The Independent Socialist League Fights for a Socialist Democracy!

LABOR ACTION A PAPER IN THE INTEREST OF SOCIALISM

Murray Takes Burocratic Road

NOVEMBER 7, 1949

Hoffman Warns Europe To 'Integrate' Economy

By SAM ADAMS

Coming on the heels of his report of a fabulous \$101 billion favorable balance of trade with Europe since 1914. Paul G. Hoffman, administrator of ECA, called for an "integration" of the economies of the Marshall Plan nations of Western Europe, before the Paris meeting of the Council of Economic Cooperation last week.

Although the demand for "integration" of the Western European economies is placed before the conference as a recommendation, it is already suggested, in the form of a well-placed Washington rumor, that unless the nations receiving ERP aid carry out this recommendation, the Truman administration will not ask Congress for additional funds to finance a third Marshall Plan.

The point of the Hoffman recommendation is that, given the continued existence of the multiple states receiving aid today, aid becomes expensive without a proportionate improvement in the economic position of capitalist Europe. The many frontiers, the conflicting national trade barriers and the sharp antagonisms of the erstwhile allies stand in the way of a formidable improvement of their economies, and increase the cost of revival many times. Above all,

By MICHAEL FERRIS

BUFFALO, Oct. 31-The members of

Local 501 of the United Auto Work-

ers have returned to work at the

Bell Aircraft Corporation. They re-

turned without any specific conces-

sions being made to the union by the

company. They returned without 22

of their leaders. The fate of their

economic demands, the fate of their

Bell Strikers Go Back,

To Purge CP Gang in the CIO this economic "nationalism" weakens the resistance to the Russian blocthat is the inescapable conclusion that Hoffman made in his report.

What the United States wants in return for the billions of dollars now being expended is greater assurance that in the final reckoning with Russia and her bloe sthe United States will have a considerably stronger base in Europe than exists now.

CONFLICTS REVEALED

The report itself is an indictment of capitalism for the very hindrances it erects to "Western Union." American interest in such a union is dictated by economic-political-military reasons. Union of the ERP nations would make possible a pooling of their manpower and resources and thus reduce the costs of revival.

In demanding this "integration." Hoffman stressed the necessity for raising the standard of living of the people in Western Europe, and to do this by an improvement in the methods of production so that these countries may compete successfully in the shrinking world markets. Without this, the masses, he warns, may turn to the East.

These beautiful objectives placed before the Europeans by Hoffman (Continued on page 4)

Steel Settlement Strengthens Murray; **Relations with Reuther Strained**

By WALTER JASON

CLEVELAND, Nov. 1-A major event affecting the outcome and outlook of this CIO convention was the announcement last night by CIO President Philip Murray that the strike at Bethlehem Steel has been settled on terms that the Murray spokesmen claim are superior both to the factfinding board recommendation and the United Auto Workers settlement at Ford.

We want to emphasize that this is what the Murray forces claim. There is at present available only a press release on the general provisions of the Bethlehem agreement. It reads well, but leaves many questions unanswered

UAW spokesmen have no official viewpoint yet, and UAW leaders are studying the Bethlehem agreement to make a comparison. But it is clear that the Murray forces feel they have "gone one better than Walter Reuther," and this is going to have repercussions in the CIO, for one of the most significant underlying developments here is the strain between the Murray forces and the Reuther leadership of the UAW. Murray forces no longer feel the

tension of the steel strike. They expect an early break in Big Steel. Now the ousting of the Stalinists seems even less grave and important to them. Nor are they suffering from any inferiority complexes before the "bright boy" from Detroit.

BETTER THAN FORD'S?

The CIO press release says the folowing about the Bethlehem pension

(I) Completely paid for by the company.

Political Purge?—**NO**! niority. Of course, Bethlehem already had a pension plan amounting to nearly \$50 a month, with retirement after 26 years of seniority, so the gain

isn't as big as it sounds at first.) (3 The present seniority provisions of the contract between Bethlehem and the union govern pension qualifications-and the press release adds very significantly that the pension is not calculated on the number of hours worked in a year. (The Ford contract calls for 1,800 hours of work a year to get full credit toward a pension.)

No details on administration are available. The duration of the contract is supposed to be for five years, with the union having the right to strike after two years if the company seeks to weaken the pension. There is no information available if the union can in two years improve the plan

One of the outstanding independent insurance experts here says he thinks the plan is superior to the Ford pension plan. Final judgment must rest until all the facts are before us.

But what is significant is that this break in the steel strike tightens Murray's iron grip on the CIO and sharpons the antagonism between the UAW leaders and the Murray forces. We wondered yesterday, for example, why the only CIO leader introduced who did not get any applause from the right-wing delegates was Walter Reuther. And what Murray meant by his crack when he called Reuther to take the chair over: "I guess Reuther's caucusing again."

Behind the love feast that takes place in public, the growing clash between the conservative forces in the CIO, represented mainly by the Steel Union officialdom, and the UAW leadership pressed by its militant and

As we go to press, the CIO convention is paving the way for its split. We can only speculate on what queer twists and turns the road will take; but the last stop is in sight. The Resolutions Committee, chaired by Walter Reuther, has voted to legalize expulsions of Stalinist-controlled unions. The United Electrical Workers, already half-way out when its Stalinist leadership terminated per-capita payments, has been expelled together with the Farm Equipment Workers.

Smash Stalinism? — Yes!

Philip Murray calls for an end to Communist Party "influence" in the labor movement, echoing belatedly what militants in the CIO have demanded for many years, even when Stalinists went arm-in-arm with Murray himself. However, we witness now not merely an offensive against the ideas and influence of the Communist Party but a bureaucratically manipulated split through expulsions. It is clear: the CIO will expel Stalinist-led unions whose views conflict with majority policy. The CP splits because under no conditions will it desert Kremlin foreign policy.

The methods employed by Murray and Reuther, in this instance, undermine not only Stalinist influence but union democracy as well. That is why we speak out against the new principle of undemocratic super-centralization-we oppose expulsions of international unions which deviate from official CIO policy, including those controlled at the moment by the CP-just as we have always opposed the expulsion of union men (including Stalinists) merely because their political views conflict with the majority, and have resisted bureaucratic constitutional fiats which deny the right of minorities (including Stalinists) to run for office. We take the position, not to defend Stalinism or its reactionary program, but to defend democracy in the unions.

The acute problem in the CIO is the question of Stalinism. but there is today a loog-term tendency in the labor movement, as in the nation as a whole, leading away from democracy. Within all unions, the most progressive as well as the most conservative, disturbing signs of the solidification of bureaucratism and the stifling of criticism are evident. Murray's and Reuther's convention methods can only strengthen these tendencies.

Bureaucratic methods of fighting Stalinism spill over into the labor movement as a whole. The new principles of super-centralization will make it difficult for militant unions like the UAW to initiate new tactics and a new political line. The new rulings would close the door to the United Mine Workers, which pursues its own policies. Within the CIO anti-democratic moves are encouraged . : . the NMU prepares to expel outspoken oppositionists . . . local CIO councils will adopt only canned resolutions prepared by officials . . . local unions and local officers will be taught unquestioning obedience and conformity.

Union Democracy Can Beat Back Stalinists!

Democratic procedures in the unions can do more than shove Stalinism out of office. They can eradicate every trace of Stalinist influence and allow the labor movement to move forward to class-struggle policies. Organize Tactions and caucuses in the Stalinist unions; shine the light of free discus-

CLEVELAND, Nov. 1-After a sharp but perfunctory debate on the issue, the CIO convention today by overwhelming vote adopted an amendment to its constitution barring any Communist Party member from serving either as an officer or member of the executive board.

FIVE CENTS

The amendment reads: "No individual shall be eligible to serve either as an officer or as a member of the executive board who is a member of the Communist Party, any fascist organization or other totalitarian movement, or who insistently pursues policies and activities directed toward the achievement of the program or the purposes of the Communist Party, any fascist organization or other totalitarian movement, rather than the objectives and policies' set forth in the constitution of the CIO."

The Stalinist leadership of the United Electrical Workers (UE) virtually walked out in advance, with an announcement that they were withholding per-capita tax payments to the CIO in accordance with their convention ultimatum.

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By WALTER JASON

CLEVELAND, Oct. 31 - In marked contrast to the big headlines and stories about the 11th convention of the CIO which began here today, events are proceeding in a cut-anddried fashion with all major issues settled in advance. This convention is simply ratifying what has already been decided.

When CIO President Philip Murray brusquely turned down a plea by the Stalinist bloc for any kind of compromise at a special conference they held yesterday, the sharpest issue at this gathering was decided. The Stalinists are going to be "cleansed." The only real enthusiasm generated today by the 567 delegates was a Murray's announcement of this fact. Before this appears in print the constitutional amendments and appropriate resolutions virtually expelling the Stalinist-dominated unions and barring "communists and fascists" from office in the CIO should be a matter of convention record and approval. [See editorial on this page for comment on Murray's anti-CP policy .--Ed.1

To Fight Case of 22 ity with the 22 local union leaders and refuse to go back to work without the 22. They argued further: The company

is getting fewer scabs to go into the plant; some of the men who returned to work earlier are beginning to leave the plant. Most important of all, the plant is not producing anything and cannot produce as long as we stay leaders, lies in the hands of a state out. fact-finding board turned arbitratore and What effect will our action have

Furthermore, some 60-odd membersta upon union militants throughout the of Local 501 are waiting to be tried a country, they asked, when they hear in a court of law for alleged offenses a that we have returned to work and

(2) Provides for a minimum of \$100 a month after 25 years of service at democratic ranks may well be one

ers and friends have already been convicted of contempt of an injunction which may mean a \$250 fine and thirty days in jail for each of them.

On Sunday, October 16, members of the fact-finding board set up by Governor Dewey to investigate the Bell strike made a proposal to the union which they said the company was willing to accept. The proposal provided that (1) the strike should immediately be called off; (2) all disputes between the union and the company be submitted to the factfinding board, which would then serve as arbitrator and its decisions would be binding upon both parties. The company claimed that one of the issues in dispute was that it would not rehire 22 of the strike leaders. The fact-finding board went along with the company on this and agreed to arbitrate the question of the 22 leaders.

It was the opinion of the international UAW representatives and a majority of the bargaining committee that the proposal should be accepted. A minority of the bargaining committee felt that the union should accept arbitration of the economic issues but that the 22 leaders should go back to work with the rank and file.

PRO AND CON

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A meeting of Local 501 was held on Tuesday, October 18 ,to vote on the proposal. Those in favor of accepting the proposal argued: The company has made a concession in agreeing to arbitration (which it had refused in the past). Arbitration means that the union will get at least some, if not all, of its economic demands. We do not like to go back without the 22 leaders (they argued). but we have a good case and might get them all back into the plant. The alternative . is to reject the proposal, continue the strike and have to contend with the company's all-out attempt to bring in scabs while the union leadership is all tied up in factfinding · hearings and court trials. They felt the latter course meant more pitched battles, more arrests. more scabs and final demoralization of the union.

The spokesmen for accepting the proposal only if the 22 leaders returned to work with the rest of Local 501 also emphasized that the company had weakened by accepting arbitration. In the face of the company's weakened position, they contended, let us show our strength and solidar-

ranging from contempt and assault to sale the company lock out the most conspiracy to riot. Possible jail sen- " aggressive, hardest-fighting part of the age of 65. (They remind you that of the most important developments tences total years! Twenty-one strik- tottaki (Continued on page 4) the Ford plan calls for 30 years' se- coming from this convention.

started and a successive in

Leading Intellectuals Break with Moscow-

Titoism Infiltrates the French CP

PARIS, Oct. 24-"Titoism" and allied stirrings of discontent are bubbling in the French Stalinist movement, The most prominent manifestation has been the public declaration of Jean Cassou defending Tito against the Cominform. Cassou is one of the most prominent of the French intellectuals who have hitherto been fellow-traveling.

More recently, two other leading Stalinist intellectuals, Claude Aveline and Martin-Chauffier, publicly sent a telegram to Budapest protesting the Rajk anti-Tito confession trial. It has created little short of a sensation in intellectual circles. Naturally, these two writers have been greeted with the usual insults and denunciations in the CP press. It is curious that Martin-Chauffier is still collaborating on a Stalinoid paper which, like the others, refused to publish his declaration. Duclos' two intellectual inquisitors, Louis Aragon and François Billoux, are reportedly working on Cassou, who is still holding firm.

The effect of these events has been especially strong on large numbers of young intellectuals and university students sympathetic' to Stalinism, and Laurent Casanova (the Grand Inquisitor, who likes to refer to himself familiarly in the third person as "Casa") is working overtime to stem the trend.

The CP has issued orders to all party units to hold special meetings in order to pass resolutions approving the Rajk frameup, but several units-in provincial cities, especially in the North-have refused to do so, led by their secretaries. The CP leadership is known to be contemplating the advisability of dissolving these units and starting a party purge of . the rebels.

RUMBLING IN THE RANKS

Several months ago, the Prot affair in the Somme region likewise shook the leadership and its effects are still echoing. Prot, the Stalinist deputy mayor of Longueau, denounced the party leadership as hypocritical, careerist, etc. The party leadership tried to hush it up, but in vain. Instead of cracking down on Prot, howother U.S. company operating in the

ever, they finished by rehabilitating him in the party, in, the hope of avoiding a storm-after Prot had insisted on conditions and written assurances, and got them.

The CP had acted in the same way in the case of André Ribard, whose book was condemned as "deviationist" in a strong article by François Billoux in "France Nouvelle." In this article, in the best Zhdanovian style, Billoux invited Ribard to dump the copies of his book still on sale and to confess his errors, but the heretic was not burned at the stake. The CP

quietly dropped the matter. Among other evidence of what is happening to the CP is the result of the municipal elections earlier this month in Rouen, Pantin and Sceaux. where the Stalinist vote fell appreciably. In an article in L'Humanité by CP leader Raymond Guyot, another interesting fact is revealed by Guyot's complaints about the CP section in the Federation of the Seine however, are known as ex-members.

(which includes Paris).

Twenty-one out of the 132 sections which make up this federation had less than five paid-up members at the end of August, he says. Those sections which are most in arrears in dues payments (like those in the 7th Arrondissement and Montrouge) are also those sections which obtained fewer ballots in the October 12 "vote for Peace" (sponsored by the Stalinists) than they had gotten in the 1946 election.

The rumblings inside the CP are all associated with intense discussions about the "dogma of Soviet infallibility." It is not accidental that an internal opposition bulletin has now appeared in the party-No. 1 of a "bulletin for political and trade-union discussion" entitled La Lutte, whose editors defend Tito against Stalin (quoting profusely from Jean Cassou) and represent themselves as still belonging to the CP. Two of them, leader.

Western Union Makes Brazen Bid For 100% Monopoly with U.S. Funds

While the cries against "statism" and "soft socialism" from businessmen and their favorite Congressmen are still ringing in the air, the Western Union Telegraph Company proposed on October 19 that the government help it to solve its financial problems by giving it an unprecedented monopoly over all telegraph

and teletype services in this country and abroad. WU President Walter P. Marshall, in a letter to the Senate's commerce subcommittee, conceded that the plan would create a monopoly. The plan called for the buying out of the telegraph and teletype business and facilities of the American Telephone & Telegraph Company, "all independents," all government-owned facilities of this type, RCA, the American Cable & Radio Corporation and "any

international field." (N. Y. Times, October 20, tucked away in the financial section.)

More than that, the WU Marshall Plan proposed that the government do the buying with its own cash and hand the purchases over to the company.

Senator McFarland, to whom the letter was addressed, is scheduling hearings on the plan and says he agrees with Marshall that something must be done. He adds that one of the alternatives, making Western Union's facilities a part of the government's telegraph system, would be "bad" - presumaby for "free enterprise."

New definition of free enterprise: Uncle Sam buys out a half dozen? other enterprises and hands them free to Western Union.®

sion on all questions; arouse the membership-these are the methods that drove Stalinism out of its UAW stronghold.

But such methods of struggle, relying on the rank and file, are foreign to Murray's deep-dyed bureaucratic conceptions. If victorious in open democratic struggle against a burequeratic Stalinist apparatus, rank-and-file factions would not submit so readily to the conservative, Murray bureaucracy.

The split has come bureaucratically, but nevertheless it has come. We repeat what we have always said: Stalinism would turn the union movement into a simple tool of Russian imperialism: it is a tendency inside the labor movement but has nothing in common with the interests of the working class. The CIO, led by conservatives like Murray, supports the imperialist policy of the U. S. and collaborates with capitalist politicians. Nevertheless, in its own way it fights against the capitalist class, comes into conflict with its own government, and tries to squeeze out concessions for the workers. Faced by this split, every union militant must choose the CIO and fight to remain within it; but at the same time he must reject the antidemocratic methods of the CIO officialdom.

Late Monday afternoon, the first "discussion" took place on the con-(Continued on page 4)



CLEVELAND Oct 31 - In obvious fear of a major Stalinist demonstration in the galleries, the CIO officials had a very large number of sergeants-at-arms, mainly Steel Union secondary leaders, who kept all visitors out unless they had a guest badge, and to get a guest badge was pretty tough the first day. This is, to our knowledge, the first time the CIO cenvention has had such a procedure. After more badges arrived, they were distributed whenever an individual had an OK sign from a non-CP

The meetings of the Constitutional Committee are going to be public and a debate is expected there on various amendments, no doubt so that no time will be spent on the convention floor with lengthy speeches on

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UE anti-CP forces are reported fighting among themselves, and President Murray finally appointed James B. Carey, CIO secretary-treasurer, as spokesman for those forces on the convention floor. A hint of days to come!

There seem to be almost as many reporters and journalists covering this convention as there are delegates. And having exhausted themselves with exciting speculative stories, the reporters find a sense of letdown in just reporting the routine unfolding of the convention.

There has been little evidence of

the convention itself. Most of the United Electrical Workers' leaders, Harry Bridges and others do not show up. But everyone wonders at what point they will make a stand and fight openly on some issue.

There seems to be little discussion off the convention floor, to say nothing of the little there is on it, about the difficulties ahead in the fight against the Stalinists. It is one thing to get tough on a convention floor, with a nice big majority behind you, and another thing to get up at 5 a.m. to circulate leaflets at plants and face Stalinists in an attempt to win the workers over to the CIO. We think the CIO leaders are underesti-

mating this problem terribly. Maybe

the UAW can tell them how tough

it was in the FE fight.

During his report to the convention Murray said: "But with this combination of interests at work, as they have been until recently, to undermine the steel workers in their strike. like they did the mine workers in 1928, these interests, the big interests, big money interests and the Communist Party joined hands in 1928 to destroy the United Mine

attempted just recently to carry out the same program in 1948." This is a real clue to the thinking of Murray and the kind of CIO he has in mind. For few struggles in the history of the American labor movement are as tragic and as black a mark in labor history as the fight the Stalinist leaders or followers at of John L. Lewis, with Philip Mur- ship.

Workers of America, and they have

ray as his chief lieutenant, to keep control of the coal miners' union from a progressive coalition that included such diverse figures as John Brophy, Powers Hapgood and other stalwarts -in those days with the active support of the THEN progressive and revolutionary Communist Party, which has nothing in common with the outfit of today except its name.

The key statement in the political action resolution states:

"The legislative representatives of the CIO must encourage and support the creation of a working liberal coalition among the elected representatives in both major parties to carry out the liberal program and to defeat the coalition of reactionary Democrats and Republicans which is committed to the service of privilege and monopoly against the welfare of the American people."

Same old answer for the key task of the day. And what that task is, in the words of the resolution itself, is to be found among the many whereases

"The basic political task before us is to develop a strong liberal working consolidation of farm, labor and all liberal forces in a genuine progressive, democratic political-action program which rejects the totalitarianism of communism on the left and the reckless anti-social policies of Wall Street monopolies on the right." No doubt this language is supposed to be a concession to the UAW leader-

the issues.

Pagé 2

LABOR ACTION

November 7, 1949

One Line Lacking on the Ballot—A Labor Party!

GOP Offers a Red Herring to Philly Voters

By KARL CRAIG

PHILADELPHIA, Oct. 26-The red herring has been tossed into the Philadelphia election campaign.

The GOP is attempting to make Americans for Democratic Action the central issue in the race for the row offices to be elected on November 8.

William F. Meade, Republican city chairman, has charged that Americans for Democratic Action is "Communist-infiltrated." The GOP leader further charged that "known Communists" signed and circulated nomination petitions for Richard Dilworth, Democratic candidate for city treasurer.

Not to be outdone by the Republicans. James A. Finnegan, Democratic city chairman, said that all the "Communist votes will go to Mr. Meade and his false faces because the Communists know that they have no better friends than the unpunished tax thieves at city hall and their campaign to create chaos and to undermine confidence in the American system of government."

The Communist Party, of course, is supporting neither the Republicans nor the Democrats in the local election. They are supporting the candidates of the Progressive Party-a fact both Meade and Finnegan pre-

be filled in this election are for the row offices. These are city treasurer. controller, magistrates and some city councilmen.

ship of 200,000.

candidate for councilman.

What is new in this campaign is the fact that ADA has two of its leading people running for office-Richardson Dilworth, ADA chairman, and Joseph Sill Clark Jr., for city treasurer and controller respectively.

very least, their own independent labor slate, pending the formation of a permanent labor-party organization. It is also interesting to note that leading members of the Norman

Henry Shipard, president of the Thomas Socialist Party in Philadel-CIO Council and local PAC head, anphia are busy campaigning for the nounced that the CIO, representing full Democratic ticket via ADA. 100,000 members and 61 affiliates. ADA MEN'S RECORD

voted unanimously to support the entire Democratic slate in the mu-Republican Chairman Meade also nicipal elections on November 8. Jocharged that ADAers Leon Shull, a

seph McDonough, chairman of Laleading member of the Socialist Parbor's League for Political Education ty: Harry Block, a top leader of the (AFL), also announced the endorsepro-CIO forces in the United Electriment of the Democratic ticket in becal Workers Union; Harry Norwitch, half of LLPE. He claims a memberan official of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union (CIO) and Demo-The only union candidate in the cratic candidate for City Council in whole Democratic Party setup is West Philadelphia; David H. H. Fe-Harry Norwich, a member of the CIO lix, a leading SP member and Phila-Amalgamated Clothing Workers Undelphia attorney, and others as being ion and active in 46th Ward (West connected with "Communist front" Philadelphia) Democratic circles as organizations. Anyone who is at all familiar with the politics of the local The setting for the election was labor movement knows that the paved by the Grand Jury investigacharges are ridiculous. It is the fa-

tion last year of charges of theft, exmiliar tactic of yelling "You're a red." tortion, graft, political favoritism, in-Some of the worst red-baiting on

tend not to be aware of. The posts to competence and misbehavior in all the part of the GOP was demonstratcity departments. The tragedy of this ed when Meade accused Harry Norsituation is that 300,000 workers in witch of contributing money to the the Philadelphia area could have late Kazmier Miller, who was long pooled their forces to run, at the associated with the Socialist Party and trade-union movement, to spread "socialist propaganda and slime." In listing David H. H. Felix as a "red," Meade stated, "there is about the same difference between them [the Socialist and Communist Parties] as there is between a snake and a ser-

pent.'

While it is true that the two political arms of labor in Philadelphia have come out for the support of the entire Democratic ticket, this fact should not be taken to mean that all of labor is for Dilworth & Co. William Leader, president of Branch 1 of the American Federation of Hosiery Workers, criticized Dilworth's antilabor background, saying that the Democratic candidate's law firm worked for years against the interests of labor. Along this line several officials of the International Longshoremen's Association (AFL) pointed out in a press release that Dilworth's firm obtained an injunction limiting picketing in a strike which the Steel Workers waged.

The slongshoremen officials also pointed out that Dilworth's law firm represented the Allied Printing Em-

ployers Association when it sued the International Typographical Union (Local 2) for conspiracy to violate the Taft-Hartley Law. The association sought \$380,000 in this suit. To be sure, William Leader, when

he makes these anti-labor charges against Dilworth, does not speak for a labor party. He has long been active in Republican circles. It is significant that neither Dilworth, ADA, nor the Democratic Party has answered these charges. They cannot,

In an editorial on October 26, the Philadelphia Inquirer came out for the support of Dilworth and Clark on the ground that the city government is too one-sided. One could hardly find a more conservative, traditionally Republican newspaper anywhere. This endorsement doesn't exactly compliment the ADA Democrats. The Inquirer and the wing of the Republican Party it must certainly represent is willing to accommo date Dilworth and Clark.

Labor has no party to support in this election ADA is tied in a thousand different ways to the Democratic Party of Greenfield, Kelly and their man Friday - Finnegan, Democratic city chairman. Dilworth is not from labor's ranks and his anti-labor record is bad. ADA failed to assist labor in running its independent ticket.

Readers of Labor Action Take the Gloor

Danger-Hack at Work!

To the Editor:

With some anticipation, we looked forward to the review of The UAW and Walter Reuther to be published by the Socialist Workers Party paper, The Militant. Here was an interesting problem: how would the "Only Revolutionary Marxists, Ltd.," treat a book on the UAW the approach of which was radical and critical? How, that is, would they manage to smear it for factional reasons?

When we saw that Bert Cochran had been assigned to the job, we felt reassured. Here was the right man; he could bring to bear all his experience accumulated as a behind-thescenes advisor for the Addes-Stalinist faction during 1947.

Cochran says the book is part of a trend toward "adulation" of the new Reuther bureaucracy, and that Reuther's talents have cast a "hypnotic spell" over its authors. Whether Howe and Widick are hypnotized we do not know: but we do know that their book and its chapter on Reuther is so effective a criticism that it has aroused the most violent reactions in the top UAW leadership. If this be adulation, John Livingston would, no doubt, just as soon have some of Cochran's criticism — THAT doesn't bother him at all. Cochran should ask his friends in Detroit how "warmly" the book has been received by the UAW top leaders: he should inquire WHY the decision of the UAW top leaders now seems to be to institute a "silent boycott" of the book in its press. Would that be the response to a book that is "a link in the ramified campaign to sell Reuther," as Cochran so nicely puts it? Of the book as a whole, Cochran says little; he says nothing about its description and defense of the sitdowns, nothing about its chapter on the wartime fight against the nostrike pledge, nothing about its advocacy of a labor party, nothing about its section on the dangers to unionism from the war economy, nothing about its chapter on bureaucratism in the unions. Well, all right, what do you expect from Cochran? Instead, he confines himself to nibbling at phrases here and there. In some instances, he is expressing legitimate differences of opinion (e.g., the Negro question), but other instances are downright distortion. This he accomplishes by extension: take a qualified remark and twist it into a generalization. Item: He quotes Howe and Widick as describing the Allies-Chalmers and North American Aircraft strikes as "precipitous and ill-managed." Then Cochran argues that "that does not gainsay the fact that both strikes were absolutely legitimate and deserving of unqualified support." Of course; and where in The UAW and Walter Reuther is there even a hint that these strikes shouldn't have been supported? Hasn't Cochran himself written at least a few articles calling strikes "ill-managed" and yet supporting them? Item: He quotes Howe and Widick as saying that part of the responsibility for the Homer Martin mess must be placed on the radical groups. Then Cochran indignantly says that radicals had more to do with building the UAW than any other CIO union. True: and you will find the same thing said in The UAW and Walter Reuther. Cochran .then gives a defense of radicals in the unions, which is a repetition of the one offered in the book. Why does he need to insinuate that a perfectly accurate re-

mark about certain failures of radical groups should 'be construed as a blanket condemnation of their role in the unions - particularly when the book says the exact opposite?

Item: He quotes Howe and Widick as saving that since factions sometimes lead to abuse, they can be dangerous to union democracy. Then Cochran righteously adds: but factions are indispensable instruments of union democracy. This is EXACTLY what The UAW and Walter Reuther says (p. 63). To note-Brother Cochran-that factions have dangers is not to oppose them; Howe and Widick write: "Factions exist only in the more democratic and advanced unions." If Cochran's motives were not so clear, we'd say he couldn't read. Item: Cochran makes a big show of defending the stand of his ex-Stalinist partners in opposing the Taft-Hartley affidavits. Does that mean that he and his friends, if in control

sary (necessary, not desirable) to sign them? Item: Cochran says Howe and Wid-

among the military. The difficulty is fiddle with the concept of an atomic not inherent in the material. It lies, blitz is unquestionably true. The currather, in an inadequate acquaintance rent formal position of the air corps, with the field in comparison with however, largely is identical with others where we are more at home. that of the army. That there will be Pitt sums up the differences withan eventual blowup over the allocain the Department of Defense as foltion and strategic aircraft I have inlows: "The army and air force here dicated elsewhere. But that is not the

stand as conservative American-defensists-first. The B-36 is the symbol of an insular conception which bypasses actual commitment to European war except by lend-lease, advice, etc." The navy, however, ."proposes the fullest utilization and integration of all means of destruction from advanced bases."

A reading of the army service journals will show that the army does not at all subscribe to the beliefs imputed to it by Pitt. The exact contrary is true. While planning to utilize the atomic bomb, it orients all its strategy around an invasion. of .Russia-or the continent, What else is the meaning of the Atlantic Pact? That SECTIONS of the air corps

situation at the moment. The navy's arguments were largely, though not exclusively, demagogic. But basically its reactions are those of a bureaucracy whose prerogatives are being encroached upon. Judd's criticisms of the Pitt position were generally correct, but his conclusion is equally erroneous. The army, says Judd, recognizes that con-

ditions of war have changed. It believes "that atomic weapons, guided missiles, bacteriological bombardment, rockets and jet planes, etc., will be the technical means, NOT large mass armies convoyed by a navy, for carrying out its objective. There is not the slightest evidence

for this conclusion. There is a moun-

tain of evidence to support the opposite one: that the army chiefs are planning on a mass army highly technically equipped. Hence, as has been indicated elsewhere, the initial steps taken to abolish Jim Crow in the services. It is no secret that the United States has its eyes on French, German and Spanish manpower-not to speak of Japanese manpower as well. Imménse Russian armies deployed in the field are recognized as unprofitable targets for atomic weapons. All of this should be platitudinous, however; it has been stated many times in the service and in the public press, most recently by the chief of staff himself in a Saturday

Evening Post article of October 15. The estimate we make of the character of the next war will condition our over-all prognosis and our response to the anticipated economic. political and social events. This, I believe, the Pitt and Judd explanations fail to do.

James M. FENWICK

KKK, Out in Open in Florida, Fakes Appeal to "Good" Jews and Negroes

By STETSON KENNEDY

A "state of emergency" has been declared to exist throughout the Invisible Empire of the Southern and Northern Ku Klux Klans, according to an edict of the Imperial Wizard appearing in the current issue of The Klansman, published in Jacksonville, Fla.

The edict calls upon all "nativewhite, Gentile Protestants" to "repair immediately to their nearest Den for a course of instruction and training" and "proceed to organization and action" to "save our form of government from subversive minority groups."

The Wizard, who claims to have been recently elected at a "secret Imperial Klonvocation," is identified only by the number 4-006800. The Klansman, official organ of the

hooded order, does not reveal the name of its publisher and editor, but

State Vet Bonus In Pennsylvania To be Voted On

PHILADELPHIA, Oct. 31-In the November 8 election, Philadelphia voters will be asked to vote on the proposed \$500,000,000 bonus for veterans of World War II. The state legislature adopted this proposal without submittings way and means of financing the payments. The average payment, if the bonus is voted upon favorably in the state referendum, is estimated to be about \$325.

One should expect the labor movement and progressive organizations in general to be for the payment of the bonus, with its own position on how to finance the payments-that is, urging that if new taxes have to be levied, these should be on corporation profits, high incomes, etc. In short, place the burden on those who can best afford to pay!

The Philadelphia chapter of the American Committee and the state organization have instead adopted an anti-bonus stand. What little influence AVC has left among veterans may be lost on account of this position.

Martin T. Smolens, chairman of United Veterans Organizations, which represents a handful of veterans and AVC, in an article published recently in the Evening Bulletin, states that veterans should have pride and refuse a handout. The AVC leadership states that veterans must remember that the economy of the state must be considered and that rejection of the bonus is a moral issue. Working veterans won't go for these arguments in a big way.

gives a postoffice box number as the address of the Jacksonville Klavern. Copies have been sent through the mails to city officials, attorneys and others.

Asserting that the Klan is "for labor," The Klansman declares that the KKK is not anti-anybody, but is simply, "non-Negro, non-Catholic, non-Jew and non-foreign born."

For the first time in Klan history, 'honorary affiliation kards" are being offered to Catholics, Jews, Negroes and foreign-born, who, "after investigation," are found to conform to the principles of Ku Kluxery.

These honorary "kards" will not admit their bearers to meetings but "serve to allay the suspicion that they are disloyal," the publication explains.

"The Klansman" goes on to invite the Jewish League Against Communism and Catholic Action to work with the KKK "side by side for America."

While disavowing all hatred of minority groups, The Klansman attacks the Anti-Defamation League, of B'nai B'rith as a "Jewish gang," brands Cardinal Spellman as "arrogant," asserts that Negroes are intolerable but that "-ns are hard to beat," and concludes that minority groups are being "trained in the techniques of revolution, terrorism and Gestapo methods."

The Klansman also attacks as "unthinkable" the anti-genocide pact of the United Nations, which would punish anyone conspiring to liquidate a racial or religious group. It is predicted by the Klan sheet that the U. S. Senate will refuse to ratify the pact.

Publication of The Klansman as the official propaganda arm of the KKK represents an abandonment of the more underground media employed since suspension of The Fiery Cross at the beginning of the war .-Reading Labor Advocate, Sept. 30.

Cripps on Devaluation

In his pamphlet, "The Choice for Britain," written before the war, Sir Stafford Cripps had the following to say about such measures as devaluation of the pound:

"... as in the case of physical war, the workers were the pawns of the capitalists. Wage levels and social services were everywhere sacrificed in this intense economic competition.

". . . A new weapon of economic warfare was discovered by the capitalists, the depreciation of national currencies, a device which could, in a few days, obliterate tariff barriers and do away with the necessity for export subsidies. This new weapon introduced a more subtle and effective way of forcing the pace in the economic struggle."

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ick engage on page 183 in "a lefthanded defense of Reuther's raiding of the UE." Let us assume Cochran is right and Howe and Widick wrong on that point. Why, then, doesn't Cochran feel it necessary to say something about their criticism on the same page of the UAW raids on the FE-a criticism that has engendered so much prickly heat in certain UAW quarters ?

of a union, would not feel it neces-

No doubt there are faults to be found in The UAW and Walter Reuther. But Bert Cochran is hardly the man to do that. On page 169 The UAW and Walter Reuther has a reference to an anti-Semitic smear printed in the Addes-Stalinist faction sheet, "FDR," in 1947, this smear purporting to be a letter from Gerald L. K. Smith hailing Reuther as "thoroughly alert to the Jewish question." On the same page there is the following footnote: "Reuther subsequently filed suit against the publisher of 'FDR.' Cy Aaron, and named 'one Bert Cochran' as also responsible for this 'false document' which was 'known to be such by the defendant.' " Cochran, you see, has had previous experience for the job he girded himself to do on the Howe-Widick book. P. J.

Third View To the Editor:

The article by Stewart Pitt on the dispute within the Department of Defense, and the rejoinder by Henry Judd, have at least this virtue-that they make an attempt to analyze a concrete aspect of the military establishment in the United States. The military is a dominant fact in current history. It is not accidental that a quip inverting Clausewitz's most famous dictum is making the rounds: "Politics is war carried on by other means." It corresponds to the reality.

Unfortunately, sections of the ISL which are afflicted with a combination of cultural lag, pacifism, and pure - and - simple philistinism commonly adopt a rather patronizing attitude toward articles such as those of Comrades Pitt and Judd. Yet it is very difficult to form an estimate of the probable evolution of domestic and world politics in the coming period without understanding the military factors involved on the part of both Russia and the United States.

The defect of the two articles in question, despite many good incidental insights, is that neither one correctly establishes what IS in dispute



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November 7, 1949 ~

LABOR ACTION

SILVER LINING

ECONOMIST SEES COLD WAR AS A BOON TO CAPITALISM

By HAL DRAPER

One of the frankest and most important statements on the present state of the American economy was made on October 25 by one of the leading economists in the country-Professor Sumner H. Slichter of Harvard, a high official of the Committee for Economic Development. Dr. Slichter was speaking at the dinner of the annual convention of the commercial finance industry.

Dr. Slichter is politically a conservative and-it goes without savingno heartier exponent of the capitalist system could be found. In fact, what he had to say was designed, if anything, to restore the faith of his well-fed audience in capitalism-if it needed a restorative. He bade them be optimistic and told them why they should be. And his reason turned out to be an analysis which thus far we have seen in full form only in the resolutions and analyses of the Independent Socialist League. (See the resolution on the United States published in the May issues of LABOR ACTION.)

We think Slichter's words deserve to be published in 14-point type on our front page every week for a year. At the moment 8-point type will do:

"From a narrow economic standpoint, the cold war in which the United States and Russia are adversaries is a good thing, Dr. Slichter said. In effect, he said, it has proved a boon to the capitalistic system which the Communists are trying to scuttle."-N. Y. Times, Oct. 26.

Slichter said, among other things:

"It [the cold war] increases the demand for goods, helps sustain a high level of employment, accelerates technological progress, and thus helps the country raise its standard of living.

"In the absence of the cold war, the demand for goods by the government would be many billions of dollars less than it is now and the expenditures of both industry and government on technological research would be hundreds of millions less than they now are.

"So we may thank the Russians for helping make capitalism in the United States work better than ever."

And he declared that a real bust-a really severe depression in the U.S. -is "difficult to conceive" as long as the benefits of the cold war are with us.

Glad Tidings for the Hour

There is no repetition of the 1929 crush due: this was his message of cheer. And that which is keeping the bust away is the unprecedentedly fast descent of the whole world into the maelstrom of the threatened Third World War. Without it-back to the apple stands.

The ISL analysis has also warned against the notion that a simple repetition of the Great Depression is inevitable and just around the corner. The blind economic forces making for capitalist crisis are still at work amid the underpinnings of capitalism, as in 1929 and before. But something new has been added-the new dominant position of war economy in the substructure. (One economist recently labeled the same phenomenon a "truce economy," another the "cold-war economy"-it doesn't matter.)

What it means is that the long-standing capitalist crisis can be "averted" only by steering for the still more devastating crisis of world atomic war. If the delegates to the National Conference of Commercial Receivable Companies at the Waldorf-Astoria found comfort in the vision, thus bluntly put before them by Slichter, the far greater number of people who could not afford the price of a seat at their dinner table ought to be stirred to think about the views of Independent Socialism on the major problem of our times.

All over the world (except in the United States) the social system of capitalism is visibly dying in mortal agony-overthrown by the totalitarian (but non-capitalist) despotism of Stalinist bureaucratic collectivism in one part of the world; tied up in inextricable knots even in Western Europe where it still hangs on. The only road to freedom for the people leads away from both capitalist decay and Stalinist barbarism, toward socialist democracy.

The United States, aristocrat of the world, seems to be the exception. While night falls on the lower slopes and valleys, on its peak of power and wealth the last bright beams of the sun seem twice as lustrous. On old Europe, the nightfall of capitalism descends in a gray misery. Over American capitalism, the dusk threatens to end with a blood-red splash of sunset.

Reality Be Damned!

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If Slichter can view the ghost at the Waldorf-Astoria feast with something approaching equanimity, the liberals-who find nothing wrong with capitalism but object only to its inevitable consequences-are in no such fortunate position. Their dilemma is sounded in a cry of agony by financial columnist Sylvia F. Porter two days after Slichter's speech. Miss Porter is one of the more prominent economic experts and presumably a social

Howe, Dudley Debate Labor Party at U. of C. Politics Club

ence of 140 students and faculty members of the University of Chicago on October 14 witnessed a sharp debate between Tilford Dudley, "braintruster" of the national CIO-PAC, and Irving Howe, co-author of the recently published book, The UAW and Walter Reuther. The meeting, organized as a symposium on the Political Perspectives of the American Labor Movement, soon turned into an open duel between Howe and Dudley on

a labor party. The result was clearly and decisively a victory for the advocates and supporters of the labor party. More than ever before at a political meeting of the U. of C. campus, the forum scored a success from a socialist point of view-it sharpened the issues, centered the bulk of the discussion around the labor party, and convinced many of its need.

It was clear that Howe had gained the upper hand before he even finished his presentation as the audience patiently and attentively sat listenng to him, and upon the conclusion of Howe's speech there was a sustained ovation which clearly indicated the feelings of the audience. In the question period which followed, all questions were directed to Howe until the chairman announced that he could recognize only questions directed to the other speakers. The meeting was the first for the new school year sponsored by the

Politics Club of the university. For it, too, the meeting was a success: many people expressed interest in its activities, filled out interest cards and five people joined the club at the conclusion of the meeting (bringing the total of new members to ten within a two-week period). In addition a profit was made on the 25-cent admission which was charged. Students who were selling copies of the Howe-Widick book reported that several

copies were sold and that orders for

EBY AND DUDLEY SPEAK

other's were taken.

The speakers on the program were Tilford Dudley, assistant national director of the CIO-PAC, who was visiting in Chicago on his way to the Kentucky CIO convention; Irving Howe, also visiting Chicago in connection with his recently published book; and Kermit Eby, former national educational director of the CIO and presently a professor of social

science at the university. Kermit Eby was the first speaker. He candidly defined his own political position as one of "political schizophrenia"-in the morning he favors working within the Democratic Party while in the afternoon he favors labor building its own political party.

CHICAGO, Oct. 16-A capacity audi-responsibility remains with the labor leadership to go farther in its participation in political life. Despite existing problems in the PAC, the labor movement ought to move in closer to the selection of representatives and ought to aim for complete control of the Democratic Party, Implying that notions of a labor party were "utopian," Eby said that labor "must make decisions in the framework of the historical process" and that it must keep its end in mind. Tilford Dudley, the second speak-

er, drew a historical sketch of the development of labor's political-action policy mostly in regard to CIO-PAC. In reply to Eby, he admitted that labor's political policy had begun on the top but claimed that the "workers are not advanced," and if they were relied upon, nothing in the way of political action would be done. The job of PAC was to accomplish political education and do a job for the entire community.

FOR "REAL" DEMOCRATS

He then defended the policy of working within the Democratic Party. It was the first time that U. of C. students heard the PAC position in such simple form. Dudley, taking a piece of chalk in his hand, drew a line on the blackboard behind him representing the voting strength in America. Half of the line was Democratic and half Republican, he explained. But labor strength, while exceeding half the Democrats' segment, did not represent more than 50 per cent of the full line. How then, he asked, could labor, within its own political party, be expected to take an election?

The correct policy, he insisted in very forceful terms, was to influence one party-the Democratic Party. With the grand tradition of the Democratic Party labor can elect its own candidates, Dudley pointed out. It is necessary to elect "real Democrats" (friends of labor), not reactionaries parading around in Democratic clothing. Then apparently carried away by the simplicity of his remarks, Dudley insisted "we don't care about theory -we want results." Again to emphasize his point about the necessity of electing labor's Democratic and Republican friends and in an attempt to dismiss any talk of a labor party, Dudley repeatedly emphasized: "Either we get or don't get." Labor, Dudley said, is out to win.

Irving Howe, the last speaker, said that the best argument to support his position in favor of an independent labor party was the recent Stalinist victory in China. Here the world had seen once again that world capitalism is bankrupt and that Stalinism, in the absence of a progres-

sive alternative, was parading over China in the name of socialism. Howe pointed out that we are today living on the brink of a world catastrophe. Neither major party in the U.S. has anything to offer labor. Howe saidboth are financed by big business. both take personnel from the upper class, both are tied by tradition and program, both support a foreign policy of support to reactionary anti-Russian governments, both help to perpetuate Jim Crow, both supported the Taft-Hartley Act.

WHAT LABOR PARTY COULD DO

Labor, Howe insisted, needs its own political party which can (1) set up a genuine center of the non-CP left: (2) give workers a sense of strength and prepare them for social and political self-rule; (3) make possible an intelligent discussion of public issues -not the tweedledee-tweedledum of capitalist parties: (4) eliminate the "lesser evil" sickness which led German Social-Democracy to facilitate Hitler's road to power: (5) help cohere the forces of the non-CP left with the unions so as to force Truman to give concessions as he did even during the Stalinist Wallace campaign; (6) organize the unemployed; (7) train a whole new stratum of younger labor people; (8) give a channel of action to those thousands of radicals and younger people who seek a way out. This party would be a set, not the solution-which, Howe said, could only be socialism. A labor party would establish the labor movement as a political force in this country and put an end to the present PAC policy of tail-end-

Howe then proceeded to answer Tilford Dudley's argument that labor sought only "success." Howe asked Dudley what had been the fruits of last year's electoral success? Had not the Taft-Hartley Act remained on the books? And what had the new administration done about FEPC, housing, rent control, and hundreds of other progressive measures which it was pledged to support? This policy of seeking success without regard to real results has led labor into a blind alley .

One after the other, Howe answered most of the arguments usually offered against a labor partyincluding those brought up by Dudlev himself. The answers seem to have been good enough, for neither Dudley nor anyone in the audience friendly to his position challenged any of them during the discussion.

After Howe finished, most of the questions dealt with the elaboration of points made in his talk and more specifically around the labor-party

question.

Today, at the regular Sunday after-

SPARKS in the **NEWS**

Going to the Doas

Verbatim excerpt from the Congressional Record, during the Senate debate over aid to China:

"Mr. Connally: I feel very much like an old lawyer in my section of the country. He had as his legal antagonist a loud and enthusiastic lawver who shouted and foamed at the mouth in addressing the jury, and when it came the time of the old lawyer to answer him, he stood up and said, 'Your Honor, bow-wowwow-wow. Now that I have answered my opponent I shall discuss this case.' "Mr. Wherry: Bow-wow-wow-wow. "Mr. Connally: Mr. President, I do

not like to discuss this question in any but the most serious fashion. "Mr. Wherry: The senator's answers are just as clear as bow-wow-wow-

wow-just as clear. "Mr. Connally: Well, I use that kind of language and that kind of explanation-bow-wow-wow-wow."

Boon "Stocks closed higher yesterday for the third consecutive day after President Truman's atomic bomb disclosure shook the market out of its opening indecision. . . . Wall Street figured that the United States will now have to build up its defenses in view of the Russian atom explosion. This should raise employment and government spending and provide a strong prop against any recession."-N. Y.

The Gentlemen Agree

Daily News, Sept. 24.

"In view of its championing of minority rights in such pictures as 'Gentleman's Agreement,' the current 'Pinky' and the forthcoming 'No Way Out,' Twentieth Century-Fox was not a little embarrassed last week as a result of suits filed against the Granada Theater, Kansas City, Kan., a first-run house of the Fox Midwest circuit, by two Negroes who ask a total of \$20,000 damages on the ground that they were refused admission because of 'distinction as to color 'and race.' A highly placed Twentleth Century-Fox spokesman, who preferred to remain unidentified, explained that the company's theater policy is determined in each individual situation by the conventions of the community in which it is situated."-N. Y. Times,

October 16. The movie "Gentleman's Agreement" has some harsh things to say about people whose policy is determined "by the conventions of the community in which [they are] situated." If the Fox executives saw their own pictures, their tongues must have been wearing holes in their cheeks.

What Page d'Ye Read?

On the same day, October 21, the N. Y. Times published two news stories about the UN vote which put Yugoslavia into the Security Council.

By David Anderson: "Reluctance to comment on the election was plain on almost every hand among the delegates. Very few delegates cared to talk about their own vote" (Page 1) By A. M. Rosenthal: "In the lounge and corridors, delegates were more than usually willing to reveal their choice between Prague and Belgrade." (Page 3.)

Tested in Siberia

Among the new advances in science announced by the Stalinists is the following by Premier Otto Grotewohl, head of the Russian-zone German government: "The teaching that one must eat more to be able to work more had already turned out to be a false doctrine."

Arithmetic Lesson

"Polish pedagogues have been cautioned not to overlook any possibility of injecting 'political significance' into their spelling and arithmetic classes . . . the newspaper Trybunu Ludu stated recently."-Warsaw dispatch to N. Y. Times, Oct. 3. Stalin gave us freedom. As sure as you're alive.

Bussia's the workers' fatherland-And two and two are five.

Pick on Any Negro

Author Willard Motley (Knock on Any Door), after walking a friend to his car, was on his way home in the wee hours when a police squad hailed him: "Hey you! Come here!" According to his account he told them that was no way to talk to a citizen. According to their account he answered their demand for identification by saying: "I'm a pickpocket, but the picking is lean." Anyway, they ran him in, let him out when they found he was a celebrity, though City Prosecutor insisted his conduct warranted a fine. (Industrial Worker, Oct. 7.)

Has Heel a Soul?

The Association of Catholic Trade Unionists' paper, The Wage Earner, proclaimed October 31 as "Pray for Pegler Day" to turn Westbrook from his sinful path.

For text we suggest Jeremiah 13,23: "Can the Ethiopian change his skin, or the leopard his spots? then may ve also do good, that are accustomed to do evil.'

Ilya Ehrenburg Peglerizes America

scientist, but her anti-Slichter column is, for half its length, a glandular explosion.

"I'm not stunned," she writes, "I'm disgusted . . . it's false, it's harmful, it's damnable." (Damnable is also the last word in her column, and the first world of its title.) "Insidiously dangerous!" she says.

Then, pulling herself together, she gives five reasons why a "peace settlement with Russia" and the end of the cold war would help American economy. They are: (1) Demand for our goods from the Iron Curtain domain would pour in. (2) Billions of U.S. capital would then be willing to risk investment abroad. (3) We could spend billions on domestic economic improvement, schools, cancer research, etc., instead of on arms. (4) We could cut taxes. (5) We could turn technological progress toward peacetime uses.

Now, anyone should sympathize with Miss Porter's moral reaction (which alone is the motor of her economic rationalization). Highly moral liberal wishes, however, mix poorly with the realities of the social system which Miss Porter supports no less than Slichter. Her liberal morals extend only to condemning the consequences of capitalism.

Is it still possible for an enlightened economist, especially a liberal one, to fail to ask why the above five factors failed to provent a crash twenty years ago?

There was no Iron Curtain throttling off Eastern European demand. There was no such pressure as she points to now on American capital's timidity. Schools, cancer research, etc., ad infinitum, were just as needful and in demand. Taxes were down. Technological developments, having only peacetime uses beckoning them, were throttled or nibbled at.

But the wall came tumbling down and could not be put up again except in the form of war fortifications. It took the Second World War to restore prosperity. All that Slichter says is that the Third World War is even more effective, in advance.

Miss Porter challenges wrathfully: "Production for destruction, billions spent for goods that are useless except for killing. Since when is that 'a good thing'? Economically as well as socially, morally, politically?"

Miss Porter, especially as a New Dealer, ought to know "since when" the economic category of destruction has been known as a good thing. The AAA plowing-under of pigs and cotton is a small chip off the same block. Socially it was fantastic. Economically, as Porter could explain, it made sense-for a social system which produces crises in the midst of abundance.

Slichter's cold-war medicine is a far more efficient serum for the system. It does not ask that cotton be laboriously produced in order to be destroyed. It goes directly to the job. Its prosperity is based on goods which are produced for the SOLE purpose of destruction-of being themselves destroyed and, better yet, destroying other goods (lives too, but that's less important from the "narrow economic standpoint" of capitalism).

But Sylvia Porter is a liberal-which means that she wants many things we socialists want, and capitalism too. If Slichter is right, she would have to make a choice. Peace and plenty through socialism, or that bright spotlighted peak in the advancing night?



Subscription Rate: \$1.00 a Year; 50c for Six Months (\$1.25 and 65c for Canada and Foreign) Re-entered at Second-Class Matter, May 24, 1940, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1874.

But this afternoon he was to serve everyone a rare treat-he spoke in

the afternoon with the forenoon's thoughts. The result was not unexpected-he relegated himself to the background while the audience focused its attention on the other speakers. Eby pointed out that labor's PAC had been started at the top and the

UAW LOCAL 7 PAPER CALLS HOWE-WIDICK **BOOK 'MASTERPIECE'**

One of the most interesting reviews The UAW and Walter Reuther, by Irving Howe and B. J. Widick, has yet received appears in the latest issue of The Citadel, organ of Local 7. (Chrysler) of the United Auto Workers. An honest and critical discussion by Nick Digaetano, an old

union veteran whose record apparently goes back to the days of the IWW, it is in sharp contrast to the studied silence of the international UAW press with regard to the book. Digaetano begins his review with a discussion of the role of the IWW in trying to organize auto workers during the 1920s and criticizes The UAW and Walter Reuther for slighting its work. He details some of the efforts of the IWW and then continues: "Aside from the failure of commenting on the earlier historic forces at work in the auto union movement, the writers, Howe and Widick, do point up very effectively the role the UAW has played so far and, more interestingly, the possible potential influence of the UAW in leading the rest of the labor movement toward a better America."

He finds that "The writers' candid and lucid description of the Detroit setting of conflicting social forces, of dynamic economic forces, and of sterile cultural aspirations - is, truly a masterpiece of writing and understanding. . . . Howe and Widick have clearly and carefully described and documented the struggle. of the new industrial unionism."

A review in the Oakland (Calif.) Tribune says that the book provides "an excellent idea of why union leaders sometimes do what they are forced to do." Says the reviewer: "Unlike many books on labor, this is is interesting and pretends no 'pseudoobjectivity.'" A brief review synopsizing The UAW and Walter Reuther has also appeared in the Los Angeles Times.

SERIES OF CHICAGO LECTURES BY HOWE

INCLUDES RADIO FORUM, SYL MEETINGS

Chicago readers: Interested in the activities

FORUMS FOR NOVEMBER

Does America Face a Depression? (by Jack Ranger

The Social Significance of the Kinsey Report

of the Socialist Youth League?

Class Consciousness in America

Labor Action columnist)

(a round-table discussion)

The Meaning of the CIO Split

CHICAGO, Oct. 16-Following the successful symposium of the U. of C. Politics Club, Irving Howe was the guest of the Chicago Socialist Youth League at a house party the same evening. (Oct. 14). The affair was attended by about 70 members and friends of the SYL.

Later in the evening, a scheduled discussion was held on the subject of the Politics of Popular Culture. Speaking together with Howe were Reuel Denney, instructor in humanities at the U. of C., and Lewis Coser, former editor of Modern Review and now a social-science instructor at the university. A lively discussion ensued until midnight.

noon unit meeting of the SYL, Howe delivered a lecture on the Marxist theory of history to 35 members and friends of the Youth League. Later in the day he also spoke over Station WIND on the Chicago Forum of the Air, with Professor Kermit Eby and Willoughby Abner, education and political-action director of Region 4 of the PAC and leader of the first congressional district of the PAC (only existing PAC in Chicago). The subject was: Where Does Labor Go from Here Politically? While Eby defended the PAC policy of working within the Democratic Party, Abner and Howe strongly favored building an independent labor party.

Since we ourselves often have harsh words to say about fake "Americanism" and the seamy side of American life, and since we do not support American capitalism as against Russian totalitarianism, LABOR ACTION feels qualified to present the following for the 1949 award of the Westbrook Pegler Prize for Stupid Gutter Journalism.

These representative excerpts are from an article entitled "Americanism" by Ilya Ehrenburg in the Cominform organ, September 16. Among other things the English is guaranteed to be an exact reproduction of the text of the English edition of this Russian version of the Peglerites:

"At the words 'American way of life,' there comes to mind the peculiar but hardly attractive scenes of American life: towns which look exactly alike, people always in a hurry, drug stores with their food counters, tawdry gilt and glitter, dirt, stuffiness, 'coca cola' adverts, and the ideal laxative taken by Romeo and Juliet on the other side of the ocean to maintain spiritual balance . . .

"A questionnaire circulated recently among students in Wisconsin University asking what interested them most from studies, elicited answers like these: Sport because it is an honest business while the mental sphere is just plain humbug; Whiskey, good Scotch whiskey; Films with women vampires; Girl students only if there's whiskey about; Racing cars; How to make three hundred thousand dollars in three years; Absolutely nothing .

"In the 'Readers Digest' the Americanist reads the old, old story of how John married Mary and Jenny married Bill, how John made two hundred thousand dollars on potash, how Bill murdered John and how Jenny, after a Negro 'tried to rape her,' caught a 'Red' spy and bought a lovely villa in Florida.

"Real love is alien to the Americanist: he has no imagination. He repeats the radio advice of an expert on affairs of the heart. If the girl hesitates, the Americanist applies to the 'Jealousy' office where, for fifty dollars, he hires a beauty whose job, as alleged rival, is to make the girl jealous. Everything is mechanised: there is no place for thought, or sentiment . . .

"Where is their individuality? Where are their thoughts and sentiments? They go to idiotic films and are dazzled. They gulp five whiskies and get into a car with somebody else's wife. They listen to Mr. Acheson and to any other charlatan who advertises laxatives. They read only 'best sellers.' They are all alike. This is no human society, it is a herd of milling millions. . . .

"Americanism personifies vulgarity and arrogance, robots and chewing gum, fornication in an automobile and a Negro soaked in petrol; supermen who crush skulls, frame-up of Communists, hypocrisy and savagery, talk of peace and the atom bomb; it is greed, falsehood and fear. . . ."

The International Significance THE BRITISH POLITICAL SCENE IS PORTRAYED of the Tito-Stalin Fight

ing Trieste.

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RUTH FISCHER

HAL DRAPER

Author of Stalin and German Editor of Labor Action, former Communism, well - known leceditor of The New Internationturer and writer, recently real, author of many articles anaturned from Europe, includlyzing the Tito-Stalin fight.

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Page 4

AMA's Campaign Against 'Compulsory' Cal. ACLU Warns Against Witchhunt, Health Program Reeks of Hypocrisy

By KATE LEONARD

The reactionary American Medical Association has organized medical hypocrisy in the cause of income.

The AMA represents itself as making a sort of Custer's Last Stand for medicine, a free society and civilization. Reduced to its common denominator its reprehensible campaign means "Don't interfere with our revenue," but it is carried on in the name of the advancement of science and in the name of devotion to the "people" and the patient. This is accompanied with broad innuendos that the government is ambitious to compound pills and write prescriptions.

The entrenched medical interest does not yet stand alone, but that ithas been losing ground is clearly demonstrated by its retreat to advocacy of voluntary health insurance, which yesterday it met with all-out opposition; by the AMA's attempts to monopolize the voluntary plans: and by the very frenzy of its opposition to the Truman health proposals which call for more complete coverage for the population.

The AMA would have us believe that the Truman health plan is both "compulsory" and "socialized" medicine. "You can't have it both ways" would be a completely adequate answer to this cant, except for the simple truth that the Truman plan is neither compulsory nor socialized medicine.

This stupid and ridiculous charge is bolstered with slander against the British health service. (The British plan is more comprehensive than the Truman plan, but this does not make it socialized medicine. One of its achievements in the past year was to supply 8.359 artificial limbs and 7.226 artificial eyes, substitutes no doubt for 8,359 arms and legs amputated and 7,226 eyes gouged out in World War II and in industrial accidents. (Under socialism, doctors will lose this type of bulk practice.) This charge is meat only for men of the ilk of Dewey and Senator John J. McClellan, Arkansas Dixiecrat,

The AMA has been instructed by Senator Lister Hill that "mere attack on socialized medicine is not enough." Perhaps because it realizes the impotence of this approach, the AMA does not put all its eggs in one basket.

The "compulsory" medicine charge is more insidious. It is linked to the retreat to the trenches of voluntary health insurance, the alternative now offered to national health insurance. The AMA proposes the extension of the voluntary plans under AMA control and has been working fast to solidify its position in the voluntary projects.

The AMA and 15 local societies are ment of Justice. These include 13 state and county medical societies affiliated with the AMA, one Blue Cross-Blue Shield plan and one Blue Shield plan. This list does not include three medical societies investigated earlier, against one of which there is a civil suit already instituted.

plained this intervention by the antitrust division of the Department of Justice by stating that this action follows "complaints from doctors and the general public charging the AMA exams. and certain other medical associations with conspiring to restrain and monopolize the prepaid medical plans not conducted under their sponsorship and operated in competition with plans controlled by them."

REGIMENTATION BOGY

The AMA's program is sloganized: "The voluntary way is the American way," and by the same reasoning, the national health plan is "compulsory," state medicine, and terribly un-American. Labeling the national healthinsurance plan "government-controlled" medicine does more than insinuate that government officials are ambitious to practice medicine without a license: It harks back to the theory that "the best government is the one that governs least," certainly a recurring if discredited theme in American political thought. It tries to spread the onus attached to regimentation in the public mind to a proposal to make medical care available to the people.

It is important to point out that the AMA does not call the national health plan "compulsory health insurance" because it fears medical regimentation for the patients, nor do they call it compulsory health insurance because the insurance features of the national plan call for financing by a payroll tax of 11/2 per cent to be paid both by employers and workers; but because under the plan physicians would be paid by the government for services extended far beyond what it is possible to insure under any voluntary plan, and it thereby reduces the physician's field for "private enterprise."

If this does not too much concern the society doctor and the financially top-flight men, it really hurts those physicians who are doing better than quite well under the present system. This group is the backbone of the AMA's opposition, the cadre in the \$3,000,000 campaign. Industry has not sons protested loudly against the payrolldeduction proposal. The opposition comes from the AMA, politicians under their influence, and the "economy" boys who would cut the budget only at the point of social services, and who try to make this palatable with clichés like "we are for a state of welfare, but not for a wel-

fare state." To criticize the plan because it would withhold a tax from the worker's wage is criticism from the left, something the AMA could not dream of They are currently dering what is so offensive about a means test. The AMA is for contributory health insurance. "All" they ask is that it be limited and controlled by them.

Attorney General McGrath has ex- compulsory medicine. It has been with us always, and doctors to a man recommend it, urge its extension, and participate in it at least from the day they pass their state board

> There is no way except by law in any organized community to handle such problems as epidemic, immunization, etc. It is perhaps worthwhile to point out that where vaccination is ordered by law, the doctors and not the city fathers designate the serum to be used. Sanitation measures and pure - food - and - drug acts fit nicely into the category of compulsory medicine. Public health measures are in

> essence compulsory medicine. It is significant that one of the problems receiving wide attention from the medical profession at this time is the need to extend public health services not only to improve maternal and child health, or the care of the mentally ill, but into fields such as the chronic illnesses which are becoming more important because the population is becoming older, and because the fight to reduce and eradicate communicable disease has made progress.

The Truman health proposals are not compulsory medicine. The national health bill, in addition to the insurance feature, would grant federal subsidies for medical schools. for local health units, for hospital construction, and for rural doctors. It is a proposal to make medical care available to the people. If the health act becomes law and an operating plan, it would be possible not only to pay a doctor for his services and a hospital for its care, but it would make it possible to find a doctor and a hospital to go to-no mean consideration for large sections of the population and great areas of the country.

Of the babies born in South Caroline, 34.4 per cent are ushered into the world, not in a Fair Deal package, but by a midwife or a kind neighbor. The infant mortality rate in New Mexico in 1946 was 89.1 per 1,000 live births. Mississippi has 1.8 hospital beds per 1,000 population, and one physician for every 1,784 per-

VOLUNTARISM INADEQUATE It is known that the British people flocked to their service for badly needed medical care as soon as they saw a way to finance such care. During the first year, 41,200,000 patients were treated by physicians; 8,500,000 persons had their teeth fixed; 8,359 artificial limbs, 7,226 artificial eyes, 21,345 surgical boots were supplied, not to mention the much calumniated spectacles. There is a comparable need in the U.S. and the same response could be expected. However, it would be correct to welcome more "regimentation" in the field of health than is provided for in a plan to make "available" competent medical care. Health "regimentation" of this sort is something we are apt to get too. little of. The real regimenters have a penchant for other types.

The AMA's inadequate alternative to national health insurance has been contrasted frequently and in great detail to the national health act. The federal health plan calls for complete medical service by a family physician of the patient's choice, specialist service, hospital care, laboratory and X-ray service, unusually expensive medicines and appliances, to be financed by payroll taxes.

The case against the voluntary plans has been stated as follows by Dr. Ernest P. Boas, chairman of the Physicians Forum (1) They do not offer comprehensive coverage. (2) The cost of comprehensive coverage under voluntary plans would be prohibitive for people in the lowerincome groups and many in the higher-income brackets. (3) The plans would be unable to fulfill their functions in times of unemployment. (4) In those voluntary plans which operate with large panels of physicians compensated by the fee-for-service method there is lack of control of the quality of care provided. (5) Government subsidy to voluntary plans for care of the indigent or the medically indigent would result in widespread application of the means test.

As recently as October 26, Margaret Klem of the U.S. Public Health Service estimated that in 1947 less than 10 per cent of the total family expenditures for medical care were covered through voluntary health insurance for those families carrying such insurance, since these plans tend to concentrate on alleviating the burden of surgical-hospitalized illness. This is how these two alternatives shape up. Health insurance is today a political football, with the AMA responsible for bringing its own kind of dirty politics into this picture. National health insurance offers a workable solution at the present time for meeting people's need for medical care.

Offers Legal Protection to Victims By GORDON HASKELL The moral is don't talk about anything at lunch except, perhaps, the

originally over Siberia.

weather. And even then be careful

when you say the weather is fine, be-

cause investigation may establish

that the fine weather is due to some

high-pressure area which formed

Several people were charged with

having belonged to the Communist

Party or some Stalinist front organ-

ization. They were dismissed even

though their membership had merely

been for from two to six months and

had terminated as long as ten or fif-

teen years ago. The fact that some of

these people had left the Communist

Party in disgust and since then had

belonged to organizations which ac-

tively combat the ideology of the

Communist Party, did not save them.

I think this last point should pro-

vide food for thought to those of you

who may still believe that the cur-

rent governmental attack on the

Communist Party is justified by the

totalitarian nature and ideology of

that organization. Independent soci-

alists, who are adamant opponents of

Stalinism and everything for which

it stands, insist that the only way to

combat this vicious organization and

its ideology without establishing to-

The American Civil Liberties Union of Northern California has just issued its annual report for 1948-49 and it makes interesting reading. (You can get it from the ACLU office in San Francisco, 461 Market Street, for 10 cents.)

It is entitled "Cold War on the Home Front." The first section of the report deals with a number of cases of federal employees in Northern California who have been persecuted under the president's loyalty order of March 21, 1947. None of the cases have involved acts against the government, and almost all of them resulted from charges based on the alleged association of the government employee with Stalinists or Stalinist organizations.

A review of the cases handled by the Civil Liberties Union is a convincing indictment of the character of the federal loyalty program, and even more so of the arbitrary and vicious procedure under which it is carried out.

For instance, a stenographer in the Public Housing Administration was accused of comparing the United States unfavorably with Russia, and of subscribing to the Daily People's World, a Stalinist publication. The FBI, which supposedly prepares the accusations on the basis of a careful investigation, slipped up on only one point. This little point was that the mailman had never delivered the Daily People's World to the employee.

SOME CASES IN POINT

Another case involves a mechanic who got into lunch-hour discussions at his shop; and is now charged with expressing "Communistic" views, and with sympathetic association with four persons alleged to be Communists. His only contact with these people was that he met them once or twice at tenants' council meetings at the project where he resides.



(Continued from page 1) .

vention floor. A committee on offithis is not enough, the convention cers' reports included Murray's sharp will also hear General Omar Bradley attack on the CP as part of their re-Wednesday afternoon. All of which port. Whereupon a spokesman for should be sad news to the European the Fur Workers Union took the milabor movements looking for help from the CIO against Stalinist and crophone and quietly, with an intent Wall Street imperialism. The fact audience listening, denied the charges. that two top officials from Washing-Then Walter Reuther, as acting chairman, took the vote, and the officers' ton, whose role in another war would be decisive, are main speakers here, report was adopted by overwhelming indicates how deeply the CIO leadership has involved itself in the war

Monday afternoon also, the convention gave Tean Acheson, secretary of state, a standing ovation, and listened to the lecture he delivered on the subject of a "Fair Deal" to the people of the world as a real alterna-

talitarianism in America is to subject it to free and open discussion, and to confront it with a program and an ideology which is its superior in every respect, that of democratic socialism. Whether or not you agree with this

proposition, the procedure of the loyalty boards shows that they are not solely or even primarily concerned with prosecuting active members of the Stalinist movement. They are concerned with prosecuting anyone who shows, or who has shown at any time in the past, that he or she is critical of capitalist society in America. They are concerned with creating an atmosphere of terror-I use the word advisedly-in which people

stamp, and that includes the United

by Murray in his major speech to-

day. Here is "God's angry man," puz-

zled, irritated and impatient with

events and political forces that dis-

turb the old ways and old days. Mur-

ray was bitter at the fact that "de-

cent American labor is caught be-

tween dictatorships and totalitarian-

ism, like, Wall Street and the Com-

munist Party." He denounced both,

The tone of this convention was set

Auto Workers too.

tive to "Communist promises." As if give the whole CIO the Murray

who begin to question the justice and adequacy of capitalist society dare not express their views, either publicly or privately, for fear of reprisals.

ACLU OFFERS PROTECTION

Just to nail this down so that even the most hardened apologists of our government can't doubt that such are their intentions, the Senate has just refused to confirm the reappointment of Leland Olds for a third term as a member of the Federal Power Commission.

It seems that years ago Olds hadwritten some articles which criticized capitalism in its fundamentals. It makes no difference that since then he has been a loyal servant of our capitalist government. The Senate wants it to be known by all that only those who have never shown a moment's hesitation in their full-hearted approval and endorsement of the control of our national wealth by a handful of corporations are fit to hold public office.

In many of the cases of federal loyalty proceedings, and in others which you will find in the report, the Civil Liberties Union was able to intervene on behalf of the employees to get rehearings or to get the decisions reversed. The whole atmosphere which surrounds these hearings is such that many are thrown out of their jobs and have a permanent mark against their names simply because they don't know their legal rights, or because they don't approach attorneys or organizations who are willing and able to help them.

Another item of interest dealt with in this report is the illegal and harassing tactics employed by the FBI. For a long time now there has been an extensive campaign in the press and magazines of the country to glorify the FBI and to convince America that this agency is in fact one of the finest American institutions. As the FBI operates with the utmost secrecy and, as it were, in the dark of night, millions of citizens who have never been honored by its attention are prone to believe the myth that the FBI is fundamentally different from the late unlamented Gestapo or the Russian MVD (formerly GPU). Now, it's true that the FBI's operations are different in degree from those of its sister organizations in totalitarian countries. We don't have a police state in America, yet. But it operates on the same principles and with similar tactics.

C*

For instance, the ACLU reports that a New York woman recently visiting San Francisco was continually harassed by FBI agents questioning her, not about herself but about some of her friends. They lost interest when the woman secured the Civil

The compulsory charge is hypocrisy twice compounded. Doctors are not, and never have been, opposed to

Hoffman - -

(Continued from page 1)

raised a curious doubt in their minds, because they are fully aware that successful participation in the world markets now available to the capitalist world means either to obtain access to them at the expense of America's dominant world position, or to break into Great Britain's Commonwealth monopoly of trade.

At the time of this writing it is too early to tell yet what the total reception to Hoffman's proposal is, but already the conflict between France, Belgium and Italy on the one hand and Great Britain on the other has been felt in their reception of the suggestion for union. The French find the British to be their competitors and will not agree to any proposition which will hinder their competitive position in relation to the empire.

HOW ABOUT TARIFFS?

In addition, the implication of Hoffman's speech-that aid has been given on the basis of a prior agreement of the Western powers to "integrate" their economies-is rejected by them. They insist that no such agreement or understanding ever existed and that no such conditions accompanied the acceptance of Marshall Plan aid. It was interesting to note that Hoffman said nothing to this conference

ECA report in the United States about the necessity of removing the existing heavy tariffs of the U.S. to ance with Europe.

"magnanimous" with the bankrupt

Even more tragic is the fact that there is not one iota of real discussion of these political questions and policies at the convention. The Stalinists seldom attend the sessions, and no one else has even taken the floor -at least as yet.

Further indication of the political climate in the top CIO is shown in the applause given to Murray when he mentioned the support by the CIO of the Marshall Plan and the Atlantic Pact, without so much as a word of criticism of any kind on these policies.

UNDISPUTED BOSS

machine.

There is little evidence of the early crusading spirit of the CIO here. The heat of the great strike struggles of 1937-38 is gone. Even the present steel strike cannot hide the fact that a kind of complacency and self-satisfaction exists in the now permanently established CIO bureaucracy. Whatever opposition might exist, at least in the eyes of many of the leaders of CIO unions, will be gone before the week is over. And there is a real impatience here to get it over with.

This convention is set in the mold of the Steel Workers' convention. Philip Murray is undisputed boss. No resolution, no constitutional amendment, no action on this convention floor will be taken or approved without his OK. This is as true behind the scenes as it is on the vast stage at the front of the convention. Discussion will be handled along his lines. Murray will decide who speaks and when. And after this convention, the organizational measures outlined for approval here will

"diabolical, subversive Communists." What answer does Murray give to this dilemma? His description of the situation is accurate. For the CIO leaders at this convention, one part of this dilemma is easy to solve: expel the Stalinists and any unions they dominate. It is, as events will demonstrate, hardly an effective answer. For Stalinism is far too powerful on a world scale to be vanquished any-

where by bureaucratic decree or or-

ganizational divorce. The delegates who see the small, miserable and desperate Stalinist group here as the whole problem just don't know anything about Stalinism and the shrewder CIO leaders like Walter Reuther might be able to tell them. And it will be very interesting to see if Reuther does say anything different from Murray's denunciation of "communism."

WILL THEY FACE UP?

What about Wall Street? Murray rages at the failure of the manufacturers and bankers to "live up to their public responsibilities." But his strictures are in vain. Wall Street knows its own class interests quite thoroughly and needs no advice from him.

Thus this convention gives every indication of continuing the blind and short-sighted policies which have featured the recent history of the CIO. The "New Men of Power," as C. Wright Mills so aptly described the new trade-union bureaucracy, remain men without much vision, unable to face up to the major tests of today.

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with special blows reserved for the Liberties Union's assistance.

And as the FBI is going to be harassing and bullying more and more people, here's a word of advice. If they ever start bothering you, get in touch with the ACLU at once. It is your legal right to do so, and as the FBI operates in these matters illegally, or at least extra-legally, all that is needed to cool them off if you are innocent of any crime is to let them know that you are going to seek legal protection.

Rights Cases Up To Supreme Court

Symptomatic of the times, a host of civil-liberties cases face the Supreme Court as it sits down for its 1949-50 term, most of them arising from the government's crackdown on democracy in the last couple of years. Here's what labor and all progressives will keep their eye on:

The Steel Workers Union and the American Communications Association (both CIO) are challenging the constitutionality of the Taft-Hartley anti-Communist affidavits.

Also before the court is the T-H ban on closed shops.

John L. Lewis' United Mine Workers are appealing from the monstrous fines levied against them in 1948, as a result of the coal strike.

Two of the Hollywood writers who refused to tell the Un-American Committee whether they belong to the Communist Party, and who were convicted of contempt of Congress, are petitioning for a review of their cases.

There is the case of a Negro student who wants to enter the University of Texas Law School, There is also the case of a Negro student at the University of Oklahoma who was admitted but who was forced to hear lectures in a room adjoining that in which the white-skinned class sat. Finally, there is now the case of the eleven Communist Party leaders convicted in Judge Medina's court, which will undoubtedly make its way to the Supreme Court though probably not at this session.

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The last two appointments to the high bench-Clark and, to a somewhat lesser extent, Minton - augur little good for decisions favorable to civil liberties and labor. Both were appointed by the man whose re-election in 1948 caused the CIO and AFL to cheer vociferously.

Bell Strikers Back (Continued from page 1) The most significant aspect of the to be designated as "poor security settlement is this: Bell Aircraft Corour leadership? The giving up of our risks." Category 3 is composed of poration has failed to repeat the Naunion leaders and rank - and - filers

economic weapon, the strike, will weaken us in the battles still to be fought before the fact-finding board and in the courts.

READY TO CONTINUE

The problem boiled down to an estimate of the strike potential. Could the local hold out for a better settlement? Those for the proposal said no. Those against the proposal said yes. Before the union meeting had even begun, the local newspapers ran ' banner headlines: "Bell Strike Settlement Reached." The radio announced jubilantly: "It's all over." The company sent 300 telegrams to various workers to return to work the next day-if the union voted to return.

The debate on the proposal in the union meeting was an unusual one. Neither side was split along previous factional lines. Neither side deprecated the other. The question was vigorously argued on the issues. The result was that the union voted by secret ballot to return to work, 618 to 373.

The large minority vote is particularly significant in the light of the fact that-in addition to all the external pressures of 128 days without pay, police terror, jail sentences and company-hired scabs-members were faced with an honest division of opinion among their respected leaders on a non-factional basis. People on both sides of the argument had demonstrated their militancy during the course of the strike. Neither side took the view that the vote on the factfinding proposal would mean an end to the fight with Bell Aircraft. The men went back to work ready to continue the struggle.

tional Carbon formula; it has failed who are accused by the company of to destroy Local 501 of the IJAW But the Bell Corporation has not ceased its war against the union. There are three areas of conflict-(1) the shop; (2) the fact-finding board; (3) the courts.

The corporation has begun recalling men as fast as it can. It is not being too careful to recall men in strict compliance with the recall provisions of the union contract. In further violation of the union contract, the company is attempting to hamper stewards in the handling of grievances

THREE BATTLES AHEAD

On the other hand, members of 501 have sauntered back to their work benches, greeted their fellow union members-and shouted to the foreman to "remove that scab from my line of vision."

Several fist fights have broken out inside the plant, instigated by scabs who tried to force returning workers to speak to them. No 501 member will speak to a scab. It is clear that there will be a battle for some time to come inside the Bell plant. Local 501 is willing and ready to take on its share.

The second area is the hearings before the fact-finding board. By far the most important part of this fight for the future of the local is the dispute over the 22 leaders who have been locked out by the corporation. The company has divided these men into three categories. Category 1 is composed of men whom the army has designated "poor security risks" and who were formerly working on a "restricted" basis in the plant. Category 2 is composed of union leaders whom the company alleges OUGHT

having participated in violence during the strike. The union's position on this guestion is that all these men should be returned to work immediately and that the fact-finding board has no basis for denying men employment on these grounds. The union charges that the various "categories" are

smokescreen reasons for eliminating the heart of the leadership of the union. The third area of conflict is in the

courts. Here we find a continuation of the most blatant and vicious collusion between the company and the law-enforcement agencies. Some 63 men are faced with 144 court charges with possible combined sentences of 350 years in prison and fines amounting to \$300,000. The company continues to prosecute the false charges to the hilt. Company stooges are giv-

ing the testimony. Already 21 members and friends of the union have been declared guilty in a farcical trial on contempt of court for violation of an injunction. They face possible \$250 fines and 30day jail sentences. The president of Local 501 faces six separate charges and the possibility of more than 10 years' imprisonment and \$11,000 in fines, if convicted.

The American labor movement cannot afford to stand by and watch members of 501 and their friends railroaded to jail. Among the defendants are twelve women, most of them wives of union members, whose only "crime" was to help their husbands in trying to stop a companyinstigated back - to - work movement whose objective was to smash their union. Now, even more than during the actual strike itself, the need for militant and united labor support to the Bell workers is necessary.

about the proposal he made in his

permit Europe to trade on an equal footing in this country with American manufacturers. This proposal followed logically from a report which established what socialists have said for many years: that a good part of the fat of American capitalism and its profits have come from the previously mentioned \$101 billion in favorable foreign-trade bal-

If American capitalism has been European powers, then it is due, without doubt, to the fact that American capitalism has been feeding at the European trough to the disadvantage of continental capitalism and, most important of all, of the working class of Europe.

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