

LABOR ACTION

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FIVE CENTS

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Czech CP Told To Toe Line — Or Else . . .

By GORDON HASKELL

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia is moving ahead to complete Russification. No Czech or Slovakian Stalinist is to be spared who at any time has shown the slightest tendency to criticize the Russian masters.

Vladimir Clementis, until recently foreign minister, will find no mercy, regardless of his recent confession of "error." This was made plain by his successor in office, Viliam Siroky, in a speech delivered to the closing session of the congress of the Slovak branch of the party.

Only complete, lifelong, unthinking subservience to Stalin can qualify any Czech or Slovak for high political office. Listen to Siroky speaking, with reference to Clementis:

"But to fall in 1939 when the non-aggression pact between the Soviet Union and Germany was concluded was to lose faith in the Soviet Union. It means that Comrade Clementis lost his faith in Stalin. But a Communist must have unconditional faith in the Soviet Union and in the Great Stalin in every situation and under all circumstances."

But in this same speech Siroky himself made a further statement which may, one day, be used against him. In an attack on Smidke, leader of the Slovak branch, Siroky stated that Smidke had not been charged with bourgeois nationalism "only because he is of working-class origin, because he was graduated from the Lenin school in Moscow and because the party made a great investment in him."

That is pretty serious talk for a Stalinist inquisitor. Of course everyone understands that if poor Smidke were, in fact, to be charged with bourgeois nationalism, all the above-mentioned investment would have to be buried either in the salt mines or under six feet of Czechoslovak soil. There's no getting around that in Stalinland.

But at the same time Siroky can be charged with lack of faith in the methods of the Russian GPU and its Great Inspirer, Stalin, who has thus buried hundreds of graduates of the Lenin school and who has cashed in the checks on so many similar investments of the Russian party that he is sometimes also known as the Great Liquidator.

Smith and McCarthy

Gerald L. K. (Kiss-of-Death) Smith has given the accolade to Senator McCarthy. The would-be fascist foecher filed with a Senate subcommittee a pamphlet he has written entitled "Treason in Washington Exposed by Sen. McCarthy."

UAW's Contract Victory at GM Marks a Turning Point

Times' Chief Says U. S. Hated by Europe, Asia

Dislike for Americans and the U. S. government is increasing rapidly abroad. As arrogant rulers over foreign nations, as the rich man who is willing to help his poor relatives only if they do as he says, as a prop for reactionary governments without support or influence in their own countries, the American government is stimulating hatred everywhere.

The above is the main conclusion of an article appearing in the New York Times for May 31 by C. L. Sulzberger, its chief foreign correspondent.

These feelings of dislike and resentment, he says, are not merely the product of the constant and powerful Stalinist propaganda barrage, as so many apologists have claimed. Rather the Stalinist ideological offensive against the United States, which is to be sure made in the interests of the Kremlin totalitarians, is effective because America's role throughout the world is felt by both the common people and even by the ruling groups in much of Asia and Europe to have a good deal of truth in its description of American foreign policy as reactionary and imperialist.

Sulzberger draws an instructive parallel between the feelings of masses of the people of the world towards British imperialism during the heyday of the British Empire and their feelings towards the United States now. The British Empire during the last two centuries was powerful, arrogant and hated. Throughout the Far East America is assuming more and more the role which a weakened Britain has been forced to abandon. The peoples of the East, struggling for their independence, both political and economic, from the industrialized nations of the West, feel more and more that American policy stands in the way of their aspirations.

OCCUPATION IS HATED

Under one guise or another Americans are an occupying power in Western Germany, Austria, Trieste, Okinawa and Japan. They live in requisitioned houses and hotels, work in requisitioned offices, eat in restaurants and clubs which are off limits for the people of the occupied countries. They flout their wealth in the

face of the impoverished people. And the racial prejudices so widespread among the military personnel is a special irritant among the peoples of the East.

Everywhere they demand that the national governments line up with America in the cold war as the price of economic aid. In India and other Eastern countries, and increasingly in Western Germany and even in France, neither the ruling classes nor the common people are convinced that their best interests will be served by joining the American war camp. Sentiment for neutrality is strong and growing. It is Sulzberger who gives us to understand this.

One of the chief complaints in Asia against American support for completely discredited ruling classes. This led to the disaster for American policy in China, and is well on the way to leading to a similar disaster in Indochina as well. Even the anti-

(Turn to last page)

Labor Zionists Here For New Labor Party

The setting up of a third party, composed of the American Federation of Labor, the Congress of Industrial Organizations and organized liberal forces in the United States was proposed last Sunday, May 28, at the convention of the Labor Zionist Organizations of America in Boston.

Mendel Kochanski, vice-chairman of the New York Council, presented this proposal in the report of the organization's National American Affairs Committee.

"The growing participation of organized labor in the political life of the country and the consid-

Anti-Semitism

The American Jewish Congress has denounced an article written by the Catholic Bishop of Teruel, Spain, in a Franco Falangist newspaper, which, says the AJC president, is "virtually an exhortation to religious war upon the Jews."

But 5-Year Feature Dangerous

By WALTER JASON

DETROIT, Mich., May 27—A turning point in UAW-CIO history was marked by the extraordinary contract signed last week by General Motors and the union, which directly affects 275,000 workers. The contract, an unexpected and welcome victory, may best be understood if analyzed from the standpoint of (1) the circumstances in which the contract was negotiated; (2) its immediate effects; (3) and the long range implications and ramifications.

The peace pact came at a time when GM workers were in a conservative mood, due partly to the dread of another long strike. The Chrysler 100-day strike served to remind them of the 1946 walk-out of 113 days. No one relished the idea of a long strike and major sacrifices for the thin results of the Chrysler settlement. The GM workers lacked confidence in the Reuther leadership to get much more. In many locals, especially in the Flint-Saginaw area, anti-Reuther groups had won union elections.

For the Reuther leadership, the GM settlement came at a moment when its prestige was ebbing rapidly, it wasn't too sure of what events might occur in the next period, and it faced an unfavorable public press hitherto unknown in its 4 years of rule of the UAW-CIO. Critics as far apart as the New York Times and the Daily Worker ridiculed Reuther's claim of a "tremendous victory" at Chrysler. Within the union, the bitterness and confusion over the Chrysler strike was evident to all. As for the Toledo story,

the invitation of Ford Local 600 to both Richard Gosser, UAW vice president, and his critics, to appear before the largest local union in the world to tell their side, indicates how deeply suspicion has permeated the union ranks. The committee headed by Emil Mazey, secretary-treasurer, simply hasn't the prestige to sell its verdict to the ranks.

UAW FACED CRISIS

Both the UAW, as a whole, and the Reuther leadership, faced a deep-rooted crisis, at the critical stage of General Motors negotiations. For the Reuther leadership a settlement better than Chrysler or Ford became an imperative necessity, no matter what the mood of the ranks.

General Motors likewise faced a dilemma. It was making fabulous profits with record-breaking production. The auto industry may well exceed the 8,000,000 total of vehicles produced in 1949! It could take on the UAW-CIO in a head-on fight like Chrysler and seek further to tame the union, even if it ended up with a settlement similar to, or perhaps a little better than the Chrysler pact.

(Turn to last page)



See Truman Manipulating Cold War to Avert Crash

In their issue of May 26, the editors of the well-informed U. S. News & World Report ask and answer the question: Why is Truman so cocky about the prospects of continued U. S. prosperity? Their answer is interesting. Truman, or rather the advisors upon whom he depends, has a formula, they say. It's been in operation for quite a while—it's not something projected for the future.

U. S. prosperity is regulated by the cold war.

Here it is in their own words, in the telegraphic style affected in the magazine:

"Government planners figure they have found the magic formula for almost endless good times. They now are beginning to wonder if there may not be something in perpetual motion after all.

"The formula, as the planners figure it, can work this way:

"Rising money supply, rising population are ingredients of good times. Cold war is the automatic pump primer. Turn a spigot, and the public clamors for more arms spending. Turn another, the clamor eases.

"A little deflation, unemployment, signs of harder times, and the spigot is turned to the left. Money flows out, money supply rises, activity revives.

"Good times come back, boom signs of shortages, speculation and the spigot is turned to the right. Cold war talk is eased. Economy is proposed. Money is tightened a little by tighter rein on government-guaranteed credit, by use of devices in other fields. Things tend to calm down, to stabilize.

"That's the formula in use. It's been working fairly well to date. ... Cold war demands, if fully exploited, are almost limitless. ...

"Coolidge era of the 1920s was an era of expanding private credit. It blew up when private creditors got frightened over excesses and ran for cover. Mr. Truman is told that the Truman era, based on public credit, can be longer lived, more stable, less subject to sudden upset."

It should be noted that there are two elements in the above theory. One is the element of the Fair

Featherbeds

Featherbedding, the railroad union paper Labor points out, is okay with the anti-labor crowd when it's the people who are the victims.

At Tuscaloosa, Ala., the organized dentists blocked the city health department's plan to treat local school children's teeth with sodium fluoride to prevent decay. "Socialized medicine," they yelled. Some Tuscaloosans suspect it's because there'll be fewer jobs for dentists if the children grow up with sound teeth.

At Charleston, W. Va., a 55-year-old man suffered a stroke. His doctor called one hospital after another. Not one would take in this emergency case: the "case" had no money and the doctor was not one of the insiders at the hospital. He finally got treatment at a veteran's hospital—a war veteran.

In the same city a woman was bleeding to death from a knife wound. No hospital would take her in till the city health department promised to pay her bill.

In Washington, D. C., the bar association voted down a proposal to set up a marital relations counsel system such as is reported to have worked well in Detroit and other cities in the prevention of divorce. The lawyers said it would be "socialized law." And what's the good of being a lawyer if divorce cases, one of the most profitable branches of the profession, decline?

Deal's semi-conspiratorial use of the cold war as a spigot; the other is the objective connection between government cold-war spending and the present peculiar type of Truman prosperity.

The former is the more shaky theory, of course; although it must be added that the National Council Against Conspiration has also insistently pointed to the signs of a deliberate and systematic use of cold war scares, manipulated from Washington, to achieve administrative objectives.

In any case, on much firmer grounds are the intermingled comments indicating how, with or

OHIO LABOR NOTES

General Electric Workers Vote For CIO Against Rival Union

By JOE HAUSER

CLEVELAND, May 29 — Last Thursday, General Electric workers here went to the polls to determine their preference in union representation and, as in most other parts of the country, more workers chose the newly chartered IUE-CIO than the Stalinist controlled UE. Almost all the GE workers in this area were organized in the old UE Local 707, whose leadership consistently reflected the national party-liners.

About two years ago the pro-CIO opposition took over the local leadership, although their hold has not been too secure. In the recent split, the local membership voted to join the IUE, and the Stalinists retorted with lawsuits and other forms of obstructionism. A long knock-down fight has led up to this election.

The General Electric plants in Cleveland are spread over three or four separate areas and within each area there are different units and buildings. In what must have been a rather deliberate desire to make the situation as confusing as possible, GE succeeded in having the smallest possible groupings considered as units for the election purpose. Thus, while close to all the 3500 GE workers here are in the jurisdiction of Local 707, there were 23 units for representation purposes, with some units containing less than a dozen workers.

In the pre-election campaign, UE poured in a large number of full-time organizers, and they seem to have concentrated on some of the smaller units. The local IUE leadership under President David Fitzmaurice carried on a pretty good campaign, holding itself to sound trade union issues. As seems to have happened in other areas, they simply didn't use the red-baiting material issued by IUE national headquarters. There was so much intense factional fighting before the election that there was some fear that many workers would vote for "No union." Actually there was surprisingly little of this vote, and a very high percentage did participate.

The following summary will give some idea of the strength of the two forces: twelve units containing 1566 workers voted for IUE, five units with 982 workers voted for UE, and runoffs will be necessary in six units with 902 workers. The "popular" vote was approximately 1860 IUE, 1185 UE and 125 no union.

GM CONTRACT REACTION

Workers in the five General Motors plants in the Cleveland area were debating the merits of the new contract obtained by the UAW-CIO this week. While all the details are not known and will

probably not be revealed until local delegates return from the union's GM conference, enough was spelled out by the newspapers to enable some preliminary discussions. Most workers were as surprised as the general public at the sudden announcement, as all negotiations were conducted in secret, with no substantial reports being made to the locals.

The writer can only report on first-hand reactions at one plant here, the largest one. The first feeling was one of relief that there was no longer any danger of a strike; the Chrysler experience was not desired. The pension plan, with the \$117 top exceeding the Ford and Chrysler plans, and the annual wage increases were received very well, as was the extra 40 hours' vacation pay for 15-year employees. The fly in the ointment was the five-year contract and, to some extent, the escalator clause (the local pro-Stalinist leadership had conducted a steady propaganda drive on this issue since the signing of the 1948 contract).

It is true that many workers were willing to take the five years in turn for the concessions granted and some even expressed pleasure over the "stability" promised. Most of the more union-conscious workers were really concerned over the length of the new contract and were willing to oppose it on that basis. The membership will probably hear the full details and vote on ratification next week-end.

Some, of course, are still unregenerate. GM Chairman Sloan answered a request for making stockholders' meetings more accessible with: "I would rather have them [GM's officers] play golf than travel around the country to attend regional meetings." And American Tobacco's Chairman Riggio told his stockholders at a meeting that he was weary of their nonsensical questions and that they should come see him in his New York office if they wanted to talk business.

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MICHIGAN LABOR NOTES

Union Uprising over Gosser Simmers in an Uneasy Peace

By JIMMIE LITTLE

DETROIT, May 27—The UAW (CIO) intra-union uprising in Toledo has settled down into an uneasy peace. Both factions traced what amounted to an armed truce over the week-end.

The Toledo rebellion against Richard T. Gosser, a UAW vice-president, began last week allegedly when twelve women office employees of the dues-collecting office of Local 12, second largest local in the UAW, left their jobs in protest of what they described as "Gosser's dictatorial methods."

It has been pointed out, however, that the action last week merely constituted the first open rebellion of Local 12 members as it has been pending since last year when John Bolman, a Local 12 member, brought three court suits against Gosser, the first being a petition for an injunction giving him the right to inspect the local's books; the second charging Gosser made huge profits by the mishandling of the local's funds; and the third to restrain Gosser from selling the Toledo Industrial Union Council Building, now occupied by that organization, which is headed by Richard L. Lazette and owned by the Local 12 holding company.

Local 12 is comprised of 125 units which total an estimated 30,000 members. Upon the request of Lazette, Walter P. Reuther, president of the UAW, last week sent an investigating committee to the city to probe the disturbance. It was headed by Emil Mazey, UAW-CIO secretary-treasurer, and Edward Cote, co-director of Region 7A of the UAW.

Thursday evening Mazey is reported to have stated that they had been presented no evidence of mishandling of funds by Gosser. Friday evening a membership meeting to air the dispute was held, after which the twelve striking office workers refused to return to their jobs in compliance with a resolution adopted by the gathering. Mazey was charged with "whitewashing" Gosser, and Harold Billheimer, chairman of the Toledo Scale Co. unit of the local, petitioned for a personal hearing of the issue by Reuther, which Reuther has granted.

Last Monday evening Billheimer and Carl Schick, chairman of the Dana Corporation unit of Local 12, were beaten by an assailant whom they identified as Orville Beemer, Ohio director of the CIO Political Action Committee, and a Gosser aide. Schick sustained a broken nose; Billheimer a black eye and bruises. Bolman, according to reports, was also hospitalized shortly after his initiation of the Gosser suits, as a result of beatings by what he charges were "Gosser goons."

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JIM CROW HIRING

In a protest letter to the personnel managers of several Detroit plants, Edward M. Turner, president of the Detroit NAACP, declared that present employment practices indicate that discrimination is being practiced in the hiring of personnel. Mr. Turner's protest followed complaints lodged with the NAACP during the past week, some of whom reported that, at some plants, they were hiring as many as 300 applicants before they would hire a single Negro.

One applicant in telling his story to the NAACP declared that at one of the Briggs plants, 150 white men were hired to one Negro on Tuesday, May 16. On another day, 300 white men were hired before a single Negro applicant was hired, although there were hundreds of Negroes seeking employment. The complainant witnessed considerable discrimination at the Dodge plant, and at this plant Negroes were told that they were only rehiring old employees, yet a number of whites who had never worked there before were being employed. Reports indicate that while women are being hired at Chrysler while Negro women are being refused employment.

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India's CP Is In the Rough

Moscow has had to crack down on its Indian Communist Party too, forcing the general secretary of the Indian CP to eat his own words. The following account is from "Janata," the organ of the Socialist Party of India.

In a lengthy article in the Communist last year, Ranadive, the general secretary of the party, had taken up cudgels against certain "reformist deviations" of his colleagues, who had dared refer to the "new contribution" of Mao Tse-tung in the matter of the analysis of the relation of forces, class composition of the Democratic Front and forms and techniques of revolutionary struggle in the retarded countries of Asia.

Not to be outdone in his kowtowing to Stalin, Ranadive declared that his "party has accepted only Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin as the authoritative sources of Marxism" and that since even the Cominform has not thought it fit to refer to Mao's enrichment of the Communist theory, he was not prepared to recognize it.

But alas! this incense burning was of no avail! For Ranadive's mentors in Moscow have now cracked down upon him. . . . Under the whip wielded by the Cominform, Ranadive has now recanted. He says that the recent editorial in the Cominform journal "helps to remove all errors and mistakes which hampered the growth of the struggle in India."

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The press now reports a sizable split in the Communist Party of India, led by P. C. Joshi, former general secretary of the party. According to the dispatches, 4000 to 5000 have quit.

The N. Y. Times story (May 31) gives opposition to violent methods as the basis of Joshi's move, referring to a pamphlet published by the dissident leader which also accuses the official apparatus of "grave Trotskyite-Titoist errors" and "sectarian terrorist tactics."

Given the lack of other information, it is possible that the "Titoist errors" on which this charge is based are the ideological tribulations of Ranadive described in the accompanying article. The Joshi group would seem to be jostling for Moscow backing.

party will unite "all the peasantry." Gone is also the glorification of the proletarian general strike and uprising. He promises formation of a liberation army, "when the necessary conditions allow for it," which obviously can be done only in the rural areas.

He does not as yet say with Mao that the Communists are prepared to cooperate with the "national bourgeoisie"—for such an open admission is too bitter a pill—although he indirectly admits the fact by saying that the Indian people have hereafter to struggle against the "Anglo-American imperialists and the big bourgeoisie and the feudal princes and landlords collaborating with them."

The character of the Democratic Front has also undergone a change, for it now means "rallying all parties and classes willing to fight for national independence. . . . It is instructive in this connection to observe that the various splinter groups breaking away from the Communist Party, while denouncing each other, all swear by Moscow. . . . Thus mutual recriminations go on sealing the doom of the Communist Party.

BITTER PILL

He has swallowed all his former criticism of Mao Tse-tung and admits that he did indeed carry out a successful extension and application of the teachings of Lenin and Stalin. The lessons of the victorious people's struggle in China under the leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-tung will be an "unfailing guide" to the Communist Party of India, he confesses.

No more does he talk about the class differentiation among the peasants but assures that his

Announcing This Year's ISL-SYL Summer Camp

By JIM CORNER

The time between September 7 and 17 should be left open to attend the gala event that will take place at Genoa City, Wis. Again a summer camp will be held under the sponsorship of the Independent Socialist League and the Socialist Youth League. Where? At the same spacious location as last year.

All those who were present at the very successful, extremely entertaining, especially relaxing and educationally superb SYL camp last year have only a clue to what the camp will be like this year. Those who were not present can expect the following and more: ● 225 acres of scenic Wisconsin beauty.

● Sports of every description—bowling, swimming, fishing. ● Socialist education—lectures, symposiums, classes. ● Fine German cooking. ● Meetings of old and new friends.

It is extremely important for all concerned that you make your reservation immediately. Remember, first come—first served! Make your reservations now by sending a \$5.00 deposit with the blank below.

Enclosed is my \$5 deposit for a reservation at The Summer Camp from _____ to _____ Name _____ Address _____ City _____ Zone _____ State _____

Anti-ROTC Students Punished By U. of Wisconsin Administration

By DAVE WOOD

MADISON, Wis.—Those University of Wisconsin students who picketed the annual federal inspection of the ROTC [see LABOR ACTION last week] have been given an "official reprimand" and have been placed on disciplinary probation for the next full semester. Thus another brick in the none-too-solid wall of American civil liberties has been chipped out.

The University Student Conduct Committee based its decision on the statement that the pickets were interfering "with regularly scheduled university classes or with officially authorized public exercises or ceremonies." The students were interfering by picketing "the activities of our group within an area set aside for that group."

How were the students interfering? By carrying their banners so that all could see them. In another "public ceremony," a football game, a few years ago, some U. of W. students raised a banner

New NI Issue Features Text Of Debate

"Is Russia a Socialist Community?" the full text of the recent debate between Max Shachtman and Earl Browder, is featured in the May-June issue of The New Internationalist, just off the press.

Although the debate was covered in LABOR ACTION, the full text appearing here for the first time is of great interest to all who are concerned with a full understanding of Stalinist Russia, as well as with a classical example of Stalinist argumentation as presented by Browder.

The May-June issue of The New Internationalist also contains an important article by Max Shachtman on the theoretical development of the Independent Socialist League and its predecessor, the Workers Party, over the past ten years. This article is not simply a restatement of the position of the ISL, but seeks to evaluate anew the ideological and theoretical role of Marxism in our epoch.

In addition to the above, this issue of the NI contains "The Tragedy of Romain Rolland," a brilliant analysis of the political and psychological degeneration of the Stalinoids from the Diary of Victor Serge; an article by Alfred Rosmer dealing with the problem of the unification of the anti-Stalinist trade unions in France; book reviews and other material of interest.

The governor of Wisconsin, in a speech before the Reserve Officers Association, bitterly attacked the students who "had the guts to carry anti-military signs at the federal inspection." The governor asked Wisconsin taxpayers why they allowed students from New York and New Jersey to come here and "plan to tear down what the ROTC boys are trying to build up for America."

Apparently today it takes "guts" to exercise elementary democratic rights. The place of a person's

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personally insulting the coach of the Wisconsin team. No action at all was taken against them. If these same students had carried banners praising compulsory ROTC and militarism, no action would have been taken against them. It would have been attributed to "youthful enthusiasm."

Previous to the demonstration the group had checked university and municipal regulations and had found none prohibiting peaceful picketing. The Student Conduct Committee in its report said that "statutes would have been found which, to say the least, would throw grave doubt on the legality of what was done." However, no legal charges were brought against the pickets. The pickets apparently were acting in "bad taste."

YES, IT TOOK GUTS Any definition of bad taste is certainly an arbitrary one, open to all varieties of interpretation. When President Truman appeared on that campus during his election campaign, he was roundly booed by many students. The university took no action against this example of "bad taste." It is different, apparently, when students protest meaningfully against an idea which is popular with the university officialdom.

The counsel for the pickets said that the university investigation had "all the aspects of a star chamber or inquisitorial probe. The students are denied counsel; are called in individually and the faculty group is attempting to treat the civil liberties issues involved as a standard case of student misconduct or bad manners.

"Students feel that the primary issue is their right peaceably to assemble and to protest in an orderly manner, and not a question of good manners.

"Students are directed to appear before the committee, with no charges being filed against them. They made their protest in good conscience and this right cannot be abridged by the university faculty.

"All student groups were invited to the ROTC inspection and the parade of the pickets. I am reliably informed, was accomplished in an orderly manner."

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birth would seem, according to the governor, to be important in determining whether one can criticize while in the sovereign state of Wisconsin!

THEY DON'T WANT ROTC

The picketing against compulsory ROTC would have been unnecessary had the state legislature and university taken into

Editorials

Inflated Threat

Whitsunday is over, and we can all sigh with relief that another high-point in the propaganda battle of the cold war is safely past. The great Stalinist youth rally took place without a single clash on the East-West boundary of Berlin. The troops of the Western occupiers who were drawn up to repel an invasion can return to their usual police tasks with the same bullets in their ammunition belts they had a week ago.

The American press has done its best during the past few weeks to create an atmosphere of fear and tension in this country. American correspondents reporting from Europe state that in no European country did any section of the press play up the Stalinist Whitsun youth rally as did the American newspapers. In view of this fact, and in view of the further fact that the rally was not used by the Stalinists to create even minor disturbances in Berlin, we may very well ask ourselves whether the whole hullabaloo in the American press wasn't directly inspired by the American government, wasn't part of the "Truman formula" for domestic consumption discussed elsewhere in this issue of LABOR ACTION.

Whether or not the Stalinist youth rally was blown up to crisis proportions as part of a cynical administration policy of playing on the fears of the American people cannot be proved. For it is quite possible that the Russian rulers had planned to march their youth organizations through Western Berlin in an impressive show of strength, and were deterred from this plan by the military measures taken against it by the Western occupiers.

However, one may interpret the intentions of the two ruling classes whose military forces occupy Germany, one of the most important differences in their methods was illustrated by the Whitsun rally.

On the one hand, the Stalinists mobilized hundreds of thousands of young people to march and demonstrate for "peace," for "unity," for outsting the capitalist powers from Germany. To this mass of young people marching in the name of an ideology, the Western powers opposed nothing but sheer military force.

Of course, all the German youngsters were not there of their own free will. Every device of pressure was used to get them there, and every voice of opposition in Eastern Germany was stifled by GPU terror. This is true of all mass Stalinist parades in countries where the totalitarian bureaucracy holds power, as it was true of the Nazis in their day. Yet the fact remains that backed by military and police force, the Stalinists seek to mobilize masses of people, young and old, to march and fight for "peace" and "unity," and against capitalism.

Everywhere, from the Philippines to Indochina to Iran to Greece to Berlin, the Stalinists are able to mobilize masses of people for their cause. And wherever this takes place, the American government and its junior partners are able to counter these mass movements only with discredited and corrupt puppet governments which have nothing to offer the mass of their people in a crisis but the threat of bullets or bombs made in America.

This is something that might well be pondered by the officers of the American labor movement who support the policy of their government and seek, at best, to cover the bayonets with a little social and political oil. Their representatives abroad and at home urge the government to stop relying on reaction and to give support to the anti-Stalinist workers' movements throughout the world. But their pleas continue to fall on deaf ears.

And this is no accident. No powerful workers movement can be built anywhere outside the United States today on a pro-capitalist basis. And isn't it a little foolish, from the point of view of "practical politics," to expect the American capitalist government to support movements abroad which can only be effective to the degree that they dig the grave of capitalism in their own countries?

Yet if this is the only social force capable of fighting Stalinism effectively, it is high time that the labor movement of this country stop supporting the reactionary policies of the government, and throw its weight independently behind the anti-Stalinist, socialist movements in all lands.

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Youth Student Corner

World Federalists Crack Down on Chapter

By AL PRICE

CHICAGO—In the spring issue of *Anvil and Student Partisan*, two officers of the University of Chicago chapter of the Student Federalists wrote a letter pointing out recent developments in the United World Federalists movement which indicated the tendency of some federalist elements, especially among the students, to come down out of the clouds and engage in real political activity of a progressive nature.

Recent occurrences in the U. of C. chapter have given strong confirmation to these predictions and have also shown that the UWF organization nationally has found these tendencies sufficiently irritating to try to suppress them.

In a recent Democratic primary campaign in Chicago, the university UWF endorsed Willoughby Abner, the CIO candidate in the primary for state senator. The chapter planned to devote the major part of its organizational resources during the campaign to the support of Abner, and it was active in the organization of a campus committee for Abner. Within less than a week, the Washington lobbyist for UWF, Theodore Waller, had asked his national office to discipline the chapter.

A hatchman from the Illinois state office called together the chapter executive committee and explained how the chapter's support of Abner was compromising his dealings with Jake Arvey, the Democratic boss of Chicago. He added that unless the chapter rescinded its stand, it would promptly be expelled.

The chapter backed down, but before it had recovered from the first attack, the national bureaucracy was on its neck again. The chapter was participating in the preparations for an all-campus "peace week" with 18 other campus organizations, including the Stalinists. The week was to be merely a series of panels, where speakers from opposing groups would fight it out, plus seminars led by faculty members.

Student Federalists Gain Experience

The national office of UWF asserted that the mere participation of the Stalinists branded the effort as a Stalinist front and ordered the chapter to cease and desist. This time the issue was on too vital a principle to back down; the U. of C. chapter decided to fight it out. Its delegates, with the full support of the Student Division of the UWF, took its case to the National Committee of UWF. Out of this meeting came a statement with a loophole for this particular case, but affirming in general the doctrine of guilt by association.

In the meantime, the UWF chapter, along with other groups at U. of C. was waging a bitter faction fight in the peace week committee against the attempt of the Stalinists, and some of their innocent followers in the church groups, to convert the peace week into a Stalinist front organized around the Quaker proposals. Despite the defection of some anti-Stalinists who got cold feet and pulled out completely, UWF was largely instrumental in the defeat of the Stalinists.

The struggles with both its national office and the Stalinists have left the UWF chapter with far greater organizational experience than it ever had before, reactivated the membership and increased its prestige on campus. Some of the leading elements of the chapter now favor permanent cooperation with those campus groups with which they worked in the peace week committee, in a federation organized around opposition to the war aims of both Washington and Moscow.

There are other signs of progressive development, e.g., a chapter meeting recently voted support of the idea that any world government they would work toward must be responsible for social justice, and for the development of backward areas under local control. The program is incomplete, but it is filling in with amazing speed.

THE BRITISH POLITICAL SCENE IS PORTRAYED

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Reading from Left to Right

SOCIAL CLASSES AND THE "TYPICAL" AMERICAN COMMUNITY, by S. M. MILLER. (American Sociological Review, April)

An excellent brief and trenchant criticism of some contemporary researches into class stratification, like those of Professor W. L. Warner and his associates, who think they are taking a representative community by choosing towns under 50,000 population and attempt to draw conclusions for the whole country from them. (A long and detailed article in the same issue politely rips up Warner specifically on other grounds.)

"Richard Centers," points out the author, who is of the Brooklyn College faculty, "found in his study [*Psychology of Social Classes*] that 51 per cent of all white adult males in a national sample classified themselves as members of the working class; that 34 per cent of white collar workers thought that they were in this class; that 77 per cent of people who might be considered as in working-class occupations, such as semi-skilled workers, etc., called themselves members of the working class. Centers also shows significant correlations between class identification and political orientation. Few people would have predicted such findings on the basis, for example, of the reports of the Warner surveys. I believe that the difficulty lies in the choice of communities investigated."

(1) "...one should look for communities which best portray the movement toward stratification... because analysis of these localities will yield insight into the future."

(2) The trend, Miller points out, is toward the large urban centers.

(3) "...in terms of where prime sources of

change in American beliefs and structures may be located, the large urban center may be much more significant than the smaller areas."

A conclusion: "we should analyze communities which are more typical of the future than they are of the past."

STATEMENT ON TAX REFUSAL, by Tax Refusal Committee of Peacemakers (Alternative, March 1950)

The pacifist monthly bulletin (formerly Pacific Views) carries the text of the declaration issued on March 15 by the above-named committee, accompanying the group's announcement of refusal to pay income tax. It begins "War is to us abhorrent..." and presents fiscal conscientious objection as a means of direct action to stop war.

"Today is the deadline for payment of 1949 income taxes. Unitedly we affirm our determination to refuse to pay taxes which are levied for the purpose of carrying on war..."

"Some of us feel that because the major activity of the federal government is war, we must refuse the total amount of the income tax we owe. Others of us feel we must refuse to pay the proportion which corresponds to the percentage of the national budget now allocated to war preparation..."

The problem quite unsolved by this type of action, however, still remains: Any worker employed in industry, especially heavy industry, is "contributing" as much to war preparation as a taxpayer. Do the pacifists recommend that they all quit their jobs? Or is the tactic merely a road to individual salvation of conscience, regardless of its possible efficacy?

WORLD POLITICS

Whitsuntide Rally a Political Challenge—West Reacts with Guns

By HENRY JUDD

The long weekend in Berlin is now over and the young Germans mobilized by the Stalinists have largely returned to their homes in the Eastern Zone. The American press has spent a considerable part of its collective space to dull moralizing on the demonstrations. Most of it has been to the effect that "Hitlerism marched again," and the drawing of other superficial and empty parallels with allegedly similar demonstrations under the Nazi regime. All of this, of course, largely misses the point and tells us literally nothing.

Certain parallels between Stalinism and Nazism have long been obvious, and led Trotsky to describe the "symmetrical" aspects of the two regimes many years ago. But this scratches the surface and conveniently gets around the embarrassing need to analyze anything, including the way in which the West, the Allies, handled the entire event.

That the Whitsuntide weekend in Berlin was a totalitarian mobilization and demonstration, conceived in an utterly reactionary and chauvinistic spirit, goes without saying. Half a million German youth (and it is important to note that this is the most recent German generation, those who have grown up since the end of the war five years ago, and who had no direct participation in that war) were dragged into Berlin by one or another means, and whipped into line to parade under absurd slogans and banners of Stalinism, and to sing songs written for them by Stalinist party hacks. Gerhard Eisler has at last found a natural outlet for his repressed talents! The entire affair was cooked up by a combination of the Russian masters and their East German Stalinist puppets, with the idea of impressing the world and the West as to the power of Stalinism.

THE MILITARY MIND RESPONDED

Did the German youth participate freely, willingly and consciously? Thanks to Allied handling of the issue, no real answer can be given, but all indications are to the contrary. The intense discipline, the manner in which the Stalinist police, etc., watched these children, and other pointers indicate that the bulk of participation was through apathy, fear, threat and indifference. The comments of those who fled to the West clearly indicate this. There is no reason to believe that the German masses in the East are pro-Stalinist or pro-Russian. Ex-Nazis, present-day Stalinists and Russian occupation forces make a convenient combination in mobilizing masses.

But how did the Allies handle the matter? In the typical bureaucratic and blind fashion of imperialists, they lumped together the whole "German youth" as pro-Stalinist, and created a largely artificial version of an attempted military coup. What was a POLITICAL demonstration by the Stalinists was countered, by the West, by a MILITARY demonstration. Berlin was to be "saved" from Stalinism by a display of tanks, GIs with Tommy guns and barbed wire!

There was no understanding of what was at stake; had not the slightest inkling that a counter political effort, attempting to divide the ranks of the German youth, might even be attempted. The big military brains who run Berlin for the West knew only one possible response: If they move in on us, let 'em have it! In this sense, then, the East German Stalinists successfully pulled off a major political demonstration. That the Allied troops still remain in Berlin is cold turkey indeed; something like saying that the Giants are still in the race for the National League pennant! That was not the issue this past weekend.

As for the Western parties of Berlin, their behavior is no less stupid and reactionary. Did they make any effort, beyond the most cursory, to establish contact with this youth? Led by gray-haired politicians and bureaucrats of pre-Hitler vintage, these chiefs of the Christian Socialists, Social Democrats, etc., really feel a distinct hostility, in principle, toward youthful elements in general, whom they neither understand nor sympathize with.

They were content to stay at home, warming themselves in the glow of American tanks, British barbed wire and French bayonets. There is little wonder that these parties have no youth sections of any account. The Social-Democratic youth appears to have been conspicuously absent.

The allies may rejoice in their hollow "victory." It compares with Chiang Kai-shek's clever retreats. Stalinism, thanks to the failure of German socialism, retains the propaganda offensive together with the political offensive.

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'4th International' Goes Whole-Hog

Titoland Is Now a "Workers State" but They're Not Sure When the Revolution Happened

For whoever may be interested, we report that the leadership of the Fourth International (self-styled "orthodox Trotskyists") have at last screwed up their courage to the sticking point in order to go whole hog for Titoism. Tito's Yugoslavia, they have now decided, is a "workers' state" and a "dictatorship of the proletariat."

The international leading committee of this group, at a plenary meeting in April, adopted a resolution to this effect for the first time. A discussion on the question has been going on in the ranks of its affiliated "parties." The vote in the leading committee was 8-3.

The short resolution passed is a complete whitewash of the Tito bureaucracy's past and present. It reads:

"Whereas there have been different views on the stages of development of the Yugoslav revolution, the eighth plenum [of the international committee] considers that, as a consequence of the victory of the proletarian revolution in Yugoslavia, there exists in that country a workers' state and a regime of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It observes that, in the particular conditions of the Yugoslav revolution, bureaucratic deformations subsist in that state; it affirms that a serious struggle is carried on by the Yugoslav Communists against these deformations. The International's campaign for the defense of Yugoslavia must be determined in this sense. The discussion will go on in the International on the estimation of the stages of the Yugoslav revolution, including the present stage."

SOME NOTES

(1) The "bureaucratic deformations"—a phrase which Lenin used to point to such aspects of the revolutionary regime of his day—is here applied to the totalitarian one-party police regime of Tito & Co. Their reason for existence, says the resolution, is due (presumably solely) to "the particular conditions of the Yugoslav revolution"—without a single reference to the fact that the regime has come straight out of the GPU-Stalinist machine, of which Tito was a trusted agent not so long ago. While the whole resolution whitewashes Tito's present, this formulation even whitewashes his past.

(2) The pitiable want of theory behind this resolution is startling.

ISL Program—in Brief

The Independent Socialist League stands for socialist democracy and against the two systems of exploitation which now divide the world: capitalism and Stalinism.

Capitalism cannot be reformed or liberalized, by any Fair Deal or other deal, so as to give the people freedom, abundance, security or peace. It must be abolished and replaced by a new social system, in which the people own and control the basic sectors of the economy, democratically controlling their own economic and political destinies.

Stalinism, in Russia and wherever it holds power, is a brutal totalitarianism—a new form of exploitation. Its agents in every country, the Communist Parties, are unrelenting enemies of socialism and have nothing in common with socialism—which cannot exist without effective democratic control by the people.

These two camps of capitalism and Stalinism are today at each other's throats in a world-wide imperialist rivalry for domination. This struggle can only lead to the most frightful war in history so long as the people leave the capitalist and Stalinist rulers in power. Independent Socialism stands for building and strengthening the Third Camp of the people against both war blocs.

The ISL, as a Marxist movement, looks to the working class and its ever-present struggle as the basic progressive force in society. The ISL is organized to spread the ideas of socialism in the labor movement and among all other sections of the people.

At the same time, Independent Socialists participate actively in every struggle to better the people's lot now—such as the fight for higher living standards, against Jim Crow and anti-Semitism, in defense of civil liberties and the trade-union movement. We seek to join together with all other militants in the labor movement as a left force working for the formation of an independent labor party and other progressive policies.

The fight for democracy and the fight for socialism are inseparable. There can be no lasting and genuine democracy without socialism, and there can be no socialism without democracy. To enroll under this banner, join the Independent Socialist League!

ly highlighted by the next question which the brains of the international committee bent to.

A "proletarian revolution" took place in Yugoslavia, WHEN? Proving that it is considering undoubtedly the most curious proletarian revolution in the history of the world, the committee could not decide definitively. (In the first place, they had not recognized it while it was going on, obviously being too involved in astutely working out the details of

the Russian question to notice that the first successful proletarian revolution in over three decades was taking place behind their backs.)

Five of the majority dated the revolution at 1946-48. This, however, was opposed by the writing-theoretician of the group, Ernest Germain, who assigned it to the break with the Cominform.

We do not know how these aspirants to building a Trotsky-Titoist International (while the Tito-

ists themselves denounce these fishers in their private waters as fascists) are planning to walk around the question of whether their decision does or does not make workers' states out of the satellite countries in the Russian empire. It appears that various revisions of Trotsky's own "workers' state" theory are aborning in order to cram present-day reality (and the twists of the line) into consonance with their standard quotations.

Besmirching the Memory of the Great Revolutionary—

SWP: Tito 'Vindicates' Trotsky!

By DANIEL WELSH

In its issue of May 8, The Militant, speaking for the Socialist Workers Party, declared its virtually unqualified support for the Tito regime in Yugoslavia.

The ostensible occasion for this declaration by the SWP was the issuance of a Yugoslav May Day proclamation calling for world support to its struggle against the Kremlin. The tone of The Militant article reporting this event was set by its leading headline: "Yugoslav Issue Appeal for Return to Leninist Principles." The May Day proclamation, it went on to declare, "marks a great turning point in the history of the world working-class movement." According to The Militant, it marked the culmination of a long development of the YCP and Tito regime, which it proceeded to eulogize in terms never before applied to a Stalinist police dictatorship, at least not by revolutionary socialists.

"For the first time since the Bolshevik revolution of October, 1917, a workers' party (sic) with state power outside the Soviet Union has raised the banner of socialist internationalism. The proclamation summons the opponents of Stalinism to restore Lenin's program to its rightful place in the labor movement. This program represents the only real alternative to the grim choice of the cold war: imperialist atom-bomb conquest or Kremlin counter-revolution. It represents powerful vindication of the struggle begun by Leon Trotsky 27 years ago against Stalin's destruction of the conquests of the first workers' state..."

There is not a single word as to how this political control is exercised, through what organs it is expressed, or one single instance in which the masses have demonstrated such control, except for the explanation given for the break with the Kremlin. "The leaders," they say, speaking of the Tito bureaucrats, "who had been lifted to power by the mighty tide of these events, could not have capitulated to the Russian would-be masters of the country without being swept aside by the revolutionary workers and peasants of Yugoslavia." The Militant only forgets the alternative explanation that the leaders could not have capitulated or they would have lost the basis for exploiting the Yugoslav people in their own interests rather than those of their Russian cousins.

In embracing Titoism, The Militant has not only had to revise the basic tenet of its notorious Russian position, it has had to abandon the most basic tenet of the historical Trotskyist movement. Of Trotsky's concept of the international character of the socialist revolution, The Militant says not a word. Neither does the Tito regime. What the latter does say, with evident approval (or at least lack of criticism) by The Militant, is a new version of the "theory of socialism in one country." The Tito leaders, says The Militant, explain that "the privileges of the [Russian] bureaucracy were at the root of Stalinist degeneration and counter-revolution. They repeated over and over again that Yugoslavia would avoid the same fate only by the development of socialist democracy."

RUSSIAN POSITION AT STAKE

That the SWP could have arrived at such a disgraceful position as to allow itself to play the role of apologist for the GPU butcher who runs Yugoslavia today can only be attributed to its lack of any kind of understanding as to what is the nature of Stalinism and the Stalinist parties.

Forced by its theory—or rather, its refusal to revise its theory of Russia as a "degenerated workers' state"—the SWP was rapidly developing along the road of becoming a left wing of Stalinism. The Tito break gave it the possibility of taking the variant road of becoming the defender of the new "Titoist deviation" in the ranks of the world Stalinist movement.

As yet this relationship is entirely one-sided, as Tito has been entirely unimpressed with the desire of his SWP well-wishers to become his ideological agents.

There is no doubt that part of the SWP's motivation for its new turn is the purely opportunistic desire to fish in the muddy waters of Stalinism and Wallaceism. That this is true does not change in the least the significance of its theoretical development in the direction of Stalinist-Titoist politics. With this new turn, the SWP has taken a big step in the direction of becoming a Stalinist appendage.

Not in the Headlines

About-Face Lifts

With the transformation of New Leader from a weekly newspaper selling for 10 cents into a magazine containing the same stuff for 15 cents, Time magazine printed the statement that this ex-socialist organ operates as an informer for the FBI; it adds that the New Leader's editors hope to get support for their patriotic enterprise "specifically by convincing businessmen that his fight is their fight also and they should support him with their advertising."

The New Leader likewise celebrated its change by dropping all pretense at any connection with socialism or any facsimile thereof known as the Social-Democratic Federation. The SDF organizational column formerly printed no longer appears (had no appeal to businessmen). The magazine now advertises itself as "liberal."

About Clean Towels

There is a story of the housewife who prepared for guests and pinned a note to the guest towels that was intended for her husband's eyes only. "If you dare to use these towels I'll murder you," the missive warned. Unfortunately she forgot to remove the note and after the guests had come and gone there it was on spotless towels—much to the wife's chagrin.

We are comparing those towels to the boasted freedom of American workers. Both are nice to look at, but neither are supposed to be used.

What gives us this idea is the fact that it took only a few days of a partial strike of railroad men to evoke talk of a law to kill the freedom of public utility workers to strike.—(From editorial in the Reading Labor Advocate, May 19.)

Labor and the Fair Deal

They're Worried about Protection Against Their "Friends"

By BEN HALL

Gone are the days when the American Federation of Labor lobbyists, complaining that the CIO was the spoiled favorite of the government, demanded an end to "pampering" of its rival under the Wagner Act. The two mighty organizations draw closer together, opening up a prospect of labor unity despite the many obstacles of history, rivalries of personal prestige and power, hangovers of the industrial-versus-craft unionism struggle, relics of jurisdictional disputes.

No one can say with assurance whether renewed efforts to merge the CIO and AFL will be successful, but the trend is unmistakably toward greater unity, toward increased collaboration, toward mutual assistance in self-defense. In its long and bitter strike, the independent United Mine Workers Union won the moral and material support of the whole labor movement. In the name of the Steel Workers Union, CIO President Philip Murray donated a \$500,000 check to help the coal diggers; and UAW workers, at bench and machine, pooled their dollars and turned them over to their stewards to speed truck caravans of food and clothing into the mine areas. Later John L. Lewis dramatically called for a joint labor fighting fund of millions of dollars subscribed by all unions and administered by them regardless of affiliation.

Sober Reckoning

These were not light-minded publicity gestures but serious, practical moves toward united action, now highlighted at the Steel Workers' Atlantic City convention by the announcement of a pact between the United Auto Workers and United Steel Workers for mutual support in the fight for a guaranteed annual wage. This demand is now transformed from a pious declaration of hopes buried in paper platforms into a fighting issue of the class struggle to be inscribed on picket signs.

The mood of pre-negotiations is subdued and coldly reasoning. This is not the mutual amnesty, the forgetting and forgiving of old hostilities that comes from expanding optimism; it is not a good fellowship that arises in joint celebration of victories won and jubilation over the prospect of a speedy march forward. It is a sober drawing together in days of adversity; when the road ahead seems rocky and full of dangers; when everything already achieved can be defended and every new gain won only by massing all of labor's strength for hard battle.

Southern industry was to fall in line with "enlightened" labor practices and join the ranks of organized labor; AFL and CIO organizers scrambled to stake claims over millions of open-shop workers only to discover abruptly that the claims of both hit up against a solid resistance which ripped the heart out of Operation Dixie.

Taft-Hartley remains. If anything, recent Supreme Court decisions have reinforced it and extended its significance. In announcing the majority decision upholding the law's affidavit provisions, Chief Justice Fred M. Vinson declared: "Its manifest purpose was to bring within the terms of the statute only those persons whose beliefs strongly indicate a will to engage in political strikes and other forms of direct action, when, as officers, they direct union activities."

They've Traveled Far

To impose penalties for actions which are themselves not illegal would in itself be an astounding injustice if we were not already inured to this type of legal magic by the attorney general's "subversive list." But by this decision, disabilities are heaped on union leaders not for actions but for "beliefs" which indicate a "will" toward acts.

And what kind of acts? Political strikes and direct action. "Anti-Communist" affidavits have traveled far!

Normal, orthodox union leaders must and do hold the weapon of "political strikes" in reserve.

a lack of confidence, a suspicion that calm and easy days do not lie ahead—such is the background for the surge toward unity.

But do we not enjoy the benefits of Fair-Deal Democracy? Doesn't the united political action of labor and "liberals" guarantee victory at the polls and days of sunshine? The mobilization of the labor movement and its preparations for aid to embattled sections which are in danger of being picked off and destroyed separately belie these hopes and paint a truer picture of tomorrow.

Truman Was Tested

The mine strike was followed by the Chrysler strike, which came as a surprise and shock to all, forcing the UAW into a 100-day exhausting walkout, a full-scale deployment of union forces to win those modest objectives which it had expected to gain in simple, formal bargaining sessions. Both strikes tested Truman.

The man who today whistles for support of his party at every railroad stop, played the cunning diplomat while miners and auto workers fought for simple rights; no thundering presidential defense of the common man, no stumping the platform against greed and monopoly. He carefully and diffidently weighed his every move, calculating not its effects on labor's struggles but its impact on his political career, and on the unity and stability of his political machine.

Moves toward unity may be deceptively colored by tinges of Trumanite Fair Dealism; high on the agenda will be plans for ambitious electoral activity, a coordinated massing of labor's full strength to elect a few more liberals, to gain that ever-elusive, never-attainable majority of real old-party "friends" of labor in Congress.

Fair-Weather Deal

While remaining convinced that they must hang on to Truman as the best available dubious ally, fearful of forming their own party, every thinking unionist, leader or rank and filer knows in his own mind: *Here is a fair-weather friend.* Which way he will bend in time of crisis, whom he will support if labor should be forced to fight with its back to the wall, is at least—uncertain.

Paradoxically, if the Fair Deal appeared to labor as a crusading, aggressive champion of the rights of the working people standing up to their enemies and unashamedly defending freedom and justice, then labor unity might have remained a political stepchild. But the Fair Deal is a different species of political animal. It appears to labor as weak-kneed and vacillatory; it compromises with reaction within and without the Democratic Party; it substitutes diplomatic double-talk for a fighting progressive policy; it knows only one religion: Democratic machine control.

While standing firmly in the Fair-Deal Truman camp, the labor movement feels hollow spaces and pitfalls beneath its feet. At any dangerous moment the whole fragile framework might fall away.

And so the labor movement, girding for self-defense, will begin with hymns of praise for Fair-Deal Democracy. But as each section goes into battle knowing that the rest of labor stands behind it, as each separate detachment gains self-confidence and becomes more demanding, the ties that bind labor to the Democratic Party will be subjected to new strains. In unifying against its enemies, labor in effect moves to protect itself against its "friends."



The Mine Workers, on one occasion, protested the appointment of an unwanted director of mine safety by declaring a work holiday. On two occasions the UAW called upon its members to stop work for political demonstrations: once to demand the retention of price controls and then to demand the veto of the Taft-Hartley Law. "Direct action" is a vague and ambiguous term which applies readily to any strike, especially one fought out militantly on the picket line.

The Taft-Hartley Law in all its aspects, including its "anti-Communist" features, is clearly directed against normal, necessary functioning of aggressive unionism. Labor's political-action directors may puff themselves with artificial enthusiasm as Election Day draws near, but everyone knows that no foreseeable reshuffling of old-party representatives in Congress is likely to win a speedy repeal.

Fair Deal Accepts Injunctions

And if miraculously it should be repealed, who expects its replacement by full collective bargaining free from overhanging threats of government-by-injunction? Truman Fair Dealism arrogates the right of injunction without law; labor leaders shut their eyes but cannot forget; for the simple public fact is that the principle of injunctions against mass strikes is accepted by Fair-Deal Democrats, Dixiecrats and Republicans alike.

In contrast to the rest of the labor movement under the Wagner Act, the railroad brotherhoods were hemmed in and tied down by the creaking machinery of the Railway Labor Act. But legislative evolution has so hedged unions with Taft-Hartley controls that rail labor now seems almost to enjoy uninhibited freedom by comparison. Proposals loom in Congress to make the brotherhoods also subject to injunctions and compulsory arbitration.

The union movement is powerful, more powerful than ever. But it feels the need to gather greater strength; to mobilize its forces, to stand in solidarity. But against whom and against what? An uneasiness, a distrust of the future,

If You're—

- Against capitalism
- Against Stalinism
- For a Socialist Democracy

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THE STORY BEHIND THE NEWS

Cold War Crime: German Dismantling—III

The Roots of the Tragedy

This is the third installment of a series, based on a remarkable document prepared by an investigator for Congresswoman Katherine St. George. This report was first mimeographed for confidential or semi-confidential circulation in Washington. It is dated July 1949. We present it today as a vivid picture of the background of Allied policy in Germany. As in the case of the first installment, the following consists of verbatim excerpts from the investigator's report. The series will be concluded next week with an article on the political meaning of the dismantling program.

To understand the minds of the workers who will lose their jobs, one must first consider the belief which virtually the whole of Germany shares today: that the prime motive behind the planned destruction of German capacity was the desire of France and Britain, particularly of Britain, to eliminate forever from the world market their one-time greatest trade competitor—Germany. To the German worker this motive is so patent that even the Social-Democrats, who have clung so hopefully to the belief that a "Labor Government" must be their friend, now speak openly to me of the "imperialistic drive" of Bevin.

Certain sources of information are available to me which I have not yet been able to follow up, but it seems worth while for me to collect a small dossier on the business-interest background of some of these men who determined the original selection of German plants for dismantling. Where these business interests appear to have been decisive, it seems high time that the American people who are underwriting a recovery program for Western Europe should have a clear view of both faces of the double-headed hydra.

To Eliminate Competition

Dismantling to eliminate German competition? Evidence which I have been able to collect in the past two weeks indicates that since April 13 "dismantling" has more and more boldly taken the form of outright "scrapping" of plants. In British Military Government circles here the subterfuge is apparently rapidly being abandoned that the dismantlings apply only to war plants or to the elimination of excess capacity. Since the Washington agreement, several incautious statements have been made by D&R (Reparations, Dismantling and Restitutions Division) officials in the British Zone to the effect that the dismantlings will have a salutary effect for Great Britain, through elimination of the most dangerous of their German competitors.

The most violent statements to this effect were reported to me by the American writer, Christopher Emmet, who had a long conference two weeks ago in London with Whitlam, chief of the British Zone D&R Division. The whole tone of Whitlam's fulmination was a glowing over British successes at Washington at the expense of the Germans, and a categorical damning of every German businessman and politician as a congenial liar.

To understand Bevin's stand on the dismantlings, it is of particular interest to note that his chief adviser on German steel affairs has been Dr. Colclough, who comes from the British Iron and Steel Federation.

Colclough was consulting engineer in London for the firm of Corby, a subsidiary of Steward & Lloyds, tube manufacturers. He was particularly interested in getting the German tube mills put on the dismantling list. Also his loyalties to the British Iron and Steel Federation apparently prompted an interest in eliminating competition from the Germans in other fields.

Last autumn, Colclough observed to George Wolf, of the Wolf Steel Investigation Mission (in a conversation which Wolf repeated later to George Loesch, managing director of the Deutsche Edelstahlwerke A.G., Germany's leading producer of fine steel): "I consider it a matter of personal honor to be able to report back to the Federation that I have destroyed the Deutsche Edelstahlwerke, the brains of the German fine steel industry." I have not yet had an opportunity to check this statement with Mr. Wolf, but it could be easily done by someone in America.

Dismantling Instead of Bombs

It should also be mentioned that another leading protagonist of the four-year-old fight to eliminate key German steel plants was the British officer, Dawson, who was a member of the steel committee determining which plants should be placed on the dismantling list. Dawson has been an engineer with the British construction firm of Brassert's, which built the Hermann Goering Steel Works at Salzgitter during the Hitler period. During the war, so the story goes, he was a bombardier who tried, unsuccessfully, to bomb the same works and what he couldn't accomplish through bombing he succeeded in accomplishing via the dismantling list.

It should be particularly noted that Dawson, whom the Germans and Americans both call the "British Morgenstern," has now reputedly got himself appointed to the newly constructed Allied Security Board, a key board, which will determine which German applicants will receive permits to rebuild or to enlarge their plants. The personnel of this board should be studied with the most careful scrutiny.

As another instance of competitive interest which appears to have motivated British policy regarding the German dismantlings, I cite the fate of the two Bergius

process hydrogenation plants at Wesseling and Gelsenberg. Although both plants were placed on the "Forbidden Industry" list, the Wesseling plant is now to continue in operation, while the Gelsenberg plant is to be dismantled. The Wesseling plant carries out crude-oil treatment on the base of contracts of treatment with the German Shell company (subsidiary company of the British-Dutch Shell concern, which, in turn, is part-owned by the British government). The Gelsenberg gasoline plant signed similar agreements with the German Vacuum Oil Company and the German-American Petroleum Company (subsidiary company of the two big American oil concerns, Socony Vacuum Oil Inc., New York, and Standard Oil Company of New Jersey).

It appears that if strictly national interests were at stake, the British were better represented in this case than the Americans. Perhaps this is because the chief of the petroleum section of OMGUS, in the days when the forbidden industries category was being set up, was a man whom Dr. Albert Newman, past president of the American Institute of Chemical Engineers, and first chief of the chemical industry section of OMGUS, described as "a man whose background for the job was filling station experience in the United States."...

It seems to me that one has to have a background of knowledge of such pressures to be able to understand how Bevin, theoretically at least a representative of the working class, could have been so insulated against the appeals of the German socialists and trade-union leaders, not to mention all of the leading churches of the Ruhr, that he would not reconsider the Ruhr dismantlings in the light of the unprecedented distress being caused to the German working people....

As for German labor sentiment, the German trade-union movement, which in past months has maintained trust in the friendship of the British Labor Party, has reached such a state of disillusionment and hostility that leading socialists have told me here within the past few days that they do not consider the British Labor Party a socialist party at all. "They have no heart at all for their fellow German workers," I was told the other day by a German who has been a socialist for more than thirty years. "Their hearts are as stony as the worst of the monopoly capitalists!"...

The Workers' Side

One must first understand the extent of unemployment in Germany and the peculiar circumstances which make unemployment status here even more critical than in most places in the world. Unemployment in the Western Zone is now about 1.2 million, with the trend steadily going upward. Because of the extreme hardships of recent years, very few unemployed workers have any reserve of savings whatsoever to fall back upon. Neither can they count upon anything but the merest pittance of a dole, for the German government is already on the verge of bankruptcy.

Even an employed worker finds the going very tough. ... However, because the Deutsche Edelstahlwerke plant was so long on the dismantling list, only recently having been released, the company has suffered from lack of orders due to uncertainty over its future, also because of the lack of government funds to place orders for greatly needed construction work on bridges, railroads, etc. As a result, the work week is now shortened, with correspondingly smaller pay. The short work week is now common in many steel plants throughout the Ruhr—only the workers engaged in dismantling being assured of steady pay and long hours.

The fact that it has been difficult, in spite of all hardships, to recruit Germans for the dismantling work is real testimony to their feeling of resentment, and especially of loyalty to what they consider the best interest of their fellow workers.

Against the low wages one must put high living costs which prevail throughout Germany today. Everything can be bought here now, it is true, but only if one has the money—a very large IF, which the casual tourist and roving reporter too often fail to note.... For those who have been thrown out of work, the situation is really desperate. It is out of the question to talk about moving around the country in search of work; the housing situation is still a despair to everyone....

Not only is the employment situation growing increasingly more critical in the Ruhr because of the dismantlings, but indirectly it is seriously affecting Berlin. Professor Ernst Reuter, lord mayor of Berlin, tells me that there are 175,000 unemployed in the West sector of Berlin today, or about 16 per cent of the total population able and willing to work. Unemployment has been increasing since the lifting of the blockade, in part because the new influx of black market goods into Berlin cuts

down on orders from Berlin firms.... But as has already been pointed out, the dismantlings continue to add to the already swelling unemployment rolls. There is less and less work for the old-time employee, and nothing for the newcomer.

I believe that the emotions of the people here in the Ruhr are rapidly approaching the boiling point, and an explosion may be near. One must consider what goes on in the mind of a worker in Bochum, for instance, where both the Bochumer Verein, which is capable of employing 12,000 workers, and the Hochfrequenz-Tiegelstahl works, which employ 700, are slated for dismantlement. The welfare of at least 50,000 persons—workers and their families—one-sixth of the population of Bochum, is at stake.

What Can They Think?

Bochum has been bombed until it resembles some gray ruins out of a prehistoric age. The store windows are starkly bare. Faces have the rigid preoccupation of people to whom the struggle to survive is still an all-absorbing effort. What goes on in the mind of a man moving day after day among these ruins, seeing the factory which has given him, and perhaps his father, livelihood for decades, being SCRAPPED in the midst of a Europe crying for steel?

To get to the Henrichshuette steel works, a single main thoroughfare winds through the cliff-bound city of Wuppertal. My German chauffeur, Ramspot, told me of the horrible inferno this city went through during the war.... It is incredible that men and women who have lived through such hells remain normal, human and rational. Yet they, like millions of other Germans, have grimly struggled back to whatever narrow basis of decent life they could find.

They have rebuilt their homes with their own hands. They have scrounged day after day during the starvation years following the war for whatever bits of food they could find for themselves and their families. They have given eloquent testimony to the indomitable will to survive that seems to live in each human being. But now, when a little peace is in sight, the loss of work, the shoving back into the abyss, must seem to many of them like the final unendurable blow.

If no explosion comes from such men as these, the ultimate results may be even worse for the democracies. The Russians are making tremendous capital out of the present situation. There is even more danger, perhaps, that these emotions be siphoned off into support of the Communists, than that they find an outlet in unpolitical organized resistance.

The worker in the Ruhr steel plant—the kind of man I have been talking with every day—is a decent, stable kind of man.... They were not the breeding ground for Nazism. Less than 10 per cent of the steel workers, at Deutsche Edelstahlwerke at Krefeld, for instance, were Nazis.

But their very pride in their work makes them into a hard core of rebellion now against all wantonly wasteful occupation policies. It is not surprising that in each plant the fargers whose work requires the strongest muscles and great skill, are now becoming the hardest to handle, the most revolutionary.

"—To Earn Our Bread!"

The Germans have no illusions about Communism—too many prisoners of war from Russian concentration camps, and too many refugees from the East Zone trickle through their cities and tell the damning stories of their experiences. But the explosion of a desperate man is usually in revolutionary ways. And the Communists have one effective ace in their hands—their appeal to the Germans to unify and restore their national self-respect.... In spite of the fact that in previous years the Communists exceeded all the other occupation powers in the quantity of dismantlings and so-called restitutions, the Soviets are now capitalizing vociferously on the dismantlings being carried out by the Western Powers. The West Zone Communist leader, Max Reimann, became a hero by resisting the dismantlings and being put in jail for three months....

It is true that even more impelling is the common sense of rebellion which is welding all people of the Ruhr, workers, management, church leaders, together into a unified spirit of resistance. Following the announcement of the Washington Agreement, church services in both Catholic and Protestant churches were held throughout the Ruhr one Sunday. The common theme was: "Give Us This Day Our Daily Bread!" On May the second, an extraordinary meeting of the City Council of the town of Duisburg was held, and a mass protest of the people of Duisburg against the dismantlings was drafted....

The real voice of the man in the Ruhr is one of a human being possessed of basic self-respect. On numberless occasions I have seen in areas of plants where the dismantlings are going on, scrawled in large lettering on a wall of the room: "WE DON'T WANT ALMS. WE ONLY WANT A CHANCE TO EARN OUR DAILY BREAD!"

Heretofore, what we have won in Germany has been won all too often by the default of the Soviets. Now the situation seems about to reverse itself. In each of the factories which I have visited, I have noted on those sections of the plant where dismantling is going on, signs such as "HERE YOU SEE WESTERN DEMOCRACY IN ACTION!"

(Concluded next week)

A basic pamphlet—

"SOCIALISM: THE HOPE OF HUMANITY"
by Max Shachtman

Read it! 10 cents

Labor Action Book Service
4 Court Square, Long Island City 1, N. Y.

UAW's Contract at GM—

(Continued from page 1)

GM knew the conservative mood of the workers. It spoke about it during negotiations. But it also knew that the UAW-CIO, as the Chrysler strike showed, could and would shut down all plants, and that the economic cost of a struggle with the UAW would be terrific, as Chrysler Corporation found out. GM sought and found another way out!

The initiative was clearly in GM's hands in this situation, and it decided to offer the UAW two propositions. The first GM proposal consisted of essentially the Chrysler package, including the \$100 a month pension for employees with 25 years of seniority at the age of 65. With minor changes, the contract would be renewed for three years.

The second offer included a package equivalent to 19 cents per hour gains for this year, the escalator clause, the four-cent per year improvement wage boost, at the price of a renewal of the current contract, with a modified union shop and minor changes, for five years.

This second package was based on GM's belief that economic conditions would remain relatively stable in the whole next period, and that the peace it hoped to win with the UAW-CIO would easily compensate for the cost of such a proposal.

ESCALATOR PROTECTS WORKERS

The UAW leaders accepted the second package with alacrity. For them it was a heaven-sent way out of the crisis in which the union was involved. Suppose inflation continues, and the cost of living skyrockets? The escalator clause protects the GM workers. Emil Mazey, UAW secretary-treasurer, explained it thus to a large East Side caucus meeting of the Reuther forces. He added, "Suppose a depression hits? Our union is safe from a head-on attack for five years. The workers get a 4-cent raise yearly. We are insured either way."

Nearly 200 delegates attended the national General Motors conference to ratify the agreement. What was their reaction? At first, suspicion at the manner in which the contract was signed and announced publicly before they had a chance to study it, and much concern over a five-year contract. But, after a two-day session, in which the high point was the usual militant speech of Walter Reuther the delegates voted overwhelmingly to accept the package. Less than 200 voted against it.

In the shops, a big sigh of relief went up. Especially when the GM workers figured out their economic gains compared to Chrysler and Ford workers. And the gains are unmistakable and represent a real victory for the UAW.

In the Chrysler plants, the reaction was quite different. It was like salt on an old wound. Since most workers view settlements in bread and butter terms, the common feeling was, "Look what they got. We sure got hooked!" At Ford plants, many similar comments were heard.

In estimating the over-all effect of the GM settlement these reactions at Ford and Chrysler are important factors. Before the 1951 convention in May, the UAW has a re-opening date for

THE UNION GOT THIS FROM GM

The economic gains listed by the union include:

(1) A jointly-administered pension plan providing \$100 a month, including Social Security, for workers at the age of 65 with 25 years' service. The maximum monthly payment will become \$117.50 a month if Congress grants Social Security increases as is expected.

(2) A guaranteed annual wage increase of 4 cents an hour, described by the union as a reward for increased productivity, and to be added to the basic wage rate.

(3) A continuation of the cost-of-living escalator clause, providing for wage adjustments in accordance with the price

index of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, unlimited upward but limited downward to a point no lower than the basic wage rate.

(4) A hospital-medical plan with the company paying half the cost of Blue Cross and Blue Shield protection for worker and family.

(5) An improved insurance program, including accident and sickness weekly benefits ranging from \$31.50 to \$45.50.

Chief among more than thirty non-economic concessions to the union is a modified union shop, requiring new employees to join the UAW but giving them the option of withdrawing from the union after one year.

economic demands at Ford and Chrysler. The workers in these campaigns will be stimulated by the GM victory to make more aggressive demands than before. And they can win them too.

The GM pact, with all the dangers of a 5-year term, offers new possibilities to the UAW, perhaps with turbulent days ahead until after the 1951 convention, and the Ford and Chrysler negotiations next year, but also with prospects of cracking them both. It is very unlikely that Chrysler will again decide to lose \$50,000,000 minimum of profit, its competitive place in the auto industry, and 450,000 car production for a fight with the UAW, in which it does have to retreat from its die-hard attitude. The Ford Motor Company knows that less is already, and if it doesn't, it can be taught.

What is most likely is that these companies will give wage boosts to bring up their rate to a GM level, but in return may well ask for longer extensions of contracts.

A few weeks ago Walter Reuther criticized a delegate at the Chrysler conference who said he was disturbed by the trend reflected in a three-year contract. And at the General Motors conference Reuther did not refer to the five-year pact as an "exception," the line he used at the Chrysler conference. It would have been difficult to do so.

CAN UAW STAY MILITANT?

Rather, to anticipate his critics, Reuther came up with an explanation which touches on the core of the problem raised by such a long-term contract. How does the UAW involve its ranks in the union now that its primary method, the national wage conferences, the posing of a major struggle every two years, etc., is gone? How can the UAW keep from taking on the character of an AFL business union, in which all union business rests in the hands of a relatively small but all powerful bureaucracy?

The answer, said Reuther, could be found in drawing the ranks into effective political action. He outlined the many wage negotiations and crises in which he and others found themselves, and said that now for the first time he could devote himself to political problems.

As usual, Reuther was aware of the problem, and evasive in his solution. Certainly, the broadening of the struggle of the UAW from primarily the economic front to the political front could involve the ranks more. Certainly, building independent political machines would provide a new arena in which militants could function. Leaving aside the question of what kind of political action, the danger in the Reuther approach is that his proposal, or rather long range idea, is a substitute for rank and file involvement in the union's daily economic problems, rather than a required supplement.

Furthermore, involvement in politics will probably be building a machine within the Democratic Party (as is still being done in Michigan right now) or just supporting the Democratic Party (as the CIO policy is nationally.)

The conclusion is inescapable, however, that the UAW will devote more and more time in politics on a local, state and national scale, and that the Reuther leadership will have more time for working out some of the long range plans of the ambitious "Red-head."

YEARLY CONVENTION NEEDED

Concern over the democratic structure of the UAW becomes greater when one reviews the proposals of the Reuther leadership for the internal structure and functioning of the union. At the last convention the Reuther leadership proposed two-year conventions, two-year local union elections, higher dues, and regular assessments instead of the special strike assessment which was finally adopted. The chief argument of the leadership was that the recurring crises with the corporations made imperatives fewer conventions and elections concentrate mainly on fighting the companies.

What possible excuse could be found now for such a program, what with a five-year contract at GM, a three-year contract at Chrysler, and a two-year contract at Ford? As a matter of fact, there is now a greater need to maintain the yearly elections, and other traditional democratic features of the UAW. To tamper with them now is to clearly and coldly bureaucratize the UAW, and to accelerate the trend towards AFL business unionism.

Turning to another aspect of the GM contract, the five year clause signifies a freezing of the present working conditions, especially since no improvement was made in the functioning of the poor shop steward system and the red-tape in the bargaining procedure. The tendency again is dangerous. But it is a deliberate lie to state, as does the Daily Worker, that under the new contract, no fight against speed-up is possible. The Stalinists know, as well as the next man, that under paragraph 117 of the contract, the union has the right, as it did previously, to call a strike

on the speed-up issue. The UAW does have a loop-hole if the GM Corporation takes too much for granted in the five-year pact. Some of the blind critics of the Reuther regime found themselves caught short when they screamed this is a five-year no-strike pledge, for Reuther quickly pointed out that paragraph 117 remains in the contract. (Not the least of Reuther assets are still most of his critics.)

PENSION FIGHT IS OVER

The GM settlement emphasizes another major shift in the Reuther strategy on pensions. Although the UAW is signing up many small companies in "area" agreements, and expects to settle quickly at Briggs, the fact is that the fight for industry financed pension plans is over. The main pre-occupation of the UAW will be to increase Social Security benefits, with the hope eventually of making them a substitute for the present make-shift arrangements. Very few UAW workers are satisfied with the present plans.

For every worker eligible to re-

tire there is another of the same age not able to retire because he never had 25 years seniority in one plant. And, if preliminary spot checks mean anything, there are two workers with 25 years seniority under 60 years of age (and thus not entitled to major benefits) for each one over 60 years of age. The pension problem, therefore, will remain a source of irritation and aggravation within the shops!

As for Reuther's claim that the union won a billion dollar package for five years at General Motors, the only modifying factors—and they are hardly inconsequential—are the doubts that auto production and employment will remain at their present high level for five years. A more accurate appraisal would begin with the statement: If our workers continue to keep their jobs, if model change-overs don't cause too much unemployment, if business keeps up, then our package will total perhaps a billion dollars in five years.

[LABOR ACTION will deal further with the GM contract in coming issues.—Ed.]

U.S. Hated--

(Continued from page 1)

Stalinist leaders of India and other Asian governments know that one cannot indefinitely keep in power governments which have no popular support whatever.

All this will not come as a sur-

prise to readers of LABOR ACTION. But American public opinion has been carefully shielded from knowledge of these feelings. That may be one reason for the ability of the labor leaders here to sell their support of American foreign policy to their ranks.

Chi Daily News Writer Blasts U.S. for Bucking Asian Revolt

"One Man's Opinion," the Chicago Daily News called it. The newspaper asked its foreign correspondents to comment on the question "Have we stopped Communism?" and got the following from its man in the Far East, Keyes Beech.

Beech's article (May 8) is straight - from - the - shoulder straight-seeing. The naivete of his recommendation to Washington is another matter. Here are some passages from what he sees:

"A grizzled foreign correspondent expressed it: 'For a change I'd like to see us back a revolution instead of buck one.'"

"We began to lose Asia the day we won the war. Because, since the war ended, we have been bucking revolutions in Asia instead of backing them...."

"We have forgotten that our own country was born of bloody rebellion—against a foreign power...."

"In our wartime broadcasts we talked of freedom. In Southeast Asia some people listened and believed—and waited for the day when we would free them from the Japanese."

"We came and the Japanese went. And after us came the colonial masters of Southeast Asia—the British, French and Dutch."

"Driven out by the Japanese, defeated and discredited, they were back by force of American arms to reclaim what they considered theirs."

"They carried American arms. They wore belts 'made in the U. S. A.' They rode in American tanks and strafed native populations from American planes—to 'restore order.'"

"The Communists loved it...."

"Now, in Indo-China, we have just confirmed their opinion of us by recognizing the Bao Dai regime."

"Bao is an expatriate playboy, rather a nice guy according to reports, whom the French picked up off the Riviera and deposited on his throne with the fond hope that he could save their colony from the Communists."

"It doesn't really matter whether Bao is a French puppet, which he is or he wouldn't be there. The important thing is that the Indo-Chinese think he is a French puppet...."

U. S.'S QUISLINGS

"It may be too late to stop Communism in Asia. Some fairly intelligent people—not Communists—think so."

"We certainly aren't going to stop it with the defeated and discredited Chiang, who is trying to set up a model shop on Formosa after losing all China."

"Or with South Korea's President Syngman Rhee, a venerable but querulous old patriot who is holding elections in his country next month only because we put the heat on him."

"Or with President Elpidio Quirino, the 'merry widower of Manila,' a shifty politician whose office is stained with the blood of murdered voters, and who is on our side only so long as we continue to funnel more millions into the Philippines."

"Or with playboy Bao, even if he is a nice guy."

"It could be that the answer is to help people rather than governments. To back a revolution instead of buck one."

Thus foreign correspondent Beech. The picture is true to life. One wonders, however, whether this veteran newspaperman really thinks the U. S. policy is due simply to ignorance and stupidity, and that the only thing preventing Washington from backing revolution in Asia instead of bucking it is that the State Department is less well informed than he.

That won't wash. It's worth looking into the socialist analysis of the ties between U. S. imperialism and its brother imperialisms in Western Europe, and into the reasons why Truman-Acheson insist on using such shady characters as their quislings.

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