

Interview with a Woman Courier Of the Ukrainian Underground

'I Am a Partisan!'

BY LEOPOLD WILHELM

It looked pretty fishy to the American constabulary guard at the Bavarian-Czech frontier. A girl who claims to come from the Ukraine? A girl who appears on the scene suddenly like a cat, who refuses to show any papers, and insistently asks after an address in Passau? Something was wrong there.

The guard took the girl in and put her behind lock and key. Surprisingly enough the girl did not mind. She did not ask for more. Then she was taken out for a hearing and in the interrogation it turned out that actually everything was in perfect order and just as she had claimed.

The eyes of the interrogating officer and of his stenographer went wide open when the girl laid her evidence on the desk: a loaded pistol in a shoulder holster such as police officers wear, a vial of poison, a soiled, folded-over credential from the commanding staff of the UPA (Ukrainian Liberation Army) and an envelope with several documents whose delivery was the purpose of this extraordinary voyage.

"I am a Partisan," said the girl,

The accompanying article by Leopold Wilhelm appeared in Die Neue Zeitung of November 17, 1949. This newspaper is published in Munich, Germany, under the auspices of the American authorities. LABOR ACTION has every reason to believe that the story is authentic in every respect since it conforms with other information which is regularly received by us from reliable sources.

adding to this only the most essential details.

Now I was sitting across from the girl in the Ganghof settlement of Regensburg. It is the large reservoir of Ukrainians, where for several streets you forget that you are in a South German city. The room in which we are sitting is small and narrow. With the greatest effort two army coats and a table have been squeezed into it. It is ordinarily occupied by two young Ukrainians.

Today the little room is filled to overflow. Comrades have come to see Oksana, the emissary from the

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Big Steel Gives Fake Reasons to Up Prices

United States Steel has announced an average price-hike of \$4.00 per ton on its products. The other steel companies are following the leader, as usual. Reasons given for the hike are a rise in the cost of materials, and the pension plan recently won by the United Steel Workers (CIO).

Evidence is already at hand that every single reason for the increase given by Benjamin F. Fairless, head of U. S. Steel, is exactly the opposite of known facts. A congressional investigation is threatened.

For instance, Everett Kassalow, executive secretary of the CIO Full Employment Committee, has pointed out that the major raw materials of the steel industry have gone down in price, rather than up. During the past year scrap prices have dropped from \$43 to \$32 per ton. Tin is down from \$1.03 a pound to 79 cents. Zinc is down from 17½ cents to 9½ cents.

As to the increase in the cost of labor due to the pension plan:

U. S. Steel produces about 30 million tons of steel a year. An average price high of \$4.00 a ton will increase its profits by \$120 million a year.

On the other hand, the corporation employs about 250,000 workers. The

pension will cost U. S. Steel about 10 cents per hour per worker. If all the workers went through the year without a layoff, they would pile up about 500 million working hours, or a pension fund cost of \$50 million a year. But since this \$50 million is a business expense, it is deductible from the 38 per cent tax on profits, and thus \$19 million of it will come out of the funds otherwise allocated for taxes. The pension will cost the corporation only \$31 million, as compared with the \$120 million profit increase.

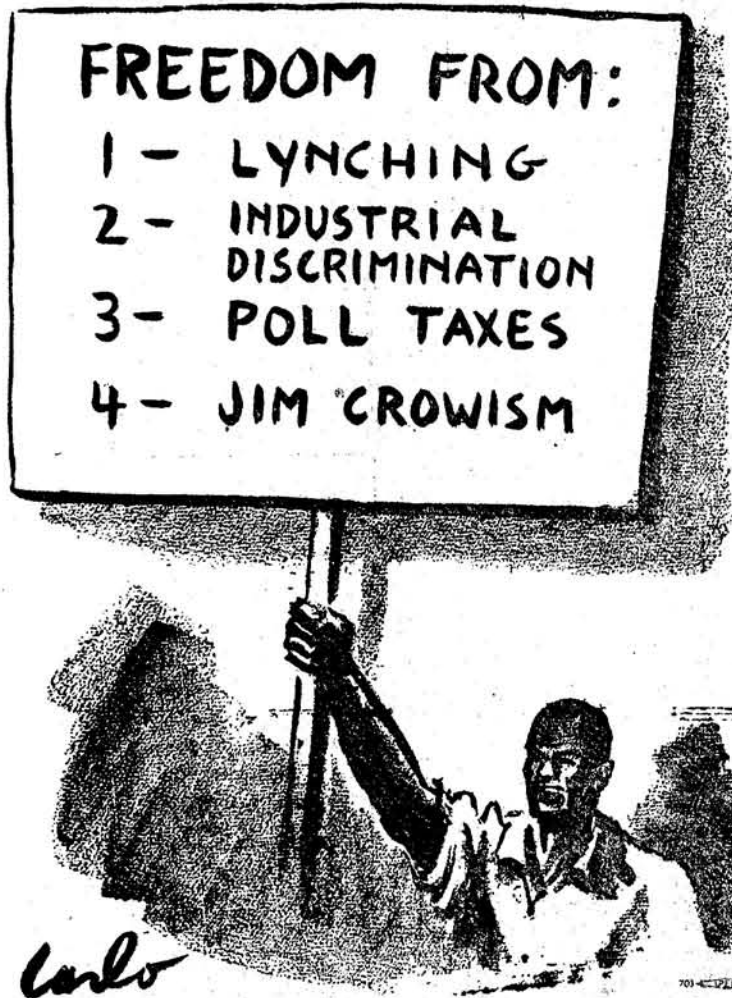
Thus, regarded from any point of view, the steel price hike is simply an example of the capitalist slogan of charging all the traffic will bear and the public go hang.

An interesting sidelight on this business is the fact that when the president's board handed down its decision in the steel workers' wage and pension negotiations, it stated that should the industry increase prices the union would be justified in demanding a wage increase. However, Philip Murray has let it be known that his union will "honor its contract" which calls for no demands until November next year.

This act of "self-denial" at the expense of the membership of the steel union is being hailed by some liberals as further proof of Murray's "statesmanship" and excellent feel for public relations. Meanwhile, the public will be rooked, the steel workers will get nothing, and the steel companies will get swollen profits to compensate them for their public embarrassment.

Anti-Jim Crow Mobilization Forms To Invade Washington

Four Freedoms for America!



By GORDON HASKELL

A national emergency civil rights mobilization, spearheaded by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, is being planned for January 15-17 when thousands of delegates from some fifty national organizations are to assemble in Washington, D. C. As it is expected that fair employment and other anti-discrimination measures will come up early in the second session of the 81st Congress, the purpose of the mobilization will be to put the maximum pressure on both houses of Congress consistent with the objectives and habits of the organizations involved.

This is not to be a "March on Washington," such as that proposed and later called off by Randolph in 1940. The NAACP and other organizations involved are not calling on Negroes and whites who support the cause of racial equality to rally in masses and exert the kind of pressure on Congress which could be produced by the presence of tens of thousands of irate citizens personally petitioning for a redress of an ancient and terrible grievance.

The national emergency civil rights mobilization is to consist of accredited delegates from chapters of the NAACP and locals of unions, veterans' organizations and the other participating bodies. Senate Ma-

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Arab States' Intrigues Help Israel

Israeli CP in a Quandary as Russia Gets Set for Line Twister

By AL FINDLEY

The UN resolution to internationalize Jerusalem has had the expected results. On the one hand there have been the powerless appeals of the UN Trusteeship Committee for everybody to help carry out the resolution. On the other hand there is the firm determination of both Israel and Jordan to flout the decision and hold on to their respective sections of Jerusalem. In this defiance they have the secret support of the U. S. and England.

Neither Jordan nor Israel have asked to be present at the deliberations of the Trusteeship Council. This constitutes a very "diplomatic" form of obstructionism. In addition, Israel has taken a public step toward open defiance. The process of transferring ministries to Jerusalem has been speeded up. The Knesseth (parliament) has been transferred there. The Israeli government did not annex Jerusalem and incorporate it into the state of Israel.

The unofficial proclamation of Israel as the capital was intended to give that appearance and satisfy some of the popular clamor. Actually all that was done was a transfer of offices to Jerusalem. The Foreign Office and other ministries in contact with foreigners remain in Tel-Aviv. The question of obtaining foreign recognition for this half-step was thus avoided.

Such faltering in the face of a situation that demanded either quiet intrigue or bold action has only angered the foreign proponents of internationalization and did not steal the thunder from the domestic fascists and rightists who demanded that Jerusalem be proclaimed as the capital of Israel. The only one it seems to have pleased is the U. S. State Department, which warned against hasty action but did not object to some indication of opposition.

ABDULLAH CONNIVES

A third and possibly most important development has been the speeding up of peace talks between Jordan and Israel. It is now definitely established that such negotiations have taken place and are progressing. What precise stage these negotiations have reached is unknown. One report says that all issues have been settled except the question of a corridor to the sea. Abdullah wants a port and a corridor under Jordanian sovereignty. Israel is willing to give a "free port area" and a railroad owned by Jordan, but not sovereignty. An additional demand, raised by Israel for bargaining purposes, is the expulsion of British troops from Jordan.

Abdullah is now on a trip to his nephew, the regent of Iraq. One ex-

planation is that Abdullah is ready to sign a peace treaty, but does not want to do so without the support of at least one other Arab state. Iraq is his only hope. Iraq is ruled by a member of the same Hashemite dynasty as his. Iraq is currently working for unity with Syria. Egypt, Abdullah's rival, has issued a statement warning against threatening the independence of another Arab state, whether by aggression or by pressure. This statement applies to both Iraq's ambition in Syria and to the truncated independent Arab state in Western Palestine envisioned by the original partition resolution. Egypt still has a "provisional government" headed by the Mufti "functioning" in its territory. Abdullah hopes that he can win Iraq from lukewarm acquiescence over to active support of his ambitions and his peace proposal for Palestine and thus frustrate his and Iraq's common enemy, Egypt.

CP LEADER ON SHELF?

The position of Russia in favor of internationalization of Jerusalem has brought some internal difficulties to the Stalinist parties, and the growing "threat" of peace between Israel and Jordan has alarmed the Stalinists. There are rumors that Russia is preparing a new shift on the question of Jerusalem. The Stalinists have zig-zagged on the question of Palestine more than on any other. A new change will not shock anyone.

The general secretary of the Israeli Communist Party, Mikunis, has made no public appearance since Russia came out for detaching Jerusalem from Israel, and despite his known state of good health, gave his deputy in parliament the job of defending the Russian position. It is reported that a special Cominform commission has arrived in Israel to investigate.

The only REAL indication of a shift has been Russian abstention on

the trusteeship resolution calling for compliance with the UN decision. The contrary indication of the Israeli CP publishing a declaration this week confessing its errors and proclaiming in effect that they should have known how Russia would vote, is no indication whatsoever. The Russian Stalinists have only the deepest contempt for their stooges and agents in every country. The latter read about the change in Russian line in newspapers of other political tendencies and follow orders.

The planned shift in the Russian position may explain the fact that the American Labor Party of New York came out against the internationalization of Jerusalem. Being in New York and close to the Russian UN delegation, they MAY have gotten wind of the new position early. On the other hand, there is a slim possibility that this is the first and only victory of the fellow travelers (T. O. Thackeray and Eugene Connolly) over the Stalinists in the ALP.

In Israel, peace between that country and Jordan will be opposed on the one hand by the Heruth Party (former Irgun), the Stern group and other irredentists who want all of Palestine and who gamble with a new war. On the other hand it will be opposed by the CP and the Mappam since it does not fit in with Russian foreign policy.

The fact that a peace treaty between Israel and Jordan will inexorably lead to a complete breakdown of opposition to peace treaties by all Arab states, and since it will lead to general formal peace in the Near East is therefore in the interests of Israel and especially the Israeli working class, means nothing to these people. One group is ready to sacrifice national interest for "expansion purposes"; the other is ready (with some ambivalence in the case of the Mappam) to sacrifice Israeli's interests for the Stalinist foreign policy.

UAW Local Advised by Leaders to Sign Away Opposition to Company's Purge Proposal—

Reuther OKs Acceptance of Witchhunt Contract

By SAM ADAMS

Completely reversing its position of two weeks ago, Local 669 of the United Auto Workers of Paterson, N. J., this week adopted a modified version of a clause dealing with "subversive" workers proposed by the Wright Aeronautical Corporation.

The modified clause now gives the right to the union to take such cases to grievance procedure and arbitration. The following three paragraphs represent the modified company proposal, with the second paragraph being the "concession" of the corporation:

"In the event that the United States Air Force or any other government agency concerned with the security regulations applicable to the employer advises the employer to restrict any member of the Union from work on or access to classified information or material, the Union and the International will not hold the employer responsible for such action as

it (the employer) may reasonably take to comply with its contractual obligations to the government.

"Any claim that the employer has acted improperly in attempting to comply with the law pertaining to security or with its security agreements with the government shall be subject to the grievance procedure and arbitration provisions of this agreement.

"The Union and the International recognize that the employer has certain obligations under the law pertaining to security, and in its contract with the government as required by the security regulations of the armed forces, and agree that nothing contained in this agreement is intended to place the employer in violation of such law pertaining to security and security agreements with the government."

The local adopted the modified clause at the suggestion of UAW International President Walter Reuther

and Irving Levy, general counsel of the UAW. It was Levy's position that, since the above was the prevailing practice in the country, it did not make much difference whether or not the local signed such an agreement; he proposed therefore that it should sign.

REUTHER GAVE OK

For his part, Reuther advised the local to sign but, to keep the record straight for himself, safely suggested that if Local 669 would refuse to sign and go out on strike, then the international office of the UAW would support it.

It seems clear that the chief officers of the UAW are succumbing to the pressure of Washington and participating in the national witch-hunt which menaces a militant labor movement. One has to be blind not to see, since the Bell strike in Buffalo, that this witch-hunt is not essentially or primarily an anti-Stalinist or anti-

Russian measure, but a legal victimization of militant, radical and socialist groups and individuals.

NO CHALLENGE ON PRINCIPLE

Reuther, the ex-socialist, knows this very well. He also knows that the Workers Defense League, who just sponsored a dinner in his honor as a labor leader and a fighter for civil rights, is itself seeking ways and means of challenging the dastardly methods used by the attorney general's office, acting on the president's directive in listing organizations as subversive without first giving such organizations an opportunity to hear the evidence against them and to present refuting evidence. Instead, the "Russian method" is employed—organizations are considered guilty until they prove their innocence. Thus traditional legal procedure is thrown overboard and replaced by an obviously totalitarian practice.

By not fighting this new extra-legal

The recent orders of the U. S. solicitor general, approved by President Truman, for the elimination of race discrimination in housing financed by government money, "are meaningless before the ink has dried on them" if the Federal Housing Administration is going to continue to "find or devise loopholes or excuses to evade their implementation."

So says Walter White, top leader of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People which has long carried on a fight to achieve the objectives pointed to in the executive order. The FHA, says White in a signed article in the New York Herald Tribune for December 23, is not carrying out the order. "A show-down," says the prominent Negro leader, "is imminent and inevitable." He intends to find out whether the order, which "was widely praised all over the United States," was issued to make Negroes feel good or really to abolish housing bias.

Good reason for White's refusal to take the recent step at face value is given in his account of how Roosevelt the grandfather of the Truman Fair Deal, kicked the issue around with his accustomed political duplicity. (See box accompanying this story.) Added force is given to this story by the fact that White is a New Deal-Fair Dealer himself.

The NAACP campaign, writes White, has been carried on for over 10 years "to persuade the FHA to

cease its flagrantly discriminatory practices, which were so brazen as to include in its underwriters' manual specific instructions to refuse approval of loans to minorities except in segregated areas." After detailing the Roosevelt runaround, White recalls that the New Deal president "did nothing whatever to enforce his order" against discrimination.

TRUMAN FOLLOWS SUIT

Finally in 1947 the FHA was forced to remove the discriminatory provision from its own underwriters' manual. "But FHA continued its discrimination by recommending inclusion of restrictive covenants in new housing developments until the United States Supreme Court ruled that no agency of government could enforce such covenants."

The same thing is happening now, after the issuance of the latest anti-Jim Crow order, charges White: "Apparently identical tactics are now being followed by the FHA to avoid compliance with the newest order to cease and desist from racial discrimination. An anonymous FHA spokesman is quoted in an Associated Press story out of Washington as saying that 'racial segregation in public housing projects will be left up to local authorities,' adding, as a concession to the president's order, and public opinion, 'so long as equitable provision is made for all races.'"

"It is manifest now that neither the FHA nor the United States Army intends to comply with the explicit orders of the president, the attorney general or the solicitor general if they can get away with such nose-thumbing." And White concludes by calling on Truman to "insist" on compliance and show that he can "lead his own administration."

At the moment, then, the step forward which was seen in the president's order against discrimination in public housing remains on paper like Roosevelt's similar promissory notes. The real-estate interests and the Dixiecrats in Truman's own party are the forces to which the president is bowing.

As before, Jim Crow in housing will be eliminated even within the narrower field of government-financed projects only by the continued militant fight of the Negro people and labor, and not by reliance on the good will or promises of the Truman-Fair Deal politicians.

BEHIND THE
KOSTOV CASE
See story on
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Closed Shop

The Daily Herald, British Labor Party paper, reports that unionization of Buckingham Palace is now complete, from footmen up and down. A couple of years ago the king was also made a life member of the Trade Union Congress. It is not certain whether the TUC has guaranteed to fight for his job security.

AFL Says Pay Boost Is Due for 1950

By L. G. SMITH

In a bulletin sent to its affiliates last week the American Federation of Labor stated that during 1950 the unions should get wage increases for their members amounting to more than ten cents an hour.

The bulletin, which no doubt represents the thinking of William

Green, George Meany and other AFL leaders, gives a general prediction of the economic prospects for 1950 and proposes a program to prevent the country from sliding into a depression.

The AFL brass predict that business will be good during the first part of the year but warn that the second half will bring real danger of depression.

In their opinion, even an average 10 cents an hour wage boost may not be enough to bolster the purchasing power of the working people to the point at which they can buy the products of industry in large enough amounts to keep America from an economic breakdown.

The AFL predicts that this year will find an average of 5,100,000 people unemployed, and that there will be many more unemployed during the industrial slack season.

That is the figure they foresee if things go well. But should industry refuse to give this wage increase without an increase in prices, things may get a lot worse.

THEY DON'T SAY

The AFL bulletin presents a program for the nation. They propose that businessmen continue to spend money to build plants and re-equip their present factories. Yet they do not reveal what inducement businessmen will have to do this if their present facilities are operating at such a low level as to keep five million out of work.

The AFL heads declare that government spending is not the solution to the problem. "To build big government even bigger and make our economy dependent on it would be a serious step away from the way of life

which has brought us freedom and high living standards," they say. Yet they do not propose that the government stop spending billions on its military and other projects. Obviously that would immediately throw additional millions out of work, many of them AFL members.

In proposing their wage policy, the AFL leaders state that they are willing to "cooperate with management to reduce production costs," in the hope that the money thus saved would then be passed on to the workers over the bargaining table in wages. They don't state by what means these costs can be reduced, short of speedup.

The thing most obviously lacking in the AFL's statement is a program of action for the unions. That is: HOW are the industrialists to be induced to give the 10 cent wage increase? How are they to be prevented from increasing prices so that the wage increase will really mean something in purchasing power? How can these ends be achieved without a struggle for which no preparations are made?

And finally, in this wonderful system of "free enterprise" which the AFL is pledged to preserve at all costs, how are over five million American workers, who will be thrown out of work next year through no fault of their own, going to pay their bills?

Memo TO WALTER REUTHER

Dear Brother Reuther:

Trade-union leaders, even those who boast (or don't boast) of radical pasts, are not given to generalized discussions. "That's just theory," they like to say when someone points to the possible consequences of a dangerous step they have taken. Sometimes, however, theory has an odd way of standing up and smacking you right in the face. If you will forgive the suggestion, theory has just given you a good strong wallop to the jaw.

In the last few years the leadership of the UAW has developed the idea that trade unions have the right to exert tight political discipline over their functionaries. You have also developed the idea that the CIO has the right to insist that international unions follow its political line.

Thus, one of the main charges you pressed against the Stalinist-led CIO unions was that in the last presidential election they supported Wallace instead of Truman. "Either follow CIO policy or get out," you said to the Stalinists. The fact that this came with a certain dubious grace from you who, in the famous GM strike, had veered from Murray's wage policy, we shall not here underline too heavily.

That was your policy with regard to political action—a policy, incidentally, far more rigid and disciplined than the one followed by the British trade unions that support the British Labor Party, and even more rigid and disciplined than that followed by political tendencies that are occasionally attacked as "Bolshevik."

Anti-Stalinist militants in the UAW spoke up against this policy, insisting that unions do not have the right to exert political discipline over their affiliates or functionaries, that the political action of a union must be entirely on a voluntary basis, and that the CIO had no right to force an affiliate to adhere to political discipline. You rejected such criticisms.

Now we would bring to your attention an incident that happened in New York recently. The ILGWU refused to support for mayor of New York the Tammany hack who was endorsed by most of the AFL unions. The ILGWU instead endorsed Newbold Morris, a Fusion-Republican-Liberal candidate.

The wisdom of this choice need not here be discussed; what is important is the right of the ILGWU to make its choice. After the election the nabobs of the AFL Central Council began putting pressure on Joseph Tuvim, ILGWU delegate to that council, to resign because he had not supported the AFL political line in New York City. Latest reports have it that the ILGWU may withdraw from the council entirely.

Now don't you think that's an interesting incident? We would ask you: in light of your position on political discipline in trade unions, wouldn't you have been required to endorse the AFL action against the ILGWU? We assume that if you were in New York you might have agreed with the ILGWU position in the last election; we assume your conception of realism has not yet matured to the point of supporting a Tammany agent.

You see, perhaps, how theory has a way of boomeranging. When you're playing political second fiddle to Phil Murray in the quite comfortable movement against the Stalinists, you shout: "Follow CIO policy or get out." But then why can't the AFL leaders in New York say the same thing to your friend Dubinsky? And now that they have, doesn't the logic of your view require you to support the AFL leadership against Dubinsky?

Will you speak up on this question, or will you remain as silent about it as the UAW's *Ammunition* has been with regard to a certain book—but hush! Livingston might hear us. . . .

Yours for theory,

R. FAHAN

Curran's 'Confession' Card in NMU

Joe Curran, would-be dictator of the NMU, who formerly played ball for the Stalinist power machine in the union, then broke with them, has since set out to outdo his former friends' methods. Included in his arsenal of tricks learned from the Stalin school of unionism is the system of "confessions" and recantations.

Following is the actual text of the "confession" statements drawn up by the Curran administration. Any union member who has affixed his name to anti-Curran literature issued in the union is asked to sign it. Refusal to sign this confession form is, under the present circumstances, tantamount to leaving the industry, since the Curran dictatorship has complete control of the closed-shop hiring hall setup. The text follows:

I, _____, Book No. _____, wish to state to the membership that I am not associated with the phony slander now being passed out in the Port of New York against the National Office.

The writers of this lying sheet distorted the truth in order to secure my name for the purpose of using it to help confuse the membership.

I take this means to denounce them in their disruptive work against the membership and to state that I fully endorse and support Joe Curran in his efforts to drive them out of the Union.

(signature)

Not in the Headlines

Oligarchy

DEC. 10—This week, at the hearing of the Celler committee of the House investigating monopoly, President Carrol M. Shanks of the Prudential Insurance Company, was asked how the directors of his giant concern are elected. At first Shanks insisted that, since Prudential is a "mutual" company, members of its board of directors are elected by the policy holders. Then he broke down and admitted that "as a practical matter" the board elects and re-elects its own members.

No "independent" candidate could even be "nominated" unless he got a petition signed by 31,000 policy holders, admitted Shanks. And that would be a miracle. The reluctant witness finally agreed with Celler that "Prudential, the second largest insurance company in the United States, with over \$7 billion of assets, has its destinies and funds controlled by a self-perpetuating board."

Army Stalls

Joseph L. Rauh Jr., chairman of the ADA national executive, has charged that the army is doing some "foot-dragging" on the proposal to send a

delegation of civil leaders, including labor men, to Germany to see at first hand what is happening on the advertised "racial equality" program for occupation troops.

Rauh wrote at the beginning of December to Defense Secretary Louis Johnson after the Committee Against Jim Crow in Military Service and Training had sent "34 fruitless days" seeking a reply to its request that the Defense Department authorize such a trip.

Commenting on the run-around by Johnson, President Dodson of the National Bar Association (Negro lawyers' group) charged that Johnson's actions "pointed to a fear that the facts to be uncovered overseas might prove highly embarrassing to him."

Statistic

The NAM News, in its sworn statement to the post office in November, admitted that the circulation of that organ of the troglodytes is down to 15,000.

At the same time the Communist Party's Daily Worker gave its circulation as only 23,000.

Both kinds of reaction aren't doing so well.

OHIO LABOR NOTES

Cleveland Transit Workers Strike Despite Appeals of Union Leaders

By JOE CLARK

CLEVELAND, Dec. 24—The Cleveland bus and streetcar system is owned by the city and administered by a transit board and an umpire, but these arrangements have not given the employees economic security. The umpire's name is David Ralph Hertz and he is no friend of the employees. The workers are organized in Local 268 of the Amalgamated Street, Electric Railway and Motor Coach Employees, with 4200 members.

After many attempts to settle a number of differences, especially a vacation problem, the union took a city-wide vote of all members on the question of a strike unless the umpire met certain conditions soon. The result was an overwhelming Yes vote.

After a week of dickering with the umpire got nowhere, a special meeting was called on the evening of December 21. Over 1100 members attended; the others were out on runs or preparing to go out. Thomas Meaney, local president, Harry Lang, secretary-treasurer, and Robert Slack, international representative, all spoke in favor of postponing strike action. But the members were tired of the run-around. After a couple of hours of stormy discussion a strike vote was taken. Result: 496 in favor, 297 against. The strike was called forthwith and went into effect at midnight.

The appeals of Meaney and the others were completely disregarded. The rank and file got on its feet and spoke in no uncertain terms. It was, in fact, a revolt against the misleadership of Meaney and his gang.

AFL URGES BACKDOWN

Such howls of rage as were evoked by the strike have not been heard in Cleveland for many a year. The

press, the radio, the mayor's office, the Cleveland Federation of Labor—all are united against the strikers. But everything has its lighter side and so has this strike. Thomas Meaney, who did everything in his power to prevent the strike, is getting most of the blame for it. He is pictured by the press and radio as the double-dyed villain and double-crossing crook who promised the umpire to keep things straight and then called the strike. If the papers know about the rank-and-file revolt they are cleverly keeping it quiet.

The Cleveland Federation of Labor has done its part in denunciation of the strike. It feels slighted because the strikers did not first consult and get its approval. Its leaders contacted William Green, president of the AFL, at his home in Coshocton, Ohio, and urged him to take some action against the strikers. Green very obligingly sent a communication to the strikers urging them to go back to work and discuss things afterward. But the workers were not biting; they just ignored the communication. They are still on strike—all of them.

Mayor Burke has threatened the strikers with all sorts of dire penalties. He will furnish police escorts for strikebreakers; if necessary he will call out the national guard. Governor Lausche, the great democrat, has promised to help the mayor in every way. The indignant mayor says: "This is an illegal strike; it is a strike against the government." The transit board threatens to invoke the Ferguson Act, a state law which prohibits strikes by state or municipal employees. But in spite of all threats, the strikers are still standing firm. More power to them!

LABOR SCOPE

ACTU Finds a 'Violation' of Union Democracy in CIO

By PHILIP COBEN

The Association of Catholic Trade Unionists, the papacy's organized "fraction" in the labor movement, believes in democracy, it says. We have no doubt that its unionists mean this in all sincerity, and we know that ACTU people have, on specific occasion, done good work for union democracy. But like so many other elements who "believe" in democracy—and even mean it as they say it—the ACTU makes its concept of democracy fit what it wants to do and say, rather than the other way around.

When the interests of Catholic ideology and ACTU influence get in the way, the ACTU has not been noted for its enthusiastic support of democratic processes. The Steel Workers' union, with its heavy Catholic influence, is a case in point.

The November 30 issue of the ACTU's weekly Labor Leader provides a less important but illuminating sidelight on how the great name of Democracy can be twisted out of recognition to suit a factional interest. In this issue of its organ the ACTU proposes a game to its readers, a quiz game. On one page it quotes a declaration of principles "taken from the constitution of a national organization," and challenges the reader to "distinguish whether it is a political party or a labor organization. . . . The organization's name will be found on page 4."

The declaration of principles which it quotes is interesting quite apart from this little game. We reproduce it in an accompanying box for its own sake, as well as for its use by the ACTU.

CAN'T RECOGNIZE SOCIALISM

The kicker, however, is revealed in the "Quiz Answer" on the Labor Leader's page 4. This is the "answer":

"The Declaration of Principles is a bold statement of socialist aims. It is taken from the constitution of the International Union of United Brewery, Flour, Cereal, Soft Drink and Distillery Workers of America (CIO)."

"The program accepts the concept of unending class warfare and hence violates principles held by thousands of Catholic members of the Union. IT HAS NO PLACE IN A DEMOCRATIC UNION CONSTITUTION." (Our caps—P. C.)

It is the last sentence we are interested in, but first it should be said that the declaration quoted is not at all a statement of socialist aims, let alone a bold one. It is a pretty bold statement of the class-struggle basis of unionism—but then the American Federation of Labor constitution has one too. Recognition of the class struggle, important as that is, is not equivalent to socialism—which goes further and adds that the existing

Marcel Longuet

A grandson of Karl Marx died in Paris on December 20. He was Marcel Longuet, 72 long a journalist reporting the French parliament. His mother was Marx's daughter Jenny.

class struggle must lead to the abolition of capitalism and the establishment of a democratic workers' government if it is to be really true that "the earth and all its wealth belong to all." (It should be added, unfortunately, that writing such excellent paragraphs into a union constitution is not, in turn, equivalent to putting these precepts into practice, as the case of the AFL shows.)

However, this merely means that the ACTU editors are not capable of recognizing a statement of "socialist aims" when they see one (or don't see one), but it is still true that the declaration quoted runs counter to the philosophy of the Catholic hierarchy and its hatred of any and all class-struggle ideas. Let us concede, therefore, that the Brewery Workers' constitution "violates principles held by thousands of Catholic members of the union," that is, any who really believe the church's generally reactionary social philosophy.

The ACTU, however, jumps in a single leap from that to the charge that such a constitution is undemocratic! In other words, a union (any other organization, for that matter) has no right to adopt social ideas which are contrary to those of the church, laid down in the popes' encyclicals!

SOUNDS LIKE HYPOCRISY

For the "Quiz Answer" does not claim that the declaration violates the principles of a MAJORITY of the union's members—it violates the principles only of the Catholics. This is its crime against democracy!

This comes from a world church—the ACTU is only one arm in one country—which, in other countries, organizes not merely "associations of Catholic trade unionists" but whole unions on the basis of its sectarian social views, and claims the right to represent whole plants and industries whether or not all the workers there are believing Catholics or not. This comes from an institution which insisted that God had to be written into the UN charter, which presumably represents all humanity—including free-thinkers, atheists, agnostics, and people who are simply quite uninterested in supernatural beings. This comes from an institution which wants (said Cardinal Spellman) ALL the people, through government taxes, to help pay for the upkeep of its own Catholic parochial schools. In fact, Cardinal Spellman denounced all opponents of his scheme as—undemocratic!

We have no quarrel here with the religious beliefs of any unionists, whether Catholic, Protestant, Jewish, Mohammedan or Rosicrucian. That is another matter. But any church which seeks to impose its own SOCIAL tenets on groups much wider than its own communicants—it has the right to try—and then howls "democracy" when a majority choose their own social beliefs, is engaging in the kind of Jesuitical hypocrisy which makes the Catholic hierarchy vulnerable to a well-justified suspicion that it is no more interested, at bottom, in union democracy in American labor than it is interested in democracy in Spain.

What's 'Undemocratic' About This?

As explained in the accompanying article, the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists cites the following declaration of principles from the CIO Brewery Workers' constitution as "undemocratic." We cite it as a good basis for a union to ACT on, as well as one to write into a constitution. Here it is.

"In our society of today there are two classes. On the one side stands the propertied class, that owns almost all the lands, all the houses, the factories, the means of communication and transportation, all the machines and raw material. Compared with the nation at large this class is only a small minority.

"On the other side stand the workers, who possess nothing but their physical and intellectual power, and this they are compelled to sell to those who own the means of production. The workers number millions.

"Every new invention in machinery, every new discovery of natural forces, inures to the benefit of the propertied class alone, which is still further enriched thereby. Human labor is, as a consequence, being constantly more and more displaced.

"Taking all these facts into consideration, we declare:

"1. That labor must organize locally, nationally and internationally in order to enable it to effectively cope with organized capital.

"2. National and international unions are in a position to exercise a great influence on production, on wages on the hours of labor; to regulate the question of apprenticeship, to uphold their members in various emergencies.

"3. The struggles which labor naturally has to wage with capital brings it to the realization that individual unions must cooperate by assisting each other in giving mutual support for the common cause to advance the interests of their fellow workers.

"4. There is no power on earth strong enough to thwart the will of such a majority conscious of itself. It will irresistibly tend toward its goal. It has natural right upon its side. The earth and all its wealth belong to all. All the conquests of civilization are an edifice, to the rearing of which all nations for thousands of years have contributed their labor. The results belong to the community at large. It is organized labor that will finally succeed in putting these principles into actual practice and in introducing a condition of things in which each shall enjoy the full product of its toil."

Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor . . .

On Farrell

To the Editor:

The "notorious" speech delivered by James T. Farrell at the RDR-sponsored conference in Paris last April has now been published in pamphlet form by the Rand School and we are finally in a position to examine it calmly and objectively. Whether Farrell, by his endorsement of the Marshall Plan and the North Atlantic Pact, thereby placed himself in the camp of American imperialism, is not a matter I shall discuss here. The speech itself does not present a fully developed political position in this respect; and I have, in any case, no confidence in the kind of neat political filing system that is always brought into operation in such arguments.

I am concerned here with LABOR ACTION's characterization, at the time the speech was made, of Farrell's remarks on American democracy. Farrell chose to give his own experiences as a writer by way of illustrating some of the facts of democratic life in America. And, as I recall, LABOR ACTION chose to single out these remarks as an example of maudlin super-patriotism on the part of Farrell. (This was certainly the view of leading spokesmen of the ISL.)

On reading the text of Farrell's remarks, however, I fail to find anything in the least objectionable about what he has to say in this connection. I would be interested to find out just what LABOR ACTION finds objectionable. The facts that Farrell illus-

trates from his own experience are simply . . . FACTS. The same can be said of his remarks on the American labor movement.

These are facts that MUST be understood, in their full force, before even an elementary understanding of American society can be achieved. These things NEEDED and NEED to be emphasized for the benefit of French intellectuals and workers who have become the victims of Stalinist ideological terror. It has seemed to me for a long time that much, though certainly not all, of the indigenous "Third Campism" in France and other European countries has its roots in ignorance and prejudice with respect to America, as deep in its own way as the ignorance and prejudice of classic Middle Western American isolationism.

Farrell emphasizes, of course, the BEST THINGS in American life—which he is entirely justified in doing, under the circumstances. This kind of presentation perhaps gives Europeans a far more accurate picture of America than the speeches, resolutions, etc., which condemn both Russian and American imperialism in about the same terms, and carefully avoid any real collision with Stalinist anti-American propaganda, except for a purely formal phrase or two, inconspicuously placed, and designed, one might say, merely "for the record." Farrell's references to American social evils are, no doubt, also "for the record." But the whole picture that Farrell supplies is more accurate.

He deserves, in any case, to be cleared of the charge that, in his Paris speech, he fell into a kind of stupid sentimentalism, with or without deeper political implications, about America. The text of his speech reveals nothing of the sort, and I prefer to judge a man like Farrell on the basis of what he actually SAYS rather than on the basis of a preconceived theory.

H. D. COLEMAN

The above letter appears in line with our policy of gladly printing criticisms by our readers of LABOR ACTION articles. The policy is designed to encourage fruitful discussion. However, correspondents who wish to be critical can help toward this end by themselves clearly directing their letters to the point at hand. It appears to us that Comrade Coleman has chosen to be disingenuous. He writes: "I would be interested to find out just what LABOR ACTION finds objectionable in Farrell's speech," and—as also indicated in his phrase "as I recall"—has not even bothered to reread, before at least mailing his letter, the article which explained exactly what he is asking! This was the excellent discussion of Farrell's April 30 speech by Stan Grey in our issue of June 13, 1949. Coleman's news that he found nothing objectionable would have been more interesting if he had said a few words in criticism of the particular article in question, to provide a handle for discussion.

As it is, it is necessary only to repeat the main criticism we made: Farrell sought to glorify American democracy in the eyes of a socialist AND ANTI-STALINIST audience in Paris by citing his rise from a poor boy in Chicago to a famous author, by pointing to the fact that he was able to beat a police censorship of his books, etc. This might have a place in some kind of lecture, but Farrell was explicitly doing this in order to buttress his support of the Atlantic Pact, the Marshall Plan and American imperialism—i.e., as a political contribution. The political purpose of the speech is, however, what Coleman does not want to discuss in this connection—how unfortunate!

It is hard to see how Farrell's Horatio Alger story can be labeled, by anyone who calls himself a socialist, as "a far more accurate picture of America" than an Independent Socialist criticism of capitalist democracy today in the post-war United States (we presume, perhaps wrongly, that this is what Coleman has in mind in his tendentiously painted picture of the alternative to Farrell's paean of praise).

When a Stalinist hack in America writes a glowing portrait of life in Russia by emphasizing (as Coleman puts it) only "the BEST THINGS in [Russian] life"—it can be and has been done by careful selection and suppression of fact without telling a single direct lie—we doubt whether Coleman would write a letter to LABOR ACTION if we exposed its misleading character. There are far more

"best things" left in capitalist democracy as compared with Stalinist totalitarianism, which, we have said often enough, is the most brutal and tyrannous autocracy that has existed perhaps in the history of the world, but the job of the socialist opponent of capitalism is still to tell the whole truth about the system under which we live and suffer here. Let Coleman make his remarks about criticizing Stalinism only "for the record" to the Stalinoids and fellow travelers, but not to LABOR ACTION.

Finally, it would add to the joy of existence and the clarity of discussion if people with their own "preconceived theory" (which is a popular phrase to denote the OTHER fellow's opinion) were to cease beating themselves on the breast about their unique ability to "judge . . . on the basis of what he actually SAYS rather than on the basis of a preconceived theory." Coleman, as he has laudably made clear on other occasions, has his own views on such matters as the Marshall Plan, the A-Pact, etc., which are not the views of LABOR ACTION. Very good—that can make and has made a fruitful discussion. But how much would it help if we contented ourselves, following Coleman's example, with the thrust that his satisfaction with Farrell's egregious Paris speech was obviously based upon a degree of sympathy with Farrell's political views—that is, on his "preconceived theory"? By itself, very little. The recommendation to Comrade Coleman: more argument and analysis, less innuendo.—Ed.

Titoism and Independent Socialism—V

Will the Tito Regime 'Democratize' Itself?

By HAL DRAPER

Will the totalitarian regime in Yugoslavia soften its dictatorship as a result of the break with Moscow and "democratize" itself?

Such is the hope held out (especially to themselves) by some of the new-fledged "pro-Titoists" we discussed last week. The tendency is naturally more plentiful among leftists in Europe than in this country, but it is around here too.

One thing is certain: any evidence pointing to such a happy event is not visible either to the naked eye or under a microscope. Perhaps the most concrete attempt to point to a tendency toward democratization which we have heard has been an attempt to make something of Djilas' statement repudiating any intention to form a "Fifth International." Djilas gave as his reason: the formation of a centralized international would be "undemocratic."

A thin enough straw to grasp at! Djilas mouths the word democracy and it becomes a tendency toward democratization by the Titoists! Even apart from the fact that Stalinists habitually make a positive fetish of verbally justifying anything and everything they do in the name of democracy, the real case is that the formation of a Titoist international, even if it were possible, would be thoroughly distasteful to the totalitarian masters of Yugoslavia. It could not, for obvious reasons, be formed as a mere creature of Belgrade, as the Comintern in its day became (and the present Cominform is) a mere creature of Moscow; and the formation of any other international body with autonomy of its own, to which the Yugoslav CP would be formally subordinated, would be even more undesirable to the Titoist bureaucrats. In any case, for all the stirrings in CP circles, there are no organizations today to be formed into a Titoist international.

CONCESSIONS TO DEMOCRACY?

But the hope is there, and other "evidence" will be forthcoming, no doubt. Franco recently staged a farcical "municipal election" to demonstrate to the West that Spain still has a ballot. No one took it seriously. If Tito makes as meaningless a gesture, we will hear more talk about the "democratization of Titoism." If a Kostov had pulled his surprise repudiation of his confession in a Yugoslav court instead of at the Bulgarian trial, we would have heard profound deductions drawn on the significance of this unprecedented departure from the pattern of East European trials.

And it is far from excluded that Tito will be forced into concessions—not so much to democracy as to Western imperialism. The latter is especially interested in "religious freedom" since the church, particularly the Catholic Church, is a powerful lever for them. In a tight spot, it is certainly possible that Tito may trade a point—provided no vital concessions toward the restoration of capitalism are required. We have here a totalitarian dictator who, like Franco, is under a squeeze from the West and who, unlike Franco, has already been squeezed from the East.

Coupled with the discovery of democratic tendencies in the Yugoslav regime go time-honored rationalizations for its totalitarianism. The regime has to defend itself against Russian spies and diversionists—how can one expect it to "introduce democracy overnight"? It is beleaguered on all sides—the government must keep a tight rein, etc. These have all been heard before in extenuation of the Moscow tyranny itself—not, to be sure, by the new-fledged pro-Titoists but by Stalinoids of various types; indeed in the latter case it is also coupled with hopes of eventual democratization. The pattern is familiar.

THE DICTATORSHIP REMAINS

Meanwhile the reality in Tito Yugoslavia remains: the ubiquitous secret police, which is indeed somewhat more efficient in Yugoslavia than in the other East European lands; the one-party system; complete terror against any and all opponents of the regime; leader-worship; labor camps ("voluntary," naturally); and the rest of the apparatus. As the Cominform demagogically but truthfully pointed out, the Yugoslav CP did not even hold a congress until the break forced it to muster its forces. Whether the White Guard Russians on trial in Belgrade are guilty as charged or not, the trial procedure under which they faced the bar differed in not a whit from the totalitarian courts of "justice" of the Russian satrapies, etc.

Today, the Tito dictatorship has no need for many forms of spectacular display of brutal suppression which are to be seen in the Russian domain; it is true without doubt that Tito's resistance to Moscow domination has forged a kind of national unity.

But the regime is anxious above all that this upsurge of real patriotism be channeled within totalitarian forms, and not be allowed to spill over into any self-movement of the masses. As we shall point out, Tito's resistance to Moscow has the potentiality of creating a Frankenstein monster, but the Frankenstein monster of democratic stirrings is a monster which is feared by Tito; and for him this very fact doubly underscores the necessity of maintaining the totalitarian straitjacket, not of loosening it.

So there is not the slightest sign of democratization to be pointed to. Can it, however, be shown that democratization, whether visible yet or not, is in the cards as a necessary consequence of Tito's break with Moscow? This view can be held only by those who consider a break with Moscow as equivalent to a break with Stalinism.

This is why we have been emphasizing that an evaluation of Titoism can get nowhere without the understanding that Stalinism is not a Russian-limited phenomenon but is a new exploiting social system—one which is also the social system of Tito Yugoslavia, the system of bureaucratic collectivism. The Titoist bureaucracy is not simply a clique of adventurers teetering between class forces: it is a class, the ruling class of Yugoslavia, class-brother to its rival ruling class in Russia, as yet insecurely seated in the saddle but striving to consolidate its national power and assure the remaking of all phases of the society in its image.

This bureaucratic ruling class bases itself on its ownership of the state power, and through the state power, on its exploitation of a completely staffed economy. As is the case with the Russian bureaucracy, democratization means its abdication as a ruling class. No matter what gestures will be made, this abdication will not be seen. Yugoslavia will be democratized through the overthrow of the dictatorship, not by its softening.

(Next week: Tito's Frankenstein Monster)

Another Boost for Howe-Widick

An interesting review by Granville Hicks of "The UAW and Walter Reuther," by Irving Howe and B. J. Widick, appears in the January issue of "Tomorrow" magazine. The review reads in part:

"Out of an unusual kind of collaboration has come a book of great merit and of wider interest and more enduring importance than the title might suggest. Irving Howe is a literary critic and a very good one. B. J. Widick, now a chief steward in the Chrysler plant, has been active in the labor movement for many years. Each has made his special contribution to the work, and their labors have been fused by the social and political convictions they share.

"The story of the United Automobile Workers is worth telling. Beginning with the exciting days of the sit-down strikes, in which Mr. Widick participated, the authors set forth the internal and external struggles that have made the union what it is. They portray the Ford strike of 1941, the perplexities and dissensions of wartime, the General Motors strike of 1946. Exceedingly knowledgeable in political matters, they give a clear account of the factional fights from the eccentric maneuverings of Homer Martin to the most recent victory of Walter Reuther. In their discussions of union personalities they avoid malice, but no one could call them pussy-footers, and their analysis of Reuther himself stays safely this side of idiosyncrasy.

"The book, however, is more than the story of a union—or, rather it is what the story of a union ought to be. The UAW is, after all, one of the characteristic products of a highly industrialized society, and the authors treat it as such. Their opening chapter, on Detroit, is a brilliant analysis not merely of a city but also of a form of social organization. Here is a depersonalized society, built around the assembly line, a society tortured by economic insecurity, split by racial prejudice, seemingly committed to the incessant frustration of the individual. Out of such a society has the UAW emerged as an answer, but, as the authors admit, only a partial answer to its problems. What Howe and Widick have to say about the union illuminates the whole social structure. Their comments, for example, on union bureaucracy touch one of the central issues of both industry and government today. On race relations, on methods of combatting communism, on the prospects of our cold-war economy, their remarks have the most general relevance. What they are discussing, indeed, is nothing less than the survival of democracy in an industrialized world, and their discussion is both realistic and incisive."

WORLD POLITICS

A Look at the Pharaoh of All the Russias on His Seventieth Birthday

"We are simple Soviet people, Communism is our glory and honor. If Stalin says this shall be—it will be. We will answer the leader, 'This is.'"

Last week the world (or a substantial sector of it) rejoiced in the seventieth birthday of a man known variously in some circles as Big Brother or Number One. Characteristically enough, the event itself bore the imprint of The Genial Chief. By decree, command, order and "suggestion," the world witnessed an outburst of creative talent, spontaneous explosions of energy and tremendous surges of the human spirit. Poems were produced (see sample above), oratorios written, plays and films created, cities renamed, mountains moved, production schedules surpassed, the direction of rivers changed and—it is said—a new Chinese alphabet (with Russian letters) devised. All this was called forth in the Year 70 of the "Stalinist epoch" when mankind in tens of millions displayed its joy on the Master's day of birth. O happy day!

Workers, intellectuals, peasants and agrarian workers, professionals and officials—all alike mobilized in a truly totalitarian manifestation of what the mighty state and its propaganda machine can do. It was clear that the Russian regime had seized upon an opportunity to mobilize its power, take stock of its forces, both internal and external, and present the world with its own political greeting card for the holiday season.

Voluntary or involuntary demonstration, the machine of the "Stalinist epoch" is not too concerned by that problem. It measures power in terms of the capacity to mobilize and to move. The accompanying visit of Mao Tze-tung to Moscow was an important part of the act, since it was intended to mark the triumph of Stalinism in China, together with a notice to the world that Mao, for the moment at any rate, marches with Big Brother, not the Beast of Belgrade.

THE BUREAUCRACY LEADS THE CHOIR

The emotional and propagandistic storm raised over Number One's birthday is worth reflecting on. Much of its character is obvious—a consciously whipped-up, totalitarianized demonstration where men are literally forced to pay homage to perhaps the most sinister figure ever thrown up by history. Above all among the masses, both in Russia itself and particularly in the satellite countries, can we be sure that the shameful and orgasmic display utterly lacked any sincerity or real feeling. It is most unlikely that the Czech workers who "voted" a Sunday's holiday as a work day for a private plate for Number One were enthusiastic over this event! At the same time, of course, the weight of the machine makes it impossible to estimate the masses' true feelings in this respect.

It must be recognized at the same time, however, that a substantial sector of the "celebrants" (it would be impossible to make a statistical estimate) participate in the festivities with true and uncoerced delight. The strength, homogeneity and influence of Big Brother's gang varies inversely, of course, with its distance from the Kremlin. To them, Big Brother is a mighty and appealing symbol—he represents power, political authority, power and more power. To touch Big Brother is to touch the source and delight of their deepest yearning—power and authority. These men of a new class—or a would-be ruling class—have a community and affinity with the Kremlin Boss which cannot be underestimated.

As for Big Brother himself, what a fantastic and incredible creature he has now become! If he has not yet reached the perfection attained by the totalitarian idol made famous in the George Orwell novel "1984," at least he has passed far beyond the purely biographical and analytical descriptions of him contained in the well-known biographies of Souvarine, Trotsky, Deut-

scher, et al. The socio-biological description of Big Brother, based upon historic development, no longer suffices. He is still sly, shrewd, infinitely dishonest and untrustworthy, a bureaucratic manipulator, a dull-witted theorist and a narrow-visioned opportunist. All this is true, but perhaps its importance is outweighed by broader and more obscure features which Big Brother now assumes.

For he is hardly the same figure—the man called Koba—who passed through the various stages of the Russian revolutionary movement, Marxism, etc. Only in narrow personality terms, which influence the particular WAY in which he does things, can we trace him to this familiar past now. This new Big Brother is someone different, both as a human personality and, above all, as a symbolic and mythological figure.

PHARAOH AND MYTH

As an individual, the tendency is now to lift him into the category of the ancient pharaohs—more God than man—all-seeing, all-pervading, all-wise, the solver of all problems and, most important of all, the center and source of all power. But we must now recognize that his power is expressed somewhat differently—he is no longer so much the active wielder of power as the final arbiter of power struggles. As such, he holds the ultimate power, just as a pharaoh was mediator between men and gods.

As myth, he is the embodiment of two doctrines: (1) His victory is inevitable and assured on an international scale—only destruction awaits the iconoclasts who break from his path; (2) his way and his example are the only ones possible. Thus each brother of Big Brother must model himself after him, but firmly check and control his ambitions. In essence, then, Big Brother holds out before us the lovely vision of what a completely Stalinist world would be like.

Perhaps the most pitiful figures in the whole charade are the intellectuals and professional idolaters who participated in the birthday exercises. It has been suggested by others that an outstanding emotional and psychological driving force among many modern intellectuals is perhaps best described as a "death yearning," a turning away from life. Without going into this complex question, perhaps we see here an excellent description of what such theorists have in mind.

For is it not clear that the permanent purge forms an organic part of the Big Brother system—particularly as concerns the intellectuals and petty bourgeoisie? The louder the praise, the shriller the hosannas, the more hysterical the genuflections—the closer is death, humiliation, purging and slander for the Shostakovichs, Ehrenburgs and the rest of the pitiful collection of the Soviet intelligentsia. How else could Big Brother make perfectly clear who is master in the house, and the transitory value of art and culture (as compared with power) under the Big Brother system? An oratorio is but premature funeral music for its composer.

The system of Big Brother must fall, but the question is HOW shall it fall, and BY WHOM shall it be chopped down. One way—the American way—would, in reality, mean the ironic triumph of Big Brother since it would lead to chaos; that is, the very food upon which Big Brother has always fed. The other way—that of democratic and socialist struggle—would destroy Big Brother root and branch, together with every hopeful Little Brother. We shall yet see which way will take precedence.

In the meantime, having in mind the bio-physical Big Brother who pollutes the earth, let us not be unwilling to express prayerfully the hope that his 71st birthday anniversary will be a genuine celebration of joy and thanks—in honor of a departed, deceased and late Big Brother.

Henry JUDD

Behind the Kostov Case: Factional Fight Among the National-Stalinists

By PHILIPPE RICHARD

PARIS, Dec. 19—Kostov is dead, but before dying this tough Stalinist bureaucrat gave his former bosses a headache from which they will not quickly recover. Kostov was known not only in his native Bulgaria but throughout the East European satellite countries as one of the toughest opponents of Tito's Yugoslavia. Yet his refusal to "confess" at the recent

mock trial in Sofia will undoubtedly strengthen the spines of all those elements in the Stalinist world who look toward Belgrade.

The attitude of the Yugoslavs toward Kostov has been extremely unfriendly since long before the trial. This can be explained only when one is acquainted with the situation inside the top leadership of the Bulgarian Communist Party. The present 100 per cent Muscovite leadership of Kolarov was only one of the three factions, and not the strongest of them, that disputed the mantle of the aging Dimitrov a year and a half ago. The elements closest to Dimitrov were extremely friendly to Tito. It is now impossible to check the truth of the Titoist statements as to how far the late Dimitrov himself expressed his agreement with his rebellious neighbors. It is a fact, however, that he refused to revile Tito in the standard Cominform fashion.

Kostov, on the other hand, while unfriendly to the present Kolarov leadership, which was ready to see Bulgaria treated in a completely colonial fashion by the Russians, refused to allow his faction to collaborate with Tito. This enraged both the Yugoslavs and their friends in the Dimitrov groups.

They found Kostov's particular brand of opposition to Russian exploitation—based on a Bulgarian particularism which embraced the desire to take over Yugoslav Macedonia and opposed the idea of a projected South Slav Federation in which Bulgaria would at best be on an equal footing with each of the different peoples of Yugoslavia—a barrier to the formation of a solid front against the Russians. Therefore the Titoists and Kostov constantly reviled each other in a thorough Stalinist fashion. Kostov's courageous stand at his trial, however, may cause the Yugoslavs to speak less harshly of him now.

Tito's emissaries in the various satellite countries will undoubtedly cite Kostov's courage in order to hearten the dissident elements, but they will also be able to cite his fate to those dissident elements which are now

spending a good part of their time fighting each other.

FRENCH POET BREAKS

The series of breaks and cracks in the Stalinist apparatus has shaken the faith of a good many Stalinist fellow travelers in Western Europe. After the French writer Jean Cassou returned from an admiring trip to Yugoslavia the Stalinists put all the pressure they could on him to get back into line and admit his mistake in supporting Tito before it was too late. Cassou refused and is now getting a vigorous dose of the "traitor treatment" from the Stalinist paper L'Humanité.

Now the resistance poet Vercoors, author of the well-known "Silences de la Mer," has come out with a hesitant statement refusing to accept the lies involved in the Cominform attacks against Tito and Rajk. Vercoors' statement, published in the latest issue of the left Catholic magazine Esprit, which has had quite a weakness for the Stalinists and their fellow travelers, was very carefully filled with expressions of loyalty to the "Communist Party... [which] I love. ... If ever it is attacked, I will fight in its ranks," etc.

An article in L'Humanité of December 15 seemed to justify Vercoors' tactfulness by roundly denouncing Cassou's article in the same issue of Esprit, while sliding by Vercoors. The following day, however, the party watchdog over its intellectuals, the stupendously unintellectual and conceited Laurent Casanova, saw a chance to prove further to Moscow that he is more loyal to the Kremlin than anyone else and pounded Vercoors to jelly. All that tact gone to the chief speakers at the Belgrade November 29 Yugoslav Revolution celebration threw in a sentence in which he made it clear that the Titoists want no part of "the suspicious characters of a certain Fourth International."

The Militarization of America—III

THE MARSHALL PLAN AND THE MILITARY

One illustration of bipartisan consent to military planning of foreign policy is seen in the developments surrounding the proposals for a Western European Union and lend-lease aid to its member nations.

The idea of a Western European Union has its roots in the political and economic union of Western Europe which was encouraged by General Marshall's proposal of economic aid to Western Europe.

The avowed purpose of the Marshall Plan was to stem the tide of communism. It was sold to the American people on its economic reconstruction merits rather than as a military program. The course of events, however, reveals that the military purpose was there from the beginning.

One newspaper columnist, writing about the Marshall Plan, said:

"It has been feared by our foreign policy makers that the Western Europeans would seek to declare their countries neutral in event of war between the world's two giants. . . . That attitude has been on the increase since the development of the atomic bomb, guided missiles and other modern postwar means of destruction. There has been a clamor in Britain, France and the Lowlands for a neutral status, similar to that enjoyed by Eire during the late war and against granting the United States bases should conflict occur. By helping those countries to build up their economy, health, trade and business and improve their living conditions, our policy makers believe a fighting spirit can be regained."

MILITARY PRESSURE

Early in the Congressional discussion the military put strong pressure on Congress and the people to approve General Marshall's aid-to-Europe plan. Newspapers of January 15 and 16, 1948, carried headlines asserting "Draft, Big Boost in Budget Hinted if Aid Is Refused"; "Two top United States military leaders, Defense Secretary James Forrestal and Army Secretary Kenneth G. Royall, told Congress today that if the United States did not go through with the Marshall Plan for European recovery, it would be forced to spend an equal or greater amount of money on military preparedness. Royall flatly told the House Foreign Affairs Committee that as he saw the choice it was virtually between the Marshall Plan and a return to Selective Service."

Less than two months later the United Press reported an effort "to make universal military training a 'companion measure' to the stop-communism foreign aid program. Defense Secretary James V. Forrestal and his top Army, Navy and Air Force subordinates will go before the Senate Armed Services Committee to discuss the need for military might to back up the plan."

A Congressman, Merlin Hull, at the time of the Selective Service discussion in Congress, recalled the Marshall Plan or -draft alternatives of the military. He said:

"The presentation of this draft bill is the culmination of months of intensive promotion and propaganda by the Defense Department aided and abetted by General Marshall as Secretary of State. . . . Only a few months ago the generals were among those who advocated the Marshall Plan as the guaranty of peace in Europe and a certain way of stopping the march of Communism in the Western European nations. Scarcely had Congress accepted their theory and their program than came the demand for 'military might' to back up the expenditures."

QUIET PREPARATION

While the military men were promoting Marshall Plan legislation in Congress and planning for the draft, they were also quietly preparing for the Western European Union and military aid.

On February 7, 1948, the Associated Press said of British military sources: "The Anglo-American joint chiefs of staffs, according to these informants

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

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

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

and diplomatic sources, will submit proposals to standardize a wide range of military equipment and training for fifteen European countries as the basis of a program of military self-help. The standardization will be according to American and British patterns."

The military had already worked out an arrangement with Britain which the Washington Post of April 29, 1948, described in these words: "The United States and Britain had agreed more than a year ago to standardize small arms, exchange cadets and cooperate otherwise militarily." The Post went on to speak of a "Western European military conference" which would meet that week to "extend the joint measures and plans to France and the Benelux states."

The Post added: "The United States, reliable sources said, has advised the Western powers there can be no American backing for the Western European Union until the states have drawn up joint plans for a unified command, joint operations and standardization of supplies." As early as May, 1948, military spokesmen like General Eisenhower were asking the public to support a program of arming Europe.

STRENGTHENED ARMY'S HAND

After the military had already made its decision and had begun the discussions in Europe looking toward a military union and lend-lease, the bipartisan machinery moved to legalize the plans. The Vandenberg resolution (SR 239) which was passed by the Senate on June 11 by a vote of 64 to 4, was described by the New York Times as "a bipartisan product resulting from close cooperation between Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg and Robert H. Lovett, the under secretary of state. Consequently officials expect it to stand no matter what the political climate may be after November 2."

In other words, one of the most revolutionary changes in American foreign policy was taken out of the realm of political discussion before the political and electoral campaign had even begun. No civilian proposals receive the same bipartisan respect as are accorded to those made by the military.

As a result of the passage of the Vandenberg resolution, American military representatives openly attended sessions of the Western European Alliance. The military, under the Vandenberg policy, "could reject any aid wherever the military interests of this country might not be served," the New York Times reported.

This military carte blanche was not only an advance declaration that Congress probably would endorse a military alliance and military lend-lease; it was also a move to strengthen the hand of the military in American foreign policy.

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UN's Children's Program a Success? Millions of—

The World's Children Are Starving!

By SUSAN GREEN

The more honest spokesmen for the United Nations, who admit its failures in international politics, try to balance against these decisive failures the successes scored by the UN in the social and economic fields. Such a spokesman, for example, is Mrs. Roosevelt.

It is enlightening, therefore, to study a report of the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund on the third anniversary of its functioning. This fund has been engaged in providing relief to the desperately needy children of this war-torn world, of whom there are 60 millions that have been counted.

They might be said to constitute a nation of little people, all sick, hungry, improperly clothed, inadequately sheltered—a population greater than Britain's or France's or Italy's. This nation of international misery has been the field of activity of the Children's Emergency Fund for the past three years. What has been done?

FAR FROM SUCCESS

The fund's survey, made for the New York Times, shows that food to supplement inadequate meals has gone to only six million children. Thus only one out of every ten children requiring such aid has received some milk and possibly a small portion of meat, fish or fat. Even a smaller number of boys and girls throughout the world have been given shoes and/or other articles of clothing.

These fortunate ones number only two million, or a mere four per cent of all the underclothed youngsters. The group benefited by medical aid is larger, amounting to 20 million, but still only one-third of the total suffering from ill health or threatened by disease. Besides, one must remember that with only six million children receiving supplementary food and only two million getting some clothing, sickness must recur among the 20 million who may get medical attention.

This showing can hardly be considered an outstanding success—certainly not by the 54 million kids who are hungry, by the 58 million who need clothing, by the 40 million deprived of medical care.

Yet even this inadequate program is threatened with curtailment after 1950 when the fund must get a new financial transfusion from the General Assembly of the UN. The United States, which is the biggest contributor to the fund, has expressed reluctance to continue any program that will commit it to support "heavy feeding programs" for an indefinite period. England definitely wants to end feeding projects in most of Europe.

Russia's attitude may be inferred from two incidents. Russia's delegate abstained from voting on the proposition to draft a future program, not stating any reasons, and Russia's satellite Rumania has summarily closed down the fund's agency in Bucharest.

WHILE THE CHILDREN DIE

The report herein referred to makes clear how disastrous any curtailment of the fund will be. In Italy cessation of feeding for mothers and

children will wipe out the small gains made. In Southern Italy 71 per cent of the youngsters examined were found in "bad or mediocre nutritional condition"; hospital services for children are woefully inadequate; there is a very high mortality rate among infants, especially among the more than 35,000 illegitimate babies born annually.

The situation in Greece, according to the report, will continue to be in an "emergency status for some years to come" and Greek children are in a desperate condition. There is an estimated total of 339,900 orphans who require immediate aid. There are thousands of crippled, blinded and war-maimed children.

In Germany the overcrowding has serious effects on children, especially on the three million homeless refugee children. The influx of these youngsters will create a problem for years. Furthermore, the health of the kids is undermined by poor milk supply, unsatisfactory fat content and unsafe pasteurization.

The above illustrates the insufficiencies still existing in Europe. There are also Asia, the Middle East and Latin America.

For the million-masses in Asia, for example, no attempt has been made at direct feeding aid, but fund money is supposed to go for demonstrations to show the people the advantages of improved nutritional programs, also for organization of mother-and-child health services and health programs to reduce tuberculosis, malaria and venereal diseases. The training of local personnel is likewise urgent. But not even the surface has been scratched, while the need for such improvements in all the backward parts of the world remains.

WILL THEY HELP?

No one will dispute that something is better than nothing; that it is better that two million children get some shoes and clothing than that none should have them; better that six million drink more milk than that none should do so; that 20 million benefit by some medical care than that all should go unattended. But how can one content oneself with such reasoning when everyone knows that in this age of technological and scientific development there is no need for any man, woman or child to be deprived of adequate food, clothing, shelter or medical care—except the need imposed by the class governments that are the powers of the world?

Can the capitalist United States be expected to give adequate help so that the poor and miserable abroad may benefit from the technological and scientific marvels of today when in this country the domestic budget of some \$44 billion allots three-fourths for military purposes and less than one-twentieth for so-called people's welfare?

Or can Stalinist Russia be expected to help raise the standard of living of the world when it also maintains a military program and a bureaucracy that rest on the enslavement not only of the Russian masses but of the masses in the satellite countries?

Or can one perhaps put hope in

the Labor government of England which still follows the dictates of imperialism and maintains a huge military machine while the people tighten their belts with "austerity"?

There are those who try to comfort themselves with the thought that a start has been made. Give the United Nations a chance, they say—Rome wasn't built in a day; gradually more and more progress will be made.

The trouble is that "gradually" is not going to win the race with these military machines a-building. When these are ready for action, what will happen to the vaunted start that has been made? An atomic war will fix things so that the 60 million misera-

ble children will probably no longer be in need of anything at all, either gradually or otherwise—as will more tens upon tens of millions of human beings be put beyond any needs at all.

Such minuscule social programs as that of the International Children's Emergency Fund cannot be balanced against the UN failures in international politics because these failures spell atomic war and total destruction. The only activities that can possibly balance these failures would be those of the war-weary masses of people to replace their class governments by socialist governments of the people to work for peace, security and plenty for all.

Gates Speaks for ISL at Five-Way Forum on Welfare State Trends

NEW YORK, Dec. 23—With representatives of five political organizations replying to the question "Are We Heading Toward a Welfare State?" the Hebrew Educational Society of the Brownsville section of Brooklyn staged a lively forum on Wednesday, December 21, before a small and attentive audience. The speakers, in the order of their appearance, were: Max Gilcoff, head of the local American Labor Party, who represented the Stalinist point of view; Councilman Stein of Brownsville, spokesman for the Democrats; Sam Friedman, a frequent candidate for office, who gave the point of view of the Socialist Party; Jerome Lewis, former assistant district attorney, representing the Republican Party; and Albert Gates, ISL secretary, who appeared for the Independent Socialist League.

Gilcoff defined the welfare state as "one in which the conflict between property rights and human rights is resolved in favor of human rights. The reason we don't have any is we're throwing our resources into the cold war out of fear of Russia. . . . Russia's essential interests are in peace. . . . She is defensively motivated."

Each succeeding speaker spent some time attacking Gilcoff, who obviously believes that the only welfare state in the world is Stalinist Russia.

Councilman Stein spoke as the representative of the party of the "welfare state" in this country and attacked critics of the right, like John Foster Dulles, who in the last election criticized the welfare state as being synonymous with communism or collectivism. "We believe in the welfare state," he said, "because the average man needs help because of the existence of monopolies. It is the responsibility of government to provide that—public health, low-cost housing, federal deposit insurance, minimum wages and hours, civil rights legislation." Also, said Stein, the welfare state "helps big business—through the RFC, the post office, farm supports, ship subsidies. The government helps, whether you're an individual or capitalist."

Sam Friedman of the SP gave a good agitational speech in favor of a genuine welfare state of the people which he identified with socialism. He condemned the Communist Party

point of view as being not of the extreme left, but of the extreme right, a return to the "barbarism of the Middle Ages, state religion." He said the SP wants "planning for security—security from the cradle to the grave. Not by giving bums a handout or WPA projects; we favor democratic collectivism."

It turned out that even Lewis, the Republican, was for welfare. "I'm not a capitalist. I don't ride around in a Rolls-Royce. I have no respect for a reactionary because he is not in keeping with the times." But if the welfare state "means a person becomes a mere automaton, where he gets a dole instead of a job, then I'm against it. Unemployment insurance, workmen's compensation, more liberal social security, I'm for them. But somewhere there must be a stop." Lewis disliked the manner of regulating government housing and objected to the "inefficiency" of government control. While he seemed to be for the current Republican program of ending "meee-tooism," he made the radical proposal that instead of sending Marshall Plan millions abroad, the government send the stockpiles of agricultural products it has to the starving millions of Europe.

The position of Albert Gates of the Independent Socialist League was that "Almost from the beginning of the country there has been a welfare state—for the capitalist class." He

traced the origins of present-day U. S. welfare to the crisis of the thirties, when Roosevelt, as the most intelligent spokesman for the capitalist class, initiated a social welfare program in order to save the tottering system from collapse. He scored the Republican objections to welfare for sections of the population other than big business. He identified the only genuine welfare state for the people with socialism.

'I Am a Partisan!' - -

(Continued from page 1)

homeland, who has brought reports and orders, who was on the road for a fortnight and who luckily escaped all dangers.

THEY STAKE THEIR LIVES

"You look at me as if I were something out of the ordinary," said Oksana in broken German. "I am not out of the ordinary. I am a Partisan. I receive orders and I carry them out. What is extraordinary about that? The men fight with arms against oppression—German, Russian, Polish—against all of them! I help them as well as I can. Women can do a lot of things easier than men."

It is no false modesty when Oksana says that there is nothing out of the ordinary in her being a Partisan. She is not the only one to stake her life in order to maintain contact with the homeland. Next to her sit Renta and Irene, who came here earlier. They too made the trip under the eyes of Polish and Czech police without being discovered. How did they manage to beat the controls and the interrogation? All three of them smile but say nothing.

Little by little the three female Partisans throw off their reserve. They describe how they were put to work to help the men in their struggle. They acted as wireless operators, as telephone operators, as nurses, as cooks and as couriers. They lived for years in deep bunkers, in hidden huts in the forest and in remote blockhouses. They see their native villages only seldom and after every brief and secret visit they grow harder from seeing what has happened there.

"I am the only survivor of my family," says Oksana. "They beat them, shot them and hanged them—my parents, my sisters, all my relatives. Why? Because I am a Partisan."

"They?" I asked. "Who are they?" "Russians and Poles, the police, the secret and specialist departments of the NKVD—the real oppressors of the country," said Irene. "I, too, will never see my parents again."

LEAP TO LIFE

The women and girls of the UPA run in age from 18 to 30. Their behavior is almost uniform, not by virtue of an order but as a result of common experiences and the common past.

María is the wife of a commandant. She had already carried out more than one difficult assignment, but this

assignment was her toughest one: she was to report whether a Ukrainian contact post still existed or had fallen into the hands of the secret service. María took her four-month-old child and started on the trip—like a woman who is on the way to see her relatives.

Her papers had been fixed up flawlessly. Without any difficulties she got into the town, into the building—right into the house. Her first brief conversation showed her that while the contact post still existed it was infiltrated by spies, that the old personnel was under surveillance and that it was being forced to serve as decoy.

Marie knew that she would never be able to leave the house without hindrance. She pressed her child into the hands of a guard. "Hold it for a minute until I come back," she said, and closed the toilet door behind her. The child cried. She will come back, thought the guard—mothers did not leave crying children in the lurch. He held the child in his arms.

But Marie did not return. She leaped out of the window and broke one of her legs. Suffering intense pain she fled the perilous neighbor-

hood. Fearful of discovery, she dragged her way along for 60 kilometers—without food and without treatment of her leg. Her report came just in time. She never heard another word about her child.

CP EXCLUDED

Mobilization officials realize that there will be serious difficulty in obtaining housing for Negro delegates in Washington's lily-white hotels. They plan to exert pressure to obtain suitable hotel accommodations for all, but it is quite likely that many delegates will have to stay in the homes of Negroes and unprejudiced whites in the city.

One problem which confronts the leaders of the mobilization is the effort of the Stalinists to get in on the doings. The Stalinist-controlled Civil Rights Congress has offered full support and cooperation to the mobilization, but has been informed in curt language that its support is not desired and will not be accepted. In fact, a letter will be sent out to all participating organizations setting forth in exact detail the measures to be taken to exclude the Stalinists.

As is increasingly the case in all organizations in America today, the liberals heading the mobilization show every intention of trying to keep themselves clean of the Stalinist taint mainly through bureaucratic measures.

It is true that the Stalinists are noted for their own completely unscrupulous organizational behavior. Yet the fact remains that to proceed against them by means similar to those used by the Stalinists themselves usually leads the organization involved to gut its internal democracy and to impair the purposes which it is organized to serve. This is illustrated in a small way by the fact that the letter by Acting NAACP Secretary Roy Wilkins to the CRC, rejecting any help from Stalinists, refers to them broadly as "organizations of the extreme left."

This they are not; and the use of the term tends to ascribe the Stalinist taint to those genuine socialists who are real left-wingers.

The national emergency civil rights mobilization can perform an extremely useful function at this time. It is quite likely that Congress will in fact take up the civil-rights measures of the Fair Deal administration. All persons interested in abolishing the blight of national and racial discrimination in America are aware of the fact that the resistance of the legislators from the South could be overcome if there were a real desire on the part of Congressmen and senators from the rest of the country to push civil-rights legislation through both houses.

Yet the fact remains that although both major parties are pledged in one way or another to pass FEPC and other civil-rights legislation,

when push comes to shove nothing has ever been accomplished.

It must be born in mind that the legislators in Washington know that the organizations sending delegates have been and are committed to continued support of the two major parties, regardless of what they do or do not do with respect to civil-rights legislation. They know that even though delegations may come and pound on their tables, the organizations they represent have not and do not threaten the formation of a new political party which would make civil rights one of the foundation stones of its whole program. They are quite accustomed to making promises at election time or to delegations of lobbyists which are later broken and explained away on grounds of "political expediency." A mobilization for such a new party of labor could effectively hold an ax over the politicians' heads to secure the rights of the Negro people.

Culture Note

Everett R. Smith, research director of McFadden Publications, enters a new complaint against the wisdom of wage raises. According to the New York Times: "He explained that wage increases in the lower-income groups had not been accompanied by an advance in their cultural wants and desires."

McFadden Publications is exactly the right party to complain about the cultural backwardness of the masses. We can expect the New York Daily News or Mirror to sound off next on the deplorably low intellectual level of workers.

Mexican Purge

MEXICO, D. F., Dec. 7—On Dec. 2 Manuel Terrazas, manager of the Stalinist "Voice of Mexico," Gerardo Unzueta, editor in chief of the magazine, and a number of other leaders of the CP and its youth group were arrested at a mass meeting called by their party in protest against U. S. support to Franco's regime in Spain. As of Dec. 4 they were still in jail, in violation of constitutional guarantees of civil rights.

Also on Dec. 2 the second convention of the government workers' union of the federal district voted to expel CP members as "saboteurs" and "trouble makers"—this action being taken "in cooperation with the progressive program of President Aleman." This goes beyond even the CIO purge of Stalinist-controlled unions in its violation of union democracy.

The witchhunt purge has hit them south of the border too.

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Ukrainian Anti-Stalinist Paper Now Available in U. S.

The first bundle of "Vpered" (Forward), the monthly organ of the UPA, the anti-Stalinist Ukrainian underground resistance movement, has just been received here and is now on public sale for the first time in this country.

"Vpered" is published abroad by militants of the UPA and is the only journal in which authentic information is available about the activities, program and political views of the resistance movement which became famous during the Second World War for its struggle against both Hitlerism and Stalinism.

The issue we have just received is a double number, 5 and 6, with twenty pages of tabloid format. It contains, among other materials, the following articles:

"Contemporary Liberalism," by I. M-ko, which analyzes the dilemma of the liberals who face the problem of monopoly and nationalization in industry. "A return to private possession of the fundamental means of production in the Ukraine of today would not only be undesirable for the toiling masses of the Ukraine, but

it would also be impossible to put into effect," concludes the author.

In "Classless Democracy," W. Feliks deals with the future social order of an independent Ukrainian state in the light of the program of the Ukrainian underground movement.

H. Sova, for many years a prisoner in Russian concentration camps, writes in "Kolyma—the Golden Basis of the USSR" about his own experience as a slave laborer in the Siberian gold mines. There are several other articles in this issue about the real situation in Russia.

An article on the "Evolution of Capitalism" is of special interest in that it is based upon the resolutions adopted by the recent national convention of the Independent Socialist League of the United States.

In addition, there are articles on Yugoslavia and Titoism, on developments in China, the Rajk trial in Hungary, and above all, the latest information about the development of the UPA resistance movement.

For those who read English only,

there is almost a full page of "Vpered" devoted to a summary of the contents of this issue translated into English. The paper as a whole, however, will be of special interest to those who read Ukrainian or even to those who have a working knowledge of the Russian language. They will find in "Vpered" a real treat—an uncompromising enemy of Stalinism which does not moderate its opposition to capitalism; a champion of national independence and democracy which does not reconcile itself to the Western imperialist bloc; an adversary of totalitarianism which counterposes to it the fight for international socialism.

We are happy to welcome "Vpered" to our shores and to help find for it the widest possible audience in this country. No. 5-6 of "Vpered" is available through Labor Action Book Service, 4 Court Square, Long Island City 1, N. Y. Price per copy is 35 cents, postpaid. Unfortunately, only a limited number of copies is on hand. All those interested in obtaining one are advised to send in their order immediately.