impotence as a socialist force. While it received two million votes, as against nine million for the combined CP-Nenni ticket, these votes were shown to be largely middle-class votes obtained in the North, where the middle class is anti-clerical and demonstrates its anti-clericalism by voting for either the Saragat socialists or for the Republican Party (the anticlerical descendants of Mazzini).

But in trade-union elections, where a system of proportional representation for political tendencies prevailed, the specifically working-class sentiment was more clearly revealed. The

tribution	of	votes	was	as	1011
Commun	ist	Part	y		.60%
Nenni's	SP				.18
Catholics	s .				.15
Republic	ans	s			.55
Saragat	PS	T.T			2

It would have been hard to get closer to zero without going out of existence altogether.

Actually the very circumstance that explained the ability of the Saragat PSLI to maintain a daily paper and a considerable apparatus also explained its political bankruptcy. Giuseppe Saragat, the party's leader, had succeeded in a mission to the U.S. in obtaining \$50,000 from the International Ladies Garment Workers Union. There has been further assistance from U. S. labor since then. So long as the party maintained a 100 per cent pro-American orientation, all this assistance was just money down the drain. The party could not be sold to the workers.

At the same time, the hesitant elements that had remained behind in the Nenni SP became more and more restive. This party lost members steadily: rank-and-filers, taught by Nenni that Russia was the land of socialism and the center of Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist wisdom, saw no

to the CP.

SILONE, ROMITA BREAK

Accordingly, a series of breaks with the Nenni SP took place. Late in 1947, Ignazio Silone, famous Italian author and socialist militant, left the party to found the Independent Socialist

This was of significance in the intellectual development of the movement because the organ of the new group, with Silone's assistance, was the first to spread systematically ideas of opposition to both the American and Russian power blocs and advocacy of an independent Western Union. But Silone's group had no great proletarian base-it could only seek to influence opinion.

A year ago, however, Giuseppe Romita-a senator, former minister of the interior, an old socialist with a strong proletarian following in the North-led a new group out of the Nenni party. Romita, against all predictions, succeeded in enrolling tens of thousands of former Nenni followers in his "Autonomous Socialists."

The way was now clear for a fusion of all non-totalitarian socialist groups in Italy into a single powerful party with a considerable working-class base. Negotiations ensued and agreement was finally reached by Saragat's PSLI as a whole to fuse with Silone and Romita at a congress in Florence early in December. The books of the various organizations were to be closed October 30 to determine the allotment of delegates,

But behold-Saragat, it turned out, had underestimated the size of Romita's organization On October 30 it became apparent that in the fusion convention, the combination of Romita, Silone and the "center" and "left" wings of Saragat's own party would swamp him. The first action of the united party would have been to order the withdrawal of Saragat from the De Gasperi cabinet.

In defense of his portfolio Saragat tossed unity out of the window. Pretext: Nenni agents have infiltrated Romita's party and will take over the united organization. To "prove" that this was the only reason, Saragat and his colleagues resigned from the cabinet. This constituted no proof at all since, while resigning, they affirmed their agreement with the government and announced that participation would be decided by a congress of their own party only (in which they would be assured at least a narrow majority over their own center and

But Saragat's maneuver failed completely when the latter wings of his party announced their departure from

the PSLI in order to carry through the fusion congress at Florence. All threats and appeals failed to dissuade

BRITISH, FRENCH WOO

Before discussing the political orientation of the new party, we can examine the numerical forces that the fusion represents. The membership represented at the congress was 163,716! Thirteen deputies, mostly from Saragat's PSLI, and ten senators, mostly from Romita's group, participated in the congress. Within two days after its close, several additional Saragat deputies came over to the new United Socialist Party (PSU). Several Nenni deputies came as ob-Perhaps the best proof of the new

party's importance is the attitude of the British Labor Party and the French Socialist Party. These reformist organizations were so impressed that overnight they ungratefully abandoned Giuseppe Saragat, their old chum, and embraced the new party. An hysterical letter from Saragat to Leon Blum, French SP leader, charging that the British Laborites were aiding the new party in order to foster anti-American forces, was answered by a vitriolic attack by the Labor Party's fraternal delegate to the fusion congress. The French SP delegate also greeted the party and proclaimed it the first step toward unity—a discreet hint to Saragat to join the old. Yet the eagerness of the French

and British reformist socialists to greet the new party is also an indication of the latter's lack of political clarity. The British and French feel that this party can be toned down: after all, if a little anti-American demagogy is necessary to rally the workers, that need not be too dangerous.

In truth, the special situation of Italy today makes possible a temporary surface agreement in political strategy between revolutionary socialists and old-reformist demagogues like Romita and the former Saragat center. First, there is the existence of an absolute majority of Christian-Democrats in the Chamber of Deputies. This setup makes socialist participation in a coalition cabinet a purely gratuitous act, without even the excuses used by the French socialists; the latter, for their own purposes, can point to two tremendous opposition movements, Gaullist and Stalinist, and to the fact that there would be no "democratic" majority government unless they participate. Furthermore, the expulsion of the

social-democrats from the cabinet in Belgium, their opposition role in Ger-

many, and the electoral defeat they have suffered in Austria because of participation - these have all led more far-seeing reformists to welcome a period (a sort of breathing spell) in which to concentrate on activity among the masses.

HEDGES ON PRINCIPLES

Thus the Florence congress of the new PSU took no step to declare any fundamental opposition to participation in bourgeois coalitions. It simply unanimously opposed participation in any coalition government that could possibly arise from the present Chamber of Deputies. At the same time it announces that, given a victory for the new party in the next local elections, it will launch a massaction campaign demanding dissolution of the present Chamber.

On the Atlantic Pact, the PSU has also hedged. All of its leaders voted against the pact or abstained, at the time the pact was ratified by Italy. But today, anxious to be recognized by the British Labor Party, the congress contented itself with vague phrases about the pact being an accomplished fact, the necessity of avoiding its use for aggressive purposes, etc.

The press reporters, listening to Rospeech on the question, flatly contradicted each other. The New York Times reported the congress as going on record opposing the pact, while Le Monde, generally the most authoritative paper in Paris, reported the exact opposite. The truth lies halfway between, in slippery phrases designed to appease simultaneously the rank and file and the British Labor Party.

However, it would be foolish indeed to expect a tremendous revolutionary party to be born in Italy overnight. It would be equally foolish to try to make readers believe that this has taken place, after the fashion of the large independent leftist daily in Paris, Franc-Tireur, which ran a banner headline reading: "The new Italian Socialist Party, independent, revolutionary and internationalist, is born at Florence!"

This miracle did not happen. But the fact remains that socialist initiative in Italy is now in the hands of a mass party that came into being through the desire to break with slavish obedience to American or Russian policy. This party is at the same time a democratic party and one with proletarian roots.

For Italy it represents a great forward step: revolutionary independent socialists everywhere are obliged to do all they can to profit from the new party's experiences and to help the new party's militants, in turn, to

Readers of Labor Action Take the Gloor..

The following letter was sent this week to the New Leader, Social-Democratic weekly, by the editor of LABOR ACTION.

Items like the "little falsification" referred to in the letter are intriguing, especially in view of the constant claim of the pink moralists that the bad-bolshevik-orthodox-Marxists have the detestable habit of distorting opponents' views.-Ed.

To the Editor of the New Leader: I've just seen your issue of Decem-

Viet-Nam Leader for Neutrality in War

In an interview with a correspondent of the French left-wing daily Franc - Tireur, Ho Chi - minh, president of the Viet - Nam government now fighting for independence against French imperialism, answered Yes to the question: "Do you continue to believe that Viet-Nam can remain neutral in case of a Russian-American war?"

The Viet-Nam independence leader was also asked whether his government had any official relations with the Chinese Stalinist regime and whether he contemplated any commercial agreement with them. His reply to both was "not yet."

The replies are especally interesting in view of Ho Chi-minh's reputation as a Stalinist, although the regime which he heads is not Stalinist-controlled.

CP Expels Zyromski

Jean Zyromski, pre-war socialist leader in France who joined the Communist Party after the liberation, has been expelled by the CP. The reason is not given in the French press.

Hershey Likes His Job

DEC. 14-General Hershey, selective service director, today called for extension of the draft act, even though no men are being inducted. He argued that umbrellas and overshoes are needed even when it is not raining. However, no one has ever claimed

ber 10 and noted the potshot at LA-BOR ACTION in Daniel Seligman's column "Squinting at Labor." It sent me hotfoot to take a squint at the offending article, if only to find out how it got by my blue pencil if what Seligman says of it is true.

May I report that there is not even coincidental resemblance between Seligman's quoteless paraphrase and anything written or implied in the LABOR ACTION article?

Mr. Seligman's barb is aimed at Gerald McDermott's piece in our issue of November 28. Says your columnist: for orthodox Marxism "nothing can possibly happen which does not confirm it," as witness McDermott, who argues:

"(1) that James W. Gerard's conciliatory position during the steel strike, in which he urged his fellow stockholders to settle with Murray, illustrates capitalism's fear of increased violence in the class struggle; and (2) that Enders M. Voorhees' defiant position in the same strike also proves that the pace of the class struggle is being stepped up. What-

When the press department began

prepaid subscription cards to the

branches of the ISL, it was proposed

But almost at the same time we

had to change press managers, and

then we changed again during the

drive. This made it impossible for the

ending December 16.

ever the capitalists do, the Marxist view of an accelerating class struggle is triumphantly confirmed."

The statement by Gerard was his warning to the corporation that if it did not deal with responsible labor leaders like Murray, then "it will have to deal with Socialists, Communists or worse," because control of the union might pass to radicals who will not be satisfied with ten cents an hour but only with a "revolutionary seizure" of the steel mills.

(1) One comment which McDermott made on this (the only one bearing any resemblance to Seligman's squib) is that "the capitalists, at least, are aware that the strike represents exactly the kind of class struggle that Marxists contend is present always in capitalist society."

Nothing about an "accelerating class struggle." The nearest thing to it is the warning by Gerard about the DANGER of radicalization IF a stiffnecked attitude is taken by business toward safe labor leaders like Murray. That's Gerard, not McDer-

phrase is simply invented from the first syllable. The only point made by the LABOR ACTION article on Voorhees' attitude is that it shows capitalism "is concerned with profits and not with the needs of the people." Not very new, but hardly good for two inches of Seligman's squinting column. I'm enclosing the entire clipping for

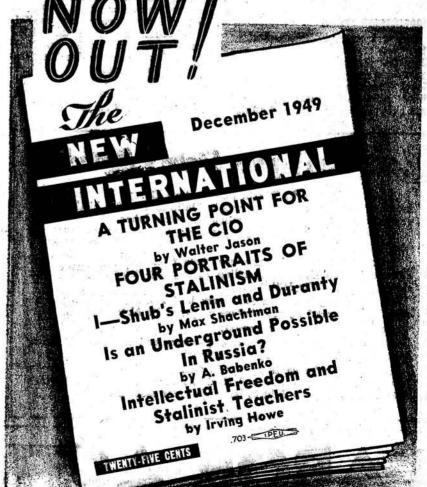
your own information so that you can suggest to Mr. Seligman (to safeguard your own reputation) that he

(2) On Voorhees, Seligman's para- mend his ways, or at least open his eyes wide while reading material with which he disagrees.

Incidentally, quite apart from Mr. Seligman's little falsification, "orthodox Marxism" has not yet laid down the dogma that the class struggle is fated by "dialectics" to keep on "accelerating" at any hour of the day, week, year or decade. But I'm afraid that enlightening your Mr. Seligman on the views of Marxism may be a more formidable task than the more modest aim of this note.

Get acquainted with the INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST LEAGUE For information and literature, write to:

ISL, 4 Court Square, Long Island City 1, N. Y.



PRESS MANAGER'S EPRESS ACTION By L. G. SMITH and should be to get subscriptions to

that carrying an umbrella encourages rain to fall; but one of the arguments against conscription is that militarism speeds up the drive toward

selling LABOR ACTION six-month Last week many fewer subs came in than during the previous one. We are sure that more can be done if the individual comrades and the litthat these cards be used in a drive erature directors give this matter more thorough attention. The sub score is based on one point for six

months, and two for a year. The single sub column indicates how many

press department to push the sub-get-	individuals subscribed.		
ting as it should have been pushed. That is one reason for the relatively	Branch	Sub. Score	Single Sub.
poor results shown to date.	Los Angeles	2	1
It is proposed, therefore, that the	Detroit	5	3
branches continue to push sub-get-	San Francisco	2	1
ting. This is not an activity which	Reading		3
should be confined or even promoted	Buffalo	1	1
mainly through "drives." It will be	Philadelphia	2	1
the purpose of the press department	New York	4	2
to keep a steady and continuing	Boston	2 .	1
"pressure" on the branches for subs.	Akron		8
That is, to keep reminding comrades	Miscellaneous	6	3
that one of the chief constant activi-	V 3-1 0455 3 THE WALL AND THE AVERAGE AND A STATE OF THE AVERAGE AND A STAT	_	_
ties of a propaganda organization is	Totals	39	24

YOUTH and Student CORNER

By JULIUS FALK, National Secretary SYL

NYU Ousts Conference on Democracy

The Conference On Democracy In Education, called for the weekend of December 17-18, has been forcibly postponed. The authorities at New York University where the conference was to be held, reversed themselves and denied the conference use of its facilities the day before the conference was

This decision, which is in itself a violation of democracy in education was made following a petition by an insignificant reactionary sect called Youth Division of Common Cause. The Common Cause youth have no more than a dozen members on the New York campus (even this is a generous figure); nevertheless, they had a favorable audience in the NYU authorities with their slanderous attacks against the conference.

The day following this setback, the executive committee for the conference met to make future plans. It was unanimously agreed that the conference would be held; that the attempt of campus reactionaries and their friends in the school administration would not be allowed to bring about the disintegration of the movement which began several months ago.

From one important point of view the postponement of the conference can be used to serve a constructive purpose. It will afford the conference the opportunity to go far outside the limited list of clubs and campuses now sponsoring the conference. To date there are no more than eight out of approximately thirty-five New York area campuses represented.

Press for Reorganization

At the executive committee meeting following the postponement of the conference members from the organized anti-Stalinist bloc pressed for the complete reorganization of the conference: organizing new pre-conference planning meetings and electing a new executive committee. This position was motivated by the democratic conviction that in order to appeal to additional campuses and clubs not represented to date, it would be necessary to start from scratch. The conference has been smeared as being merely a Stalinist front, it was pointed out, and the only way to destroy this misconception is to offer the campus organizations the chance to reorganize the conference via new pre-conference planning meetings and the election of a new executive committee.

The Stalinists on the present executive committee vigorously opposed this proposal. They were afraid that if there are new elections for an executive committee on the basis of widely representative planning meetings, they would lose much of the influence they now have in the setup. Also, it would mean that the conference would have to be postponed for about a month to six weeks, which would afford the anti-Stalinists a chance to rally their forces before the conference. The Stalinist strategy therefore is to have the same executive committee plan the conference and to hold the conference soon, thereby insuring a sizable if not a major portion of the delegates at the conference voting pro-Stalinist.

United Caucus a Model

This Stalinist strategy should have been obvious to the most naive and inexperienced. But the speakers from the anti-Stalinist caucus had little effect on the non-Stalinists on the executive committee, who succumbed to the demagogic Stalinist argument that for the sake of efficiency the present committee was adequate. The democratic proposal was defeated.

Several days before the scheduled date of the postponed conference a caucus meeting of the anti-Stalinist students was held, attended by approximately 40 student delegates from the New York Student Federation. Students for Democratic Action, AVC, campus political organizations, etc. Agreement was reached on resolutions and strategy.

The caucus was a model of the way liberals and socialists can act together on immediate issues and against the totalitarian Stalinists. A steering committee elected at the caucus has been functioning well. Immediately following the above reported meeting of the executive committee, the anti-Stalinist steering committee met and decided to organize a city-

wide caucus meeting for December 23. In preparation for this meeting a statement was drawn up which will be sent to many anti-Stalinist campus organizations who have not as yet joined the list of conference sponsorers, asking them to join the conference AND the anti-Stalinist caucus at the same time. It was made clear to these clubs in the statement that they cannot fight the Stalinists by staying out of action in which Stalinists participate, but, on the contrary, they are obligated to fight them from within such conferences. It was further pointed out that all progressive, anti-Stalinists are doubly obligated to make a head-on fight against the Stalinists as there is NOW in existence a democratic caucus which is fighting the Stalinists for control of the conference and which will be seriously limited if other liberal and socialist clubs do not come to their assistance.

Not in the Headlines

Won't Admit It

American publishers have given lip service for years to the idea that the way to meet criticism of the way the press behaves is the setting up of a code of journalistic ethics by the publishers themselves, without outside in-

At the November convention in Dallas of the national journalists' fraternity, Sigma Delta Chi, composed of many editors and other newspapermen throughout the nation, a majority of the committee on press ethics brought in a plan for this very thing. The code of ethics proposed was general enough, but the heart of the plan was a provision for actual enforcement. This provided for the creation of an impartial board of review with a public chairman to police the

The report was tabled. Reason? As given by Bernard Kilgore, president of the Wall Street Journal, it is that such action would give critics of the press a chance to represent it as "a formal admission on our part that journalism has fallen to a pretty low state, ethically speaking. . . ."

The Wall Streeter is, it seems, against making the "formal admission." Informally, the kept press will go on being kept.

| Confess

Another Communist Party leader has broken into print to Tell Allthis time in Australia.

Cecil Herbert Sharpley, a former member of the executive of the CP in Victoria, has written a newspaper series "I Was a Communist Leader" to confess "Communist - engineered trade-union wrecking," according to the New Leader for December 17.

Sharpley had managed the CP press in Melbourne, organized underground work when the CP was declared illegal during the war, and braintrusted CP union work. He confessed to such jobs as printing extra ballots to rig a union election, and considered storming a union office in order to burn ballots. For eighteen months after he began to doubt, he still made speeches and organized

ballot-faking. Then he finally broke and retailed his experiences in the conservative press.

He reaped his reward: the revelations became a national best-seller. And the CP sued him for libel, His wife, still a Stalinist, has started a maintenance suit charging that he was a drunkard and a gambler, etc.

Odd Hand of Justice

The law is a spider web in which the weak are ensnared and the strong break through. That's an approximate wording of what has been pointed out often enough.

About two and a half years ago, former Congressman Andrew J. May of Kentucky and the Garsson brothers were sentenced to prison terms after conviction on charges that the Garssons bought May's influence to help them get war contracts. May was an influential Democratic member of the House, and the case made a headline sensation.

Since the trial dropped from the headlines, most people have probably been under the impression that the trio went to prison. The fact is, however, that they have never gone to jail and are still free. Money and influence still have the loudest voices before the bar of "justice" in capitalist America.

Two appeals have been carried to the Supreme Court. Both were denied. Recently, just before the grafters were scheduled to go to their long-deferred cells, they made lastminute new pleas, asking that sentence be cut and suspended so that they could be placed on probation,

The Garssons have even suggested that 'they would appreciate a loan from the government to carry on their business!

Close Race

Prime Minister Nehru of India recently characterized the Indian-Communist Party as the "stupidest national CP section in the world."

Nehru should not go in for that kind of nationalistic boasting. America has a contender to offer too.

actual rental. In addition, the family will receive

WORLD POLITICS

Discussion: Socialist Policy and the Rearmament of the New Germany

By EUGENE KELLER

During the past six weeks-that is, ever since the Paris conference of the foreign ministers of the Western powers and the subsequent accord reached by them with the Bonn government-there have been recurrent rumors and "unconfirmed" reports regarding the rearming of Germany.

Thus the N. Y. Times in a Paris dispatch dated November 28 reports an article by Pertinax in the newspaper France-Soir asserting that Americans in Germany had already taken measures toward rearming the Germans. The London Times was reported as saying that "the ultimate end of German disarmament had been implied in the admittance of Western Germany into the Western family of nations."

The N. Y. Times of November 11 reports a French news agency which, it says, is officially subsidized and often officially informed, as stating that "the military aspect of the German problem had been discussed by the foreign ministers and that Mr. Acheson had said that Gen. O. N. Bradley's plan was to base the Western defense on the Elbe river.'

Finally, the fact that Hugh McCloy, U. S. high commissioner in Germany, a week ago demanded of Adenauer, the German chancellor, that he refrain from discussing the touchy subject of rearmament and that there have been no denials (except spurious ones, ending in the escape clause "at this time") of the rumored plans, is sufficient evidence that the subject is of intense concern to American foreign policy.

REARMING OR OCCUPATION?

The re-creation of a German army will understandably cause great consternation to many who chose to believe that a major objective of the Allies in World War II was the destruction of that army and with it the source of darkest reaction. That the German army should be revived seems monstrous to them; but they fail to see the monstrosity of their alternative proposal -that a strengthened Allied military force should remain on German soil another ten or more years.

Others have reacted with cynical resignation to the rumors and reports mentioned above, failing or not caring to see that such an attitude abets not only the present trend in U. S. foreign policy but the resurgence of the worst elements in German society as well. Still others, among them liberal groups, labor spokesmen and liberal Jewish organizations who sense the relationship between America's policy in Germany and their own continued existence, confine themselves to protests, exerting "pressure" on the State Department, etc., but seem unable to make suitable counter-proposals nor to give concrete support to German socialists and liberals in their fight against the threatening revival of German militarism.

It is necessary to understand the causes which move the American government to consider German rearmament; it further is necessary to propose and fight for a sound democratic alternative to their plans. But the first necessity is the unconditional recognition of the right of the Germans as a nation to have their own armed forces.

The fact that these may be led by reactionaries is, to be sure, of justifiable concern to thinking people everywhere, but the case is the same with the leadership of the armed forces of any nation. Given the onportunity and a little aid from their foreign friends, the German masses are quite capable of dealing with the reactionaries in their midst.

ADENAUER'S LINE

The rearming of Germany must necessarily strengthen the German bourgeoisie. This is not a desire of the Americans; they could maintain stable conditions in Germany, i.e., conditions favorable to the social position of the German bourgeoisie, without giving it an army (By the same token it is safe to say that a German army is not created merely to control social unrest.) The German government and industrialists are, of course aware of their bargaining position; they have already rejected any suggestion that a German army should be led by non-Germans. They might possibly compromise on this or other issues bearing on rearmament; they need the Americans as the Americans need

But it must always be kept in mind that their ultimate objective is an independent position in all world affairs and it is for this that they are bargaining. When Schumacher, the Social-Democratic leader, denounced the Adenauer government in the Bonn Parliament as an agent of the Western powers, he was oversimplifying a complex and potent situation. The Adenauer government does

July-not even a 2 per cent dip! It

reported fractional drops for the na-

tion as a whole in such items as cloth-

ing and house furnishings. This in no

way affects relief families since these

receive a negligible amount for cloth-

ing and nothing at all for house fur-

The truth of the matter is plain

enough. As everyone knows from his

own experience, prices for months-

particularly of food items, if we ex-

cept coffee, which has gone up-have

remained stationary. Any differences

have been fractional. Any statement

to the contrary has not even the du-

bious backing of statistics to prove it:

It is likewise important to realize

that during the period of soaring prices, only slight adjustments were

made in relief budgets. At the first

sign of stabilization, however, the

cuts commence. It can be stated in

blunt terms that the relief budget

beginning in January 1950 is nothing

less than a subsistence, borderline,

men, women and children. This is

the first proud deed of the newly-

Look at a typical relief budget,

covering a half-month period. The

principal items, of course, are food

and rent. A family of four people-

man, woman and two school children

-is expected to exist for 15 days on

Food: \$37.50 (4)-63 cents per day

Rent: \$30 to \$40-depending upon

the following average budget:

(three meals) for each!

elected city administration.

slow-starvation budget for 400,000

it is simply an outright lie.

in a reactionary manner what a Schumacher government might, to some extent, do democratically.

The Americans cannot help but bear the possible consequences of the policies they have adopted on the basis of military, political and other necessities as they see them. The atomic bomb has rendered impossible the concentration of armies and navies such as were mustered on the coast of France in June 1944; a second conquest of Europe is out of the question unless Russia's sources of military-economic strength are thoroughly devastated. Clearly, this would "nullify the policy for which war is an instrument," as S. Pitt in a recent issue of LABOR ACTION has pointed out.

The present trend of U. S. foreign policy and of the debate on the nature of the coming war now going on among sections of the upper strata of American society indicate that the belief is held that a serious attempt must be made to hold Europe west of the Elbe river, that is, not to allow the Russians to penetrate the defenses of that river. That this is militarily feasible is analyzed by Vannevar Bush, wartime director of the Office of Scientific Research and Development, in his recently published book "Modern Arms and Free Men": and it is implicitly attested to by the plans to rearm Germany as well as in the Atlantic Pact.

WHAT WILL THEY BE FIGHTING FOR?

It need not be stressed that there are tremendous political obstacles to the fulfillment of this military policy. The European masses cannot possibly be depended on to fight another war for a very long time. But without being able to rely on a mass levy in case of war, how can the onslaught of Russian armies be

C. L. Sulzberger of the N. Y. Times writes in that paper's December 1 issue: "Forming a qualitative North Atlantic army is a major task of the planners. . . . A qualitative army is more flexible and politically more feasible for the democracies because of the relatively smaller manpower commitments." Such a "qualitative" army might hold a large area of Europe long enough for the Americans to land their dependable mass armies. (We cannot here go into what appears to us the rather chimerical character of a "qualitative"

Considering this basic trend of military-political policy German manpower is obviously a factor which cannot ignored. The new German army, however, no matter how "qualitative" it be, must have an ideology, it must at the least be able to feel that it is fighting for a country of its own, if nothing more sublime.

This ideology cannot be created on the day war is declared; it must be created even before an army is organized. That is one of the reasons McCloy prefers a 'healthy, non-insidious" patriotism for the Germans. But he cannot have his cake and eat it too.

PROPOSING A MILITARY POLICY

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

It would be plausible and practicable to propose and build a militia based on the existing mass organizations, such as the trade unions, peasant organizations, etc., with election and rotation of officers and a certain number of hours per week devoted to training in the many special skills needed in a modern army. Insofar as full-time officer personnel would have to be employed, means could easily be found to control their activities. There is certainly ample evidence in the history of the German workers' movement to demonstrate their ability to organize their own military formations, hence this would be nothing new to at least the older ones among them.

It remains to be seen whether the Social-Democrats are capable of taking a sound position on the rearmament of their country. The initiative rests with them: but they must be assured of some degree of support especially from American groups whose own domestic position is endangered by reactionary U. S. foreign policy; who do not take seriously the idiotic and reactionary assertions of the Wallaceites, Ickes and others that the German people are militaristically predisposed; and who can pluck up what little courage it takes to defy the State Department on an exceedingly vital

Titoism and Independent Socialism—IV

Pro-Titoist Tendencies Among Anti-Stalinists

By HAL DRAPER

Last week we discussed the appeal of pro-Titoism for the neo-Stalinist. type of pro-Russian "progressive" and the reason so many of them have found it easy to go over to Tito, retaining at the same time their pro-Russian-appeasement line on the cold war between the U.S. and the

But as we pointed out in an article on "The Neo-Stalinist Type" in the New International last year, this variety of liberal shades off imperceptibly at its fringes into other varieties who are not at all Stalinoid in their political sympathies. In fact, the same line of thought brings us to liberals (if some can still be called such) who are even bitterly and violently anti-Stalinist-Stalinophobes, in fact.

A strain of pro-Titoism is arising in such elements also, and the reason is not far to seek on the basis of what we have discussed. A few summary sentences not only bridge the apparent gap but show why it is necessary to follow the thought across the bridge.

Stalinism as a social system can be described as a completely statified economy and society with no democratic control over that state by the people. The neo-Stalinist is attracted by the first aspect-the appeal of the possibilities of replacing the incurable ills of capitalism with state controls and statification. He deplores the second as a democrat, but typically places no importance on the role of the working class, disdainful or suspicious of the action of the masses. The latter is true nine times out of ten even when (like many. Wallaceites) he has learned to talk in lib-lab phrases about "labor" and even "the masses of people."

But that is true not only of this recent political animal, the neo-Stalinist: the combination is typical of social-reformism in general, historically and in

It is doubly true today, when the woods are full of socialists and exsocialists who have been sadly disappointed by the failure of the working class to bring socialism (after all the leaflets they distributed personally, too!). It is doubly true today when hopelessness and cynicism is rife in the breasts—not of the working class but—of a whole worn-out generation of socialist intellectuals who have given up hope in the mass movement of the people and now, at the best, think of it in traditional liberalistic terms as a handy pressure force through which enlightened men like themselves can get something done.

Where the most typical neo-Stalinists, like many Wallaceites, have never had any connection with the life-giving class struggle of the workers, these elements (many of them with socialist pasts) now look at the working class only with skepticism, despair or disdain. They once looked to the working class as a Power, and have been hurtfully disappointed. They looked on the socialist program as a Power also, and now nurse their

Now they no longer look for a program ("You with your musty books by Marx!") but they still look for a Power. How great is the appeal of Power in the hand rather than a program in the bush!—even if the Power is in somebody else's hand. (It was the intellectuals, was it not, as a group, that have been called the Powerless People, who are so often so easily swept into the train of Power?)

Unlike the often politically naive Wallaceite neo-Stalinists, the Kremlin is anathema to them. They seek a Power that can stop it. They have convinced themselves that it was part of their old mistaken ways that they made a fetish of being "principled" and of eschewing opportunism. They are determined to be "broad" and "practical" and "realistic"-they even seek to be real good and opportunistic in order to make sure that there are no remnants of the old "dogmatism"—the new slogan is "Anything goes!" Especially any Power. . .

We pass over the fact that so many of these types arrive, at a slower or faster pace, at a completely cynical support of American imperialism in its cold war with the hated Stalinist enemy. More to the point: Titoism too is a Power. Oh, not a Power like Washington, to be sure, but still a Power: it has a state, it disposes of an army, it even sits on the Security Council of the UN-above all, it is certainly not a struggling minority party holding propaganda meetings and managing to put out a weekly newspaper, possessing nothing but its program and its ideas. Ecce quam bonum-how good and pleasant it is to have a Power on one's side! It is there because one has gone over to its side. One proclaims oneself a "Titoist."

WHITEWASHING THE BUTCHER

But whitewashing Tito is not confined to these ex-types. Tito is now on "our" side of the cold war, in a way-at least, he is a handle that may be used against the other side.

So you look in the pages of the social-democratic New Leader, which tries to be as "statesmanlike" as its reformist brethren in Europe, in its own miniscular way. Yesterday Tito was a totalitarian butcher; today the editor discovers that these Yugoslavs are really a "civilized" people, unlike

The liberal New York Post, with a passing editorial disclaimer, prints hallelujah interviews with Tito (by Wallaceite Gailmor and liberal Marquis Childs), in which we discover that Tito is really a very benign man who says with utmost conviction that the Yugoslav people will never bow to

If the trend continues, we will be reading in the Saturday Evening Post that "we've really misunderstood the chap, you know, actually he's the incarnation of George Washington at Valley Forge. . . .

It is these people, from the New Leader to the slicks-who know of a certainty that revolutionary independent socialism is bloodbrother to Stalinism, since Stalinism flows, from Leninism-who find no difficulty in whitewashing the Stalinist totalitarian in Belgrade, scrubbing his hands clean with printer's ink, tipping him off on how to keep the bloody club out of sight, putting a democratic dressing on the raw gobs of tyranny, while Independent Socialists refuse any political alliance with any variety

(Next week: Will Titoism be "democratized"?)

Relief Cut in N.Y.--Much resistance has already grown For a Gala New Years Eve Party

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LABOR ACTION

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Perhaps most vicious of all has been the virtual elimination of such items as special diets for ill people,

whose special requirements have been attested to by medical doctors. These items, covering the needs of diabetics, tuberculars and people afflicted with other serious illnesses, have been so brutally cut and reduced as to be virtually eliminated. A diabetic, for example, who had received a special food grant of \$25.75 before, to meet his highly specialized food needs, will now receive \$10. Would the mayor have us believe that diabetic foods have gone down

\$10.50 for its clothing needs; \$1.10 for

cooking expenses; 70 cents for elec-

tricity; \$2.30 for personal expenses;

and about \$3.00 for other needs (in-

cluding 10 cents each for children's

school expenses!). This adds up to \$55

or \$65, depending upon the rental; or

about \$30 per week for a family of

four! Those are the new relief stand-

ards about to be put into effect.

RESISTANCE GROWS UP

by 60 per cent?

The mayor and his Tammany administration stand behind these cuts. They aim to save about \$10 million per year by this vicious action. A Chicago-imported gentleman, with a reputation for reactionary and anti-social attitudes, was imported long ago to carry out this job. His name is Commissionar of Welfare Raymond Hilliards, a cynical product of Chicago business circles who will long be remembered as the man who thinks a welfare department must be handled like a business organization which has run into the red and must be put

back into the black column.

up and efforts are being made to organize mass opposition to this program. Welfare, social-service and civic organizations have forwarded their protests. The cost-of-living bonus for city workers which has been in effect since the last war is now in danger. If living costs have declined-as the \$40,000-a-year mayor has told us -then why should this bonus be con-This is the administration which a

substantial sector of the New York labor movement supported in the recent election, instead of putting up labor candidates of a labor party.

Books Received Published by the New American

Library, publishers of Mentor and Signet pocketbooks, on December 23: THE ODYSSEY, translated by W. H. D. Rouse, A Mentor book, 288 pages, 35 cents.

WALDEN, by Henry David Thoreau. A Signet book, 224 pages, 25

AN AMERICAN TRAGEDY, by Theodore Dreiser. A Signet book, condensed, with introduction by George Mayberry, 224 pages, 25 cents.

WANTED

The following back number of Politics magazine: March 1944 (Vol. I, No. 2). If you have it and will sell, please drop a note to Labor Action Book Service, 4 Court Square, Long Island City 1, N. Y.

1949 Index to Labor Action Welfare State?--

ABERN, MARTIN-death 5-9,1. ACADEMIC FREEDOM-at Olivet 2-7,2; CP teachers' rights 3-7,2; Washington case 3-14,1; Ill Broyles bill 4-4,1; 7-4,2; NY Feinberg Law 4-11, 4; 9-19,3; voided 12-5,1; Cleveland teachers 6-6,2; at Bklyn Coll 8-29,3; at U of Cal 11-28,4; liberals and Feinberg Law 12-19.4.

AFL-exec comm meets 2-14,2. AFRICA - Brit imperialism 8-15,3: mixed marriage in Bechuanaland 8-22,3; S. Africa slave labor 9-5,4; Nigeria 10-3,3; anti-imperialist congress 10-24,1.

AMER LABOR PARTY—see NY City Politics.

AMER MEDICAL ASSN-woos Negro doctors 8-22,2; press bribe 9-5,1; smear politics 10-3,1; campaign hypocrisy 11-7,4; holds confer 12-19,1. AMERICANS FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION-illusions shocked 3-28,1; 2nd conv 4-25,2; ADA senator on

Jim Crow 5-9,1. AMER VETERANS COMMITTEE-Calif conv 4-4,2; crisis in AVC 11-21,4; conv report 12-12,1.

AMER YOUTH FOR DEMOCRACY -dissolution 1-24,2; autopsy 3-14,2. ANTI-SEMITISM (Germany)-Oliver Twist case 2-28.4: 3-28.2. ANTI-SEMITISM (Stalinist) - grow-

ing in govt 4-11,1; anti-Semite promoted 6-20,1; CP apologies 6-20,1; 6-27,4; deport Jews 7-18,1; edit 7-18,1; Jewish editors purged 8-8,1; Pen Club queries 8-8,4; Sholem Asch breaks 8-8,4; confirm deportations 8-29,1; in Rumania 3-28,1; 5-30,1. ARMED FORCES' BATTLE OF PEN-

TAGON-navy chiefs accuse 10-17,1; clash over aims 10-24,2; background, disc article, letter 10-31,2; third view (letter) 11-7,2.

ASIA-Asian fed (disc) 1-10,4; edit 2-7,3; forum 3-14,3. ATLANTIC PACT-see North Atlan-

tic Pact. ATOM BOMB-was use justified? 4-

18,1; Truman, Churchill brandish bomb 4-18,1; edit 4-18,3; Truman brags 8-8.1; Russian bomb 10-3,1. AUSTRIA-free election? 8-22,3.

AUTO WORKERS - see also Ford, Bell Strike, "UAW and Walter Reuther"-Reuther report and CP 1-10, 3; wage policy (edit) 1-24,3; educ confer 1-31,1; 2-7,1; strategy confer 2-28,1; FE drive 2-28,2; GM wage cut 3-7.1; edit 3-14,3; Stalinists win in Cleveland 3-21,2; Reuther housing program 3-28,3; Jim Crow in local 4-18.2; Buffalo UAW and SWP 5-2,2; 5-9,2; 5-23,2; UAW's dilemma 5-23,2; attack on V. Reuther 5-30,1; FE drive flops 5-30,1; still vanguard? 6-27.1; militancy in jeopardy 7-4,1; dem tradition under attack 7-4,4; 7-11,4; convention 7-18,1; conv report 7-25,1; CMD group 8-8,3; tendencies in Reuther group 8-29,2; organizing unemp 9-26,1; Murray-Reuther relations 11-7.1: 1950 GM program 11-21,1; letter 12-5,4; oppose witchhunt

contract 12-19.1. BECK, DAVE-Luce pubs on 1-10,2; raid clerks 10-17, 10-24, 10-31,4; sets in scah agency 11-142

BELL STRIKE (Buffalo) - begins 6-20,1; ranks solid 7-11,1; strike demonstration 8-22.1: parade into plant 8-29.1: resist strikebreaking, mass picketing 9-19,1; reject co. move 10-3.1: UAW ex bd statement 10-10.1: air bombing 10-10,1; Dewey fact bd 10-17.1; strikers go back 11-7.1; Dewey bd soaks strikers 11-21,1.

BOLIVIA-see also Latin Americadanger of coup 1-3,3; Nazis, Peronists in mine strike 6-20,1; Nazis, CP at work 7-11,1; squeeze on labor 7-25,3; putsch doomed 9-19,3; dictatorship threat 10-3,3; whitewashing Nazis 12-5.3.

BRANNAN PROGRAM-see Farmers. BRIDGES, HARRY-deportation case 7-11,4; opp wins in local 11-28,2.

BRITAIN - RR workers' poll 4-18,3; LP strength (letters) 5-30,2; dock strike 7-18,1; 7-25,1; CO jailed 8-1, 2; RCP dissolves 8-1.3; socialist prog for 8-1,3; disc 8-22,2; imperialism in Africa 8-15,3; dollar crisis negotiations 9-12,1; 9-19,4; devaluation 9-26,1,2; debate in Parl (letter) 10-17, 2; London Letter (column) 1-24,4; 2-14,4; 3-14,4; 4-4,4; 5-9,2; 6-6,3; 7-

BULGARIA-worried over opp 12-5, 2; Kostov trial 12-19,3; execution

CATALONIA-CP cracks 11-21,1. CHINA-see also Strong, A. L .- future of China 1-3.3; desertions from Chiang 1-10.1: peace moves. CP victories 1-24.1: CP wants coalition 1-31, 1; is CP different? 2-7,4; CP set to take cities 4-4,1; Amethyst affair 5-2,1; CP bureaucratic rev 5-23,1; new coalition 7-4,1; guerrilla opp 8-1,1; US White Paper 8-15,1,4; change in CP line due 8-29,4; new state set up 10-17.4: Canton captured 10-24.3: Titoism 11-21,1; Chiang in Formosa 12-

CHURCHILL, WINSTON-On un-

cond surrender decision 8-8.1. CIO-city councils and democracy 6-13,2; letter 7-25,2; Dodd on CP split plan 8-29.1: split nears at conv 10-24.1: what's CIO's answer? 10-31.1: Murray takes bureaucratic road 11-7.1; edit 11-7,1; sidelights on conv 11-7,1; split raises basic issues 11-14, 1; NY AFL adopts CIO tactic on polit discipline 12-19,2.

CIVIL LIBERTIES - see also Academic Freedom, CP Trial, Peekskill Riot. Subversive List-Phila meet 1-24,2; Maryld Ober Law 2-21,2; 4-18, 2; 5-23,2; 6-27,1; voided 8-22,1; Phila raid 3-14,2; NJ law 5-2,2; voided 10-31,1; Phila defense group 5-16,2; Terminiello case 5-30,1; CP civil liberties (edit) 7-4,3; Calif Tenney bills

Explanatory Note

Indexed here are all articles by their main subject matter, sometimes under more than one heading. There has been no attempt to index all reference to people, places, etc., within each article. Stories of mainly local interest not closely connected with larger headings have not been indexed.

The reference numbers give the date and page number on which the given article will be found. Thus: a reference to 3-28,2 means that the article will be found on page 2 of the March 28 issue. In a few cases, two page numbers are given, as: 3-28,2,4. Entries are often followed by references to articles in more than one issue: in this case two or more sets of reference numbers will follow a single entry.

7-4,3; survey 7-11,1; Cleveland purge bd 9-5.2: effect on science 9-12.1: Calif ACLU warns 11-7,4; company proposes witchhunt in union con-

CIVIL-RIGHTS LEGISLATION-filibuster 3-21,1; Sen Douglas 3-28,1; 1949 picture 10-17,1.

CLARK, TOM-Supreme Ct appointment 9-12.3.

COLD WAR-see also North Atlantic Pact, Marshall Plan-US-Russ confer rejected 2-14,1; Mindszenty issue 2-21,1; Paris confer 6-13,1; 6-27,1; edit 6-27.3: Truman arms bill 8-1,1; Truman brags of A-bomb 8-8.1: Russian bomb 10-3,1; summary of UN work 12-19:1.

COMMUNIST PARTY—see Stalinism. COMMUNIST PARTY TRIAL-opens 1-24,1; edit 1-24,3; news articles 2-7,1; 2-21,1; 3-28,1; 4-4,1; 4-11,2; 5-2,3; 6-6,1; edit 6-13,1; Stalinist fingerman (edit) 7-25.3; edit on verdict 10-24. 1.4: Medina vs. Holmes 10-31.4. CONGRESS OF PEOPLES AGAINST

IMPERIALISM - second congress held 10-24,1; reply to Ali (letter) 11-14.2.

COSTA RICA-attacked by Nicaragua 1-3.3.

COUNCIL OF EUROPE-see Western Union. DEBS, EUGENE V .- speech on 3 L's

DENMARK-govt forces through A-

Pact 5-23.3. DEWEY, JOHN-on 90th birthday 10-31.3. DISPLACED PERSONS-bill in Con-

gress 1-24,3. DIVORCE—divorce mill scandal 1-3,2. DOUGLAS, SEN. PAUL - on Jim

Crow 5-9.1. EAST EUROPE-see also under indiv countries, anti-Semitism, Titoism-anti-Cath drive 2-21,1; confessions through terror 2-21.4: Russifi-

cations 3-7,3; guerrilla opp 8-1,1; typo errors 8-15.1: rightist émigré plans 9-26,3; econ snags 10-10,4; Russification in Rumania, Hungary 12-ECONOMIC CONDITIONS (U.S.)-

unemp in NY 1-17,1; unemp up by million 2-21,1; Calif unemp 2-28,1; unemp across nation 3-28,2,4; inflation 5-16,3; effect of war 6-6,3; Freudian economics 7-25.3: NY unemp 8-1,1; Truman message and profit system 8-1,2; exports, unemp, etc. 8-8.3: Moulton report 8-29.2: WU monopoly 11-7.1: Slichter on cold war and prosperity 11-7,3; picture in 3 panels 11-28,3; price-support plan 12-5,3; confer on unemp in

EDUCATION - see also Academic Freedom-class nature 1-17.2. EHRENBURG, ILYA - "peglerizes"

EISLER, GERHART-edit on case 6-

Amer 11-7.3.

ELECTIONS, 1949-see also NY City Politics-in Phila 11-7,2; Detroit 11-21.2: summary 11-21.4.

ELECTRICAL WORKERS - see also Singer Strike-Dayton confer of opp 5-2,2; report 5-23,1; CP split maneuvers 9-19,1; Murray and opp 9-19, 1; conv report 9-26,1; CP split perspective 10-10,2; locals voting CIO 11-21,1; Carey hits ACTU 11-28.1; IUE convention 12-12.1.

ENGLAND-see Britain. EUROPEAN FEDERATION - see Western Union. FAIR DEAL-see Truman Adminis-

FARM EQUIPMENT UNION (FE-CIO)-defies CIO 4-4,2; UAW drive

flops 5-30.1. FARMERS-Brannan program 6-13,1; Calif farm strike 7-4,1; farmers prosperous? 10-17,4; Calif cotton strike

FARRELL, JAMES T .- Apr 30 speech in Paris 6-13,4; letter on Wright 6-

FEINBERG LAW - see Academic Freedom. FISCHER, Ruth-at LA forum 2-14,1;

11-21,1. FIVE PERCENTERS - edit 8-22,1; profit motive 8-22.3.

FORD-see also Auto Workers-provokes strike 5-16,1; strikers bitter 5-23,1; Reuther's strategy 5-30,1; Reuther retreats 6-6,1; UAW prepares for action 8-15,1; contract disappoints 10-10.1; discontent spreads

FOURTH INTERNATIONAL - see also Socialist Workers Party-British RCP dissolves 8-1,3; on Titoism 9-12,3; 10-10,3; 12-5,3.

FRANCE-see also RDR-new strike wave due 10-17,1; SP, CP decline 10-31,1; Titoism in CP 11-7,1; local elections 11-14,1; new cabinet 11-14,4; FO calls gen strike 11-28,1; strike takes place 12-5,1; terror in Algeria 12-12.1.

FRANCO-see Spain. GERMANY-throttled by Allied control 1-10,3; Soc Dem Party 1-17,3; Stalinist aim 4-11,1; new crisis 4-11, 3; secret foreign ministry 4-25,5; centralization issue 5-9,3; blockade ends 5-16.1; SD policy at Bonn 5-16,1; issue of unity 5-30,3; East Prussia under Russians 6-13,4; Berlin RR strike 6-20,1; 7-11,1; US licenses pro-Nazi book 8-15,3; election result 8-22,1; pro-Nazism 8-22,4; press campaign 8-22,4; disc on elec 8-29,3; 9-5, 3; Berlin crisis (lettter) 8-29,2; Hitler's businessmen back 9-12.4: dismantling 9-12.4; bombing ruins 9-19. 3; Big 3 meet on Ger 11-14,1; letter on SDP 11-21,2; fight over dismantling 11-21,4; US, Russia woo Ger,

ament 12-26.3. GREECE-seeks recruits in US 1-31, 4: executes Jeh Witnesses 2-21,2; Markos replaced 3-7.1: Pantelis Pouliopoulos 6-13.3: Bodossakis 6-20.3. HAGUE, FRANK-machine cracks in

Schumacher barred 12-5,1; on rearm-

HOOK: SIDNEY-alliance with Cath-Church 3-28,3; Apr 30 speech in Par-

is 6-13,4. HOOVER, HERBERT-back at old stand 8-29.3

HUNGARY-see Titoism for Rajk trial-Mindszenty trial 2-14,1; international skirmishes over 2-21,1; Russification 12-12,2. INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST

LEAGUE-see also Subversive List -May Day announcement of formation 4-25,1; WP conv 4-25,1; fund drive begins 4-25,1; ends 6-27,1; what is Indep Socialism? 4-25,1; resolution on US 4-25,3; 5-2,4; 5-9,4; 5-16,4; ISL May Day meetings 5-9,1; 5-16,1; joint statement on "Stalinism Is Not Socialism" 10-17.3: position of SLP. SP on statement 11-14.4; on NY elec 10-31.1: Labor Action School 11-7.2. INDEPENDENT WESTERN UNION

-see Western Union. INDIA-Nehru in US 10-31,3. INDO-CHINA-see Viet-Nam.

INDONESIAN-DUTCH WAR - UN stymies action 1-3.1: course of war 1-10,1; 1-24,1; Tanmalaka 1-17,1; 1-24. 1; 6-27,3; policy (disc) 2-7,2; 3-21,2; interview with reps 2-21,3; letters on policy 6-6,2; 6-27,2; 7-18,2. INTERNATIONAL DIPLOMACY -

see Cold War. INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF FREE TRADE UNIONS-founded in London, faces Catholic issue

12-19,1; on its leadership 12-26,2.

IRGUN ZWAI LEUMI-see Zionism. ISRAEL-see also Palestine War, Zionism - election coming 1-24,1; Brit recognition 1-31.1; elec result 2-7.1: CP leader faces trial 7-11.1: govt and Arab problem 8-15,1; Israeli policy (letters) 9-12,2; 10-3,2; split in Mapam 9-26,2; Jerusalem issue 12-12,2; UN decides on internationalization 12-19,1.

ITALY-current situation 1-17,3; new Socialist Party 12-26,1.

JAPAN-elec result 2-21.4. JAPANESE - AMERICANS - sue for

citizenship 2-21,2. JEWISH QUESTION-solved by Israel? 2-14,1.

JIM CROW-NJ swim pools 1-3,2; wages 3-14,2; Chicago housing 3-21,1; in UAW local 4-18,2; Wash Univ in St. Louis 5-231: Baltimore theater 6-6.1: "Home of the Brave" (rev) 6-13,3; letter 7-4,2; Jackie Robinson at hearing 8-8,1; in army 8-8,3; "Last of the Conquerors" (rev) 8-15,3; education in South 8-22.2: "Nobody Knows" (rev) 8-22,3; Urban League conv 9-26.2: "Lost Boundaries" (rev) 9-263. NAACP Detroit campaign 10-31.1: Negro looks at 3 films 11-28.3: anti-Jim Crow housing order 12-12.2. KERENSKY, ALEXANDER-scheme

for empire 9-26,3. KOREA-civil war 7-18,3. KU KLUX KLAN-new head 9-12,3;

out in open in Fla. 11-7.2. KUTCHER CASE-1-10,1; 1-31,1; 3-14,1; 4-4,4; 5-2,1; 5-9,1; 11-28,2; 12-

LABOR LEGISLATION - see also Taft-Hartley Act-Supreme Ct upholds closed shop ban 1-10,1; in Penna 2-14.1.

LABOR PARTY (U .S.)-see Labor Political Action. LABOR POLITICAL ACTION-cap-

ture Dem Party? 1-17,1; UAW and 2-7,1; debate in Los Angeles 3-28,2; lessons in Oakland 5-16,3; democratic participation 5-30,2; survey of PAC. LLPE 8-8.2: Howe-Dudley debate 11-7.3: Midwest Labor World edit 12-12,2; AFL disciplines ILGWU

LATIN AMERICA - see also indiv countries-US backs dictators 5-16,1; CP-Nazi coalitions 9-5,3; US big stick 11-14.3; class struggle in Argentina, Bolivia, Colombia 11-21,3.

LENIN-Shub biog (rev) 1-10,4; anniversary 1-31,3. LIBERAL PARTY—see NY City Pol-

LIEBKNECHT, KARL - anniversary 1-31.3: murder 2-14.2.

LOBBYISTS - new high 8-22,1; tax gimmick 10-10.2. LOYALTY PURGES-see Civil Lib-

LUXEMBURG, ROSA - anniversary 1-31.3; murder 2-14.2.

With this issue LABOR ACTION acquires an annual index.

This feature has been suggested, proposed, demanded or simply approvingly expected by large numbers of readers for a longer time than the editor can remember. It has taken a good deal of extra time for our overworked forces to bring it into being. But notwithstanding the large part of this page which is given over to the project, we are assured in advance that so many LABOR ACTION followers will hail its appearance that we do not begrudge the space.

When the 1949 volume of LABOR ACTION is bound, the index as here printed will be instantly available on the near side of the last page and will therefore be as convenient to use as if it had been bound in at the beginning of the volume. The present arrangement eliminates any added cost, a tender point in these days of high printing prices.

It is not only owners and users of LABOR ACTION bound volumes who will find the index useful, although the fact that the 1949 volume will be indexed should greatly enhance its appeal to prospective buyers. Readers who wish to obtain copies with certain articles; writers and speakers preparing on a given subject; anyone who wants to refer a friend to a given article; readers who wish to check on the dates of events and developments written up in LABOR ACTION—all these can use the index in this copy to find the right issues of the paper.

The publication of this index will probably awaken another proposal we have often heard: that the years of LABOR ACTION already published (1940-48) be indexed for ready reference. All we can say about this is that we too would like to see it done and if the job can be accomplished an omnibus index for 1940-48 will be mimeographed in pamphlet form for the benefit of those engaged in research and education work especially.

MARSHALL PLAN - Acheson and plan 2-21,3; Hoffman on Europ integration 11-7,1; ECA plan bogs down 11-14,1; ECA poll shows Europeans

suspicious 12-19,1. MEDINA, JUDGE - see Communist Party Trial.

MEXICAN LABOR-Wetbacks in US MIKOLAJCZYK-see Poland.

MILITARISM (U. S.)-navy and merchant marine 3-14.2: indus mobilization plans 3-14,4; Pentagon gag rule 5-16,3; secret speech by high officer 6-6.1: in Washington schools 10-17.1: army and conscription 11-14.3: militarization in America (series) 12-12, 3: 12-19,2.

MINDSZENTY, CARDINAL - see Hungary. MINE WORKERS-safety laws 2-7,1;

shutdown 3-21,1; casualty toll 6-13,1; industry slump 6-27,2; pension fund aids miners' lot 12-19.4. MOSCOW TRIALS-new evidence on

generals' purge 1-10,4; review 2-14,3. MURRAY, PHILIP - see CIO, Steel NATIONAL ASSN FOR ADVANCE-

MENT OF COLORED PEOPLE (NAACP) - Phila branch calls for dem 6-27,1; convention 8-1,1; Detroit campaign 10-31,1.

NATIONAL ASSN OF MANUFAC-TURERS - convention report 1-3,1; propaganda drive 11-14,3.

NATIONAL MARITIME UNIONexpel Stalinists 1-10,1; reject loyalty oath 5-2.1; referendum voided 7-4.1; fight on Curran looms 9-12,1; conv opens 9-19,1; Curran purge plan 9-26,1; Indep Caucus gears 10-3,1; Curran dictatorship 11-28,1,4; indep comm to investigate 12-5.1: Curran frames opp leaders 12-12.1: In-

dep Caucus pledges fight 12-26,1. NAVY - ARMY QUARREL — see Armed Forces Battle of Pentagon. NEGRO DISCRIMINATION—see Jim

NEHRU-see India.

NEW YORK CITY POLITICS-wiretap circus 3-21.1: FDR Jr elected 5-30.1: Lib Party and labor candidate 6-20.1; free-for-all in elec 6-27.1: ALP split 7-18,1; 8-8,1; 9-19,4; Lib-Repub fusion 7-25,1; Lib Party split 8-1,1; Libs OK Wagner 8-15,1; O'Dwyer and Quill 9-5,1; primaries 9-19,4; dirty politicking 10-24,2; ISL position 10-31,1; elec results 11-14,1; elec summary 11-21.4: socialist vote 12-5,1; O'Dwyer asks raise 12-12,1; AFL disciplines Dubinsky 12-19,2; relief cut 12-26.1

NICARAGUA-attack on Costa Rica

NIGERIA-nationalist movement 10-

NORTH ATLANTIC PACT - Senate debate 2-21,1; commitment 2-28,1; edit 3-21,4; pact binds Europe 3-28,1; effect on UN (edit) 4-4,3; will it delay war? 4-4,4; marks new high in cold war 4-11,1; three myths (edit) 4-11,1: US garrison in Eur 4-181: letters 5-16,2; "peace" in 2 years? (edit) 4-18,3; cost 5-2,3; 5-9,3; can it defend Europe? 5-9,3; Shachtman-Morgenthau debate 5-16,1; in Denmark 5-23,3; Brit ILP position 5-23, 3; State Dept line wins 6-13,1; SP dodges 7-4.3.

PALESTINE WAR-see also Israel-Brit wants Negev 1-10,1; peace in sight 2-14.1; Brit role 2-14,4; armistice with Egypt 3-7,1; with Transjordan 4-184

PEEKSKILL RIOT-CP meet broken up 9-5,1; edit 9-12,1. PENSIONS - Horatio Alger legend

POLAND-see also Warsaw Uprisings-opp center in exile 1-3,4; Bund liquidated 4-4,3; anti-Cath drive 7-11,3; statified unions 9-12,2; Rokossovsky to head army 11-14,1; fear of Titoism 11-14,3; Gomulka denounced again 11-21,1; "friendship month" 11-21.1; Stalin's Grand Duke 11-28,3;

POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE -see Labor Political Action. POPE-on employers' authority 5-23, 3: letter 6-6.2.

Titoist leaflets 12-5.2

POUM-see Spain. POUND, EZRA-controversy on Bollinger prize 6-20,3. PRESS, U. S.-N. Y. Star demise 2-7.4.

PUERTO RICO - education 8-22,1; against draft 10-10,1. RACIAL DISCRIMINATION - see

PROFIT-SHARING-analysis of plans

The EDITOR

also Jim Crow, Anti-Semitism-

"How Secure These Rights" (rev)

RDR (FRANCE) - Anti-War Day Confer 5-23,1; muffed chance 5-23,1; Richard Wright on' 5-30,1; Farrell, Hook speeches 6-13.4: national confer held 7-11,1; dissolution demand

11-28.3 RENT CONTROL - Congressmen mail propaganda 3-14,3; bill crippled 3-21,1; landlords win 3-28,1; Congress agrees on bill 4-4,1; Woods announces raise 5-9.1: rent freeze over 7-4,1; control machinery cut 9-5,1; rent-control murder case 9-12,1; rent control upheld by court 12-19,1.

REUTHER, WALTER - see Auto

ROOSEVELT, F. D .- Uncond surrender decision 8-8.1. ROOSEVELT, F. D. Jr-elected 5-30.1. RUBBER WORKERS (URW-CIO)-

Buckmaster ousted 6-13,1; letter 6-27,2; Goodrich strike 9-12,1. RUMANIA-guerrilla opp 8-1,1; anti-Semitism 3-28,1; 5-30,1; Russifica-

RUSSIA - see also Anti - Semitism, Moscow Trials, Cold War, Slave Labor, Ukraine - govt structure (bk rev) 1-17,3; Vishinsky replaces Molotov 3-14,1; Kravchenko trial 3-14,1; anti-labor laws (feature) 7-18.4: edit 7-25,3; CP refutes slave-labor charge 8-8,1; sex educ 8-15,3; Stalin's birthdays 12-26,1.

SCHAPIRO, MEYER-lecture 3-7,1. SCHLESINGER, A. M. Jr. - "Vital Center" (rev) 10-10.3.

SCIENCE-MIT conf 4-18,3. SHACHTMAN, MAX - testimony at subversive-list hearing 3-21,3; Paris lecture 8-1.1: rev of "UAW and Reuther" 9-26,3; report on Europe 10-

SHUB, DAVID-bk rev 1-10.4. SINGER STRIKE — UE local begins

strike 5-9,2; strike news 6-13,1; 7-11, 1; 8-22,1; 8-29,1. SLAVE LABOR-WDL hearings 2-14. TROTSKYISTS-see Socialist Work-1: 3-7.1: 3-14.3. SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC FEDERA-

TION - on campus 6-27,3; merger

with SP 7-4,3; W. E. Bohn 7-25,3; 8-SOCIALIST PARTY - on article by D. Bell 3-7,4; left-wing group splits 6-27,1; dodges on A-Pact 7-4,3; merger with SDF 7-4,3; no more cam-

paigns 11-28.1. SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTYunion policy in Buffalo 5-2,2: 5-9,2: 5-23,2; in Pittsburgh 9-5,2; on Titoism 9-12.3; 10-10.3.

SOCIALIST YOUTH LEAGUE-summer camp school 8-1.2: report on 9-

SOUTHEAST ASIA see Asia. SPAIN-elections 2-14,3; POUM confer 6-27,3; Catalan CP cracks 11-21,1;

12-12,4; Titoism in CP 12-5,1; European intellectuals protest 12-12,1. SPEEDUP - labor control needed 7-SPELLMAN, CARDINAL-gravedig-

gers' strike 3-14,1; edit 3-21,1; on educ aid 6-27,3; 8-15,1; edit 8-1,1; letter 8-22,2. STALIN - Deutscher biog (rev) 10-

STALINISM (Europe) -see also Anti-Semitism, Titoism and indiv countries-leaders' statements 3-7,3; 3-14, 1; Kravchenko trial and Heinz Neumann 4-11,3; Brit Mine Union exposé

9-12,3; French Stal intellectuals 9-

STALINISM (U. S.)-see also Peekskill Riot, CP Trial, CIO - "peace confer" 4-4.1: how Bedacht was expelled 6-13,3; CP and civil liberties (edit) 7-4,3; new youth front 9-5,3; joint statement on "Stalinism Is Not

STEEL WORKERS-Big Steel flouts demands 8-22.2: fact-finding hearings 8-29.1: 9-5.4: accepts bd decision 9-19,1; disc 9-26,4; face hard battle 9-26,1; why the strike 10-10,1; some basic issues 10-10,2; Lewis proposes fund 10-24,1; union rally 10-31,4; Bethlehem settlement 11-7,1; Gerard. magnates, pin label on Murray 11-28.2 STRONG, ANNA LOUISE - denounced by Russ 2-21,1; reveals GPU terror 4-18.2.

STUDENT LEAGUE FOR INDUS-TRIAL DEMOCRACY - convention

STUDENT MOVEMENT - CCNY strike 4-18,1: 4-25,2: Stalinist strategy 4-25,2; CCNY strike ends 5-2.2: NY Stud Fed Against War 5-23,1; 6-

(Continued from page 1) within the United States. Indeed,

this totalitarian trend, as the committee report underscores, is in large part a result of the militarization of the country's economy, the excuse for which is the threat of a foreign totalitarianism.

Other facets of this trend, which the committee ignored, are rife in the land. The press has devoted a small amount of space to the dwindling number of applicants for scholarships in the field of atomic research, where "loyalty" inspections are so severe that they have discouraged or disqualified a large percentage of youth with talent, even in non-"security" fields. The talons of the witchhunters and loyalty-probers extend into every nook and cranny of American life. Even the labor unions, more dedicated to genuine democracy than other institutions, are not immune, both as victims and victimizers.

The United States happens to be still wealthy enough to be able to afford some "welfare" AND a \$20,-000,000,000-a-year war budget-guns AND butter, as yet. Socialists are not against welfare-far from it:

20,3; U of C Politics Club 7-11,3; new mag Anvil 12-5,4; confer on democracy in educ 12-19,2; ousted by

NYU 12-26.3 SUBVERSIVE LIST-WP sympathizer cleared 3-21.1: Shachtman testimony 3-21,3; edit 3-28,1; ISL letter to attny gen 5-9,1; Feinberg Law hearing 7-18,1; report 7-25,1; Draper testimony 8-1,4; Court of Appeals on list 8-22.4.

TAFT-HARTLEY ACT-repeal snagged 1-31,1; injunction issue 2-7.1; Truman claims injunc power 2-14.1: Congress stalls 4-11,1; liberals' ardor cooled 4-18,2; Wood Bill killed 5-9,1; Truman and repeal 5-30,1; labor leaders and repeal (feature) 5-30,4; for polit-action congress of labor 6-6.1; T-H offensive stepped up 6-13,1; Senate passes injunc 7-11.1: labor abandons full fight 7-25.1.

TERMINIELLO CASE-Supreme Ct decision (edit) 5-30,1. THOMAS, J. PARNELL-jailed 12-

TITOISM - Tito reveals reason for break 1-3,1; Tito-Stalin clash flares 8-29.1: Cominform plans attack 9-5.1: three footnotes 9-12.3: US loan 9-19.1: Rajk trial 9-26,2; new role in UN 10-3,1; Balkan powder mag 10-3,4; Tito's left wing (SWP) 10-10.3; Kostov and Tito 10-31,3; in French CP 11-7,1; fear of Titoism in Poland 11-14,3; Rokossovsky 11-28,3; in China. Catalonia, Poland 11-21,1; Tito crisis widens 11-21,3; in Span CP 12-5, 1; Titoism and Indep Socialism (series of articles) 12-5,3; 12-12,3; 12-19,3; 12-26,3; Sarajevo trial 12-12,1; Kostov trial 12-19,3; execution 12-

TRESCA, CARLO - protest rally on murder case 1-3,1; committee questions DA 1-10,2; fresh leads 1-31,2;

2-28 2 TROTSKY, LEON-1923 art. on US of Europe 1-3,4; assassin's identity

ers Party, Fourth International. TRUMAN ADMINISTRATION - see

also Rent Control, Taft-Hartley Act, Cold War-budget message, econ report 1-17,1; high cost of living 1-24,3; inaugural address 1-31,3; Point Four 2-7,1; program getting nowhere 3-7, 1; civil rights filibuster 3-21,1,4; who won election? 3-28,1; health plan 5-2, 1; econ message 7-18,1; arms bill 8-1,1; 8-15,1; brags of A-bomb 8-8.1: social-security bill 10-17,1; anti-Jim Crow housing order 12-12,2; welfare

state or garrison state? 12-26,1. **UAW AND WALTER REUTHER"** (book) - published 9-12,3; rev by Shachtman 9-26,3; on SWP review

UKRAINE-letter on underground 4-11,4; interview with fighters 8-1,3; politics in DP camps 10-10.3. UNEMPLOYMENT - see Economic

Conditions. UNITED AUTO WORKERS - see Auto Workers UNITED ELECTRICAL WORKERS (UE) -see Electrical Workers.

UNITED MINE WORKERS-see Mine Workers. UNITED NATIONS—see Cold War. UNITED RUBBER WORKERS - see Rubber Workers

UNITED WORLD FEDERALISTS see World Government. VENEZUELA-military coup 1-3.3. VIET-NAM-France losing 6-27,1. WALLACE, HENRY-won't run for

Senate 9-19.4.

WARSAW UPRISING-1943 rising in ghetto 4-4,3; letter 5-23,2; in memory of 3 uprisings 10-3.3. WESTERN UNION (Europe) - 1923 art. by Trotsky 1-3,4; Council of Europe 2-7,3; criticism of slogan 4-11,2;

Brit movement for US of Europe 12-

WORKERS PARTY—see Independent Socialist League. WORLD GOVERNMENT - road to peace? (feature) 6-6,4; among students 6-27.3.

WRIGHT, RICHARD-interview 5-30, 1; Farrell letter 6-27,2; message to anti-imperialist cong 10-24,3. YOUNG PEOPLE'S SOCIALIST LEAGUE-document on Bolshevism

2-28.4. YOUNG PROGRESSIVES-failure 2-14.2.

YUGOSLAVIA-see Titoism.

ZIONISM-see also Israel-revisionists and fascism 1-17,2; 1-31,2; Stalinist line twists 5-2,1.

we think much too little welfare is provided, that it is miserably insufficient when unions have to strike to obtain a paltry \$100 a month pension for workers.

But the term "welfare state" is a misnomer. The type of government assistance to the economy practised by Washington bears a close resemblance to that practised by older European capitalisms when it became obvious that their systems, left to themselves, were subject to crises of such proportions that the rule of capitalism itself was threatened. It is not new in this respect. Everyone knows that the deadly fear second only to the fear of the Third World War, is that of another depression in this country. Thus the actions of the administration are conceived and carried out to bolster the economy

and prop it up. Add to this: secrecy in war preparation such as threatens the garrison state, the witchhunts, the loyalty probes, the "subversive" trials, FBI immunity, wire tapping, the over-all narrowing of academic and civil freedom, all of which have as their emanating source the selfsame "welfare state,"-and the conclusion must be forced on all who have eyes to see and ears to hear that the term is a fair-seeming mask for the actual bureaucratization and militarization of American life which is going on.

to by Curran-particularly since the

opposition is composed of militant union members. This fact alone, which injures the sanctity of the hiring hall, has silenced, for the present time, a large part of the membership that needs jobs. The book-pulling, the terror and

the "confessions" the administration

"asks" opponents to sign, still fur-

ther intimidates the membership. In

spite of all this, the men do not vote

for Curran at various special membership meetings, and the last membership meeting where more than 1500 members abstained from voting. The large Curran vote at the last meeting is explained by the 1500 sup-

porters he brought into New York. The Independent Caucus pledges itself to the following: (1) The reinstatement of the duly elected officials of the port of N. Y.

(2) The restoration of membership

books illegally taken during the past weeks. (3) An end to terror and intimidation existing in the ports and the reestablishment of union democracy

within the union. We intend to utilize all responsible means of informing the membership and interested outsiders of our intentions to insist on a healthy, proas the best weapon in the fight against dictatorial bureaucracy of any color. We distinctly separate ourselves from any irresponsible elements within or without the NMU and intend to fight

for a progressive NMU section within the CIO. As we have destroyed machines in this union before, so we shall demonstrate our convictions that the present union dictatorship is injurious to a healthy union movement in this country.

Turncoat If you've seen the new British film "Fame Is the Spur," about a labor leader who goes over to the other side, remember that the U.S. is full of Hamer Radshaws.

One is named Edward Cheyfitz, a

former member of the CIO national

executive board who resigned several years ago to become assistant to Eric Cheyfitz made a speech to the recent convention of the National Association of Manufacturers. Using euphemisms for speedup and layoffs, he told the assembled bosses they must take "decisive action." His advice to labor: "It must cease being a combative institution and become a

stop fighting. (Some labor leaders don't have to go over to the NAM to make this part of the speech.) And like the film's Hamer Radshaw -who at the end of the picture drools apologetically about his past before an audience of lords and ladies-Cheyfitz showed in the question period that his new respectability was sitting uncomfortably on what was

collaborative one." In other words-

left of his conscience. He told the audience that in the hall was an Aluminum Company of America official who used to sit across the table from him at negotiations. "He reminded me," Cheyfitz said, "that eight or nine years ago, the only thing we ever would have agreed on is that I'd never make a speech for the NAM. I don't know if

that's bad for the NAM or for me." The NAMers gave their own opinion by applauding.

Students Vs. Jim Crow

DEC. 14-Rutgers University was asked to ban discrimination in membership of all fraternities at the school, by a 15-14 vote of the student council of the law school.