# **UA WMenDisappointed** By Contract with Ford

DETROIT, Oct. 2-Perhaps it is too early to make final judgment on the far-reaching consequences of the new Ford - UAW pact covering pensions and the two and a half year contract but some preliminary comments are both possible and necessary.

The elation of the top leadership of the United Auto Workers over the pact is not shared by the ranks. The first reaction in the shops was one of disappointment. This was true at least in the Ford, Briggs, Chrysler and Dodge plants where we checked.

The reasons for this unfavorable first reaction were obvious. Among the older workers, the idea prevailed that the UAW would obtain a \$100 a month pension from the company, plus social security, and that retirement would be possible after 25 years seniority with full benefits. They thought Walter Reuther would be able to duplicate what John L. Lewis had done for the coal miners.

Usually, when a new contract or a provision is signed which does not meet with the expectations of the ranks, an effective standard selling point is the argument: "This is just the first step in the right direction. We'll improve it next year. Now we have a foothold." But the news that the Ford pension cannot be improved until 1955 (except for an "improvement" which benefits the company) has taken away the attractiveness of that particular argument.

### NON-CONTRIBUTORY?

The hope among older workers that perhaps the total amount of benefits would at least be increased if the social-security payments were increased by action of Congress was shattered when they read that if social-security benefits increase, the Ford Motor Company decreases its contribution, and the total remains \$100 a month, for 30 years' seniority

at 65 years of age! One of the major arguments of the Reuther faction against the Ford pension plan of 1947 which Dick Leonard advocated accepting was that it did not have joint union-company administration. They advocated at least something like the coal miners' setup, where labor, the coal operators trade schools asking their graduates and a "public trustee" share admin-

Under the Ford plan signed by the UAW leadership, the company retains full control of its administration and the investment of its funds. The union has a say only about the eligibility of a given employee.

As for the main argument that the Ford plan is "non-contributory," it is difficult to understand. Ford workers are giving up a wage increase to contribute roughly 81/2 cents an hour for a pension plan. They contribute their social security payments as part of the \$100 a month.

As part of the package the Ford workers are expected to give up all wage demands, except once during the life of the contract. That seems to us to be quite a contribution, for it means that Ford workers get only one wage increase from 1948 to 1952! (Ford workers got a raise in 1948.)

Frankly, we don't pretend to understand at present the significance of this part of the plan: "Contributions of the pension fund at the rate

mated \$20,000,000 a year for slightly more than 11 years, should enable the company, through an investment trust drawing 21/2 per cent interest, to finance its obligation completely." Does that mean that at the end of 11 years the interest on the annual fund put aside by Ford (in place of a wage increase) will be big enough so that the whole thing won't cost Ford a dime? That is what the pro-Reuther labor editor of the Detroit Free Press wrote in his column Sun-

The New York Times reported Friday that CIO President Philip Murray was annoyed at some of the provisions of the Ford agreement, like the one which permits a decrease in the payments by the company when social-security payments increase.

Certainly, if after a steel strike the result is a pension plan modeled on the Ford pact, the steel workers in Pennsylvania are going to get quite a razzing from the coal miners living in the same town who draw better pensions administered largely under union domination! No wonder Murray is skeptical.

There are many other aspects of the pension question which deserve consideration, but they will have to wait for more study for final answers. Will this plan tend to conservatize the union, since it puts pressure on the individual worker to keep working and heightens his fear of being (Continued on page 4)

LABOR ACTION)-The Bell Aircraft

Corporation has now admitted that

its back - to - work movement has

failed. The company has put adver-

tisements in the local newspapers

calling for airplane mechanics to

come in as scabs ("no experience nec-

essary") and has sent out letters to

Last night (Sunday) Local 501 of

the UAW, the local which is on strike

at Bell, held a meeting of about 1,000

of its members at which everyone at-

tested to the fact that the morale of

the men is higher than ever-and

they are now in the 17th week of the

Ford Local 425 and other UAW

locals have followed the lead of three

General Motors locals in assessing

their members \$1 each for Bell strike

relief. The first contribution from an

AFL union for the same purpose has

also been received-from the Inter-

At a special meeting held tonight,

all local unions in the area were

alerted for any future action that the

Bell strike committee may ask. This

is significant now because the steel

national Typographical Union.

to report to them.

# Why Big Steel Forced a Strike: Aims to Revive Taft-Hartleyism

# UAW Charges Wall Street Uses Bell Strike to Test New Bust-Union Plan

DETROIT. Sept. 30 - The International Executive Board of the United Auto Workers (CIO), at its meeting here yesterday unanimously voted "continued unqualified backing" for the striking workers at Bell Aircraft

The board's statement, released today by President Walter Reuther, openly charged that Wall Street interests who recently gained control over the Bell Corporation are "directing a newly devised union-busting formula, using the Bell Aircraft Corporation as the site of a test."

Reuther said: "We are now satisfied that Bell is not fighting against collective - bargaining proposals but is seeking to destroy the union. The company is obviously unwilling to settle the strike on any terms short of its goal of ending collective bargaining for Bell workers."

The UAW national leadership charged that "although the union went far, the company insists on impossible conditions of possible strike

Air Bombing of Bell Strikers, Attacks

On Women, Fail as Labor Aid Pours In

settlement; that the company insists on its absolute and unreviewed right to fire whomever it pleases without recourse or without appeal being available to union members. The company also reveals its determination to destroy collective bargaining by its adamant refusal to agree to the union-security clause which has been in its contracts heretofore."

In view of the fact that "the corporation was completely unwilling to settle the strike on any terms short of absolute surrender by the union," the UAW board "pledges that it will seek to rally all of organized labor behind the Bell workers; that it will carry the case of the Bell workers to the general public; and that it will take all other measures necessary to insure victory for the striking workers."

The statement closed with emphasis on the fact that "approximately 97 per cent of the orders waiting to be filled by Bell are from the federal government.'

# **Big Steel and Bell Test New Anti-Labor Drive**

Evidence-and common sense-points to a conclusion difficult to avoid: Big Steel wanted the present strike of a half million steel workers.

It cannot be that it wanted this strike for the sake of taking on the steel union in a knock-down battle. In fact, a knock-down battle is neither possible for the steel bosses, given the strength and size of the union, nor is it necessary for them, since Philip Murray will probably be willing to settle for the 10-cent pension grant already recommended by the president's board, and the company is in a position to give this to the workers without any serious cut in its pocketbook, as Ford has already done.

It cannot be that it wanted this strike at this time for the sake of trying to bust the United Steelworkers. The labor-busting ambitions even of U.S. Steel Corporation must pause before the strength of the union today.

It cannot be that it wanted this strike because the 10-cent pension based on the non-contributory principle is so important to it. Seven small steel companies have already accepted it.

Big Steel wanted this strike because its alternative was going along with the fact-finding board, and it has decided that that is contrary to its more important objects.

### Big Steel Wants a Shot in the Arm for Taft-Hartleyism

That objective is union-busting, to be sure, but not with the methods of the Bell Corporation-Wall Street combination now testing out its formula in Buffalo. Big Steel's objective is union-busting via the Taft-Hartley formula, through anti-labor legal straitjackets on a national scale. What is at stake in

As Susan Green points out in the lead article, this issue, this has been Big Steel's line from the beginning. It opposed the setting up of the fact-finding board on "principle" because this maneuver bypassed the Taft-Hartley Law. It feels that if it now accepts the settlement of the fact-finding board, the

the strike for Big Steel is nothing less than Taft-

Taft-Hartley Law will have played no part at all in the entire development and the maneuver to bypass it will have been completely successful. Labor will then be able to claim that the T-H apparatus proved itself unnecessary and the fight to kill it will

be strengthened.

On the other hand, by forcing a strike, the steel magnates hope thereby to create a fake "national emergency" (which means, both in their vocabulary as well as in Truman's: any major strike) and compel Truman to put T-H into operation to "save the nation," in spite of Truman's reluctance to imperil Democratic electoral chances in 1950 or 1952 by doing so.

In origin, this is the kind of strike which is always so piously and hypocritically denounced by capital-a "political strike"-not on the part of the steel workers, but on the part of Big Steel in this case. Its political objective is the revival of Taft-Hartleyism.

# Labor Solidarity—Not Reliance on Government Boards

This is how the capitalists of Big Steel are figuring. They are taking the offensive in their own way, shattering Philip Murray's congenital hope that appeasement, class collaboration, "good relations

with the company" (namely, between "Phil" and "Ben"), and easy-going "labor statesmanship" can bring permanently harmonious relations between labor and capital. The commanding heights of America's basic industry will have none of that stuff, except as temporary expedients when they have no effective alternative. As Reuther's UAW executive board has charged, Wall Street is working on a second prong of this offensive-

violent union-smashing in Buffalo, in an attempt to pick off one Auto Workers' local as a test operation. The men who make this charge are neither irresponsible nor loose with such words-on the contrary, they have in recent times been bending over backward to impress all concerned with their conservative sobriety. If they make the charge, the labor movement ought to sit up and take note of what is happening in the country,

especially when the big steel strike is before their eyes at the same time. The issue is not "getting behind the fact-finding board." That board is

a Truman political instrument in this case, and AFL President Bill Green is 100 per cent right in warning against reliance on any government boards at the opening of the AFL

turn back the offensive of capital which seems to be under way in at least two sectors. What that labor solidarity can do is being demonstrated in the Buffalo Bell strike itself (see story in this issue). If the Buffalo labor movement is rallying with remarkable solidity behind the embattled Bell

convention this week. The need is labor solidarity to

strikers, it is because the Niagara Frontier unions know that victory for the Bell-Wall Street push will put every one of them in jeopardy.

# Independent Political Action—Not Reliance on Truman

The same thing is true on a national scale. The issue is "getting behind" the steel union, especially if the strike turns out to be a hard-fought fight, as it bids fair to do, and the coordination of the coming struggles and demands of the unions on a national scale through a general staff of labor, CIO and AFL, instead of each union walking into its crisis under its own

But the offensive of Big Steel and Wall Street cannot be met, and certainly cannot be turned back, solely on the economic field. Big Steel's objec-



tive is not narrowly economic in that sense. Its objective is political, and labor solidarity must mean in the first place labor's political solidarity. Whatever the outcome of the steel strike may be, the unions will be able to defend themselves against continuing attack only by organizing their political strength for their own independent political action.

We think that means an independent labor party. Truman and his Democratic Party are anxious to avoid the stigma of the Taft-Hartley label, but have proclaimed that injunction strike-

breaking is inherent in the president's power. Without its own political party, labor will only stagger on from one "We wuz betrayed" to another and from one disappointment to another. Labor organized in its own party, depending neither on government boards for handouts nor on Democratic politicians for favors, can turn back the reactionary drive and go further to become the real

### By SUSAN GREEN

Steel workers to the number of 500,000 are out on strikeand thus Big Steel has its wish fulfilled. It is no exaggeration to say that the steel industry wanted a strike. Its conduct from the very inception of the dispute with the union indicates just that.

The United States Steel Corporation, leading the industry, refused to submit the issues to the president's fact-finding board until the pressure of public opinion became too strong for it. Then, during the hearings, the representatives of steel companies continued to express their contempt for such boards in no uncertain terms, while several of these representatives -notably the president of Republic Steel-openly declared their preference for a strike. Finally, when the board recommended a ten-cent-anhour-increase settlement as against the 30-cent increase demanded by the union, and the union accepted this recommendation so unfavorable to the workers, the companies decided to hold to their "principle" that workers must also contribute to a pension fund.

The attitude of Big St of must be understood to evaluate this strike of 500,000 workers which may spread and include many thousands more. What is behind the industry's insistence that workers must contribute. along with the companies, to the workers' pension fund? The companies have been very "principled" about it. However, while "principle" is involved, it would seem that it is not the "principle" of contributory. pension funds.

Non-contributory pension systems now exist throughout the steel industry, however small and inadequate they are. And, of course, it is well known that better or worse noncontributory pension systems can be found in all industry, including coal must also be made to the very fancy and very adequate non-contributory pension systems the steel industry maintains for its own official staffs.

# WHY THE STRIKE?

Therefore the non-contributory principle for pensions is not the crucial issue. Neither is the big hurdle the money involved in the 10-cent package recommended by the board, since United States Steel has agreed to pay this. The motivation for the steel com-

(Continued on page 4)

# **Associated Press** Is Still Anti-Labor

It's no news that big business is as anti-labor as it dares to be at any given time. But when a big business is also the agency that supplies a good part of the news you read, it's something to keep in mind when you pick up the morning paper.

The Associated Press is bucking labor organization again-or still.

Since the inception of the CIO Newspaper Guild in 1933, AP has fought the organization of its editorial employees. Shortly after the Guild's formation, AP fired Morris Watson from its New York staff for union activity and refused to reinstate him until ordered to do so by the Supreme Court. For several years AP has been bargaining with the Guild on a bureau-by-bureau basis but has refused to recognize the union on a national scale.

This year AP editorial employees throughout the country chose the Guild as their bargaining agent by a 1166-212 vote. That was in August. Since then AP has continued to fight the Guild by making only those offers which it knew in advance could not be accepted.

An AP offer was recently put to the vote of the Guild membership and rejected 651-93. Then, when negotiations were resumed, the AP refused to bargain. The Guild brought an NLRB charge of unfair labor practices, and negotiations have now started again.

Major points in dispute are the disparity in wage minimums among AP bureaus, AP's refusal to grant a general wage increase and its refusal to write its employee pension plan into

the contract.

### workers are out on strike and are therefore available for picket duty MURRAY SEEMS SKEPTICAL at the Bell plant. Although Local 501's strike leaders are being sought by deputy sheriffs with warrants for their arrest, they attended both the membership meetof 834 cents an hour, or an esti-

Shachtman Reports on Europe's

Socialist Movement to Over 250

### NEW YORK-Over 250 people heard Max Shachtman, national chairman of the Independent Socialist League, speak on the subject "Europe Between Two Imperialisms" at the Cornish Arms Hotel on Friday, September 30. Making his first New York public appearance since returning from a European tour, Comrade Shachtman treated the audience to

ropean politics. While noting the general political trends of the major countries in Europe, the speaker devoted most of his time to the situation inside the socialist movement of the continent.

a remarkable firsthand report of Eu-

"Europe is caught in a vise," he said. "represented by the iron jaw of Stalinist imperialism on one side and the gilt jaw of American imperialism on the other." Only if the European peoples find a way of expressing themselves independently of these two forces will they be able to avoid being swept into a war from which they have nothing to gain and everything to lose.

Such a way, Comrade Shachtman pointed out, would be the formation of an independent union of the coun-

ing their economic, political and intellectual resources, he felt, they could represent a force strong enough to free themselves from both imperialisms. Such a union, he added, must not allow outworn bourgeois nationalistic institutions to stand in the way of the tremendous social progress it would make possible. In this connection it is a crime, the

tries of Western Europe. By combin-

speaker said, that the leadership for such a union is being taken by representatives of reaction like Churchill and not by leaders of the labor movement like Bevin. Shachtman cited this as only one of the many opportunities for social leadership that have been missed by the official labor leadership in the Western European countries.

# MARXIST LEFT WING RE-FORMS

Observing that in those countries like England and Germany where the Social - Democracy appeared to be campaigning against both Stalinism and capitalism it has become a social force, Shachtman declared that only such a program can arouse hope and

(Continued on page 2)

tonight. They were able to go through the cops' lines because they were surrounded by cordons of strikers.

# By MICHAEL FERRIS

BUFFALO, Oct. 1-The whole Niagara Frontier area staggered under the growing impact of the Bell Aircraft strike while deputy sheriffs and company representatives applauded their own new-found "military strategy."

On Thursday, September 29, the Bell Aircraft Corporation and the Niagara County deputies bombed the striking members of Local 501 of the United Auto Workers and their wives from the air. Company-owned helicopters, which have been harassing picketing workers in defiance of Civil Aeronautics Authority regulations

from the beginning of the strike, swooped low over the heads of the pickets and dropped tear-gas bombs upon the ranks of workers. As men and women scrambled to escape the fumes of the bombs, they were chased across the open fields by the helicopters.

Deputy sheriffs, leaning out of the helicopters to take careful aim, flung tear-gas bombs at the heads of the fleeing workers-who by now were in an open field, unarmed and running AWAY from the plant. All this was only one aspect of a carefully planned, premeditated attack.

On Wednesday, September 28, the Bell Corporation again announced that it would never negotiate with Local 501 unless the union agreed to the company's terms. On Thursday

(Continued on page 4)

# Puerto Ricans Bitter Against U. S.'s Conscription Without Representation

While U. S. delegates to the United Nations make glowing speeches about democracy and the rights of small nations-for foreign export-the American colony of Puerto Rico, occupied by the Yanguis for a half century, is having trouble even making its voice heard on the monstrous injustices under which it suffers.

Storm center of bitter Puerto Rican feeling is the fact that the United States is the only country in the world which makes military conscription compulsory for territories which it controls without self-government. By express provision of the 1948 draft act (as of those of 1917 and 1940) Puerto Rico is included in the area where compulsory military

service is in operation. Even Luis Munoz Marin, for the past decade quisling for U.S. rule over his own people, has said: "I honestly believe that the United States has made a mistake in imposing military service on a people whose representatives have not had the opportunity to vote on the law that imposes

So great is Puerto Rican opposition that, during the period designated in August and September 1948 for all young men 18-26 to register, only 152,000 did so, although 212,000 had been expected. Thus over a quarter of Puerto Rican youths ran the risk of five years' imprisonment rather than register for service in the armed forces of the U. S.

Of the approximately 60,000 nonregistrants, two groups predominate: (1) ex-students of the University of Puerto Rico who participated actively in the 1948 strike in defense of civil liberties on the campus; and (2) supporters of the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico, which refuses to recognize the authority of the U.S. over Puerto Rico or any of its people.

While the first group generally register if and when the FBI catches up with them, the Nationalists do not. Thus far eight Nationalists have been found guilty of violating the law and are now appealing from the verdicts.

# RIGHT OF APPEAL KILLED

The grounds of their appeal are constitutional: "(1) Because Puerto Rico is not a part of the United States. as decided by the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of Balzac vs. Puerto Rico, 258 U.S. 298. (2) Because it is a basic principle of the Constitution of the United States that equality of duties is based in equality of rights.'

With regard to the first point, for example, social security laws are not applicable to Puerto Rico, although the people are forced to shoulder guns for the red, white and blue. Of the eight Nationalists, five got

one year in jail, two were sentenced to two years, and the eighth is still awaiting sentence. The last, José Miguel Castillo Vega, is a veteran of World War II and the judge postponed sentence because he "just can't understand" why a GI honorably discharged after three years' war service should now refuse to register. . . .

The two who received the heaviest sentences were socked with two years for no obvious reason other than the fact that both are sons of prominent Nationalist leaders. All have been denied bail pending appeal and at the same time hearing on the appeal has been postponed until February 1950. This means that the one-year sentences will already have been served by that time-and the appeal will be purely academic.

The U.S. does not go in for outright colonies-its economic imperialism serves it better-but it knows the way of colonial "justice."

# Steel Strike Raises Some Basic Issues In Militant Unionism and Class Politics UE Stalinist Leadership Bears Main Responsibility for Developing Split

The following radio address by Gordon Haskell was delivered before the steel strike was announced.-Ed.

### By GORDON HASKELL

If the steel workers are finally forced out on strike by the refusal of the great steel companies to yield any concessions whatever to their workers, it's going to be pretty hard to paint a picture of Philip Murray, head of the steel union and of the CIO, as an irresponsible, wild-eyed radical.

The fact is that Murray has in the past been willing to make almost any kind of a settlement in order to avoid a strike. The United Steel Workers of America is probably one of the most conservative as well as one of the most bureaucratized unions in the CIO. Time after time Murray has been willing to settle wage demands on a minimum basis, far below that which was acceptable to other CIO union leaders

I would like to remind you particularly of the year 1946. At that time the United Auto Workers had struck General Motors for 100 days, demanding a 30-cent wage increase and calling on the corporation to open its books to the union. Further, the UAW was demanding that the wage increase take place without an increase in the price of cars.

In the middle of this hard-fought strike, Murray signed a contract with the steel industry providing for an 1814-cent increase in wages, with the tacit understanding that the steel workers would support the steel industry in an effort to increase the price of steel to more than cover the wage increase. This settlement set a national pattern for wage increases, knifed the auto workers in the back and gave a further spurt to the increase in cost of living.

It is reported that at that time Murray was very critical of Walter Reuther's formula of "a wage increase without a price increase," and told Reuther that prices were of no concern to the unions, as there was nothing about the American economy which couldn't be fixed up by an increase in wages.

### BOSSES PREFER BUREAUCRATS

I'm reminding you of this history, because it has an important bearing on the whole question of collective

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# INDEPENDENT **SOCIALIST LEAGUE**

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Condensed from a talk delivered by news commentator Gordon Haskell over radio station KPFA-FM (Berkley, California). Gordon Haskell is heard by residents of the San Francisco Bay Area over this station every Thursday evening at 7:45-101 on your dial.

bargaining in America, and particularly on the role of Murray and those who think like him in the trade-union leadership.

When workers go on strike, the employers usually start yelling about the so-called "autocratic power" of the union leaders. The truth of the matter is, however, that generally speaking the less democracy there is in a union the better it is liked by the capitalists. This is true for two

A bureaucratic union can control the militancy of its ranks much better than a democratic one. The industrialists know that when the ranks have little or nothing to say about negotiations, it's much easier to make a deal with their leaders. And the more bureaucratic the leaders are. that is, the further they are separated from the ranks in manner of life and thinking, the more they are inclined to see things from the point of view of the capitalists, or at least from a point of view closer to that of the capitalists than of the rank and file sweating it out in the shops.

Further along this line, the more bureaucratic a union is, the LESS militant is its rank and file likely to become. Both militancy and democracy feed and grow strong on militancy and democracy. When a union membership becomes accustomed to having all problems settled from on top, their interest in the union and their fighting spirit is reduced to a

### OUT OF PRACTICE

All these things have to be borne in mind when we consider the prospects of a coming steel strike. For a number.of reasons, Murray has been able in the past to make deals with the steel industry owners which gained much less for the workers than could have been got through struggle, but which did gain something for them. Thus the ranks of the union have never become accustomed to fighting for their own interests.

But now the chickens are coming home to roost. The steel industry has apparently decided to give nothing to the union. Murray cannot possibly accept this, as it would deal a death-blow to his status as a "labor statesman." But now he has to turn to the ranks-the very same ranks which he has for years discouraged from militancy and fighting initiative.

Private reports which I have received from the great steel-making regions indicate that the membership is apathetic, expects things to be settled from on top, as usual, and at present probably has little stomach for a strike. This is shown in dreary and very poorly attended meetings.

There's no doubt that the steel magnates are fully aware of this situation, and intend to use it to the limit. This is probably also the explanation for the outbursts of wrath and frustration exhibited by Murray at the hearings of the fact-finding board, when he referred to the heads of the steel industry as a bunch of sanctimonious racketeers.

He feels that he has been betrayed. The same men who were always willing to make a deal in the past (when they were operating on government cost-plus contracts, or on the inflationary spiral) have now closed the



him to fight at a time least favorable to the union.

### BASIS FOR WAGE RAISE

The steel magnates are refusing to play ball and have flatly stated that they won't even give the pittance recommended by the board. Thus the union is now faced with the position of either having to strike for the measly board recommendations or to reverse their whole strategy and strike for their original demands. If they do that now, the industry will charge that they were not sincere in accepting the board's recommenda-

tions in the first place. Of course, the issues in this dispute bring up, as all major strikes do, the question of what is a legitimate basis for collective bargaining under capitalism. When unions make demands, they almost invariably base them on one or all of three princi-

They claim that the increased productivity of labor justifies an increased share of the product to the workers. They claim that the workers need the increase either to keep up with the cost of living or to bring them up to a decent living standard or to bring them up to standards already won by other workers. Finally, they claim that the profits of industry make possible the granting of their demands.

Industry counters this reasoning with principles of its own. On productivity, they either reply that there has been no increase in productivity or that the increase has been due not to greater efforts by the workers but due to greater investment in new machines by capital. Such productivity, they reason, since it is due to capital investment, justifies greater returns to capital and not to the

On the cost of living or the demand for a higher standard of living, industry either replies that there has been no increase in the cost of living, or that industry cannot be responsible for any such increase.

### WHICH SIDE?

In this particular hearing the industry leaders have stated that profits are not the business of the union and that they refuse to consider prof-

# U. S. Tax Gimmick Subsidizes Lobby

The U.S. government itself is subsidizing a good part of the reactionary propaganda filling the air-and the Congressional lobbies.

Next time you see a full-page newspaper ad denouncing health legislation or something as "statism," don't assume big business is paying for it itself. As much as 76 cents out of every dollar it costs is very likely coming out of your nocket-that is. out of government taxes.

The gimmick is Section 101 of the Internal Revenue Code, Under 101(6). "educational, charitable or religious" organizations pay no taxes on their income and in addition their contributors pay no taxes on contributions, Under 101(8)-next best-only the first exemption applies.

Some of the biggest political, antilabor and even semi-fascist lobbies in Washington, organized by big business, are classified under this section as "educational organizations" by the commissioner of internal revenue, George J. Schoeneman. This admission has been prodded out of Schoeneman recently by congressional in-

quiries. One of these is the Committee for Constitutional Government, headed by Frank Gannett, the reactionary chain publisher, and engineered by Edward Rumely, who did a stretch in prison for acting as a German agent in World War I, later known as a Nazi sympathizer. This outfit, officially registered as a lobby, admits to running on a \$600,000 budget this year. It specializes in boosting Taft-Hartley and any other anti-labor bill that comes to hand, "educates" against inheritance taxes on the estates of the wealthy and fights for any other cut in taxes of the rich it

can think of. Schoeneman has admitted that this group operates under 101(8) and has refused to state whether it ever had 101(6) privileges. In any case, 101(8) not being good enough for it, it spawned a front organization, the Constitution and Free Enterprise Foundation, Inc., which gets the whole melon.

A similar group receiving all exemptions is the Foundation for Economic Education, whose contributors include such well known educators as General Motors, Standard Oil of New Jersey, Mellon National Bank, the DuPonts, Ernest T. Weir, U. S. Steel and other baccalaureate capi-

Corporations can charge their contributions, and the money they pay for the propaganda literature, up to "business expenses" and thus reduce their profits taxes by 38 per cent. It

door in his face. They are forcing itability as a basis for collective bar-

to dividends, to wages, to reinvestment, to debt payment, etc.

right? If you want an answer, you'll find it by deciding which side of the

concern of the workers.

-On the other hand, if you believe that the prosperity of the capitalists is the most important thing, then all of these factors are or should be of no concern to the workers, and the fact that they raise them simply indicates, as the employers in this beef have said repeatedly, that the unions are beginning to be permeated with

Yet when he really has to fight for profit motive itself.

gaining. They insist that profits are the legitimate fruits of capital investment and that their responsibility is to their stockholders and not to the

Finally, they insist that when computing profits it is not legitimate to compute them on the basis of capital investment, but rather on the basis of turnover. That is, how many cents out of each dollar in sales go take place at the coming CIO con-

Now, who is wrong and who is

be run for the benefit of the American people, the standard of living of the workers will seem to you the most important consideration, as they constitute a much larger section of the American people than do the industrialists. Then productivity, profits, prices, wages and even what is produced and how it is sold and distributed will seem to you a legitimate

Now, one of the difficulties in which Murray finds himself is precisely that he abhors a socialistic philosophy. That is, he is a strong advocate of capitalism and he supports it both economically and politically. He insists that his demands are good capitalistic demands, which would be granted by the industrialists if they were really good capitalists.

something for his membership he has to make demands on industry which bring into question one of the basic concepts of capitalism, and that is the

By MARY BELL Machine Workers of America has always been a laboratory of Stalin-

ist politics, and since the recently concluded convention it appears that a dangerous experiment in fission is in the making. Virtually every source is now agreed that the longtalked-about split of Stalinist-dominated unions from the official body of the CIO is a sure thing, and may

If you believe that industry should

a socialistic philosophy.

formity on the part of the majority CIO leadership, then presents a series of ultimatums to the president of the CIO. It closes with the key paragraph: "In the event the Executive Board [of the UE] does not receive these assurances from the president of the CIO, this convention authorizes the board to withhold pre-capita tax to the CIO for such time as it deems

necessary for the protection of the interests of the UE." The intent of such a resolution is clear: Grant all our demands, give us free rein, or else!

The United Electrical Radio and

UE President Albert J. Fitzger-

ald, in a recent magazine interview,

casually called the question of split

an "iffy" question. His co-thinker,

John Williamson, in the October 4

Daily Worker said that a split

"would be injurious and would

weaken the fighting power of all

labor." But the threat of split, he

continues, "comes from those leaders

in CIO, who in their red-baiting hys-

teria and devotion to the reactionary

policies of Wall Street, have lost all

All Stalinist unionists are instructed

to be on the alert for provocations.

For, in their view, split will not be

invoked by the Stalinists but "pro-

voked" by the official CIO leadership.

The direction of the Stalinists was

made clear in the by now notorious

Resolution Against Raiding and Dic-

tatorship in the CIO passed by their

two-to-one majority at the UE con-

vention. The resolution complains

against raiding, invasion of auton-

omy rights and the demand for con-

vention in November.

self-restraint."

Thus prepared for the national CIO, the Stalinists in the UE passed another resolution which again shows their direction and which prepares them internally to take action against the dissidents in the ranks of the UE itself. This was the resolution which empowers the General Executive Board of the UE to "assume original jurisdiction" over any member accused of "raiding or se-

UE Stalinist Leadership Bears Main Responsibility for Developing Split

cessionist activities." This infamously bureaucratic device permits the Kremlin-minded Executive Board to reach into any local and try any member-there is no question of trial by ones peers. Its objective is obvious. It permits the board, acting as prosecutor, judge and jury, to throw out any unwanted oppositionists.

### LOOK WHO'S COMPLAINING!

The public protestations of the CPers in the UE and elsewhere are that they are attempting to defend autonomous rights and democracy in the CIO. There is a point to be made about the tendency towards increasing conformity and the demand for it in the CIO, but it doesn't belong to the Stalinists and they make it only because the current CIO political line doesn't conform with the Moscow

"conformity" resolution, adopted at the May 1949 meeting of the CIO Executive Board by a vote representing about 90 per cent of the dues-paying membership, stated in

"All members of the board who are unwilling to enforce the Constitution and carry out the instructions of the convention and, between conventions, of the Executive Board, are called upon to resign. "All unions affiliated with CIO who

are represented in the board by members unwilling to [do the above] are called upon to insist upon the resignation of such representatives and to nominate successor representatives who are willing to and will comply.' Now, naturally, while at present it is aimed particularly against the

Stalinists, who are the only sizable

minority in the CIO, this is not a

democratizing resolution. But this demand for conformity is not a sudden new demand. It was initiated at the 1946 CIO convention, where the Stalinists were in the clutches of their wartime alliance with Murray and the rest of the official CIO leaders. At that time, in response to Murray's plea that all CIO bodies and leaders should carry out official . CIO policy, the Stalinists were the aiders and abettors of this line.

### RESPONSIBILITY IS CP'S

In addition, the history of the UE has been of utter servitude to the totalitarian politics of the Stalinist party line and the union an almost laboratory-pure example of untrammeled bureaucracy. The Stalinists are hoist by their own petard.

The chief responsibility for splitting must be placed upon the Staling ists. One cannot take seriously the pretended concern of the Stalinists and their Daily Worker that a split would be the worst thing that could happen to the labor movement. That it will be a bad thing is unquestionable. There is not the shadow of a doubt that many misguided militants and good, honest rank-and-filers are still under the wing of the CP, especially in such a union as the UE which, until this year, had only the vestiges of opposition. And there is not the shade of a shadow that if the Stalinist UE remained within the CIO. this year's minority opposition, with all of its programatic weaknesses. would soon swell into a majority.

But the UE apparently will not and cannot permit such a thing to happen. They would prefer to split the CIO. They have made sure that they can "take care" of the opposition from inside by means of the "original jurisdiction" technique and they can be provoked into splitting (or being expelled) from the CIO in the guise of defending their union against raiding. In other words, the Stalin line is that American Communist Party-liners must speak openly and independently for Russian policy, even if it means a further division in the labor movement.

# Buffalo UE Local Gets Report on Split Fight

# Delegates Pose Question: "In or Out of the CIO?" Stalinists Reluctant to Discuss SWP Dodges

BUFFALO, Oct. 1-A preliminary re- issues which did not concern them port on the 14th annual convention of the United Electrical Workers (UE-CIO) was given at a meeting of Westinghouse Local 1581 on the Sunday following the Cleveland convention's adjournment, with the issue of UE's possible withdrawal or expulsion from the CIO brought out to the membership for discussion.

Long-standing opponents of Local 1581's anti-Stalinist administration among the 4,000 members in this Buffalo Motor Division of Westinghouse took the floor and attempted to divert the attention of the meeting from this basic issue growing out of the convention.

Spokesmen for the remnants of Communist Party-line influence in the plant (who try to make up with noise at meetings for the support they lack in the shop) ducked the question of UE secession or expulsion and attempted to discredit the stand taken by the opposition group at the convention on the rights of unemployed UE members.

# IN OR OUT?

President Ted Wierzbic, sent as an official observer to the Cleveland sessions for this unseated local, pointed out that the problem of allowing unemployed members to vote on shop

was the root of the matter as brought out by the Mansfield, Ohio, Westinghouse delegation, and that the national opposition group was for full rights and participation for unemployed members on union issues which did concern them.

Spokesmen for the Socialist Workers Party line nicked up a statement in the convention report on the opposition's determination to stay in the CIO and proceeded to straddle the issue by agreeing that "some things" in CP union policies were objectionable but emphasizing that Murray's CIO policies were completely reprehensible. An SWP supporter recommended that Local 1581 maintain its own autonomy against both, and "fight on union issues."

"Inside the CIO or outside the CIO?" a member called out.

Instead of an answer, another SWP spokesman moved to table the discussion until the CIO convention in

Anti-Stalinist supporters of the 1581 administration had already brought out that 1581 would continue to maintain its autonomy and its own union program as it had against the International UE administration, and that the leadership of the union would continue to take any necessary per capita may bring the issue of steps to protect the membership-inside the CIO.

It was agreed to continue a discussion of the convention majority and minority resolutions at the next membership meeting.

# LOCAL PRESIDENT EXPLAINS

At the gates of the plant the following Friday, President Wierzbic posed the issues of pro- and anti-CIO in a convention report in the Union Member. Local 1581's news bulletin distributed to the workers weekly.

Sketching the division in UE as between "those who believe Communist Party union policies have been injurious to UE and those who believe this issue is irrelevant," he pointed out that UE's withholding of UE secession or expulsion to a head when the CIO convention convenes.

"The so-called 'right wing' has pledged to stay in the CIO." his report stated. "The so-called 'left wing' has not made its position known on

The membership meeting adopted an Executive Board recom that a strike vote be taken through out Westinghouse "with sufficient time to prepare it." to strengthen the fight for UE's \$500 per year package demands in negotiations. The Friday news bulletin also pointed out that the opposition at the convention had been for a strong fight against Westinghouse and GE, in headlining wage developments.

# Shachtman Public Meeting -

# (Continued from page 1)

enthusiasm on the part of the European masses. The most important problem for Marxists, therefore, he said, is the development of a conscious left wing in the mass labor movements of Europe to insure the development and presentation of such a program.

Such a left wing is indispensable too, the speaker said, in taking advantage of the general decline of Stalinism in Europe. While giving the details of this decline as he saw them from the emergence of a kind of "Titoism" in the French CP to the extreme hatred of Stalinism that has developed in Eastern Germany, the ISL national chairman pointed out that it would be only temporary if the European people were given no other alternative than an outworn capitalism whose bankruptcy they have long since realized.

Described in interesting detail was the situation of the Marxist groups in the countries of Western Europe that he visited: in Spain, the POUM-under the leadership of its left wing; the ASR in France, many of whose militants are leaders in the RDR movement; in England, the growing left wing of the Independent Labor Party; socialists grouped around the well-known paper of the Dutch resistance, the Vlam; small groups of Scandinavian Marxists.

In Germany, Shachtman noted that the bulk of the old radicals were working in the Social - Democracy toward the organization of a left wing. This is as it should be, he said, and these attempts deserve the support of all Marxists.

# MET UKRAINIAN MARXISTS

In what was perhaps the most interesting part of the report, Shachtman told about his meeting with Ukrainian Marxist leaders in the DP camps of Germany, led by an "old

Bolshevik who never recanted and never capitulated-still alive and still fighting - a precious residue of the Russian Revolution."

The speaker described their extensive organizational and propaganda work and their connections with the underground guerrilla group, the Ukrainian People's Army, in Russia. After suffering under Stalin and Hitler and struggling against both, after spending five years in the DP camps, they remain undaunted, ready to sacrifice their meager resources to publish and circulate their paper, named after Lenin's underground publication Forward. Their bravery in the face of the hardships and Stalinist persecution which still dog them is inspiring; they have resisted the attemps of the GPU to infiltrate their organization; and they have won the workers in the camps to their side, the speaker asserted, as he promised that LABOR ACTION would carry

further news of their activities. In summarizing, Shachtman said that it is our task to "reassemble" and rearm the Marxists, to bring about a realignment of the socialist left wing." He spoke of the groups which he had mentioned as the beginnings of this task and pointed to the widespread attention attracted by the first few issues of their international publication Confrontation Internationale. He told of the Spanish-language bulletin planned as a joint enterprise of the POUM and ISL to aid in the reorientation of Spanish and Latin American socialists. Marxists must be in the mass organizations of labor, he said; thus they must begin the reconstruction of the international socialist movement.

Before the question and discussion period, Albert Gates, chairman of the meeting, took up a collection to launch an International Solidarity Fund for the aid of impoverished European socialists, and the audience contributed most generously.

### Philly ISL Forum Series Launched By Howe Lecture on UAW Trends By FRANK HARPER where there is a company - security

PHILADELPHIA, Sept. 25-The local branch of the Independent Socialist League opened its current series of Labor Action Forums tonight with a lecture by Irving Howe, co-author of The UAW and Walter Reuther. Howe discussed the section of his book dealing with democracy and bureaucracy in the United Auto Workers Union.

The meeting was held in Labor Action Hall at 1139 West Girard Avenue. The next forum of the series will feature Max Shachtman on Sunday evening, October 23. The ISL national chairman will report on his recent trip to Europe.

One of the very interesting phases of Howe's talk dealt with the changing role of the shop steward in the UAW. In the early days of the union the shop steward was the rank-andfile leader who made such important decisions as the calling of a strike. He was the important link between the men in the shop and the office of the International union.

Today the steward's executive powers and area of influence have been seriously reduced. Even on matters of grievances he is many times simply a referral agent. The steward's power has been most curtailed

clause in effect. In such case the steward has to place his own job in jeopardy if he takes militant action, and the union members often bypass the steward and take action on their own initiative. Howe stated that the two best

agencies for fighting the growth of bureaucratic trends in the UAW were the existence of radical socialist oppositions and an expansion of the, social and political concepts of the union, particularly in the direction of independent political action. A question and discussion period followed the lecture.

Chairman Joseph Arnold invited those present and all friends of the ISL to attend the coming Shachtman forum, the educational discussions which are an integral part of the branch meetings on the first and third Monday evenings of each month, and also a social, planned for Saturday, October 8.

> Subscribe to LABOR ACTION \$1.00 a year

# TITO'S "LEFT WING"



THE FOSSIL-TROTSKYISTS WHITEWASH TITO REGIME

### By HAL DRAPER

A new document has recently been issued by the official-Trotskyist movement (so-called Fourth International-Cannon's Socialist Workers Party in this country) which may be of interest to a few of our readers as the latest manifesto of muddleheadedness by some of the most expert practitioners in this field to be found on two planets.

As we have pointed out before, in LABOR ACTION and The New International, in this group we see one of the most eye-popping oddities in the radical movement. They mix the following three propositions with that sure mastery and confidence which comes only from long practice in making water flow uphill: (1) Stalinist Russia is a workers' state, albeit degenerated. (2) Stalinist Yugoslavia, like Russia's Eastern European satellites, is contrariwise a bureaucratic state capitalism, totalitarian to boot like Russia itself and therefore in common parlance-fascist. (3) But (or maybe therefore -who knows?) they defend Tito's "fascist state" against Stalin's "degen-

The fact is that these sad people are being tormented by two opposed pulls. On the one hand, they must hang on to Trotsky's view that Russia is a workers' state, because Trotsky is no longer here to change their minds for them; and they currently have difficulty pinning the workers' state label on anything in East Europe for the simple reason that this would mean that a social revolution must have taken place there recently without their noticing the event. On the other hand, they are quite determined to support Tito. How

Our subjects are pulled apart. They have taken two donkeys facing in opposite directions; they have yelled Giddap at both in the firm, confident voice so becoming to generals of the revolution; and now they are doing their damnedest to hang on to both saddles by fingernails, eyebrows-and ears. As the ears get pulled out longer and longer under the consequent strain, they become all the more firmly convinced of their fundamental kinship with the two other characters in the experiment.

The new document makes a new discovery in kinship. The Cannonites and their favorite International now proclaim that Tito-the Stalinist branch dictator who broke with the central office and set up in business for himself—is returning to the principles of Leninism. He isn't there yet, you understand. He has taken only the "first step" on the road "toward a return to the principles of Leninism." In fact, they are careful to deny that he is a Trotskyist (yet). In this they cautiously distinguish themselves from such as the British/Trotskyist who recently argued in print that Tito is an "unconscious Trotskyist."

### Gingerly Defend Tito Police Regime

The document is an open letter "To the Members of the Communist Parties, To All Communist Workers" in defense of Tito, signed by the International Secretariat of the Fourth International, published in La Vérité (organ of the French Trotskyists). An English translation (with differences to be mentioned) has been mimeographed by the SWP here for distribution to Stalinists.

Much of this open letter is taken up with refutations of Cominform slanders against the Titoists-the Belgrade "Borba" does it better-and other pearls have been assayed by us before, but one passage in particular deserves notice. The Fourth International, says the letter, defends Tito's Yugoslavia and the Yugoslav Communist Party against the Russian bureaucracy "without reservations." (What "reservations" are thus being abandoned is not said.) But "On the economic and social plane, we have numerous criticisms to make of Tito's policy in Yugoslavia."

For people who have proclaimed in outsize resolutions that Yugoslavia is a bureaucratic Bonapartist state capitalism (fascism), this sentence gleams like a polished gem in the annals of understatement. The particular "economic. and social" criticisms are not mentioned by another word—the regime may be fascist indeed, but why should one drag such things in by the hair when the important thing is to defend Tito against the Cominform charge that Yugoslavia is . . . a police dictatorship?

In the most delicate tones the open letter candidly admits that "It is true that many Cominform supporters have been jailed by the Yugoslav secret police. It is also true that an implacable repression exists in Yugoslavia against the enemies of the present regime"-from which it could scarcely be gathered that in point of fact a dictatorship of typically Stalinist police terror exists under Tito-but after these two tongue-clucking reservations, the open letter launches into a long "You're another" denunciation of the the accusers in defense of Tito's internal regime.

In the course of this defense, the fact that Tito published the Cominform attack upon him is held up as a shining example of "objective reporting" in the Yugoslav press, as contrasted with the bad ways of the Cominform powers. One might conclude that freedom of the press almost exists in naturally, everyone knows the Cannonites ma claim-they have merely (shall we say) neglected to mention the seamy side of things side by side with their impassioned defense of Tito . . .

# F.I. Proclaims Itself "Left Wing" of Tito-Stalinism

The section that follows this is a brighter jewel of the same cut. For reasons we would not dare to guess at, the SWP's English translation omits precisely this whole passage. We reproduce it, therefore, not only for the cheated customers, but also as a startlingly new kind of proof that Yugoslavia is not a police dictatorship:

"In such a heap of slanders and lies, there is always one which sharply lights up the character of the whole system and reveals its absurdity in a single flash. The anti-Titoist slanderers have recently been caught redhanded. On Thursday, September 8, the French CP's paper L'Humanité published on its first page a news item concerning the 'fascist' anti-Communist repression in Yugoslavia. It was about the seizure, in the Belgrade kiosks, of the organ of the Union of Yugoslav Writers, Knjizevne Novine, on the evening of September 7. The official version given out by the Yugoslav government was that one of the articles 'misinterpreted the foreign policy of Yugoslavia.' L'Humanité concluded that the journal had been suppressed because it 'did not sufficiently glorify the anti-Russian policy' of Tito. It was 'definitive' proof of the police and anti-Soviet charcter of the Titoist regime.

"Now it turns out, this journal was suppressed because it published an article 'with an inconsistent and seditious tone with regard to the USSR,' says the official Yugoslav communiqué of September 9 condemning the article.

"But L'Humanité was forced to lie to the Communist workers, for it could not have 'proved' the 'definitive passage of the fascist Tito over to the imperialist camp' by-the suppression of an article harmful to the prestige of the USSR."

What a triumphant demonstration! And what does it demonstrate? It demonstrates that L'Humanité is a base slanderer when it speaks of a "police regime" in Yugoslavia! The article that was suppressed by Tito's GPU was too critical of Russia-that's why it was suppressed . . .

And it seems to escape completely from the notice of the authors of the open letter that they are really citing as gross an instance of police supression of expression as could be found anywhere under Stalin! It escapes their notice-just as it escapes the notice of many varieties of Stalinoids and

crypto-Stalinists! We have said before that these fossil-Trotskyists were fast becoming the "leff-wing" of Stalinism. In the most conscious, deliberate and even aggressive fashion, they are already proclaiming themselves the "left wing" of the Titoist variety of Stalinism.

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**BOOK REVIEW** 

# Schlesinger's "Vital Center" And the Case for Liberalism

flin, N. Y., 274 pages, \$3.

That The Vital Center fills a certain need is indicated by the enthusiasm of its reception. "Liberalism" has been for a long time now the kind of blanket term in which a whole variety of righteous attitudes comfortably wrapped themselves up.

Possibly there is nothing the serious liberal desires or needs more than some precision in the definition of his political professions. This is the noble goal of Schlesinger's book -to analyze the meaning of liberalism today-and if the result of this energetic effort is less happy than the attempt, it is no fault of the author. He has probably done the best that can be done for liberalism. Modern liberalism adds to its predecessors' rhetoric of freedom which it strikes again in a higher key, a consciencestricken but nonetheless complete support of American foreign policy in the contemporary struggle for the

### PASSPORT TO LIBERALISM

The central theme and inspiration of "mid - twentieth - century liberalism" is the "unconditional rejection of totalitarianism and a reassertion of the ultimate integrity of the individual. This awakening constitutes the unique experience and fundamental faith of contemporary liber-

Today the easiest passport to political reputability is anti-totalitarianism. Unfortunately, this affirmation of individual integrity is not the kind of proposition from which any specific political program necessarily

In point of fact, the arena of antitotalitarianism is strewn with a diversity of political programs, ranging from the ossified private enterprisers to Schlesinger, who prefers some form of mixed economy. This does not seem to disturb Schlesinger overmuch, for where the common denominator is merely decent values, other differences become subordinate or tend to be erased.

Thus: "The modern capitalist has come to share many values with the American liberal: beliefs in personal integrity, political freedom and equality of opportunity. This process is reflected in the general support for the Marshall Plan, in the establishment of liberal business organizations like the Committee for Economic Development, in the proposals of some of the more forward-looking Republican

This political alchemy, which transits conveniences in that it eliminates the need to struggle for the desired goals. Because the modern capitalist (like the old-fashioned capitalist) is pro-capitalism and therefore anti-Russian and therefore fashions the Marshall Plan as one of the weapons of the world struggle for domination, he reaps the unexpected dividend of

being hailed as a liberal. From this, of course, should follow

THE VITAL CENTER, by Arthur M. that almost every measure and policy Schlesinger, Jr. Houghton Mif- of modern capitalism against Russia, up to and if necessary including war, will be designated as "liberal" by the modern liberal. It happens that what should follow does in fact follow, and the difference between the modern liberal like Schlesinger and the modern capitalist foreign policy vanishes in the rhetoric of the "fight for free-

### A THOUGHT FOR THE RUINS

The fallacy of this "modern" liberalism is the inverse of the fallacy of the totalitarian liberals and pro-Stalinists. The latter see every victory over capitalism as a stride forward to some form of socialism, not having yet learned the lesson of Russia. Schlesinger's "modern" liberalism, having been petrified by the lesson of Russia, sees every blow against Russia as a leap toward freedom.

Here and there in the book, Schlesinger indicates his understanding of the totalitarian potentials of capitalism, of the fact that totalitarianism and capitalism feed on each other's failures to solve man's problems. Yet when it comes to the moment of decision, his scientific grasp of the realities of capitalist dynamics is not permitted to hamper the emotional imperatives of anti-totalitarianism. To bring his science in greater harmony with his passions, he is compelled to radicalize the capitalist class and transform modern capitalism into an incipient welfare state.

Thus, he says, "a quiet revolution [took place] in the attitudes of the State Department" and "under Byrnes and Marshall the State Department moved in the direction of a philosophy of the non-Communist left." He does not see that where capitalism does support the Social - Democracy of Europe, it does so despite the latter's semi-socialist character; it is the policy of the desperate alternative engaged in for capitalist reasons with intended capitalist consequences. By the modern liberal's standards, it becomes rather easy for anyone to enter the fraternity of the non-Commu-

Schlesinger is convinced that totalitarianism is the most certain road to the destruction of free society and that war is the "next most certain road." He appears, however, quite willing to support the "next most certain road" should war break out in order to stop the most certain road.

This is a thought that may very well excite the philosophers perched on the post-war ruins. To stave off the war, he would keep America powerfully armed to thwart off any adventuristic attempts by Russia for a quick victory. In the meantime, "we its own internal contradictions to take care of Russian totalitarianism, meanwhile keeping our own powder dry. . . . That system must lose its totalitarianism before the world can give up its preparations for war." A rather bleak program for peace.

# WHO'S BEING FATUOUS?

This commitment to a war economy (a phrase never mentioned) and

the orientation toward general war preparations present some problems for the liberal, who must constantly align his conscience with his politics. These problems arise mostly in the sphere of civil liberties. Here, in the best part of the book, Schlesinger gives an able and persuasive summary of the "clear and present danger" doctrine and the need for basing prosecution on the commission of an overt act.

But even here the logic of innocent and dauntless anti - totalitarianism drags the liberal into difficulties; for Schlesinger supports loyalty oaths in government agencies and condones dismissal from "security agencies" upon "reasonable suspicion." He adds some proposed safeguards in the process which are not likely to be accepted by the "liberals" in the State Department, and he is concerned by the potential evils of the procedure as a whole

Thus he laments the Kutcher dismissal as a "fatuity," for Kutcher's only crime would seem to be his onposition to capitalism. It escapes him that this opposition has some relevance to the dismissal, and strikingly exposes the repressive potential of "loyalty oaths" against ALL opponents of the present form of government.

Many other sections of the book are worth reading and discussing because they present the most sophisticated expression of New Dealism and ADAism yet presented. Space does not permit discussing them here. It should be noted, however, that liberalism is complete without its quota of little homilies and exhortations in liberalese.

In this respect, Schlesinger does not fail to meet the requirements. The book is spotted with illuminations like: "free society will survive, in the last resort, only if enough people believe in it deeply enough to die for it," or "man today must organize beyond his moral and emotional means: this is the fundamental cause of our distempers," and again: if good men won't go into government, bad men will

### SCHOLAR AT WORK

Finally, it must be said that Schlesinger does not fail to play the currently popular long - playing record about Stalinism flowing from Bolshevism and about the psychotic conspiratorial paranoia which domintes Bolshevik thinking. In this sphere he has added a howler of his own which should not go unreported. It is not too far removed from the level of accuracy of the rest of the discussion of Bolshevism.

many workers were not Marxists and so invented a classification called lumpenproletariat in which were dumped those who did not live up to theory."

This nugget of prodigious digging in the original sources comes from one who himself proclaims that many capitalists are not capitalistic and so invents a classification called "modern liberals" in which are dumped those who do not live up to theory.

# **UKRAINIAN REFUGEES**

### REVIVE POLITICAL TENDENCIES IN DP CAMPS AND CANADA

### By A. RUDZIENSKI

The war and the Russian invasion flung hundreds of thousands of Ukrainian refugees into Western Europe who rejected Stalinist "liberation" and prefer to live the miserable life of the displaced. Now all the Ukrainian territories are "united" under the Stalinist scepter and bear the stamp of political "monolithism."

The Ukrainian refugees in Europe and Canada strive to reconstruct an independent political life. In Western Europe there has been a revival of all the principal Ukrainian political tendencies that crystallized in old Galicia and Volhynia, territories under Polish rule in the pre-war days.

The political life of the Ukrainian emigration is divided into two main camps: (1) The Nationalist camp, headed by Bandera; and (2) the "Democratic" camp of the old popular Ukrainian republic, headed by the unfortunate Simon Petliura. The camp of the popular republic is divided into the UNDO (National-Democrats), who represent the Right, and the USRP (Ukrainian Radicals) and the USDP (Ukrainian Social-Democrats), who represent the Left.

The democratic camp was born of the popular Ukrainian republic that was created by Simon Petliura in Galicia and Volhynia and struggled against the Poles in 1918-19. It is now headed by Dmytri Lewyckyj, old leader of the Ukrainian bourgeoisie in Poland, ex-chief of the popular Ukrainian government, and "official" representative of the national Ukrai-

Leader of the National-Democratic Party, which had collaborated with pre-war Polish regimes, he heads a democratic coalition formed by the Radicals and Social-Democrats. The Radicals represent the Ukrainian peasants, corresponding to the Russian Social-Revolutionaries. The Ukrainian Social-Democrats did not have much importance in the pre-war period, and were absorbed by the KPZU (Communist Party of the Western Ukraine) or by the PPS (Polish Socialist Party). The industrial proletariat was in its majority Polish or Polonized. The Nationalist Ukrainian camp was formed as a reaction against the compromise policy followed by the official Ukrainian representation in its relation with the pre-war Polish government.

It was headed by Colonel Konovalec, who was secretly assassinated, as was Simon Petliura, president of the popular republic. After Konovalec's death, Mandera assumed leadership of the Nationalist camp. In Poland, the Nationalists formed the UNO. Its orientation was always pro-German, which is explained by its "realistic" policy, directed equally against Moscow and Warsaw. But Hitler never had any intention of fulfilling his promises and for this reason the nationalist camp split into two camps the "banderivei" and the "melnykivci."

The Ukrainian press discusses with ardor the problem of the Ukraine's future and its relations with Poland and Russia. All the Ukrainian tendencies are vehemently anti-Russian. On the other hand, the anti-Polish orientation has dwindled considerably and each day brings a more pro-Polish orien-

### Groups Advance Political Programs

Each political leadership presents its own concept and program for the future. The Nationalists, speaking through Andreiweki in the Ukrainian Tribune, advance the idea of the ABN (anti-Bolshevik bloc of nations), which calls on all nations, including the Russian, to join forces. However, this bloc would be led by the Ukraine, the largest and richest nation of Eastern Europe. The bloc, being a political alliance and not a federation, excludes Poland, the Balkan, and the Baltic countries from the future alliance. The Nationalists wish to form a Eurasian empire on the ruins of Stalinist

ABN struggles furiously against the idea of the Inter-Seas Federation the federation of Eastern Europe, of all the peoples situated between Russia and Germany, including the Balts, Balkan peoples and the Ukrainians. This idea is favored by Polish policy. The anti-Bolshevik bloc embraces all the nations from Germany to the Pacific. The Ukrainian empire would include not only the ethnological Ukraine, but also the Cossack areas (Don), the Caucasian Federation, Kazakstan, Central Asia and Siberia, peopled by Ukrainians deported by Stalin. The infantile megalomania of the Ukrainian Nationalists knows no limits.

Livyckyj's right-wing Democrats are a trifle more "modest." This old leader of the Ukrainian bourgeoisie favors the idea of the "Promethean bloc," made up of all the nations oppressed by Stalinist Russia. But not only this. Livyckyj also "incorporates" Komi, the Buriatic-Mongolian Republic. the Yakutsk territory and Eastern and Western Siberia. According to Livyckyj, Poland would either have to enter the "Promethean bloc," creating within it a federation with the Baltic countries and White Russia, thus serving both as a barrier against Germany and a bridge between the bloc He writes: "Marx recognized that and Western Europe; or Poland would have to enter the Balkan Central-European bloc, in order to serve as a bridge between the Inter-Seas Federation and the Promethean bloc.

Thus dreams our "moderate" democrat, Livyskyj, dividing nations, territories and empires left and right. Livyckyj's program is based on the complete dismemberment of Russia and of the Russian Federation proper. It differs from the Nationalist program inasmuch as it proposes a free federation of peoples oppressed by Russia instead of a Ukrainian empire. Nor does it categorically exclude, Poland from its organization of states.

# Ukrainian Bourgeoisie Still Hungers for Empire

Nove Zyttia, organ of the democratic Left, specifically of the Radicals The Social-Democratic spokesman, Kotovyc, declares: "I do not believe that of the Inter-Seas Federation, that is, a federation of the Central-Eastern European nations. Here it is not a question of a Ukrainian empire, nor of a coalition of sovereign nations, but of a federation in which each participating nation must renounce its sovereignty.

Nove Zyttia does not fear Poland as do the Nationalists and Democrats. The Social-Democratic spokesman, Kotovyc, declares: "I do not believe that the Ukrainians have any fear of Polonization, the Poles of Ukrainization." He proposes the idea of a super-state, initiated by means of a customs union, a single currency and a common foreign policy. He takes as his prior premice the existence of mutual confidence among the nations involved, above all, Polish-Ukrainian understanding, which he considers the basis of the Central European Federation. The Inter-Seas Federation would embrace the Balkans, Hungary, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Poland, the Ukraine, White Russia and the Baltic countries. Its idealogical principle would be embodied in the slogan: "The free among the free, and equal with equal."

The fan of programs and opinions goes from right to left. The ideological direction is revealed in the specific attitude toward Russia, Poland and other neighboring nations. The remnants of the Ukrainian bourgeoisie hungers avidly for capitalist restoration. On the other hand, the Social-Democrats reflect the desires of the peoples for European unity, even though in the limited form of the Inter-Seas Federation.

Since we defend the Ukrainian people from Russian oppression, we are obliged to inform our readers of the reverse side of the coin-the reactionary. and imperialist appetites of the Ukrainian bourgeoisie, which we hope will never be consummated. We hope that when the hour of liberation strikes, the Ukrainian workers will eliminate not only the Stalinist hangmen but the reactionary remnants of the Ukrainian bourgeoisie as well and arrive at a fraternal understanding with the neighboring peoples within a Socialist United States. of Europe. It is well worth noting that the Russian Ukrainian refugees in Western Europe, who are not led by nationalist tendencies, are inclined toward a cordial understanding with the neighboring nations, especially the Poles.

In any case, the Ukrainian problem is sure to play a primary role and occupy a key position in the liberation of Eastern Europe and Russia itself from the Stalinist yoke. For this reason we must pay a great deal of attention to the Ukrainian question.

(A note by Comrade Rudzienski accompanying the above article points out that it is written on the basis of information and quotations in the Polish press, due to the unavailability of Ukrainian sources. He requests Ukrainian organizations to send their documents, resolutions and press, addressed care of LABOR ACTION. The Ukrainian People's Army and the Marxist tendency among the Ukrainian refugees in Europe, not included in Comrade Rudzienski's discussion above, have been described in articles in LA-BOR ACTION and The New International, and further information will be available soon .- Ed.)

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# Michigan CIO and Briggs-UAW Organs Recommend Howe-Widick Book Warmly

daily papers throughout the country, last week printed reviews of The UAW and Walter Reuther, by Irving Howe and B. J. Widick. The Michigan CIO News, organ of one of the largest CIO state affiliates in the country, and the Voice of Local 212, organ of the famous Briggs local of the United Auto Workers, commented favorably on the book.

"No doubt," said the reviewer for Voice of Local 212, "this is the most comprehensive and thought-provoking book on the UAW so far to appear. . . . Events and personalities and policies are evaluated in terms of what the authors consider progressive union standards. The authors let the chips fall where they may, and this is why some people are not going to like the book. But for this very reason it is a book that deserves

to be read, judged and discussed. "Vividly," continues the reviewer, "the book shows how unionism arose out of the sheer need for workers to survive. . . . The account of the early sitdowns is as exciting as any chapter ever written in a labor book. Reading this chapter, one gets a sense of the sweep and verve of a mighty mass movement of workers determined to break the resistance of powerful corporations."

# PREDICTS GOOD RECEPTION

The reviewer recommends the book both to union veterans who "will have the thrill of reliving some of their past experiences" and to new members who will "read an exciting clusion: Reuther is a big question account of the struggles, the sacrifices, the factional battles" of the

The reviewer in the Michigan CIO

no bones about their support of the HAW but they are equally frank in criticizing activities with which they disagree. While most readers will: find something in the book with which they will take issue, it is felt that the book will generally find good reception among Michigan CIO read-

He continues: "In spite of the fact that most Detroit readers are already well acquainted with the early UAW history, the authors have found much new material and have told the story in such an interesting manner that the reader will find it difficult to lay the book down."

In the Rochester Democrat-Chronicle, the reviewer writes: "Messrs. Howe and Widick have probed deeply into the substratum of our economic and social life. Whether optimists or pessimists, they have set down a valuable record of our changing ways and catalogued the definitive pattern of labor's growing pains."

The Worcester (Mass.) Telegram finds The UAW and Walter Reuther a book "that should be read by anyone who professes an interest in his own life and times and the Americans who occupy them. . . . [This book] is a remarkably lucid and elementary story of growing union strength and union self - consciousness; and, even more, of union self-possession."

Chicago Sun-Times: "This book takes a plausible 'psychoanalytical' view of Walter Reuther. . . . The conmark on the national labor scene, an 'unfinished personality.'. . . The UAW and Walter Reuther is an important book that adds information and in-

Two major labor papers, as well as News notes that "The authors make sight to the union's 13-year development." Birmingham News: "This book is unique in what-it sets out to do, and

unique further in that it makes problems within labor organizations seem far more understandable than 'outside' explanations do. The volume might well be read by all concerned with labor as a growing force in America." Bloomington (Ind.) Herald: "We

are given first-hand accounts of the never-to-be-forgotten sitdown strikes in the earlier, more exciting days of the union's history. Only those having command of certain files and materials . . . could have given us these and other factual pictures. . . . Here, in short, is a book written about something vital to every American . . . a book for every thinking American."

Minneapolis Tribune: "One of the best studies of organized labor, its whys and hows and inner workings. to appear in a long time."

The book was published by Random House and may be ordered through Labor Action Book Service. 4 Court Square, Long Island City 1, N. Y.-\$3.00.

# In Spanish

6. Munis: Jalones de Derrota: Promesa de Victoria (Espana 1930-40), 424 pp......\$3.50

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EAST EUROPE ROUNDUP-

# Economic Snags and Purges Haunt Stalinist Power Behind Iron Curtain

By HAL DRAPER

Recently some Komsomol (Young Communist League) members sent the following question to a Russian newspaper: "We are told that the USSR has entered the phase of communism. Can you give us chapter and verse for this assertion?'

The paper replied that the proof was that "our workers are working more and better than workers in capitalist countries."

No doubt workers under the Stalinist heel are working "more" (and harder) than even in many capitalist countries-and that goes not only for the workers in the slave labor camps but also for those who work under the whip in the city factories. But even for the soft-headed or ignorant people who think Russia is moving toward socialism (or communism), this should be sufficient proof that at any rate it is not even within telescopic - sighting distance of the goal. The fruits of a developed socialist or communist society (in the Marxist sense) are possible only when the level of production is so high that human beings have to spend less time satisfying their economic needs and grubbing for the elementary necessities.

Actually the above quotation proves that the Russian system has nothing in common with socialism and its aims, that far from even going in the direction of socialism it is pointed toward its own form of labor exploitation and oppression. It is only in the eyes of a ruling class living on the workers' labor that 'working more" is a historic sign of "progress" - their own progress as an exploiting class.

### CHUTKIKH VS. STAKHANOV

When the Stalinist answer, cited above, claims that workers under the GPU whip work "better," we have something else again. It would be interesting if true. It is even more interesting when the truth is just the reverse.

Planned economy is, in the abstract, a powerful economic weapon for raising industrial production. The concrete reality in Stalinland is, however, planned economy under totalitarianism. And the central contradiction under the Stalinist system is precisely the contradiction between economic planning and totalitarian terrorism.

One aspect of this-one only-is the effect of totalitarianism on quality production, efficiency and ma-

In Russia "wholesale production of rejects" has become a standard joke. approach toward artists. textile worker named Chutkikh has inaugurated a movement for quality production. At present he is as much publicized as Stakhanov, under whose name the state masters pushed the drive for speedup (quantity production). But whereas the whip can make a worker move his elbow twice as fast, it does not make the hand more efficient on the contrary. Chutkikh versus Stakhanov is an aspect of the inherent contradiction of Stalinist la-

In Poland the quality of coal has considerably deteriorated. In 1948, of 67 million tons of coal 1,100,000 tons were stones. In 1949, the percentage of stones in the Polish coal output reached 5 per cent. In Yugoslavia. Tito has rebuked coal miners and estimated the number of trains wasted on transporting stones. Czechoslovakia has suffered serious losses in 1948 and 1949 because a sizable proportion of her exports was returned as "not up to standard."

# PLANNED BREAKDOWN

In Bulgaria the quality of utility goods has so badly deteriorated that the ministry of industry had to set up a special department to foster quality production. This is typical of the bureaucratic reaction to a problem. They will plead and they will threaten: the pleas will be useless because the workers do not feel they are working for their own state: the threats will increase. And the threats and executions of threats will only intensify the underlying difficulty.

For example, in Czechoslovakia the

tural machinery of the state tractor stations is being ruined because the drivers, anxious to attain their targets, pay no attention to lubrication. (Since in addition the machinery was not made of first-rate materials in the first place, breakdowns began to affect the harvest.)

In the Polish coal mines, machinery has very much deteriorated. Breakdowns have taken on such proportions that in 1948 eight managing directors and 1,000 employees and workers were sentenced for sabotage. In Rumania the trucks of the State Automobile Transport Company must run 40,000 kilometers without a general overhaul instead of 25,000 kilometers. A target has been set by the all-wise bureaucratic planners and it is less risky to try to show "fulfilment of the plan" at any cost than it is to tell the planners that they are cockeyed. That isn't done by subordinates in the Stalinist prison society.

### BULGARIAN FREEZE

So totalitarianism and terror intensifies, as the only reply the bureaucrats know.

On August 19 the Sofia (Bulgaria) radio reported that the Labor Directorate had decided that the workers 'have no more right to leave their working places without permission" of the factory administration. Permission to employ or to dismiss will be granted only in accordance with the needs of production. Workers who leave their employment without permission of the Labor Directorate must be sent back to their original jobs, in accordance with Cabinet Decree No. 7. If they do not return voluntarily, they can be called up by the branch labor office (that is, assigned to compulsory labor groups).

This is not news with respect to working conditions within Russia itself but the Eastern European spawn of bureaucratic collectivism have to follow suit.

According to reports last month, early in September Czechoslovakia was due for a tour by Alexei Stakhaney himself for the purpose of kindling "working enthusiasm" among the "slack Czechoslovak workers."

If the economy itself reels under the whip, art and culture curl up and die. We put the spotlight on a sentence which ought to serve as a classic example of the bureaucratic

Bulgaria has been holding a competition for a monument in honor of the Russian army. On July 25 the decision was announced: the competition was closed "without result." No winner. The announcement complained:

"Despite clearly defined instructions, the entries have not expressed the idea behind the monument."

Maybe all the artists in Bulgaria are cosmopolitan saboteurs, but in any case the very idea that an art work can be produced according to "clearly defined instruction" by a planning commission opens a wide window on the bureaucratic class mentality.

The individual initiative of an artist and the initiative required of a skilled worker in modern industry are quite different in quality, but the living germ in both withers under

# TROUBLE IN ESTONIA

Since the three Baltic states-Estonia, Lithuania and Latvia-were swallowed up by Russia and incorporated, they have also been almost as completely swallowed up from public notice. But the rumblings in the pseudo-independent satellites are not without their duplicates in these newly Stalinized lands.

Behind recent purges in these countries, particularly in Estonia, lie familiar facts. As the weekly East Europe (August 25) reports:

"On May Day, 1949, President chairman of the Central Harvesting Pall said that one peasant family

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of seven had earned 5892 kilograms of grain, 1474 kilograms of potatoes, 12 tons of cattle fodder and 7271 rubles in cash. One family of two had earned over 3 tons of grain, 4 tons of potatoes and about 4000 rubles in cash. Both families had fulfilled their norms, as together they had worked 675 norm days.

"Before the war an Estonian farmhand could buy 16 kilograms of wheat per day with his earnings, over and above his board and lodging. This means that the two families, held up as examples to kolkhoz workers, had half the income of pre-war farm-.hands."

In all three countries the strenuous collectivization drive has resulted not only in the deportation of recalcitrant elements but also in an extensive purge of the Estonian, Lithuanian and Latvian CPs. When the plans for collectivization were presented to their leaders in 1949, some of them reportedly protested against the methods to be used and otherwise showed resentment. In any case, the first victim of the purge in Estonia has been the chairman of the State Planning Commission, O.

The first president of "Soviet Estonia," J. Vares, committed suicide some time ago. Among the purgees are: N. Andresen, the former minister of foreign affairs and deputy premier; and J. Semper, the former minister of education. More recently a group of Estonian Stalinist writers shared their fate.

The first secretary of the Estonian Communist Party, N. Karotamm, has been noticeably absent from recent celebrations. It is said that his place is being taken by the second secretary, V. Kedrov, who is a Russian, because Karotamm has shown signs of "national deviationism."

### CZECH BASE NARROWS

Purges, of course, are the symptom of Stalinism's chronic diseases. Czechoslovakia has not yet had a top-level purge like most of the other satellites but the witches' brew is bubbling there.

At the end of July a delegate of the Czechoslovak ministry of the interior toured the country. Summing up his impressions, he wrote on July 31 that the "National Committees" had become "estranged from the masses" and had "lost touch with the people." This does not exactly come to anti-Stalinists as hot news, but the CP's solution was to set up ... still another bureaucratic top agency of control, to be known as

vested with control over the National Committees.

This does not mean that the Stalinists have "lost control" over the National Committees in any police sense, but merely that they cannot rely upon these agencies and have to narrow their bases of disciplinary control.

During 1948 and the first half of 1949 the Czech CP underwent an intensive purge, in which a quarter million members were expelled for being "alien to the working class and to Communist ideology." Yet on July 31 Rude Pravo published the news that only 45 per cent of the CP members were workers or working peasants. This contrasts with the 57 per cent formed by these class elements up to the CP coup in February 1948. And this is after the latest purge.

The Stalinist apparatus develops away from the people, and the people keep away from the party appa-

Meanwhile there has been a rash of complaints by farmers that many pilots have made forced landings on their fields, having run out of gas. Is it because flyers are given only very limited supplies of fuel, to prevent them from flying off to the west? That is what is being said.

The purges strike in all directions. In Bulgaria, where top man Kostov was purged some time ago, another member of the CP Central Committee, N. Pavlov, was expelled from the party on August 16 "for insincerity in connection with the explanation of his relations with T. Kostov." In Hungary, the former chief of the political police, G. Péter, committed suicide in his cell-so reports Tito's newspaper Borba on August 5. Apparently he wasn't good material for the Rajk trial.

### AND A TROJAN BUILT ROME

These are scattered notes and do not require a conclusion, but there is a text for a closing note suggested by a recent passage from a Russian periodical. It is about another of those claims for the all-embracing inventiveness of the Russian genius:

"Achilles owed his success in battle to the fact that his iron armor. forged in Russian workshops, was superior to the bronze armor of the Trojans. The figure of Achilles. which for 3000 years has captivated mankind, is the figure of a proto-Russian, one of our great heroic forebears."

Didn't this Stalinist braggart ever hear of Achilles' heel?

# Disappointed at Ford - -

(Continued from page 1)

fired? We think so. Will it signify greater auto-worker productivity by eliminating the older worker, and thus give the company labor-saving gains? Will it tend to exclude older men from getting jobs in industry . . . as for example in the pre-union days when the companies wouldn't hire a man over 40? What can be done for the thousands of auto workers who have 30 years' seniority but not in one plant? What happens to them. in relation to the union?

### CONTRACT QUESTION MARKS

Another major source of disappointment in the Ford contract was its 21/2 year extension—a disturbing trend-without any MAJOR changes. There is some dispute about the extent of the changes, and until copies of the whole contract are available, conclusive answers are difficult.

Ford publicity says the "company security" clause was retained, and the company is very well pleased with this fact. UAW spokesmen claim that this notorious clause has been modified and an important improvement made. At least this much is certain: Ford thinks it didn't give anything away, while the UAW hasn't felt sufficiently sure of itself to dis-

Frankly, we think the UAW spokesmen are stretching a couple of points to sell this contract.

An example of the kind of changes which took place in the contract concerns probationary employees. The length of time for probation has been reduced from six months to three months. But in paid-holiday payments, seniority is figured as if the six months' probation stands! You have to be there six months to be eligible? Improvement?

The whole question of speedup remains a very big question mark. A new "work standard clause" is supposed to be in the contract based on the recent ruling of the "impartial" board that was set up after the inconclusive Ford speedup strike in May, 1948. But the company and the union disagree on interpretation of that ruling, so where does that leave the Ford workers?

### REUTHERITES DON'T LIKE IT

Will this pact be accepted? We are inclined to think so. The steel strike has already focused attention on the problem of layoffs here, and the argument "We can't strike, we are being laid off" is very effective. The argument "It's the best under the cir-

pute the Ford statement publicly. cumstances" does have an appeal in that context. But the fact remains that under the circumstances of 1945's social-political climate, under the circumstances of unified UAW leadership and ranks, and under the circumstances of the UAW's history of militancy and struggle, this agreement does not live up to the standards which everyone had the right to expect from the UAW and the Reuther leadership.

For once Walter Reuther has given his factional opponents material based on facts. For once his prestige his suffered in the eyes of his own followers. Only the utter discreditment of the Stalinists and his other factional opponents will save him. There are many Reutherites this week who are not the uncritical enthusiasts they were two weeks ago.

The UAW is now proceeding to negotiate similar pacts at Chrysler and General Motors. The Detroit Free Press today told the story which has been rumored around Detroit in recent weeks: General Motors has approached UAW on the pension question and an extension of the present contract!

Perhaps the UAW ranks can improve this pension contract at least in the other two major companies. That remains to be seen.

# Why the Steel Strike - -

(Continued from page 1)

panies' forcing the strike can be found in the speeches of their representatives before the fact-finding board better than anywhere else. These representatives delivered heated diatribes against "statism"-and government boards. They did everything in their power to assert their freedom to reject its recommendations. In his ultimatum the other day, Benjamin Fairless, president of United States Steel, again referred to President Truman's written assurance when he created the board 'that its recommendations would not be binding."

This is the point. Big Steel's "principle" is refusal to accept the factfinding board's recommendation because the Taft-Hartley Law has been by-passed in the whole process. It wants the strike to revive Taft-Hartleyism. (See editorial on page 1-

Also brought out by the speakers for Big Steel before the fact-finding board is the anger the industry feels at having to deal with a union movement so well organized, so efficient, so potentially powerful. Between the lines of the speeches was evident the nostalgia of the steel magnates for the "good old days" when steel workers could be beaten back to work by violent and bloody means.

Steel owners are, of course, smart

gone, that the United Steel Workers of America makes a world of difference, that it is here to stay and that even violent and bloody means will not break it. But the hope springs eternal in the breast of Big Steel that the union can be weakened, that it can be humbled, that its treasury can be depleted, that its members can be discouraged by a long strike in which the monetary stakes are small - and that Taft-Hartley will be used to teach the steel workers and others a "lesson."

### APPEASEMENT DIDN'T PAY

It would seem that the arrogance of Big Steel grew in direct ratio to the conciliatory attitude of the union leadership, and the question comes up whether the union leadership's appeasement policy paid off. If the workers had struck on July 16 last, the first strike deadline, they would have been fighting for a 121/2-cent wage increase, for 11.23 cents to put into a pension fund, for 6.27 cents to cover insurance—a 30-cents-an-hour package demand. By accepting the recommendation

of the fact-finding board, the leadership has given up the wage increase and whittled down the pension and insurance coverage to six and four cents respectively. But even this 10cents-an-hour increase is no longer at stake for United States Steel, in negotiations with the federal medi-

enough to know that those days are ator, consented to pay it only if the workers contributed to the pension fund also - single workers at the rate of \$2 a month and married workers at the rate of \$3.

It is plain, therefore, that the monetary gain the workers can win has been greatly reduced by the actions of the leadership before the strike. To be sure, Philip Murray has threatened to restore the wage demand of 121/2 cents an hour and even the entire 30-cent package. It remains to be seen if he is serious about this, as the strike progresses. In the meantime, it is incontestable that by having accepted the miserly 10-cent package recommended by the "neutral" fact-finding board, the original demands of the union were badly compromised.

What the government will now do remains to be seen. President Truman at this point does not intervene, The federal mediation service will make further futile efforts to bring both sides together. As for applying Taft-Hartley at this time; that is not likely since there has already been a "cooling off" period of some 77 days since the first strike deadline.

What all of labor has to do seems: plain enough. The steel workers have been forced out in a contest of strength. Labor's strength is in solidarity and the steel workers need: the support of all labor-indeed, of all people whose fortunes are bound to those of labor.

# Air Bombing of Bell Strikers - -

(Continued from page 1) morning they tried to smash Local 501 with violence.

# BEAT UP WOMEN

On this morning the Bell picket lines were manned for the third consecutive day, almost solely by women members of Local 501's newly formed wives' auxiliary. About 250 members of the local were standing across the street, watching the gates.

As the scabs were unloaded from the company buses, the women moved forward to intercept them. This is what they had done on two previous days. Everyone knew that was what they would do. On the first days the deputies had waved the buses on away from the gates. Today was different.

As the women moved toward the buses, the deputies launched an attack upon them. Four deputies seized and manhandled one woman, the wife of a Local 501 member; two more deputies threw another woman to the ground; another deputy hit a woman with a club. With a roar of rage the 250 members of Local 501 started to cross the street to get at the deputies. But they only started.

The deputies had been expecting this rush. Clubs swinging, they stepped out to meet the barehanded, completely unarmed strikers. A few of the strikers managed to pick up small stones and rocks as they came. They did not even have a picket sign among them.

Despite their disadvantage, the strikers seemed ready to trade fist for club. Before the fight could really get under way, company guards hurled tear - gas bombs which they had brought from company arsenals. Then the helicopters moved in. Several tear-gas bombs were dropped into the crowd, narrowly missing the bare heads of the strikers. The unarmed strikers fled the scene in all directions. Some were chased by the

# PHOTOS TELL STORY

Some were caught. William Papke, 52 years old-short, stout, wearing glasses and not fast enough-was one of those caught. Not one, not two, but a swarm of deputies surrounded him They beat him to the ground took him over to the police car and clubbed him again. Six women and some 15 men were arrested by the deputies.

The violence lasted about 15 minutes. As the smoke cleared, the men of Local 501 had re-formed their lines across the street from the Bell plant. They were mad with desire to go in and clean up the deputies. They didn't have even a 2x4 among them. They stood by and watched their wives and friends driven off to jail. This has happened before in America, but some people have forgotten about it

in the lush years of the war. But the actual fighting was only part of the plan. The newspapers printed two headlines: The first said that 25 deputies were injured in the riot: then they made it better, saying 35 were injured. They blamed the attack upon the strikers.

It may be that this reporter is too greatly biased in favor of the strikers, but look at the pictures, printed nationally in the big-business press! One can see the picket line in full view-then a screen of tear gas across the street, behind which are the members of Local 501. The action happened so fast and was so unexpected by the strikers that one can clearly see the president and the educational director of Local 501, both named in a dozen arrest warrants, walking along WITH THEIR HANDS IN THEIR POCKETS.

# BELL PLANNED VIOLENCE

The Niagara County district attorney, the impartial minion of the law who had said he would put so many strike leaders in jail that the union wouldn't have enough money to bail them out, issued another series of 17 warrants. Not content with the arrest of 21 men and women who were kept illegally in jail for 36hours, they wanted 17 more.

Who were the 17? Most of the top strike leaders. Were they present during the fight? No matter! Arrest them! The district attorney requested they be put on \$50,000 bail each!

This was Bell's plan: (1) Abruptly cease negotiations; (2) incite a violent incident which would terrorize the strikers and incite public opinion; (3) get the newspapers to play up their side of the story; (4) get the

law to throw the leaders in jail; (5) break the morale of the strikers. It was a simple plan. It was exe-

cuted easily and efficiently - but it didn't achieve its purpose. Every member of Local 501 is mad from the roots of his hair to the tips of his toes. Every decent citizen is mad. They are not scared as Bell hoped they'd be. They are getting

ready to fight the battle on Bell's

level, with 12,000 striking steel work-

ers to help them. BUFFALO, Oct. 1-It's an oft-repeated phrase that no union man can be licked when his wife is behind him. Wives of members of Local 501, United Auto Workers local on strike at Bell Aircraft newly organized into a wives' auxiliary, had voted Monday

night, September 26, to support their

husbands 100 per cent. The next morning, Tuesday, September 27, they appeared at the strike tent over 125 strong, carrying babies. carrying picket signs, pushing baby carriages, or leading their children by the hand. The women marched from the strike tent to the picket line pushing their carriages before them. When they reached the line the men pickets walked across the street and the women took their places on the picket line. As they did so, one woman cried: "Here goes another injunction violation!".

The women carried placards which read: "Wall Street Paytriots and Police Can't Scare Bell Union Wives" -"We Wives Can Hold Out as Long as Bell"-"Local 501 Fight for Wives and Children"-"Shame! Scabs Steal Our Daily Bread!" A little girl about five years old carried a sign which read: "My Mommy and Daddy and I Will Lick Bell."

# WOMEN STOP THE SCABS

The women picketed quietly until several cars drew up to the picket line and tried to enter the plant. "No one goes in," they said. The deputies waved the cars on down the highway. As other cars approached, the women pickets, some of whom wore helmet liners, "persuaded" the occupants to drive on.

Two male scabs approached the picket line. Someone shouted: "Here

the men approached the picket line, several women broke through the police cordon protecting the scabs. The scabs turned and ran down the highway with three women pickets in pursuit. (It must feel great to be

The Buffalo Evening News reports that the women poked the horses of two mounted deputies stationed in front of the demonstration. When the deputies "protested," the women cried: "Get off the horse, you big bully!" The deputies have a pleasant habit of bouncing the heads of their horses into the faces of the strikers, men and women alike. This has been going on every day for weeks. The women were tired of it. As they paraded past the deputies, mothers pointed out the deputies to their children as "the men who are keeping your daddy out of work."

Says the Buffalo Evening News: "The mass picketing by the women virtually blocked the entrance to the main gate." During the demonstration "no cars carrying workbound employees passed through the picket

Members of Local 501 were proud to see their wives and children on the picket line. Workers everywhere can't help but be thrilled at the solidarity shown by the strikers' wives but the Bell Corporation had another "law-enforcement agency" at its beck and call, the Niagara County Welfare Department. These pious and company-minded people were too, too shocked by the idea of bringing children on a picket line. The Buffalo Evening News ran an editorial bleating that Local 501 members were carelessly placing their children's health and safety in danger. Said the strikers in a picket sign carried the next day: "Starve the kids, but keep them off the picket line!"

# PIOUS HYPOCRITES AT WORK

County Judge John S. Marsh, who has set bail on striking workers amounting to more than \$65,000, said that he would be only too willing to try Local 501 MOTHERS if the County Welfare Commission will press charges: "The court will entertain the matter of issuing summonses on the basis of those charges." The

come some dirty scabs on foot." As charges would be based upon the Children's Court Act, involving neglect of children

How more servile can the law become to Bell Aircraft? Its deputies bomb the strikers, beat them with clubs, keep them in jail illegally; its judges have set the staggering total of more than \$300,000 in bail upon them-and now they wish to prosecute the mothers of Local 501 for showing the world that their kids are getting hungry.

The next day, September 28, Wednesday morning, more than 75 women marched in front of Bell Aircraftwithout their children. They walked ten feet apart-15 at a time. When cars approached the gate, the women waved them away. Three cars in single file approached the gate. Three women halted in front of the car. One woman walked up to the first car and stood with her knees touching the bumper. The cars did not get into the plant. Men strikers across the street sent cheer after cheer into the air as the women did an effective job of picketing. "Three cheers for our women," they cried.

# IT WASN'T FUNNY

Yes, three cheers for the wives of members of Local 501. They were doing an effective, peaceful job of keeping scabs from entering the Bell plant through the main gates. But the Bell Corporation could not tolerate this situation for long. The strikers were content to let things go on this way for a while, to show the world that their wives are with them and to slow up the number of scabs going into the plant. But Bell was not satisfied. Something had to be done. It was done, coldly, brutally-but ineffectually-on the 29th. (See article in this issue.)

As the story goes: a deputy walked over to a woman picket who was wheeling a baby carriage before her. The deputy raised his club. "You're not going to hit her baby," cried the women standing nearby, "What kind of a low-down cur do you take me for?" replied the deputy - as he turned and began clubbing the

The joke is a grim one - and the strikers are grim about it, too.