

## UE Locals Voting for CIO As Fight for Control Rages

Incomplete reports from most regions of the country indicate that workers in the electrical and radio equipment industry are voting overwhelmingly to leave the Stalinist-controlled United Electrical Workers Union (UE) and affiliate to the new CIO affiliate, The International Union of Electrical Workers.

The Stalinists are moving heaven and earth to prevent locals from meeting to discuss and vote on affiliation. In Philadelphia and elsewhere they have threatened with expulsion any officer who attempts to call such a meeting. In one instance they have even sought a court injunction to prevent a local from holding a meeting to discuss the matter. Their tactic is to hold meetings with executive committees and shop stewards loyal to them, at which CIO representatives are not permitted to appear.

But where the membership is permitted to act, or where it acts regardless of intimidation by the UE leadership, they are voting IUE-CIO in large numbers. The excep-

tions seem to be mainly on the completely Stalinist-dominated West Coast, and in some of the smaller locals.

The IUE-CIO leadership is taking the issue to the ranks, and it is getting a tremendous response. The UE leadership is discovering that years of misrule in the UE are coming home to roost, and that the membership, by and large, has no intention of being isolated from the mainstream of the American labor movement.

### WHO'S GOT THE CONTRACT

The battle between the Stalinists and the CIO leadership is being fought with all weapons available and with no holds barred on either side. Court injunctions, NLRB elections, arguments, distributions of leaflets, propaganda blasts in the press, and when things get really hot, even a little physical persuasion—all are being used. But the Stalinist leadership has to rely more and more on court actions and other legal fol-de-rol as the membership slips from their grasp.

One of the strongest arguments with which the Stalinists are trying to keep the UE membership in line is that they have the contracts. They are going to try to protect these contracts in the courts. But it is becoming clearer every day that the companies are going to have to deal with the organization representing the membership, regardless of who has the contracts.

There are already plants in which the companies are dealing with representatives of both unions; with the

(Continued on page 2)

### To Defend Democracy

WASHINGTON, Nov. 2.—Civil defense in an atomic war will mean regimentation of the population and the economy, Chairman McMahon (D., Conn.) of the Senate-House Atomic Energy Committee said today.

McMahon held out this prospect in advance of a committee investigation of the nation's civilian defense plans for any atomic war. The hearings, both public and behind closed doors, will open after Congress returns in January.

"Atomic war involves a lot more than tin hats and concrete shelters," McMahon said. "You will have to have the utmost discipline."—AP dispatch in the N. Y. Post, Nov. 2.

### The International Of Slanderers

A new anti-CP libel court case brewing in Paris which may be even more sensational than the Kravchenko court battle in that city a few months ago.

Storm center of the libel action will be a new book by Stalinist Henri de Jouvenal, called "The International of Traitors," purporting to denounce all the left critics of Russian totalitarianism in the various parts of the world.

Some Eastern European refugees who are denounced in "The International of Traitors" have brought the libel action. The proceedings in the Kravchenko trial aroused a sensation in France and helped to educate French opinion on the real nature of the Moscow tyranny. His libel suit was brought against the Stalinist publication Les Lettres Françaises for slanders against his book, "I Chose Freedom."

## Russians Act to Clip Titoism In China; Spanish CP Cracks; Anti-Tito Purge On in Poland

### Poland: Gomulka Denounced, Arrests Point to Coming Confession Trials

By ABE STEIN

The spectacular events now taking place in Poland make it clear that the Kremlin has broken the political truce in that satellite and taken the offensive. Three weeks ago, it was reported that a purge of minor government officials was in process. Last week, the Kremlin dictated the appointment of the Russian army's Marshal Konstantin K. Rokossovsky as Polish minister of defense, marshal of Poland's armed forces, and member of the central committee of the Polish Stalinist party (called the United Polish Workers Party).

This week the Warsaw regime officially announced the ousting of the former vice-premier, Wladyslaw Gomulka, from the central committee of the Stalinist party. Rumors are rife that Gomulka and his supporters will suffer the fate of the Hungarian Stalinist, Rajk—liquidation via a highly publicized trial as "agents of Anglo-American imperialism and the fascist Tito." Whether Gomulka is put on trial or not, the fate of the "Polish Tito" is sealed by this latest blow which also indicates the political content of Stalin's latest moves.

Until September 1948 Gomulka was a shining star in the Polish Stalinist firmament. An obscure trade-union and party functionary in pre-war days, he emerged to prominence in 1944 as the secretary-general of the Polish Workers Party (created by the GPU to replace the Polish Communist Party which Stalin liquidated in 1937). In 1944 the Stalinist Lublin Committee entered Poland behind the Russian army's bayonets.

When the Lublin Committee transformed itself into the Polish government, Gomulka became a vice-premier and was pushed by Stalin to the forefront of the stage as his emissary and advocate of the "new popular democracy." Gomulka together with Bierut, the GPU agent and "president" of the puppet regime, helped liquidate the democratic and socialist underground, the other parties in Poland, such as Mikolajczyk's Populists, and insure the complete triumph of the Stalinist machine in Poland.

By September 1948, however, Gomulka found himself in the unenviable position of being in opposition to Stalin. In a long statement, the Polish Stalinist party denounced Gomulka for "failure to understand Russia's role in the struggle against imperialism," for "supporting Tito" and for "opposing collectivization." At that time Gomulka was ousted from his position as secretary-general of the Polish Stalinist party and as vice-premier.

In January 1949 Gomulka was ousted from his position as minister of the regained territories (the former German lands lying west of the 1939 Polish frontiers to the Oder and Neisse rivers). It was well known that Gomulka was opposed to Stalin's plan to restore a "unified" Germany and was apprehensive that Stalin would restore some of Poland's new territories to the future "unified" Germany.

Today the pro-Stalin faction inside the Warsaw regime, whose leading members are Jacob Berman, Hilary Mine, Roman Zambrowski, and Gomulka's successor, Alexander

Zawadzki, have carried their struggle against Gomulka one step further by formally ousting him from the party central committee.

### MAILED FIST IS OUT

The continuing attack on Gomulka has a more than personal significance, however, and coupled with the appointment of Rokossovsky as Russia's proconsul in Poland, indicates the aims of the present Stalinist offensive in Russia. The "Russification" of Poland is dictated by the following considerations:

(1) The considerable decline in the productivity of Polish industry in recent months, and the resistance of the Polish peasantry to "collectivization."

(2) The need to eliminate all doubtful elements inside the Stalinist apparatus in Poland, as in the other satellite countries, to prepare the next stage of the struggle against Tito.

(3) The need to maintain complete "order" in Poland, if and when Stalin orders the withdrawal of Russian troops from Eastern Germany into Poland; and the need to maintain "order" should Stalin feel it necessary to offer to revise the Polish borders in favor of the new Eastern German government as a weapon in the struggle with Anglo-American imperialism for control of all Germany.

More than anything else, the insolent appointment of Rokossovsky (whose infamous role in the defeat of the 1944 Warsaw insurrection the Polish people will never forget) is Stalin's warning to the Polish people that he will spare nothing and nobody in maintaining and strengthening his regime in Eastern Europe, and that he is ready to spill more rivers of blood at the slightest sign of resistance to Russian imperialist exploitation and policy.

### Spain: Catalan Stalinist Party Ousts General Secretary as Nationalist

By SAUL BERG

PARIS, Nov. 11.—News has reached here of the breakup of the Stalinist party (PSUC) of Catalonia, industrial province of Spain. "Lluita" (Struggle), organ of the PSUC, has just announced the expulsion of its general secretary, Joan Comorera, and a number of his followers.

His expulsion resulted from his refusal to accept complete dictation from the Communist Party of Spain as a whole. It clearly fits into the pattern of the wave of nationalist-Stalinism evoked by Titoism, whether or not there existed any link between the Catalan Stalinists and the Yugoslavs.

The Stalinist PSUC was founded at the beginning of the Spanish civil war when the Stalinists absorbed some small Catalan reformist and

semi-nationalist groups. Comorera, who was well known in Catalonia, represented the tradition of these groups.

Last year Del Barrio, PSUC leader who headed the UGT (socialist unions) of Catalonia during the civil war, split away with a number of followers. The present expulsion marks the complete extinction of any influence the PSUC may have exerted among the workers of Catalonia. All that remains is a well-paid Stalinist apparatus in the emigration.

The underground UGT of Catalonia is now under the leadership of the independent revolutionary socialists of the POU (Workers Party of Marxist Unity) and works in collaboration with an émigré bureau of the Catalan UGT in France, which is headed by Socialist Party members and POUmists.

### "FRIENDSHIP WITH USSR MONTH" IS OVER IN POLAND—SO THE PURGE CAN GO ON

An interesting fact about the recent step by Russia in brazenly imposing the Russian Marshal Rokossovsky upon the Polish people is that this step came as the climax of a month of propaganda entitled "Friendship with the USSR Month," intended to try to make the people forget such things as the rape of Poland by Russia in alliance with Hitler in 1939.

During this month, all theaters put on Russian plays, movies were restricted to Russian films, Russian Komsomols toured the country relating fables about their "happy lives under the Soviet system," while Russian music muscled in on even the Chopin centennial.

The Association for Friendship with Russia, whose president is the minister of justice, worked overtime; but even today, after four years of pretty obligatory membership for anyone above the grade of a second-rate clerk, its membership is only a million out of a population of 25 million.

How much "friendship" there is, is best seen by the fact that hardly ever will a Russian soldier be invited to a Polish home, says the correspondent of the Christian Science Monitor (October 29). He adds: "Foreign visitors can easily notice that Soviet soldiers in Polish cafes are made to keep to themselves and that 99 out of 100 Polish girls will refuse to dance with them. All this despite the proverbial Polish hospitality."

### GM Profits Hit New All-Time High; Vets Cash Refunds to Pay Debts

For a year now big business has been howling that the Fair Deal is ruining its chance to make a "fair profit." At the same time, Truman has been vigorously proclaiming that he is going to clip the wings of big business and give the little man a square shake.

But now that the profit statements for the first nine months of the year are beginning to roll in, it seems that shouting and screaming on both sides has been for the well-known birds.

Big business profits for that period are piling up towards a total of \$16 billion AFTER taxes. U. S. Steel earned \$133 million, which is 3 per cent over total earnings for 1948.

General Motors is paying out \$190 million in dividends on December 10, which will bring its total to a third of a billion this year. AN ALL-TIME HIGH RECORD. Du Pont, Westinghouse and the other giants are doing very well too, thank you.

And how about the little guy who voted in the Fair Deal and for whose special benefit it is supposed to be operating? He isn't doing quite as well.

Argosy Magazine reports after a survey that 26.8 per cent of the veterans plan to pay debts with their GI insurance refunds. Only 1 per cent plan to spend their refunds on vacations.

By MAX SHACHTMAN

We have just received evidence from trustworthy sources that the fight is already on between those whom the Kremlin in Moscow feels will act as its utterly reliable agents in China and those it feels may very well follow the course taken by Tito in Yugoslavia. The new Stalinist regime has hardly consolidated itself in China—yet the jockeying for position and control is now under way behind the scenes.

To all outward appearances, the Chinese Stalinist government is headed by Mao Tse-tung. He is president of the Central Government Council recently set up by the Stalinists and chairman of the People's Revolutionary Army Committee. The work of organizing and directing the Stalinist drive to power in China has been in his hands for years. Now that the drive is practically completed, the question of his reliability from the standpoint of Moscow arises with pointed urgency. The Russian imperialists have already suffered one blow from Yugoslavia's demand for independence. They do not want to take a chance on being struck an even heavier blow by a similar development in China, which is a hundred times more important than Yugoslavia from every standpoint.

To surround Mao with more reliable (that is more servile) agents, and to replace him completely if he proves to be intractable—this is now one of Moscow's primary concerns.

The principal agent whom Moscow now seems to be pushing to the fore is one Liu Shao-chi. Up to recently Liu's name was practically unknown, not only abroad but in China as well. Only those with the longest memories recall him as one of the lesser figures in the Stalinist putsch which set up the short-lived "Soviet Republic" in South China in the 1928-29 period. After the collapse of this adventure, Liu disappeared from the political scene in China and undoubtedly spent the whole period up to his reappearance in Moscow. There he was molded and trained in the unquestioning obedience and fidelity which Stalin demands of all his vassals, Russian and foreign.

### HERO-MAKING UNDER WAY

Although Liu does not appear to have had anything to do with the work and the battles of the Chinese Stalinists under Mao Tse-tung and Chu Teh in all these past years, he has suddenly turned up as a prominent figure in Stalinist China—not second to Mao but already equal to him.

Liu has not, so far as is known, any administrative office in the new Stalinist government. But already

(Continued on page 3)

### Fischer, Draper Discuss Titoism At N. Y. Meeting

NEW YORK, Nov. 4.—Two hundred people heard Ruth Fischer and Hal Draper discuss "The International Significance of Titoism" at a symposium sponsored by the Independent Socialist League at the Cornish Arms Hotel Sunday evening.

Ruth Fischer, who was one of the leaders of the German Communist Party in its early years and has recently published the book "Stalin and German Communism," had just returned from an extensive tour of Europe, including Trieste. Basing her discussion on a study of recent developments within the ranks of the Communist Parties of Eastern Europe and Russia, she presented her own interpretation of the fight in the Cominform, stimulating some lively controversy.

Hal Draper, editor of LABOR ACTION, who has analyzed the Titoist developments in many articles since the break, outlined the point of view of the ISL on Titoism as a "national-Stalinism."

The meeting began at 8:30 with presentations by both speakers, and most of the audience stayed until after midnight through an interesting discussion and question period and summaries by the speakers.

## Vicious Decisions of Dewey's Board Soak Bell Strike Heads

By MICHAEL FERRIS

BUFFALO, Nov. 9.—Another blow was delivered this week against Bell Local 501 of the United Auto Workers (CIO) by Governor Dewey's fact-finding board: Handing down a partial decision on the arbitration of the issues between Bell Aircraft Corporation and Local 501, the board announced that six members of Local 501 could not return to work.

The report of the board stated: "Cases of six individuals designated by the U. S. Government as 'poor security risks' for a plant engaged in such highly confidential work as Bell Aircraft were also decided by the board of arbitration after its meeting Wednesday. The board held that the company should not be required to re-employ those six persons."

By this decision, Dewey's fact-finding board has made an even greater infringement of civil liberties than had the U. S. army. The six men excluded from employment by the board are in what the company called Category 1. According to the company, these men had been declared "poor security risks" by the United

States army. The company, at the request of the army, had confined these men to certain work areas in the plant. Some of these men had been working in the plant on a restricted basis since 1945.

It is shocking to know that some of these men have never been informed of their having been designated "poor security risks." It is a further fact that the army classification of the men as "poor security risks" was arrived at without any hearing being granted to the men involved and without any evidence being presented to anyone. The procedure used by the army is itself anti-democratic, but even the army never requested the Bell Aircraft Corporation to fire any of those men and permitted them to work in the aircraft factory while the country was at war.

### BOARD SERVES BELL

However, Governor Dewey's fact-finding board took it upon itself to deny these six men their livelihood, at the request of the company. The board did not seem to think it strange

(Continued on page 4)

## Reuther Offers Program for Better GM Contract than at Ford in 1950

By WALTER JASON

DETROIT, Nov. 13.—Although the 1949 struggles of labor for economic demands are not yet over, the United Auto Workers (CIO) began its preparations for the major fight of 1950 with General Motors Corporation at a two-day conference of nearly 250 delegates from all GM local unions.

Walter Reuther's vigorous speech outlining a program which included a pension plan better than Ford's, a union shop, social insurance amounting to 8 cents per hour per worker, severance pay, and contract improvements was approved by the delegates, although other questions generated sharp friction and a disturbing reaction on the part of the top UAW leaders.

Reuther pointed out that the GM demands were for 1950 and not 1949. He obviously expects to set the pace for the CIO in May, 1950, when the GM contract expires. Although none of the demands he outlined were finalized—a meeting in March will do that—the GM package demand presents another challenge to the auto industry.

In view of the bitter opposition from local union leaders in Flint and the general disfavor that the Ford pension plan has found among most GM union leaders, Reuther spent considerable time defending the Ford settlement. Three principles were laid down at Ford: (1) non-contributory pensions; (2) sound funding of the pension; (3) equal trusteeship. Reuther admitted that seniority and age requirements were too high, but said this was due to the great amount of money necessary to make up the back credits for workers now ready or soon ready to retire.

Reuther took the sting out of criticisms along this line by stating that

at General Motors and Chrysler these can be improved because of the lower seniority and age levels. Reuther's whole approach now is somewhat different from the jubilant "victory" approach that marked the first publicity on the Ford settlement.

Reuther also pledged the delegates that no economic demands will be sacrificed for the union shop.

### SNIDE ATTACK ON CAUCUSES

The other main speaker was T. R. Johnstone, UAW director of the GM department, who gave a detailed report on the preparations for the union-shop fight. An NLRB election will be held, as required by the Taft-Hartley Law, before the contract expires.

Johnstone also made some remarks that are a repetition of the disgraceful show which Mike Quill put on at the national CIO convention. Johnstone sneered at "pinks, punks and parasites," a phrase used by the ex-fellow traveler Quill. He blasted at Flint union leaders and warned that "I thought caucuses went out of style with [R. J.] Thomas." Apparently he forgot Reuther's pledge at the national UAW convention that caucuses had a rightful—and necessary—place in a democratic union. One delegate pointedly answered Johnstone with the comment: "When caucuses die, our union dies."

The chief target of Reuther and Johnstone was Coburn Walker of Flint. The main opposition to Reuther came from Flint Locals 235 and 659 (of which Walker is president) and from Local 45 of Cleveland. They held a small caucus meeting which bothered Reuther and Johnstone, but the opposition announced another meeting too, in spite of the blasts directed at them.

Actually Reuther took the steam out of all the opposition to him and the Ford pension plan by his "radical" speech, and even Walker was forced to admit that Reuther had "adopted our program," which was not true. Reuther and his advisers had worked out what line they wanted in relation to GM in 1950. Thus the opposition was left with nothing to do but snipe on petty issues and antagonize the vast majority of delegates.

The Reuther leadership was very bitter about some of the editorials in local union papers against the Ford pension plan, saying that they were irresponsibly written and untrue; but on this score a rather interesting incident took place.

The only time the delegates took Walker seriously was when he asked the question: "Is there one delegate here who would accept the Ford pension?" An otherwise hostile audience maintained complete silence on that question. Another delegate also defended his views against the Ford pension plan and stated that although he was a Reuther supporter he would criticize any time he thought it was necessary. This delegate, Rudy Pale from Flint, had written an editorial against the Ford settlement.

As a matter of fact, the bitter, fanatical and hysterical opposition which the anti-Reutherites display at this and other conferences facilitates Reuther's defense of his actions, good or bad. If he didn't have that kind of opposition he'd have to create it, for it is a convenient factional whipping boy.

Most of the delegates were very much impressed with Reuther's program for 1950, for it is very good. Time and events will answer the question: Will his actions measure up to his words?

### NEXT WEEK

begins a series of articles by Hal Draper on the significance of the international spread of Titoism, the nature of the pro-Titoist movement, its appeal to elements in the West, and important questions of socialist policy raised by the present crisis in the Stalinist world.

Another article by A. Rudzinski, on the appointment of Marshal Rokossovsky as Stalin's overlord in Poland in the light of some Polish history, is also at hand—crowded out of this issue. It too will appear next week.

Also: an important article on the situation in the National Maritime Union, port of New York.



# UAW-Fair Deal Candidate for Mayor In Detroit Beaten in Racist Campaign

By WALTER JASON

DETROIT, Nov. 12.—Thick gloom permeated many United Auto Workers headquarters here last week after the disastrous defeat which George Edwards has suffered in the mayoralty campaign, which Albert Cobo, Republican city treasurer, won by 309,067 to 203,957.

It was not just the defeat—even the most optimistic supporters of Edwards saw the race as a close one—but the overwhelming character of the defeat that hurt so much. Nor was the pain eased any by looking at the national election results. Elsewhere CIO-backed candidates did win, but in Detroit, where the prestige and the political influence of the Reuther leadership was at stake, the labor movement failed to make an impressive showing as a cohesive political force.

This week there is a great deal of retrospective analysis of the fiasco. Nor will the debate end quickly. For the UAW knows it must commit itself to more and more political action no matter what setbacks occur now. And the easy confidence of the leadership has been shaken sufficiently to permit some real discussion of the problem in the union.

When George Edwards ran a poor second in the September primaries, an altogether unexpected result, the UAW leaders and Edwards were jostled out of their "politics as usual" routine, and a serious attempt began to give the campaign a direction which might make victory possible. Under UAW pressure, Edwards departed from his strategy of "clean government," "non-partisan" straddling of all issues and at least spoke once in a while against the "vested interests."

## NOT THE FAIR-HAIRED BOY

Much pressure was placed on Edwards to give the campaign a real "class character." A large UAW leadership gathering, with over 3,000 present, endorsed speeches along those lines which Emil Mazey and Victor Reuther made. But Edwards insisted on calling himself a "Democratic Party and labor candidate," both at this meeting and during the campaign. CIO members of Democratic Party organizations pushed through endorsements of Edwards, but the old-line Democrats supported Cobo. The Americans for Democratic Action endorsed Edwards, as did the Wayne County CIO Council. The AFL endorsed Cobo.

The Edwards campaign had a dual and contradictory character to the very last day. UAW leaders continu-

ally sought to make their candidate answer the vigorous attacks of the three Detroit daily papers that the "CIO was trying to take over City Hall." The UAW leadership sought at union meetings to mobilize its membership for winning a labor victory. But Edwards insisted on playing up the Democratic Party theme, and failed to answer the burning questions hurled at him by the daily press. Behind the scenes of the Edwards campaign there was constant friction between him and the UAW leaders. Any illusions Edwards had that he was the fair-haired boy of the UAW on the political scene were somewhat dispelled during the campaign and shattered after his defeat.

Even Edwards' ADA cohorts were somewhat embarrassed by his sponsorship of the "loyalty oath" amendment which was adopted in the September voting. But what disturbed the UAW leaders most of all was what they found to be the real state of the political situation in Detroit and in the shops only a few days before the election. At the national CIO convention, held the week before the Detroit election, UAW spokesmen had assured reporters that Edwards could win and probably would.

In Detroit, when the UAW sent out a vast army of ward and precinct workers, the facts of life were quickly obvious. The political hostility which many UAW workers found almost shocked them. And the story of the defeat of Edwards exists in those facts of life.

## BEATEN BY RACE HATRED

Although Edwards had never made a major speech for civil rights and hardly deserved the support he obtained from the Negro voters (who did vote heavily), his opponents worked a smooth, not-too-subtle and very effective race-hatred line which appealed to every prejudice existing in Detroit. It worked.

One of the tricks used against Edwards was the mailing of thousands of copies of a letter to white workers, middle class elements, property owners, etc. This letter was ostensibly addressed to a Negro by a group of Negro religious organizations (it was not authentic). The letter explained why Negroes should vote for Edwards: "He breaks bread with us; if he wins we can move anywhere in the city; if he wins we'll have representation everywhere in City Hall." It was, of course, another version of the technique used in 1945 against Frankenstein when he ran for mayor with CIO support.

Another aspect of this race-hatred campaign was the calling of small meetings of property owners in various parts of the city by numerous and quickly created "real estate committees and property owners' associations." Edwards was for public housing. This means Negroes living everywhere, property values going down, no white woman safe in the streets at night, Negro children going to school with white children. "Do you want your neighborhood to look like Paradise Valley [the Negro slum area]?" It was a campaign of fear, of race prejudice and hatred, and it worked.

Incidentally, a dispatch from Washington states that the Dixiecrat national organization claimed it participated in the Detroit campaign. It may very well be that this racial poison was its "contribution" to the campaign. The UAW found out that this campaign had its effect in the shops, especially among those workers who were homeowners.

The scars and sores of the Detroit race riots remain. The flux of thousands and thousands of Southern

workers into Detroit continues to be a post-war phenomenon. They bring with them the prejudices of the deep South. The Edwards campaign illustrates how thin the veneer of unionism is among many of them, how deep the racial prejudices remain, and how difficult the task of the UAW will be to root out these violent passions and blind hatreds. It is also a test of how much more the UAW FEPC department and committees must do.

## RED-BAITING BY CATHOLICS

UAW leaders apparently privately recognize this factor as a major force in the defeat of Edwards. Not until the UAW makes a drastic improvement in the actual situation in the shops and in Detroit in the acute problem of race relations can it expect to be a cohesive political force in Detroit. For the reactionary forces here have found a technique that brings results. Race hatreds will be fanned even more in Detroit. Stoning of Negroes' homes will continue. Ku Klux Klan crosses will continue to burn in Michigan, even if the daily press ignores these stories. Unless the UAW tackles the Negro question even more strenuously, its defeats will increase.

"Red-baiting" played its role. Edwards' denunciations of communism and his sponsorship of the loyalty oath may have convinced some people. But not many. The real attitude of the conservative layers of Detroit's population was expressed rather bluntly by one old-line Democratic Party district committeeman after Edwards' defeat: "We kept the ADA Johnny-come-lately socialist crowd out of City Hall," he declared jubilantly.

Another significant factor was the open intervention of some sections of the Catholic Church against Edwards as a "Communist." One UAW official, a Catholic himself, told the writer a story illustrating this point. A child came home from a Catholic school and told her mother to vote against Edwards because he was a Communist. A nun had told her that. When the UAW official protested to higher Catholic authorities, he was given a brushoff.

The third factor in Edwards' defeat was his failure to answer the fear campaign on what would happen to Detroit if the "CIO was in power." Instead of explaining how a labor mayor and a labor government would be in the interests of the majority because the working people were a majority in Detroit, he ducked the issue. To charges of "goon squad terrorism," Edwards said nothing, except to try to convince people he was not the bear that business interests said he was, but rather a nice, intelligent city servant. Nor did Edwards make a big hit with the men in the shops, for precisely the same reason. It was the UAW workers who got out the union vote for him.

A fourth factor in his defeat was the failure of the CIO to establish a working political unity with the AFL here. Most AFL unions supported Cobo.

What is "PRACTICAL"? But Edwards was not alone to blame for his defeat. Some deals which the CIO leaders made were not just wrong but utterly ridiculous. Miriana, a councilman, who won city council presidency, was endorsed by the CIO, while he was campaigning for Cobo. Instead of denouncing him, the UAW leaders said they had to pretend he was their friend. Otherwise "it would antagonize the Italian vote if we withdrew our endorsement." So the UAW was in the absurd position of endorsing "a friend

of the people" who told voters that "as a friend of the people" he recommends they vote for Cobo, who the CIO says is an "enemy of the people."

We cannot resist the comment: And yet some people have the nerve to talk about themselves as "practical politicians!"

The election campaign revealed not only how powerful reactionary forces are in Detroit, how tense race relations remain, but also how impotent and futile the present political course of the UAW leaders is in this hotbed of political and social tensions. We do not say that a real labor campaign with a real labor candidate would have brought immediate victory. But at least any defeat would have been for some sound principles and a fighting program. And a cohesive political force would have been created. And the beginning of a change in race relations would have been created on a sound class basis, on the political front, to strengthen the tenuous "solidarity" in the shops.

In a turbulent center like Detroit, the day seems long past when nambypamby politics based on class-collaboration concepts and symbolized by "statesmen" like Edwards can bring the results necessary for a forward-moving labor movement. The UAW now faces an even greater challenge.

# Readers Take the Floor . . .

## Letter from Germany

A reader send us a letter which he received from a German friend commenting on some aspects of German politics today. Following are some excerpts from it.—Ed.

I consider that the chief difficulty facing the German Social Democratic Party (SPD) lies in the formulation of a program. With the exception of slogans such as "socialism," "socialization" and "collective economy," which each member can interpret as he pleases, there exists no economic program which can be taken seriously. On the other hand, they do have a fairly acceptable educational and cultural program.

Again, a health program is lacking. For example, the association of physicians of the public-health fund requested all parties to reply to 30 questions it put to them, prior to the recent elections. The questions of course had been formulated by arch-reactionaries and were full of traps. The answers were to be mailed back within two weeks. The SPD was the only party which was not in the position to answer the questions. All other parties replied and these replies were published in the medical columns of a periodical to which every physician must subscribe.

There are numerous such failures

and omissions. One of my friends went to see the party's executive in Hanover about six months ago to declare to Heine, a member of the executive, that what political leadership existed in economic questions was clumsy and inadequate, and that the economic program of the Christian Democratic Union had to be countered in a manner different from hitherto. This was the reply: "My dear comrade, if only we could find the time to concern ourselves with economic problems!"

It will be a good thing if you in New York do not harbor false illusions about the German working class. The struggle for naked existence which every individual is compelled to wage, the threat of unemployment, the result of the great Russian experiment in socialism, the post-war situation—all create an atmosphere of resignation which as a factor in politics must not be overlooked.

To come to your letter: Why, for heaven's sake, should we get a neofascism—we still have the old one as well as the old economic leadership, that suffices us to the full! The SPD has been excluded from politics for years and does little else than take care of the occupational interests of the workers, and that it has not done too well.

One of my friends in the Rhine-Ruhr area compared the recent election results of his district with those

of 1911. There was an increase of 3 per cent for the SPD. After two world wars, and lost ones, at that!

To be sure, the German working class is the only class capable of waging the struggle for national independence, and the conditions for this are not bad, since it will coincide with the struggle for its economic interests. There are enough examples of the fact that the entrepreneurs have far better relations with the occupation powers and get along much better with them than the allegedly international Social-Democracy.

The German working class had an opportunity in 1918 to take the leadership of Europe into its hands; it missed it. It has no such opportunity at the present. Rather, it is England which has the chance now. Apparently this has not been understood there; how else interpret the devaluation of the pound?

Sometimes one can't but have the impression that Churchill is more progressive, in European questions at least, than the Labor Party people! There are a number of conferences taking place in Europe, initiated by the ILP, furthering a United Socialist States of Europe. These conferences were only briefly mentioned in the press here. When I brought the invitations to the SPD here in Hamburg it was decided to send a student delegation, for fear that a more representative delegation might make enemies of the Labor Party people. . . .

K.  
Hamburg, Germany, October 1949

# UE Voting for CIO

(Continued from page 1)

IUE-CIO to settle grievances, and with the UE for the record. In the long run the contracts are going to go with the union which wins NLRB elections—and the Stalinists know it. That is why they are so desperate.

The Stalinist UE leadership is trying to use the battle cry of "democracy" to rally the workers. Yet the cry sticks in their throats. At the last convention they amended the UE constitution to permit them to ride all opposition out of the union without any democratic safeguards. Now they are trying to prevent the ranks from voting on affiliation.

## HOW THE IUE OPERATES

Before their expulsion from the CIO many workers voted for them because they were opposed to the CIO leadership's drive to abolish the

independence of the affiliated Internationals with regard to political policy. But thousands of workers who supported the Stalinist leadership in their fight against this drive do not want to follow them into isolation from the labor movement. This applies even for many workers who are rightfully convinced that Murray and his lieutenants should not have used their power to expel Stalinist-controlled Internationals from the CIO, but should have relied on the rank and file in each International to get rid of their Stalinist leaders with CIO support.

The membership is voting for the CIO. The problem is still before them: what kind of setup will they have in their new CIO union, the IUE?

To date the setup is as democratic as it could be under the circumstances. The committee elected by the opposition caucus at the last UE

convention is in charge of the CIO drive. It is operating on the basis of district committees selected by and responsible to the locals in each district.

This was one of the best features of the old UE constitution. Every worker and leader who has suffered under the old Stalinist administration will want to keep this democratic feature of the organization of the electrical workers, both during the fight and in the constitution of the new union when it is formed.

The conference of the IUE-CIO to be held in Philadelphia at the end of this month will make provision for the organizational setup for the next year. It is to be hoped that the active union members who are fighting for democratic unionism inside the CIO will see to it that all the necessary safeguards are maintained for full rank-and-file democracy in their new union.

# CIO Gains in Philly UE, Still Faces Rough Going in Westinghouse Local

By FRANK HARPER

PHILADELPHIA, Nov. 13.—During the past week two more locals of the Stalinist-led United Electrical Workers (UE) in this area voted to leave that organization and to affiliate with the new CIO-chartered International Union of Electrical Workers. However, at a special membership meeting the area's largest local (No. 107) at the Westinghouse South Philadelphia works voted to "support the UE against disruptive raids which would ruin our local conditions and interfere with our national negotiations."

The locals voting to secede from the UE were Local 118 at Philadelphia Insulated Wire and Local 113 representing more than 2500 workers at Electric Storage Battery. Locals which had previously voted to join the new IUE-CIO include the Philco Locals 101 and 102 and Locals 105, 111, 116 and 136. About 13,000 members have left the UE.

The new union has as yet not been able to crystallize the anti-Stalinist sentiment in the large "on-the-fence" locals. The pro-Stalinists have been able, by threats, intimidation and administrative maneuvers, to prevent any real discussion or action by the majority of the membership. That these tactics have been partially successful was evidenced yesterday when Local 107's membership recorded itself as pro-UE despite the fact that this action was taken by only 300 of the 600 dues payers.

## RAILROADED THROUGH

Actual organizational activity of the new IUE and of the CIO in the area has been slow in getting underway; in fact it is quite possible that this activity is coming too late to capitalize on the vague but strong feelings of protest against the UE failure to remain in the CIO which swept like wildfire in the locals for a few days following the convention action.

Also the new union has been hampered seriously by legal actions entered by the UE. The new union has been restrained by court order from using the name specified in the CIO charter and the acting district director, Harry Block, has been served several sets of summonses.

At the big Westinghouse Local 107, the 14 general officers of the board voted pro-UE while the chief shop stewards split evenly on the vote. An opposition caucus which has en-

tered a slate in the coming local union elections circulated petitions for a special membership meeting to hear both sides and to submit the question of affiliation to a referendum. Although 1200 people signed these petitions (40 times the necessary minimum) they were not honored by the administration but labeled as "treason."

However, the meeting was scheduled for November 12 with James Mattes as the only speaker. The administration worked almost full time attempting to build up support for the meeting but was able to get only 400 of 6,000 to attend yesterday. The opposition caucus made one more attempt at the meeting to get a speaker invited to hear the CIO side of the dispute. The attempt failed and the

oppositionists walked from the meeting. Those remaining then approved the previous executive board action.

The next test of strength in the local will be made on November 18, when the two sides attempt to elect candidates for local office. These elections represent the last opportunity for the local to decide its affiliation as a unit and to avoid a bitter contest for jurisdiction.

Another big test vote in the area is due tomorrow at Local 103 at RCA, Camden, where all shifts will have special membership meetings to hear speakers from both sides. The 103 executive board voted 9-to-8 on this question of having opposing speakers at the meeting, with the Stalinists being opposed to the appearance of a CIO spokesman.

## Anti-Samson Law

The march of social legislation under the Welfare State was given a big boost lately when the Massachusetts state legislature passed a statute providing that "no employees in a textile factory shall be required to lift by hand any object weighing more than 325 pounds."

More radical elements are now agitating for an amendment to make it illegal to lift 325 pounds even with two hands. Extremists are considering a proposal that messenger boys not be required to do a mile in 10 seconds—on one leg.

**WHAT'S ON AT THE LABOR ACTION SCHOOL**

Following are Sessions 3 and 4 taking place in the next two weeks—

**TUESDAYS**

**Dynamics of the American Labor Movement**  
by Ben Hall  
8:00 - 9:10 p. m.  
Nov. 22—Unions and the state.  
Nov. 29—Bureaucracy and democracy.

**Significant Events and Documents in U.S. History**  
by E. R. McKinney  
8:00 - 9:10 p. m.  
Nov. 22—Jacksonian democracy.  
Nov. 29—"The Irrepressible Conflict."

**The Modern State**  
by Max Shachtman  
9:20 - 10:30 p. m.  
Nov. 22—Decay of the bourgeois state: fascism in power.  
Nov. 29—Decay of the bourgeois state: reformism in power.

**FRIDAYS**

**Problems of the New Asia**  
by Jack Brad  
8:00 - 9:10 p. m.  
Nov. 25—India: the traditional way.  
Dec. 2—China: the Stalinist way.

**Contemporary Problems of Marxism**  
by Hal Draper  
9:20 - 10:30 p. m.  
Nov. 25—Can capitalism end Jim Crow?  
Dec. 2—Russia: internal contradictions and disintegrative forces.

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

## ACEWR to Hold Christmas Bazaar

The New York chapter of the American Committee for European Workers Relief announces that its fourth annual Christmas bazaar will be held on December 9 and 10.

As those who have attended previous bazaars of the ACEWR know, the Christmas bazaar is the ideal place for workers to do their Christmas shopping. Not only will there be an abundance of merchandise at bargain prices, but the closing attraction will be a grand auction of all unsold articles. Here is the chance to save money on your shopping and at the same time help needy working-class families abroad.

Many people, the ACEWR states, have the mistaken belief that the need for relief to Europe no longer exists. This is especially untrue in the cases of those aided by the ACEWR. Many of these are former concentration camp prisoners whose health has been so ruined by imprisonment and torture that they need special food and medicines. Others are aged parents, widows and orphans of men who were killed by the Nazis. These people cannot be forgotten now. They need the helping hand of international solidarity.

All those who believe in international solidarity are asked, first, to help the ACEWR collect merchandise and, second, to come to the bazaar, bringing friends and relatives if possible.

Those who have friends or relatives who have businesses are urged to ask them for donations of merchandise. All are asked to give some personal possession to the bazaar. Anyone wishing to aid in the solicitation of merchandise should visit or telephone the ACEWR office at 130 West 23rd Street, New York City, Chelsea 2-5884.

The coming bazaar promises to be the same bargain hunter's paradise that it has been in previous years. In addition to art objects and curios from all over the world, there will be fine color prints, jewelry, phonograph records, men's, women's and children's clothing, toys, books, household articles and a hundred other items.

The bazaar will be held at the ACEWR headquarters, 130 West 23rd Street. It begins at 6:00 p. m., Friday, December 9. On Saturday, December 10, the doors will open at noon. The auction will take place Saturday night. Admission free.

# Chaotic Fight as Stalinists Attempt To Block Ohio UE Trend to CIO

By JOE CLARK

CLEVELAND, Nov. 12.—The whole picture of the CIO-versus-CP fight in the electrical equipment industry in Ohio, as in many other parts of the nation, is confused and chaotic. Many of the locals of the United Electrical Workers (UE) are so bound by court injunctions and counter-injunctions that they hardly know where they stand. Bitter struggles are in progress over who will control the locals and, of course, the locals' treasuries. Fist fights are every-day occurrences; one pro-UE-CIO member in Zanesville was waylaid on the street and received a couple of broken ribs.

The Stalinist policy of "rule or ruin" is well known. Since the Cleveland convention prevented their ruling, they are out to ruin the UE, and are doing a real job of it. The AFL is fishing in these troubled waters, though with what success it is hard to estimate.

There have been attempts by both the Stalinists and the pro-CIO opposition to gain company-wide recognition in some cases. But the rules of the NLRB require an election in each plant where there is any dispute about representation. This means hundreds of elections in the near future, with plenty of accompanying fights. But this has its sil-

ver lining—the CIO forces will have to shake themselves up and really offer something worthwhile to the rank and file in order to gain support.

In Dayton the Stalinists obtained an injunction in an attempt to prevent the Delco and Frigidaire locals from going over to the CIO, but the injunction has now been dissolved and the way is clear. The two locals have about 16,500 members. J. T. Hawkins of Mansfield, who is a CIO organizer, just returned from a trip in Canada and reports three locals there remaining in the CIO: Ohio locals at Ashtabula, Geneva and Conneaut are staying in the CIO.

The Cleveland Industrial Union Council has voted favorably on a proposal to make loans to any pro-CIO group whose funds are tied up by Stalinist injunctions. This would be especially helpful to Local 707 (GE) which has about 3,000 members and is involved in a legal battle. On November 4 Common Pleas Judge J. A. Artl granted the Stalinists an injunction restraining the CIO men from using or transferring union funds. But a few days later he outlawed a Stalinist expulsion move aimed at the opposition and ordered both sides to maintain the status quo till a full hearing can be held. Similar situations exist in many locals through the state.

**The FIGHT for SOCIALISM**  
by Max Shachtman

**A basic primer in the principles and program of Independent Socialism**

\$1.00 Cloth-bound \$2.00

INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST PRESS

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

**THE BRITISH POLITICAL SCENE IS PORTRAYED EACH WEEK**  
— IN —

**THE SOCIALIST LEADER**  
Britain's Foremost Weekly

Yearly Subscription — Three Dollars  
Shorter Periods Pro Rata

Order from:

SOCIALIST LEADER  
318 Regents Park Road  
Finchley, London, N. 3, England



**PERON'S IN TROUBLE**

**CLASS STRUGGLE MOUNTS IN ARGENTINA, BOLIVIA, COLOMBIA**

By JUAN REY

The "revolutionary" attempts by the totalitarian forces in Bolivia, Chile, Uruguay and Paraguay have ended in defeats that can have decisive importance in the future political development of South America. It is an open secret that all these movements, including those that won the support of important proletarian sectors, were encouraged and directed by Argentina's Peron. Their defeat signifies the defeat, therefore, of Peronist Bonapartism in its imperialist expansion at the expense of neighboring countries. Two years ago we predicted the sad end of the Peronist sub-imperialism in its drive to dominate the South American continent and its inevitable capitulation before the Yankee colossus. Now this prediction begins to take shape.

The economic crisis in Argentina has exhausted the political and economic reserves of its Bonapartist government. The inflation brought only the illusions of "industrialization," the looting of the funds and reserves of the nation have brought the period of wage increases to an end, pushing the real value of wages back to the low level of Argentina's economic life. The Peronist monopoly in grains, which consisted of buying from the producer at a very cheap price and selling at a very exorbitant one, has been shattered by international competition on the world market. The result has been the ruin of agriculture and the abandonment of a great deal of acreage formerly cultivated. The readjustment of meat prices to the scale demanded by the sover. British buyers has reduced the Peronist extravaganzas to hard reality.

As always, the economic readjustment is being accomplished at the expense of the workers and the "Descamisados" (shirtless ones), the lumpen-proletariat and very backward rural proletariat, who formed the main social base for Argentine Bonapartism. And where the means to maintain wages at high levels are not at hand, the "Loyalty Days" dedicated to President Peron and organized by the police-controlled Labor Federation are no solution. Economic interests cannot be replaced by empty promises and sugared words.

**Strikes Mounting—Peron Discards the Mask**

The worthy response of the proletariat to the "day of loyalty to Peron" has been a wave of "illegal" strikes in which hundreds of thousands of workers are taking part. The regime is revealing its complete political impotence before these strikes, which are being led without the participation of the state-controlled Peronist CGT. And as if to demonstrate its impotence even further, the regime is persecuting all opposition Socialists, Peronist party dissidents, Stalinists, Radicals and Conservatives with rabid fury.

Nevertheless, the opposition press, headed by the world-famous newspapers "Nacion" and "La Prensa" of Buenos Aires, does not give Peronism one day of rest, and keeps on gnawing away at its base with ruthless criticism. It is no surprise, therefore, that these papers are threatened with assaults and destruction by flying squads. In order to save itself from disaster, Peronism is unashamedly abandoning its "socialist" demagogy and bending toward the traditional conservative right.

Thus Argentine Bonapartism is annihilating itself politically. It is descending from the "independent" position it previously occupied, a position seemingly above society, and is taking its place on the bourgeois right, or more accurately, the landlord-bourgeois right. The changes in the personnel of the government camarilla and the workers' strikes express the two sides of this process, which has as its basis an economic policy designed to reconstruct Argentine agriculture (devastated by Peronism) as the last bulwark of Peron's "revolutionary" economy.

In Bolivia the civil war, financed by Argentine Peronism, has ended with the crushing defeat of the MNR (Revolutionary Nationalist Movement), and unfortunately that sector of the workers' movement that supported it. But political life on the Bolivian plateau lacks consistency and is convulsive in character. The victory of the traditional Right over the MNR having been achieved, the official party immediately divided into different groups which are in open conflict. The resignation of President Hertzog represents the march of this party toward the right.

Inevitably, these internal divisions are feeding the tendencies toward a military dictatorship in true Bolivian style. On October 28, a new conspiracy, backed by the military, was uncovered in La Paz. The victors in the civil war are demanding their reward. The "strong" government of Uriolagoitia, which replaced the "weak" government of Hertzog, is digging its own grave, on which the new military dictatorship will rise.

**"Undeclared Civil War" in Colombia**

To the north in Colombia, "an undeclared civil war" has broken out according to the statement by a minister of the official government party. Since the dramatic events of 1948 in Bogota, Colombia has attracted worldwide attention. The Stalinists knew how to profit from the latent social antagonism between the Liberals and Conservatives in order to greet the Pan-American Conference in Bogota with "revolutionary fireworks." The assassination of the Liberal leader, Gaitan, almost led to the end of the feudal dictatorship of the Conservatives. But the regime managed to save itself.

Today the Conservative Party has launched a full offensive, presenting as its presidential candidate that most "extreme" representative of the right, Laureano Gomez, who embraced the program of Franco's Falange during his stay in Spain. And the more aggressive Laureano Gomez becomes, threatening to declare the Liberals illegal, the gentler the Liberal's presidential candidate Echandia becomes, ready to negotiate and compromise like any good bourgeois lawyer.

The Liberals protest against the campaign abuses committed by this Conservative dictatorship, and threaten to abstain from voting. But this threat hardly matters to Laureano Gomez, the ardent Franquista. He wants to establish a Franquista dictatorship in the heart of the continent and govern with an iron fist at the very time that the hateful Franco dictatorship, illegitimate child of Nazi-Fascism and foreign intervention, is beginning to tremble in Spain. Nor does the fate of Getulio Vargas and the approaching end of Argentine Bonapartism matter to Gomez.

But the Colombian masses are not thinking along the same lines as Laureano Gomez nor even the smooth Liberal leader Echandia. The Colombian Federation of Labor, the CTC, has proclaimed an imminent general strike against the Franquista provocations of Gomez. The political struggle has taken on cruel and savage characteristics. It is unbelievable but true that whole towns have been destroyed (Celian) and hundreds of corpses thrown into nearby rivers (Bugalagrande).

The Conservative dictatorship has become insupportable for the Colombian people. The Liberal party, which functions within the framework of bourgeois politics, expresses in distorted form the social aspirations of the popular masses, including the workers, by virtue of its role as the opposition party. The Conservative and Falangista party bosses are trying to eliminate it and accuse it of being "communist." In reality the Stalinists have no great political importance and do not control the vast opposition movement.

While the parliamentary sectors of the Liberal and Conservative parties negotiate a truce, the assault groups of the Conservative party continue to destroy entire communities and assassinate the supporters of the Liberal Party by the hundreds. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Colombian proletariat threatens to respond to the Franquista offensive of Gomez with a general strike.

**Workers Seeking New Political Road**

The social content of the South American convulsions reveals itself as the post-war crisis gripping a backward, semi-feudal economy that is dominated by the all-powerful dollar. The Bonapartist and native-Nazi attempts to overcome this backwardness and economic dependence have failed, leaving a more mature and experienced proletariat on the field of battle, a proletariat with an increased political and social consciousness.

The strikes in Argentina, the partial abandonment of the nationalist complex by the Bolivian proletariat, and the stubborn resistance of the Colombian workers to the petty Falangista dictators, demonstrate that the class-struggle in South America has risen to a new level.

Spontaneously, the workers have abandoned Peronism as well as Stalinism and are seeking a better expression of their political and social independence. This spontaneous movement gives fresh confirmation to the Marxist point of view that only socialism can solve the social and economic problems of South America, a continental South American socialism that advances, arm in arm, with the workers' movement of North America.

Lima, Peru—November, 1949

**Get acquainted with the INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST LEAGUE**

For information and literature, write to: ISL, 4 Court Square, Long Island City 1, N. Y.

**A DISCUSSION OF THE CONFLICT IN THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE—**

**Tito Crisis Widens, Threatens Bases Of Stalinist Rule in Eastern Europe**

By A. RUDZIENSKI

The Titoist crisis of Stalinism provokes greater apprehension every day, opening as it does the abyss of a new imperialist war.

The Yugoslavian delegate, Alex Bebler, has stated before the United Nations Assembly that "Hungarian artillery has thundered across the Yugoslavian frontier." The war between Belgrade and the Kremlin is going beyond the "war of nerves" and entering the stage of military provocations.

Besides the incidents on the Yugoslavian frontier, new political clashes have occurred between Moscow and Belgrade: The first was the ousting of the Yugoslavian delegation at the Stalinist "Peace Congress" in Rome; the second, the pro-Titoist movement among the Italian Communists, headed by Giovanni Maras, the chief of the Italian Partisans, who fought under Tito's command.

The ousting of the Yugoslavian delegation at Rome turned into a defeat for the Russian offensive. The chief of the Yugoslavian delegation, Osip Vidmar, issued statements against Russia whose repercussions have completely dwarfed the importance of the Stalinist congress.

Vidmar revealed that the unfortunate Dimitrov had told a member of the Yugoslavian Politburo, Milovan Djilas, that "Tito should remain firm, no matter what happens." This declaration raises the curtain on the struggle waged by the Balkan peoples against Russian expansion.

It is well known that Dimitrov was a partisan of a Balkan Federation, the old program of the Comintern which Stalin fought viciously as he considers it extremely dangerous for Russia's imperialist expansion. Perhaps this declaration explains why Dimitrov was sent to a "sanatorium" for a "cure." Stalin's way of getting rid of those leaders he doesn't want to bring to the prisoner's bench, Vidmar declared that Yugoslavia "will never bow before the Cominform" and "that it has many friends in Europe."

These words were fully confirmed both by the pro-Titoist movement in Italy and by the arrests en masse,

in Bulgaria, not to speak of the recent trials in Hungary, the mass reprisals in Czechoslovakia and the symptoms of political unrest in Poland.

The Titoist schism is spreading with a speed and strength that frightens Moscow. Giovanni Miras represents an organization of Italian partisans numbering 4500 members, who have defied the Italian Stalinist party which has begun to purge the rebels, expelling them from its ranks. Nevertheless, many Italian Stalinists have traveled to Yugoslavia to celebrate the fifth anniversary of Tito's federated republic.

Vidmar is correct when he affirms that "Yugoslavia has many friends in Eastern Europe." The reprisals in Bulgaria have caught up 30,000 prisoners suspected of pro-Titoist sympathies, among them various ex-ministers such as Kostov, former vice-premier; Pitko Kunin, former minister of industry; Manol Sekelarov, former minister of public works; Ivan Stepanov, former minister of finance and General Vasil Markov, a member of the central committee of the Communist party.

According to the latest news reports, repressions have begun in Poland. Various ministers and former ministers are being arrested such as Widy-Wirski, ex-minister of navigation; Kowalewski, ex-minister of agriculture; Kochanowicz, ex-minister of labor; Dubiel, ex-minister of western territories; Lechowicz, ex-minister of food; and various others. With these arrests the brief political truce which I noted in a previous article comes to an end and a new Stalinist preventive offensive against "Polish Titoism" begins.

The vice-ministers arrested belong to the ranks of the "fellow-travelers"—that is, they are the leaders of "shadow parties," the Democratic, Labor, and Populist Parties, artificially created by the police in order to imitate and fight the real, historic Polish parties. Now their turn has come.

Although the arrests have not as yet reached the leaders of the Stalinist party itself, there is much uneasiness, because the GPU knows that the militant masses sympathize with Gomulka and Tito. Gomulka himself has protested against the content of the illegal Titoist leaflets

distributed in Poland which praise him.

**ACHESON HOPES**

And not only in Eastern Europe, but in Italy, Germany, France and England, Tito has "a great many friends." The Titoist schism is spreading in such a manner as to threaten the Stalinist influence in Europe, opening a profound breach in the ranks of totalitarian Stalinism. The development of this crisis can have grave international consequences; for this reason we are obliged to anticipate these consequences and their dangers for the cause of revolutionary world socialism and for the whole workers' movement.

Undeniably, the Titoist crisis threatens the bases of the Stalinist system in conquered Europe, and even of the regime itself. The American secretary of state, Dean Acheson was quite correct when he declared that Titoism "is a more important event and fraught with greater consequences than is generally believed." Both Acheson and Walter Lippman believe that Russia will withdraw its 1939 frontiers. Acheson places his hopes on the Titoist crisis as the cause of this withdrawal.

However, these gentlemen do not understand that a totalitarian system such as Russian Stalinism cannot retreat peacefully, because this would signify the beginning of the end. Only the revolutionary workers' opposition inside Russia could compel the Stalinist autocracy to retreat, but such an opposition as an actual factor does not exist.

The hopes of those officials who make American policy that Titoism will do the job for them, for American expansion, compelling Stalin to withdraw peacefully, are as naive as were the hopes of British Conservatism and the French Right with regard to Hitler's offensive.

**HORSE TRADE?**

On the contrary, I would risk the prediction that should the Titoist crisis reach such a pitch as Acheson desires, Stalin would feel compelled to act directly, that is, by way of armed intervention in Yugoslavia in order to radically crush the rebellion at its center. The technique of such intervention would be second-

**Titoism in China - -**

(Continued from page 1)

he has been designated as one of the vice-presidents and as vice-chairman of the People's Revolutionary Army Committee. The propaganda machine is hard at work to "popularize" him, if not as "the" leader, then at least as leader on an equal plane with Mao.

Recently, a Hong Kong newspaper published an interview in which the Chinese Stalinists were pictured, with studied humility, as men who laid no claim to perfection. Upon the appearance of the interview, Chou En-lai, the Stalinist minister of foreign affairs, sent the newspaper a protesting telegram which declared that there WERE two "perfect ones." Mao was one of them. The hitherto almost unknown Liu Shao-chi was the other.

A few weeks ago (October 4), Joseph Starobin, whose intimate knowledge of the Kremlin's up-to-date propaganda line has often been commented on, referred in his Daily Worker column to Liu as the "dean of China's Communists"—an exalted position which nobody, not even Starobin, ever thought of attributing to Liu until quite recently. There is more than one reason for the conclusion that Liu has been sent from Moscow as watchman, if not substitute, for Mao.

As for Mao, it is not without interest that he neither lives nor has an office in Peiping. For the most part, he stays out in the hills, in an enclosure known as the Hunting Park. The man who, before the big Stalinist victories in China, moved freely about Yunnan and was easily accessible, is now as hard to get to and as heavily guarded as an emperor. Every person or vehicle that moves on the adjacent highway is stopped and searched; at night, nobody and nothing moves. The question is: Is he an "emperor" or a distinguished prisoner? Perhaps Starobin can answer the question. Or perhaps he may be taken unaware by the answer when it breaks out in public.

**UNKNOWN TO THE FORE**

The encirclement of Mao is even more evident in the case of Chu Teh. Like Mao, Chu did not get his Stalinist training in Russia but in his native land. Like Mao, but even more so, Chu grew to prominence and position in long and bitter struggle as the effective leader of armed forces right in China—not in the Lux Hotel in Moscow or in the Lenin-Stalin School. His renown was not manufactured and did not need to be. But while his loyalty to Stalinism as a social and political creed is as unquestioned as Tito's, his loyalty to

Russian Stalinism is evidently not beyond question.

Although he was the nominal as well as the actual head of the Chinese "Red Army" since 1927-28, Chu Teh's prominence in the military field has undergone almost an eclipse in the recent period. His place has been taken increasingly by a Stalinist named Lin Piao. Lin Piao will be heard more and more of, the less is heard of Chu Teh. The former has all the earmarks of the Moscow-trained, Moscow-controlled, Moscow-loyal Stalinist.

In the long years of the Stalinist military struggles from 1917-1928 onward, his name was practically unknown. As late as the Chinese Who's Who of 1946, he is not to be found among the numerous Stalinist notables. He first came to public notice as the head of the Manchurian Stalinist army toward the end of the Second World War, as the Russians moved toward their brief war with the Japanese. Lin's Manchurian army was armed and trained by the Russians, and when the signal was given, this army speedily smashed the Kuomintang forces in Manchuria and broke through into North China.

At that time, operations in Shantung and thence southward to the Yangtze were under the command of a pretty obscure Stalinist named Chen Yi. His force was built up and equipped in the Russian militarized zone at the southern tip of Manchuria (the Port Arthur-Dairen area). After the capture of Peiping and Tientsin, Lin Piao's forces were rushed south to Chen Yi's support and then on to Hankow.

When Shanghai was taken, Chen Yi was put out of the race by his appointment as "mayor," that is, military governor of Shanghai. But Lin's forces continued onward. It is Lin who took Hankow, Lin who took Nanking and Shanghai, Lin who continued to conduct the whole southern campaign. It is Lin Piao, and not Chu Teh, who has been given all the actual military leadership and all the outstanding credit for the victories.

**OLD HAND BACK**

Very significant, also, is the fact that Lin's political commissar, who accompanied his forces from Manchuria, where he was first installed, to North China and then southward, was Li Li-san, who, unlike the new Russian agents in China, has a fairly well-known history. Li is an old Chinese Stalinist, who was all but obliterated from the leadership of the party for his "ultra-leftism" about twenty years ago. However, he not only spent most of that period

in Moscow but seems to have rehabilitated himself completely in the eyes of the Kremlin. He returned to China only in recent years, along with Liu Shao-chin, the "other perfect one," and was quickly assigned the key position of commissar of Lin Piao's Manchurian troops.

Li's importance among the Chinese Stalinists may be gauged from the fact that it was he, and not the other "prominent" Stalinist figures, who represented the CP in the meetings and negotiations with General George C. Marshall in Mukden. Li has now been made boss of the new "trade-union" federation set up by the Stalinists and given charge of the specially created post of "minister of labor," which acquires special importance with the "turn to the proletariat" which is being undertaken by the new regime.

And Chu Teh? Not only did this old military personality have nothing to do with the military operations and spectacular military successes of the past year, but his relegation to the sidelines and to more or less honorific titles has become so conspicuous in Peiping, that some of the Stalinists are now engaged in spreading studied stories about his "old age" and about how he has earned the right in the past to take it easy now.

Chu Teh is 63 years old; up to quite recently, all the propaganda stories about him, both the official ones told by such writers as Edgar Snow and Anna Louis Strong, have gone out of their way to underline Chu's physical sturdiness and vigor. The cause for his being shifted to the sidelines undoubtedly lies more with Chu's retention of political vigor and ambition than with his loss of physical vigor.

It is of course impossible from here to judge exactly how widespread, intensive and acute is the struggle between the two forces: between the "Titoists"—that is, those who want independence from Russia so that China may remain or become an arena for exploitation exclusively in the hands of the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy—and the out-and-out quislings who serve Moscow's imperial plan to keep China as much an obedient vassal as Rumania or Hungary.

That a struggle between these two forces is inevitable in any case, may now be taken for granted. That it has already started in China, that the chessmen are being shifted around in the bureaucratic spheres for the showdown to come, is clear from the evidence at hand. It is doubtful that the American Stalinists, at least, will be imprudent enough to challenge the evidence itself.

**SPARKS in the NEWS**

**SP Sits It Out**

The Socialist Party has completed its membership referendum on the Atlantic Pact. A majority voted in favor of the position submitted by the National Committee—which was to take NO position on the pact itself. This leaves the Socialist Party as probably the only political group in the country with no views on the most important question of national foreign policy.

In the referendum, 15 per cent voted for endorsement of the pact, 28 per cent voted for condemnation, and 57 per cent voted that it was all water over the dam and that the SP should concentrate on urging democratic implementation of the pact as far as possible.

The SP is at present in negotiations for merger with the Social Democratic Federation. The SDF began as a right-wing splitoff from the Socialist Party in 1934 but especially since the end of the war the latter has steadily moved in its political direction. The group in the SDF which opposes the merger is using the SP's refusal to take a position on the A-Pact as an argument for its views. The SDF itself supports present U.S. imperialist foreign policy down the line.

**Or the Mammoth Cave**

"Industrial plants are safe in the wide open spaces of Iowa," proclaims the ad addressed to industrialists by the Iowa Development Commission in Fortune magazine for October. It goes on to add that "A recently published booklet . . . explains there is no defense against atomic attack except that of space."

What happens when a lot of industrial plants respond to the ad and take up all the space? Next stop—Death Valley!

**Distinction**

When Lord Beaverbrook, multimillionaire British newspaper publisher recently suggested that Parliament pass a law fixing a minimum weekly wage of \$16.80, Winston Churchill strenuously objected:

"No, no; it is certainly not our intention to try to win votes by wholesale promises of higher wages."

This clearly shows the great gulf between British Toryism and American Fair Dealism: the Fair Dealer makes all the promises you want.

**Story with a Point**

In St. Paul, AFL leaders gathered for their 68th convention were pursued by reporters seeking some official comment on the establishment of a new AFL in California. Under its full name, the Anti-Falsies League, the new organization was started in Hollywood to campaign against detachable bosoms. Not one top-AFL official would comment but finally the reporters cornered an 80-year-old state federation president. He thought the question over for a while and then, with a perfect poker face, remarked: "We don't have to worry. If they have to wear those things it's not really a bona fide dual movement, is it?"—Les Finnegan (Labor Press Associates).

**How to Win Friends**

"Instead of going to work in a limousine, ride to work in the subways, get yourself pushed around and mauled like everybody else and you'll find people thinking you're a swell guy."—Rev. Norman Vincent Peale, advising employers at the 53rd NAM convention on how to appear human.

Handing out a wage raise would help too.

**ORDER "The UAW and Walter Reuther"**  
by Irving Howe and B. J. Widick  
from LABOR ACTION BOOK SERVICE  
4 Court Sq., Long Island City, N. Y.

**Subscribers — Attention!**  
Check your NAME — ADDRESS — CITY — ZONE — STATE appearing on the upper left-hand corner of page one.  
If there are any mistakes or if anything is left out of the address, especially the ZONE NUMBER, cut out your name and address and mail it to us with the corrections clearly printed.  
13-47  
If this number appears at the bottom of your address, your subscription expires with this issue.  
**RENEW NOW**

**Read LABOR ACTION and THE NEW INTERNATIONAL**  
**ORDER YOUR BOOKS THROUGH LABOR ACTION BOOK SERVICE**  
4 Court Square  
Long Island City 1, N. Y.

**LABOR ACTION**  
A Paper in the Interest of Socialism  
Published Weekly by the Labor Action Publishing Co.  
114 West 14th Street, New York City 11, N. Y.  
GENERAL OFFICES: 4 Court Square, Long Island City 1, N. Y.  
Tel.: IRonsides 6-5117  
Vol. 13, No. 47 November 21, 1949  
Editor: Hal Draper  
Editorial Board: Hal Draper, Albert Gates, Emanuel Garrett  
Business Manager: Joseph Ross  
Subscription Rate: \$1.00 a Year; 50c for Six Months (\$1.25 and 65c for Canada and Foreign)  
Re-entered at Second-Class Matter, May 24, 1940, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.



LABOR VETS GROUP VIEWS ISSUES FACING CONVENTION OF AMERICAN VETERANS COMMITTEE—

Crisis in AVC: What's Happened—and Why?

It is not abusing a much overworked word to say that the American Veterans Committee is in a state of crisis. The membership figure probably stands at around 10,000, to which it has steadily receded from a high point of nearly 100,000 persons two and a half years ago.

There has been a general and marked decline in all activities. The national office is burdened with a \$20,000 debt, which, while not necessarily catastrophic, is at least an adequate index of the condition of the organization.

This decline was manifest at the Cleveland convention in 1948, but it was overshadowed by the anti-Stalinist struggle, which gave a spurious content to the convention and diverted attention from the decline AVC was experiencing.

Looking to the 1949 convention of the American Veterans Committee to be held at the end of this month, LABOR ACTION here presents a view on the present crisis in the organization which we think recommends itself to the attention of veterans and of all progressives interested in their problems.

The seriousness of the situation is clearly felt by the members of the National Planning Committee. That is why some of them placed such desperate hopes in the merger negotiations with the Amvets.

is so, it has proved to be a crippling misconception.

REASONS FOR DECLINE

The 1948 convention gave warning that AVC is in danger of losing its uniqueness under the pressure of the war drive. The expulsion of Stalinists from membership, the flouting with loyalty oaths and constitutional amendments directed against the Stalinists, and undemocratic overtones in the conducting of the convention are disturbing indications that the AVC, in using Stalinist methods against the Stalinists is falling away from its democratic past and preparing the way for the reduction of AVC to the status of just another veterans' organization.

For if the AVC is to have a reason for being it must establish its unique qualities. Otherwise, veterans will see no reason for joining it rather than some other veterans' organization. One of the steps toward the establishment of that uniqueness is the expansion of AVC's positions against the militarization of United States life which has been such a prominent feature of the past two years.

There are other significant reasons for the decline in membership of AVC. A very important one—which cannot be discounted if a sense of proportion is to be observed—is the general decline experienced by all veterans' organizations during the past two years as war memories faded into the background and new associations were established.

On all levels of AVC, additionally, leadership elements have left AVC to go into other organizations such as ADA, which seemed to promise more fruitful fields for liberal political action. It must be factually noted, also, that the concentration of the Stalinists upon the Wallace movement at the expense of the energy they expended in AVC has also been not without effect.

Given our present income, paring of the staff may well be forced upon us. Other organizational measures may be necessary. But longer-term solutions, we believe, have to be sought in the programmatic realm. There is no absolute guarantee, of course, that a reorientation—and a reimplementation—of our program will carry us over the hump, but it is a turn which has to be made if we are to emerge from the impasse which the organization currently finds itself in.

WHAT'S TO BE DONE

All this, however, is water under the well-known bridge. The problem is: in the light of all this, where do we go from here?

The first point which has to be unequivocally established is the necessity for the continued existence of AVC. The need for a liberal veterans' group is even more pressing than it was at the time of the founding of AVC. The reactionary temper of the times has increased rather than decreased in the interim. To give up AVC is to leave the field to the conservative veterans' organizations.

Given our present income, paring of the staff may well be forced upon us. Other organizational measures may be necessary. But longer-term solutions, we believe, have to be sought in the programmatic realm. There is no absolute guarantee, of course, that a reorientation—and a reimplementation—of our program will carry us over the hump, but it is a turn which has to be made if we are to emerge from the impasse which the organization currently finds itself in.

First of all, the turn to the labor movement must be completed and taken off paper, where it now rests. The labor movement is the only large, powerful group which has a program similar to that of AVC. We are natural associates. The necessity for this orientation will be emphasized as the movement of the veterans from the campus increases and the campus chapters inevitably fold up.

Secondly, we must revise our position on bonus and pension legislation, which even conservative institutions support today. Our present position is hardly explicable to the average veteran.

It goes without saying that our previous activities in regard to Jim Crow, housing, civil liberties, etc., should be continued. But these activities must be executed colorfully

and militantly. Further, persistent efforts must be made to involve the membership as a whole. Activity should not be left solely to the top echelons of the organization. This failure to involve large segments of the organization was one of the chief defects of the mid-year housing conference, for example.

The cold war, however, has introduced a tendency into AVC, which, if continued, will destroy the unique character of AVC. This is the tendency to capitulate to the current cold-blooded war preparations and to the war hysteria which is being whipped up in the country. This tendency must be combated. The type of struggle conducted against the CP at the 1948 convention was an alarming symptom. Stalinism can be genuinely defeated only on the basis of a superior program. A defeat administered on any other basis permits the Stalinists to rally democratic sentiment for their own reactionary purposes. AVC must combat the tendencies in national life which, under the guise of a campaign against totalitarian Stalinism, are undermining civil liberties at an alarming rate.

It is then, along these lines, in our opinion, that the hope, enthusiasm, and the excellent work which AVC inspired at its founding can be recaptured.

SPARKS in the NEWS

Cash Deal

Milton Patterson is the head of Maryland's state Welfare Department. According to the Labor Herald of that state, he came on one occasion before the legislature's Finance Committee to explain why they should vote more money for relief to his agency:

"You boys come to me and ask me to put your constituents on relief. . . . Now is a chance for you boys to do something for yourselves. Vote for this appropriation, and when you bring a needy constituent to me for aid I'll have the money for him." (Oct. 28.)

Sounds more like a relief project for needy politicians!

Evils of Socialism

The British Labor government, which has been blamed for heavy fogs, is waiting to see whether the Tories will charge them with responsibility for the fact that there is now a surplus of 2,308,000 women in England and Wales.

Expose People's Enemy

In an article in the August 19 Daily Worker, Joseph Novy admits that puppets have played an important role in the development of the Russian satellite "people's democracies." He pretends to be talking about the role of the Marjet Kopecky puppet theater in Czech cultural life; but if the Kremlin can read between the lines as usual, it will undoubtedly detect the implied criticism.

Nice—for Hogs

"The raisin surplus is so huge that even dumping abroad won't suffice. So they're going to feed perhaps 110,000 tons of raisins to hogs. . . ."

"What a tribute to the American standard of living! In what other country does a hog eat raisins?"—Akron Beacon Journal.

"That's nuthin'. In 1933 they dumped strawberries in the Schuylkill River. In what other country does food flow like water?"

To the Pure . . .

Raise an eyebrow at the new role adopted by Britain's Communist Party member of parliament as Guardian of the Public Morals, urging the country's minister of education to ban the London production of "A Streetcar Named Desire" for British children:

"Make certain," he said, "that none of the British children get to see a play named Desire or something which is an outstanding example of American moral technique."

The Stalinist MP (named William Gallacher or something) ought to get the FULL list from the Catholic Legion of Decency if he's going to go in for Comstockery.

LABOR ACTION BOOK SERVICE

4 Court Sq., Long Island City 1, N. Y. specializes in books and pamphlets on the Labor and Socialist movement, Marxism, etc., and can supply books of all publishers.

Send for our free book list.

Bell Strikers - -

(Continued from page 1)

that Bell should allow men to work in their plant for five years, including war years and only demanding they be fired after they played a leading role in fighting for their local union.

In a weak attempt to show that it was giving the union something, the board did allow two men to go back to work unconditionally. These men were not under any army restriction, nor could the company demonstrate that they had taken any part in the strike battles.

Not content with firing six strikers outright, the board refused to allow nine additional men to return to their jobs at this time. The nine men, part of Category 3 (accused by the company of participating in violence during the strike) were to have their cases reviewed at a later date. Five other men, officers of the local, also in Category 3, were permitted to go back to work temporarily until their cases could be reviewed at a later date.

What date? When the court trials are ended! In short, the board seems to take the position that these men could not get their jobs back if the company succeeds in getting convictions in a series of rigged trials. Presumably if the company fails to get the men convicted, they might be allowed to return to work. The board's position was a simple one: if the accused strikers were convicted by the court for any one of a series of false charges, they would go to jail, serve their term—and then the board would punish them again by taking their means of livelihood away from them.

Thus Dewey's fact-finding board has served Bell Aircraft well. Appointed by Governor Dewey, at the request of Bell, the fact-finding board has so far conceded the major demands of the company. It got the strikers back into production and it

excluded a large section of the leadership and the militant rank and file of the local from the plant.

BLOW AT UNION

Not content with its victory before the fact-finding boards, the company is charging full speed ahead in its prosecution of Local 501 in the courts. The first trial has already resulted in 21 members and friends of the union being convicted of contempt of court with possible sentences of \$250 fine and 30 days in jail. The second mass trial of 17 men began on November 7.

These trials are taking place under the most disadvantageous terms possible for the union men. They are being held in Niagara County, where the law-enforcement agencies, the police, district attorney and judges are all openly siding with the company. The jurors are being selected in an atmosphere of terror and falsification. Time and again union demands for a change of venue to Buffalo have been denied.

The seriousness of the consequences of all this upon the union men cannot be overestimated. It is hard to believe, but these men face individual sentences ranging as high as 18 years in prison for merely having participated in strike activity. These figures are not merely union propaganda, as has been demonstrated by the first quick conviction. The jury "deliberated" for only about 60 minutes to convict 21 people!

In the shop, the company is violating provision after provision of the union contract. The absence of the 14 union leaders not allowed to return to the plant is strongly felt by the ranks and the company has tried to force the ranks to capitulate on point after point. Now that five of the local union leaders have been allowed to return at least temporarily to the plant, the union should be able to stiffen its fight to obtain the full recognition of its contract rights.

Labor Support Decisive in Electing Dems—but What Will Labor Get?

The hotly contested off-year elections two weeks ago resulted generally in victory for candidates pledged to support of the Fair Deal administration. This time practically everyone agrees that "labor did it," though the question remains as to what labor will get out of it.

The key campaign was in the city and state of New York. Lehman swamped Dulles in the senatorial race by racking up heavy pluralities in every major industrial center in the state. Active support by the United AFL-CIO Committee won the election for Mayor O'Dwyer and his ticket. The Liberal Party, which is dominated by the International Ladies Garment Workers Union (AFL), gave Republican candidate Newbold Morris 372,281 votes for mayor. He got 571,071 votes on the Republican ticket. The total vote was a record for an off-year election in New York City. The political organizations of labor apparently did a good job of bell-ringing.

For the first time in its history the Liberal Party ran ahead of the American Labor Party on a city-wide basis. To the Liberal Party that is more important than the defeat of its candidate. The Liberal Party vote meant the difference between victory and defeat for Lehman. In the Bronx, Morris got more Liberal than Republican votes, and the Liberal candidate for borough president ran ahead of the Republican. In Brooklyn the joint

candidate for borough president received more Liberal votes than Republican. The Liberal leadership will no doubt try to use its new-found strength to get better terms in political horse-trades with the two major parties.

In Philadelphia, Democratic candidates backed by Americans for Democratic Action cracked the Republican administration for the first time in years. In San Francisco, Jack Shelly, president of the California State Federation of Labor, was elected to Congress. Eight industrial cities in upstate New York switched from Republican to Democratic mayors. Bridgeport and Norwalk, Conn., re-elected Socialist Party mayors.

In Boston, ex-Mayor, ex-Governor, ex-Congressman and ex-convict James Curley was licked by Democratic rival John B. Haynes who had the clear endorsement of the national administration. In the New Jersey gubernatorial race labor was split and the Republican incumbent won. Chief reason for this, however, was the fight within the Democratic Party between Boss Hague and the rival machine of Mayor Frank Kenney in Jersey City. The results indicate that Hague's empire has crumbled for good.

The elections showed a remarkably similar pattern throughout the country. Where labor was united, its leaders got out the vote with even greater success than last year for the candidates they had designated. It is true that most of the candidates supported will not do labor much good in office. But the picture is, more than ever, one of great labor political power and vigor shunted into the dead end of support for capitalist political parties and their local representatives. Even the Liberal Party, piling up a large vote in its own name, gave it to a candidate of the party of Taft and Hartley. The election reinforces the idea that labor could organize for victory with a party of its own, running real labor candidates.

WHY AVC GREW

Are there valid reasons for disbanding AVC? We do not think so. If there were good reasons for the founding of a liberal veterans' organization five years ago, the necessity for continuing its existence is even more pressing today, when liberal ideas are more grossly under attack than they were then. But does the possibility for the continued activity of AVC exist? We think that it does. Before examining the present conjuncture, it will be useful to examine the general concepts upon which AVC was founded.

AVC was founded with the express purpose of being not just another conservative American Legion, Veterans of Foreign Wars, or similar organization. Its first years fully justified the high hopes of liberal veterans and their civilian well-wishers. On a whole series of questions the AVC took a progressive position strikingly opposed to the narrowness and bigotry exhibited by other veterans' organizations.

The forthright position taken on the draft, Jim Crow, housing, veterans' allotments, the labor movement, the Taft-Hartley Law, the Smith Act, the DP laws, and a host of other concrete questions seemed to indicate that an organization with a new promise had entered the veterans' field—and the national arena as a whole. Chapters sprang up all over the country, and liberal young men and women joined up. The outlook seemed rosy.

BONUS POSITION HURT

But there was a negative aspect to AVC which was to make itself felt as time went on. It was implicit in the slogan "Citizens First, Veterans Second." On the part of most of the founders of AVC this slogan was intended to express the idea that AVC was not a self-seeking group searching for special privileges at the expense of other deserving sectors of the population. For some this slogan also expressed the idea that the answer to veterans' problems was to be sought in the solution of special problems as a whole.

In practice, however, the execution of this policy resulted in the slighting of justified veterans' grievances. This was most clearly felt in AVC's opposition to the veterans' bonus and pension plans. To the average veteran our position seemed absurd or reactionary, for with one degree of clarity or another he felt that a bonus was a certain recompense for extraordinary services rendered in comparison with all other elements in the population. On this issue which, after all, was one of the most concrete confronting the veteran, organizations like the American Legion could appear to be to the left of us. Certainly, one of the reasons for our failure to recruit lay in a false attitude toward the bonus question.

Another reason for the decline of AVC lay in the failure to implement our pro-labor orientation. Of all the large social groups within the country the program of the labor movement most closely resembles that of AVC. Though we had the support of the labor leadership we made no serious attempt to organize within the ranks of labor. It is probable that this alienation was motivated by a vaguely-felt and insufficiently thought-out desire to remain "respectable" in the eyes of the public, especially the Washington public—a desire to be a friend of labor but not too closely a part of it. If this

No. 3 (September-October Issue)

CONFRONTATION INTERNATIONALE

Revue Internationale de Discussion

LABOR ACTION BOOK SERVICE 4 COURT SQUARE LONG ISLAND CITY 1, N. Y.

Single copy: 50 cents 1-year sub (6 issues): \$2.50

THE PERMANENT REVOLUTION by Leon Trotsky \$3.50

Order Your Copy From LABOR ACTION BOOK SERVICE 4 Court Square Long Island City 1, New York

WORLD POLITICS

West Germans Taking Advantage of Struggles in Allied Occupation

By EUGENE KELLER

The Big Three conference last week of Acheson, Bevin and Schuman at Paris, which was concerned mainly with arriving at a unified policy toward the liquidation of the program of dismantling German industries, ended rather indecisively by leaving the actual negotiations to the high commissioners of the respective powers. These negotiations will involve the "concessions" to be wrung from the Adenauer regime in West Germany in exchange for the end of dismantling.

The allegedly common agreement of the Western powers on this issue cannot reconcile the differences among them which have been and will continue to be centered around the economic potential which Germany should retain, and therefore the role Germany is to play. The issue of dismantling has been, to be sure, of vital importance to the Germans; and it is because of this—that is, the tremendous political pressures which the continuous dismantling together with the acute unemployment situation in Western Germany set up—that it was bound to be stopped.

FIGHT OVER DISMANTLING

The French and British, however, will not tire of proposing and attempting to impose new methods by which to keep Germany in chains. They already have demanded that the Bonn government accede to the Ruhr statute which removes the industries located in the districts adjoining that river permanently from German sovereignty and places restrictions on their production which are only remotely governed by the needs of the German people (or any other people for that matter). They demand various "security" guarantees which include a ceiling on steel production, etc.

The immediate cause leading up to the parley was the numerous instances of violation on the part of the American High Commissioner, McCloy, of Allied "unity"—that is, the latter made a number of statements favoring and promising the end of dismantling, and on several occasions was reported to have prevented shipment of already dismantled plants without consulting his French and British colleagues. This rather undiplomatic attitude must have emphasized to the Europeans that America would go to considerable lengths to press for the realization of its aims on the continent; and the unconditional endorsement which McCloy received from Acheson put the official seal on the former's actions.

All this would be of relatively minor importance only if it were possible for the U. S. to impose its will by the mere exertion of its tremendous economic and political weight. However, the regimes of Western Europe have long ago achieved a degree of internal stability and therefore a relative independence and freedom of action which allows them to assert their own interests as against those of the U. S. with some prospect of success.

They continue to be dependent upon America; but in a world in which the American "way of life" is threatened by a thousand known but incalculable forces, America cannot spurn or alienate its allies. From this fact arises the dilemma of U. S. foreign policy.

INTERALLIED SCRAP

The aims of the United States in Western Europe are dictated essentially by military considerations. Against this it may be argued that, in the short run at least, the U. S. is interested in ensuring a widening area of export markets; that, for example, the pressure by the ECA (Marshall Plan) for the "integration" of the economies of the countries of Western Europe arises from a desire to create a large economic unit in which mass sales to a mass market can be realized.

For narrow and reactionary reasons of their own, the French and British are opposed to this plan. Why are the Americans determined to overcome this opposition? If they were able to go beyond economic-military considerations, why could they not have given in to the French proposals, expressed in an underhanded, non-official way, which would orient Germany's trade toward Eastern Europe and Russia, thus hoping to eliminate an obnoxious competitor in the rest of the world?

The French people, including the French capitalists, are neither interested in another world war nor in the military designs of the Americans on their country as a base of operations. Any child knows that France will be swallowed up by the Russians in case of war unless a deal can be made with them. Hence the French would not be harmed, one way or the other, if Germany's trade were to go east.

The Americans, however, cannot allow their potential enemies to be strengthened by any such trade. If they could they would engage in it themselves, and that this is not their intention is proved by the growing list of "strategic" materials and machinery which cannot

be shipped to Russia or its satellites. (There are now even lists of technological data which the U. S. government asks U. S. producers not to disseminate in these countries.)

REPARATIONS PROPOSED

The Americans are desirous of a relatively strong Western bloc in which a revived Germany, given its powerful industrial base and skilled and plentiful manpower, would play a primary role. The more attempts they make to bring this desire to fruition, the deeper becomes the antagonism between them and the French and British. Nor is this antagonism compensated for them by very rosy perspectives in Germany.

The Adenauer regime, most probably on the prodding of the Americans, has been quite conciliatory on the dismantling issue. It has proposed that dismantling cease in exchange for the payment of reparations from current production and the delivery of new machinery similar to that which had been slated for dismantling. It also offered substantial shares of West German industries for sale, etc.

In thus accepting the principle of reparations as a politically expedient, Adenauer advances a program which serves to strengthen German industry. McCloy too has been reported in favor of reparations from current production, which is an obvious reversal of U. S. policy from what it has been since Potsdam. The method of exacting reparations has ostensibly been the chief issue dividing the U. S. and Russia in Germany. The latter has always favored reparations from current production, while the former opposed reparations until Germany would become economically "self-sustaining." Both, however, subscribed to the "Level of Industries Plan," devised at Paris in early 1946, which had as its consequence the dismantling of all "surplus" (i.e., "above level") industries.

STEERING BETWEEN THE POWERS

The Adenauer regime, which represents largely the big industrialists and their managerial personnel, is not as yet in a position to do anything else than to accept America terms if it wants German industries revitalized. America in turn is compelled to grant more and more independence of action to the German industrialists and their government, if it wants them to become the keystone of an "integrated" Western Europe and as a price of their abstention from coming to terms with the Russians. The Germans are still utterly dependent upon the occupants of their country; but to take advantage of their rifts among the great powers that oppress them is their indisputable right and a compelling necessity.

To realize this idea politically involves a slow and enormously complex process. Yet the very existence of this possibility puts American policy in Germany in jeopardy. It has not been difficult for the Americans to prevent the spread of Stalinist influence in Western Germany; in this they had the help of Russian policy in the Eastern sector. It will in the future be their far more difficult task to prevent Germany from becoming "neutral," with its industries either oriented toward the East or pressing for ever greater shares in the world markets under pain of lending its strength to the Russian economy.

The Russians have not, of course, confined themselves to a passive policy in Germany; but the relative stability of the Western German government and the perspectives, limited though they be, which have been created with it, have given the Americans important political advantages so far. The Russians have thus suffered a setback, and this may be surmised from their creating a "people's democracy" in Eastern Germany, not only without holding elections but also without giving a single major government post to any but trusted Stalinists.

This may have been prompted by the opposition of the Poles and Czechs to a revived Germany; the point is that the Russians remain far weaker in Germany than the Americans and they cannot dare as yet to overrule this position. Their renewed attempts to gain a base among militarists and former Nazis, etc., will suffer from the competition of the Americans in the West, acting through the Bonn government. Yet these are relatively transient factors and the Americans are rightly worried over the potentialities of Russian policy.

Thus the Paris conference and its attendant circumstances have again revealed the many obstacles facing U. S. foreign policy, the deepening dilemma in which it finds itself. By the same token it should also have revealed to all who think independently that to resist the demands of the American State Department means to gain the time necessary to create the independent political forces which can oppose both Russian and American dictates.