

## Leaders Map Conservative Line for Auto Workers' 12th Convention

# UAW'S MILITANT POLICY IN JEOPARDY

## Truman Aide Says Rent Freeze Is Over—Landlords Get "Fair Deal"!

In the rawest Fair Deal sellout to date, the Truman administration sent rent control flying up the flue, in effect.

Characteristic of the Democrats as distinguished from the Republicans, Truman preceded this action by about a week with a slam-bang oratorical blast against the "little group of ruthless men" of the real-estate lobby, accusing them of trying to stymie his housing program.

On Monday, June 27, the press announced that according to Truman's housing expediter, Tighe Woods, "The freeze principle of rent control is now a thing of the past."

At the beginning of the 81st Con-

gress, on the heels of his election victory, the president had asked Congress to extend and "strengthen" rent controls. Rent control was one of the important issues stressed by his labor backers to justify their support of the man who had used injunctions against labor seven times.

The new series of regulations issued by Woods throws the door wide open for rent increases on the basis of the landlord's making some kind of "capital improvement" in the property (including putting up a television aerial!). This is in addition to the big swath cut in rent control in April when the housing office announced a "fair return" deal

for landlords permitting increases in half the dwelling places under control.

The press reports: "Mr. Woods, commenting on the new regulations, saw them not only as a benefit for landlords but as a general economic stimulant, through their possible encouragement of spending by landlords."

This statement adds insult to injury, in view of the administration sponsored discouragement of wage raises for workers. "Encouragement of spending" by workers is—inflation; encouragement of spending by landlords is—an economic stimulant. This is the Fair Deal for the rent-gougers.



WALTER REUTHER

DETROIT, June 26.—In the face of a mounting crisis, which is the direct concern of every auto worker, the top leadership of the United Automobile Workers (CIO) has prepared a program for adoption at the 12th convention at Milwaukee from July 11 to 16 which falls far short of meeting the requirements of the situation, or of living up to the nation-wide reputation of the Reuther leadership.

What the Reuther faction has in mind was outlined at a top-level caucus meeting held in Detroit on Saturday, June 25, which was conspicuous in contrast with the broad caucus which the Reuther leadership held before the November 1947 convention. Only a small and select group of key people, chosen carefully by regional directors, were invited to be present.

Walter Reuther, Emil Mazey, John Livingston and Dick Gosser were present and worked as a team.

The most important single item discussed at this meeting was HOW and WHY dues should be increased to \$2 a month, a proposal which was previously approved unanimously by the entire International executive board.

The second general point was the program to "tighten up" the organization and "maintain union discipline."

The third point, which was not discussed but which had been agreed upon, was to preserve the "status quo" in leadership. No changes will be permitted.

The fourth main issue discussed at the top Reuther caucus meeting was the proposal for a convention every two years instead of every year. This will be introduced as a constitutional change, and the main argument for it will be the "saving money" argument.

This proposed program represents a clear victory for the conservative section of the Reuther

## Illegalities in NMU Vote May Annul Referendum

By N. GADEN

NEW YORK, June 27.—The National Maritime Union last week concluded an agreement, without a strike, with their contracted steamship companies. The new contract provides for an increase of \$7.50 per month in the form of a clothing allowance, and the previous form of hiring hall is maintained, subject to a final ruling on the Taft-Hartley Law by the Supreme Court. A new grievance system was established and some other minor amendments were made in the previous agreement.

It is widely felt on the waterfront that the new agreement fails to come to grips with the most pressing problems of maritime labor policy. Unemployment is rampant on the waterfront. Without a reduction of the maritime work week to forty hours, as long enjoyed by the shoreside unions, there cannot be any effective solution to this problem.

The contract just signed, far from increasing present manning scales, does not even restore the manning scales to that of two years ago, merely asserting that present manning scales will not be reduced.

The negotiating committee reported to the membership that they felt that this was the best agreement that could be obtained without a strike. The membership went along with this reasoning and voted to accept the proposal by 2037 to 147, in the port of New York.

### REFERENDUM MAY BE DITCHED

This vote reflects to a great extent the apathy widespread in the union. The indifference stems largely from the failure of the Curran administration to give a militant leadership in the current situation.

After his victory two years ago over the Stalinist machine in the union, Curran, instead of uniting the membership around his leadership for a militant struggle against the shipowners, began a battle to rid the union of any critics of his administration, especially Communist Party members. This battle was capped a couple of months ago when he put through a referendum vote to bar from membership in the union any members of the Communist Party or other "subversive" organizations.

This piece of State Department politics served to divide the membership further and weakened it in its struggle against the shipowners. In the course of discussion of the referendum the division became clear.

The Northern ports, especially New York, found progressive anti-Stalinists aligned with CP members in a

struggle to preserve the democratic structure of the union. On the other side, the leadership of the reactionary and bigot-ridden Southern ports sought by means of the amendment to consolidate their newly gained control of the union.

It was well known that the proponents of the amendments were using no scruples in the conduct of the election in their respective ports. This report was confirmed this week when the Honest Ballot Association, hired by the union to count the votes, reported that it could not give a decision, since so many of the votes cast did not conform to the rules established by the union to ensure a fair election.

At this writing it is assumed that the National Council of the union will have no choice but to throw out the entire election.

This does not mean that the administration will not make further attempts to undermine the democratic structure of the union. Only a militant and watchful membership will guarantee that union democracy will be maintained, so as to permit a genuine struggle against the shipowners in the future.

## UAW, Reuther and Political Action

There are many urgent issues before this 12th convention of the auto workers' union. As urgent as any issue, however, is the problem of political action. For the militants of the union to permit this to be slighted in the press of other concerns would jeopardize labor's progress.

Some two years ago, the union's executive board drafted a statement which, however inadequately, indicated a direction towards independent political action. A year ago President Reuther issued a statement which was purposefully vague in its details, but which nevertheless made the national headlines as a commitment to independence in political action. Reuther's statement was so drafted as to leave him a big out—and the "out" was big enough to permit him to climb the podium with Truman.

In his statement, Reuther committed himself to devote his major energies to political activity. Whether he has or has not is not the issue. Other situations undoubtedly claimed his time. The important thing is that his political activity has been of the wrong sort. He has skipped around the White House. None of it amounts to anything that will benefit labor.

Much was made of the "wily" plan to capture the Democratic Party of Michigan. That gaudy bauble has proved to be a lot less precious than it seemed to some. It was no big achievement in the first place. The policy behind it has merely continued to serve the purpose of leaving Michigan labor without an instrument of political action.

Who in his right mind can deny that political activity is of the first order of importance? The Truman victory has exposed its hollow content. Taft-Hartley is still on the books, and the best that is now being considered is a lousy "compromise."

Little progress has been made in civil rights. There really is no need to go down the line. The facts are well known.

The question is: What are we going to do, and when? The "what" is unmistakably indicated. Steps must be taken to shape a political instrument that will be ready for the next election campaign and which can be used as the only effective pressure on a Congress that will have to be COMPELLED to enact labor's wishes. The "when" is clear enough too: NOW!

The auto workers are in a position to give leadership on this as they have on so many other situations. The PAC organizations are ready at hand for conversion to weapons of political independence. More perhaps than any other act, a decision at this convention to call a conference of auto-union PAC bodies to plan independent political activity, would rally the enthusiasm of American labor. Much else can be done: an invitation to other unions for a political conference to plan local and national organized activity.

The end result: a party of American labor which champions the needs of all the people. Labor alone can be that champion. The auto workers are in a position to show the way.

There has been enough of wesseling on the issue. Enough of promises that seem to say one thing, and prove to be another. Enough of running for cover under the stern glance of Philip Murray—as the auto union delegates did at last year's CIO convention!

Independent political action does not in any way mean dragging "independently" after the Democratic Party. It means stepping out on the road that leads to a Labor Party!

## Chinese CP Developing New Coalition And New Bureaucratic Ruling Clique

By JACK BRAD

From Peiping last week the Chinese CP news agency announced completion of preparations for a definitive conference to be held late this summer to form a new national government.

This decision was reached after a five-day meeting of representatives of various CP and supporting organizations. The instrument for launching the new state will not be a popularly elected constituent assembly but a Political Consultative Conference of delegates from existing organizations in the CP-dominated coalition.

There is more than a touch of irony in this particular formula since it was General Marshall who, in 1945 and 1946, helped devise the PCC as the instrument for reorganization of the state. By reviving the PCC formula, the CP is able to claim legal sanction and political continuity with earlier efforts at national unity.

### NEW COALITION FORMED

The movement for a new PCC was launched last year in a call to all "democratic personages" to rally to the support of the "liberation armies" and to create a new unified coalition center in opposition to the crumbling Kuomintang. There was immediate response from many dissident groups, and as the CP armies advanced, this support increased. When the armies penetrated below the Great Wall and the Kuomintang's debacle was clearly at hand many of these organizations migrated north. When the CP moved its headquarters to Peiping last month

they followed suit.

At the preparatory conference last week there were representatives from 45 organizations. Besides the CP itself, the best known of these is the Kuomintang Revolutionary Committee headed by the former Nationalist general Li Chi-sen. Its function is to detach from the Kuomintang all those who can be induced to throw in their lot with the new regime but who cannot quite become Stalinists, or those for whom the Stalinists do not wish to take direct responsibility.

One of the aspects of the bureaucratic revolution is the Stalinist emphasis on continuation in office of the old functionaries of lower rank wherever possible. The CP seeks to win to itself whole sections of the old administration whom they desperately need to operate their governmental structure. Recently new schools were established where "ex-Kuomintang officials learn to serve the people."

Beside the smaller fry CP, strategy is concerned with capturing whole sections of the remaining KMT as splits in that dying organism increase and deepen. Li Chi-sen himself represents such a split. So does Chu Hsueh-fan, former head of the KMT-sponsored All-China Labor Federation and now in the same post under the new regime. It is rumored that Chu is in negotiations with Tu Yuen-san, former underworld boss of the Shanghai labor unions and a candidate for a list of the top ten most corrupt KMT leaders. General Li supposedly has good connections with the Kwangsi clique as well as the war-

lords of Yunnan, in the deep South. Perhaps more important than these opportunist considerations is the presence of Li in the CP-controlled coalition is a means of gaining the support of the urban bourgeoisie. For the commercial and industrial classes do not have political parties to speak for them.

In an indirect and ambiguous fashion Li Chi-sen acts as a symbol of coalition, that is, the representation of other interests than those of the CP, thereby making a claim for the confidence of the bourgeoisie. So long as the bourgeoisie is necessary to the Stalinists, General Li will have a place.

The Democratic League is the other

major participant. This organization had real strength among students, teachers and liberals throughout the country in the early post-war days. Even now it has many adherents among Chinese students abroad. Raising the banner of political peace and national unity above partisan interest, the Democratic League engaged in sharp criticism of Chiang Kai-shek as well as of the Stalinists. It gave fullest support to the Marshall Mission and the first abortive PCC. It was the last attempt to form a political buffer between the extremes which were plunging toward civil war. General Marshall saw in the handful of liberals who formed the league the

(Continued on page 2)

## CAL. FARM STRIKE GOES INTO SECOND YEAR! NATIONAL FARM UNION GROWING IN STATE

(NFU News Service)—The strike of employees of the Di Giorgio Fruit Corporation in Kern County, California, is now in its second year, with a picket line still maintained about the ranch.

A trial examiner for the NLRB has held that the workers cannot be penalized under the notorious Taft-Hartley Act, although a temporary injunction was secured by Robert Denham, general counsel of the board, nearly a year ago. Plans are under way for an appeal to the courts to set aside the injunction.

Meanwhile, the organizers and

the organizers and members in California are spreading the union gospel up and down the state. Three new local unions of the National Farm Labor Union (NFLU) with large memberships have been formed during the past two months. Stirred by an educational campaign carried on by Ernesto Galarza, Mexican Americans are taking the lead in building the Union organization in Orange and Tulare counties. Negro field workers in Kern County are also joining the "Okies" in building the union, having established a strong and effective organization in Bakersfield.



EMIL MAZEY

leadership, which has been pressing constantly to transform the UAW from the militant, leading union of the CIO into a normal, "responsible" pro-Murray official machine.

Their social and political outlook is not essentially different from the views of former president R. J. Thomas, who always opposed the "fancy economics" of Reuther. It is significant that men like Matthews and Kerrigan opposed Reuther and supported the Addes-Thomas bloc when he presented the radical GM program.

Now that Reuther has turned toward the right, they are not only his ardent supporters but they are setting the tone for the UAW. It is they who insist that Reuther act as the conservative arbiter deciding all questions, all elections, all resolutions within the framework of official CIO policies.

### REUTHER YIELDING

Reuther himself is far from reluctant to yield to their pressure. He sees nothing to be gained for himself by enunciating any new program to meet the needs of the working class. The opposition to him has been smashed. His greatest concern today is to establish a close alliance with Philip Murray and in that way ensure continued support to himself by all the conservatives in the union.

He reveals himself today for what he really is: not the man who creates the militancy of the UAW but the man who waits for it, the man who knows how to climb on the bandwagon of any radical surge inside the union, to raise himself up on it. Since the radicals and militants in the union are somewhat bewildered, unsure of themselves, not certain of what program can push the union ahead, Reuther moves toward his right wing.

Reuther is for the "status quo" in the union elections because he is anxious to retain the support of the conservatives. If the militants organize against the conservatives, the conservatives will be forced to organize in self-defense. Reuther would have to choose sides in the struggle. Whichever way he went, he would antagonize one side or the other. And where Reuther is forced to choose today, he chooses to support the right wing because he has become more and more the loyal right-hand man for Phil Murray.

In his recent speeches, he has been introducing the word "discipline" often enough to make everyone sit up and take notice. At the conventions of the CIO he has no new policy to offer; he does not suggest how to make the CIO the "yanguard of America"; he restricts himself to resolutions threatening the expulsion of all unions which refuse to endorse official CIO policy.

### WANT FRESHER LEADERSHIP

But the UAW has not gained its leading role in the American labor movement by following official policy. The fight against the no-strike pledge, the GM program, the recent Ford strike, the resolutions for a "new political realignment in 1949"—these were not quite within the framework of official policy. Reuther's proposal for strict "discipline" (Continued on page 4)

What's Happening to UAW Democracy?  
See Feature Article on Page 4

## UAW Local Proposes that CIO Run Labor Candidate for N. Y. Mayor

By DAN SMALL

NEW YORK, June 25.—At a meeting of Local 365 United Auto Workers (CIO) in Long Island City last Wednesday, the membership unanimously voted to recommend to the City CIO Council that it move to run independent labor candidates for mayor and other New York City posts in the coming election.

The UAW-CIO delegates to the City CIO Council were instructed to bring the recommendation before the City Council, with the idea that the CIO group get together with AFL unions to run union candidates for city offices either through the Liberal Party or otherwise.

The vote was preceded by a discussion in which it was pointed out that organized labor had lost out in its policy of backing candidates of the Democratic and Republican Parties. The point was made by the president of the local that not only had labor been sold out, as expected by the "reactionaries" in both major parties, but that the "liberals" likewise had compromised to the point of selling out on labor's program.

"The only way to get the political job done that we want done," he said, "is to do it ourselves through our own people whom we can control. We don't rely on our 'liberal' friends to do our picketing when we fight the bosses for wage increases; we do it ourselves and it gets done right. The same for our political fights."

The membership of the local union agreed and reaffirmed their traditional position for independent political action by labor.

Coming —  
in the July 18 issue:  
A feature page documenting anti-labor laws and practices in Stalinist Russia



# Broyles Commission Witchhunters Rampage Against Academic Freedom

By LEO DEL MONTE

CHICAGO, June 20—The Broyles Commission (the "Little Dies Committee") of the Illinois state legislature, after the ignominious burial of its vicious "anti-Communist" bills in the legislature—a setback due primarily to the alertness of civic groups in the state and to effective counter-measures taken by the students and faculties of the University of Chicago and Roosevelt College—is trying to smother academic freedom here by denying tax exemption to those schools which, in the words of the Chicago TRIBUNE, "refuse to rid themselves of Communist front professors, organizations, and activities."

More appalling than the vicious content of the Broyles bills were the underhand tactics to which Senator Paul Broyles and his lackeys stooped in their attempt to push them through the legislature without letting the people of Illinois know about them until it was too late. When a handful of U. of C. and Roosevelt students aroused the attention of the whole state to the menace, Broyles & Co. countered by ordering an investigation of "subversive activities" at the two schools.

### "GUILT BY ASSOCIATION"

And when a thorough investigation, replete with such professional testifiers and investigators as Howard Rushmore and J. B. Matthews, failed

to reveal evidence of such "subversive activities," the Broyles Commission, still not satisfied, declared:

"While the professors apparently could see no real harm in such ['Communist front'] activities, we cannot but feel they were on very unsound ground, and did, despite their professions to the contrary, suffer in some degree from 'guilt by association.' [I]

It was disturbing, and in fact appalling, to find that some of the faculty members refused to accept the right of the Justice Department and other governmental agencies to list certain organizations as 'subversive,' 'Communist,' or 'Communist front' organizations. They held to their point of view even though they were advised, and agreed, that these listings were not made until a thorough investigation had been made by the Federal Bureau of Investigation and all other investigative agencies of the federal government."

### SMEAR AND STOOL-PIGEONS

In a partial record of the investigation published by the University of Chicago's All-Campus Committee Opposing the Broyles Bills and the Broyles Investigation, the statements made by Representative G. William Horsley about what he considered subversive activity on the U. of C. campus could leave no doubt that the commission's target was not merely Stalinist totalitarianism but anything seriously opposed to the status quo.

For example, activities or publications of the Communist Club (Stalinist), Politics Club (Third Camp), Committee on Racial Equality (anti-Stalinist Negro civil-rights organizations), Student Forum (representing every shade of thought on the U. of C. campus), Campus Committee to Defend Academic Freedom (organized to help the strike of the students of Olivet College), Campus Committee against Conscription (semi-Stalinist), Students for Democratic Action (affiliated with ADA), and Socialist Club (SP-oriented)—all these were denounced by Horsley as "subversive," "left wing," or "Communist front."

Horsley went so far as to state that the Student Republican Club is "Communist-dominated," because its former vice-chairman has been a vigorous fighter for democracy and civil rights. (It would not be out of place to mention that Horsley never visited the U. of C. premises during the course of the investigation, but obtained his information from a "reliable informant," (i. e., a stool-pigeon.) Even anti-Stalinist liberals (to say nothing of radicals) are not safe from the Broyleses and Horsleys.

What Illinois' "Little Dies Committee" is telling the public and private schools of all levels in this state is that any educational institution that fails to comply with the thought-control measures of a crew of uneducated louts is to lose its tax exemption. It wants the right arbitrarily to decide what is a subversive organization and what is not, and to dictate to the schools of Illinois accordingly.

### WITCH HUNT PROGRAM

The majority proposals (opposed by only two members of the commission) are as follows:

(1) Expulsion from any tax-exempt or tax-supported school of any student who refuses to say whether he is a Communist and whether he will fight on the side of the United States in a war with Russia. (The same applies to those who acknowledge Communism, the statement said.)

(2) A private investigation by the officials of the U. of C. and Roosevelt College and all other educational institutions concerning student activities, Communist clubs, faculty affiliations, etc.

(3) Prohibition of sale on campus of Communist propaganda, refusal to allow campus bulletin boards or publications to carry advertisements of Communist meetings, and denial of campus facilities for such meetings.

(4) Survey of textbooks and required reading material to eliminate material which advocates theories and doctrines of communism or "other subversive doctrines."

(5) Dismissal of professors who refuse to resign from known Communist or Communist-front groups.

(6) Investigation of new campus organizations to ascertain whether they are made up of persons who have been members of "questionable" organizations. (The Young Progressives of Illinois is cited as an example.)

(7) Denial of tax exemption to any school which allows Communist-front professors to teach, or which allows Communist-front groups to flourish under faculty sponsorship.

The pundits of the Broyles-Commission concluded their statement by saying: "We feel the greater institution of learning and the more noted and recognized the educator, the more caution should be exercised in their conduct, as their influences will be felt, even though in a way coming from an indirect source, and their leadership will carry weight."

The people of Illinois and the students and faculties of the U. of C. and Roosevelt College have shown their mettle in combating this vicious trend, but the fight is not yet over.

# Chinese CP in Coalition—

(Continued from page 1)  
best hope for effectuating American policy.

### LIBERALS IN CP COALITION

In March 1947 the Chinese National Student Federation issued a New Year's manifesto recording its equal opposition to the Stalinists and the Nationalists. It declared itself for "the Party of the Middle Way" and organized popular demonstrations against the civil war. Naturally, all these actions occurred in Nationalist areas; the Stalinists had succeeded in thrusting the onus for civil war on the KMT.

In retaliation Chiang Kai-shek illegalized the Democratic League and began police suppression of the students. KMT thugs murdered several league professors, who became political martyrs for the students, while the CP came to the political support of the students. Caught between blandishments on the one side and active terroristic hostility on the other, the league and the most politically alert students turned northward for salvation.

However, the Democratic League was never quite a political party. It never succeeded in becoming more than a collection of what the Stalinists call "democratic personages." With KMT suppression these people came to accept the CP as bringer of peace and democracy. The League retains formal existence but its leading intellectuals increasingly tend toward political surrender of initiative and independence.

### STUDENTS JOIN NEW BUREAUCRACY

In recent months these groups have acquired a new significance. As the CP began to occupy cities it called upon students and intelligentsia to march behind the armies to form the administrative corps of the new governments. On one occasion a call went out for 10,000 students, which was oversubscribed.

One reporter indicates the changed situation: "In the last few weeks a steady stream of students has been quitting the various nationalist universities and middle schools to enter

### It's Them Needs It

We pass on a comment by Assistant Secretary of Labor Ralph Wright, made in a speech before the Colorado State Federation of Labor in June, apropos of the propaganda about labor getting "too big." He said:

"You frequently hear comments about big, strong and rich unions. But you seldom hear anyone mention that 40 per cent of all industrial workers in the United States are employed by only one tenth of one per cent of all the employers. It would be well for those who oppose labor unions to remember these facts."

We agree. We also suggest that Mr. Wright include the item the next time he makes a speech to an EMPLOYERS' gabfest.

### Tout Tip

One of those municipal scandals recently broke in Boston involving the city council and bookies. It seems that bookies with friendly connections had been using the phones in the chambers of the city council itself to do their business—so much so that an additional appropriation of \$74,000 for phone service had to be asked.

But that isn't how the scandal broke. The bookies were just plain inconsiderate: they often made the city fathers stand by and wait for a phone while they plied their trade.

The moral of this story is: Always Be Polite! Even a Grafting Politician Has Feelings!

Communist territory. A significant example is the University of Honan. The writer knew some of the students there: they were a timid, on the whole conservative, "provincial" community. This summer, when the Communists temporarily occupied Kaifeng, the capital of Honan, they appealed for teachers and technicians. Two large groups from the university—professors as well as students—threw up everything they had and left for Communist territory." (Eastern World, January 1948)

While there are some idealistic motivations involved, the great magnet for the Chinese intelligentsia is the place they can occupy in the newly created hierarchy. With deft use of flattery, the Stalinists make places of honor for the intellectuals. In the creation of the new bureaucratic class that is emerging to rule China the intellectuals and technicians will form a large stratum.

This development has further reduced the independence of the Democratic League. Its members and those who would otherwise support it find it increasingly difficult to discover any distinction between their own desires and those of the CP.

There are other organizations involved in plans for the new PCC, such as the KMT Society for Promotion of Democracy, the Association for Democratic Construction, Peasants and Workers Democratic Party, and the National Salvation Society, whose luminary is the senile Mme. Sun Yat-sen.

All of them will have representatives at the PCC but will mean nothing. They have neither a distinctive program nor mass or even sectional appeal or support. The only military force on which all depend is the CP army. They can share the victory to the extent the CP needs them.

The rule which the CP has instituted in governmental organs is to limit itself to one-third representation. There is every likelihood that in the PCC and in the state that emerges from it this rule will be maintained to give a semblance of independence and coalition. Other delegations will come from organizations such as those listed above. But the largest number will claim mandates from functional groups such as trade unions, the newly created Chinese Student Federation, Women's Congress, the army, and the various regional governments, all of which are CP-controlled. In this manner the party will hold de facto control over the assembly.

### FEDERALIST PATTERN EMERGING

A significant omission in the call for the PCC, or in any of the published speeches at the preparatory conference, is any reference to the regional governments other than acknowledgment of their right to representation. To date the administrative form established by the CP con-

sists of nine inter-provincial regional governments which legally have considerable political and economic power. In practice the Politburo of the party has formulated basic laws while the regional governments have administered them. Each of these governments is, of course, also a coalition with the distribution of offices in accordance with the national formula. Most likely the party will maintain this structure in any new central state, which will thereby assume a federalist form.

Such a federalism would have several useful functions. Immediately, it would permit the CP to set its own pace in continued military conquest while creating a state to which future adherence could be made without disruption. This has particular applicability to the huge outlying provinces such as Sinkiang, Sikan, Tibet, the great Northwest—that is, those peripheral areas of China which have enjoyed either semi-autonomy or outright independence throughout Chinese history, depending on the power of the central government.

Unlike China proper, which is racially homogeneous, there are Tartars, Turks, Manchus, Mongols and scattered primitive tribes in these areas. By contrast with China proper many of these people are Moslems and Lamaists in religion. A federal structure could be the bait for adhesion to the central regime with "cultural autonomy" of the well-known Stalinist variety.

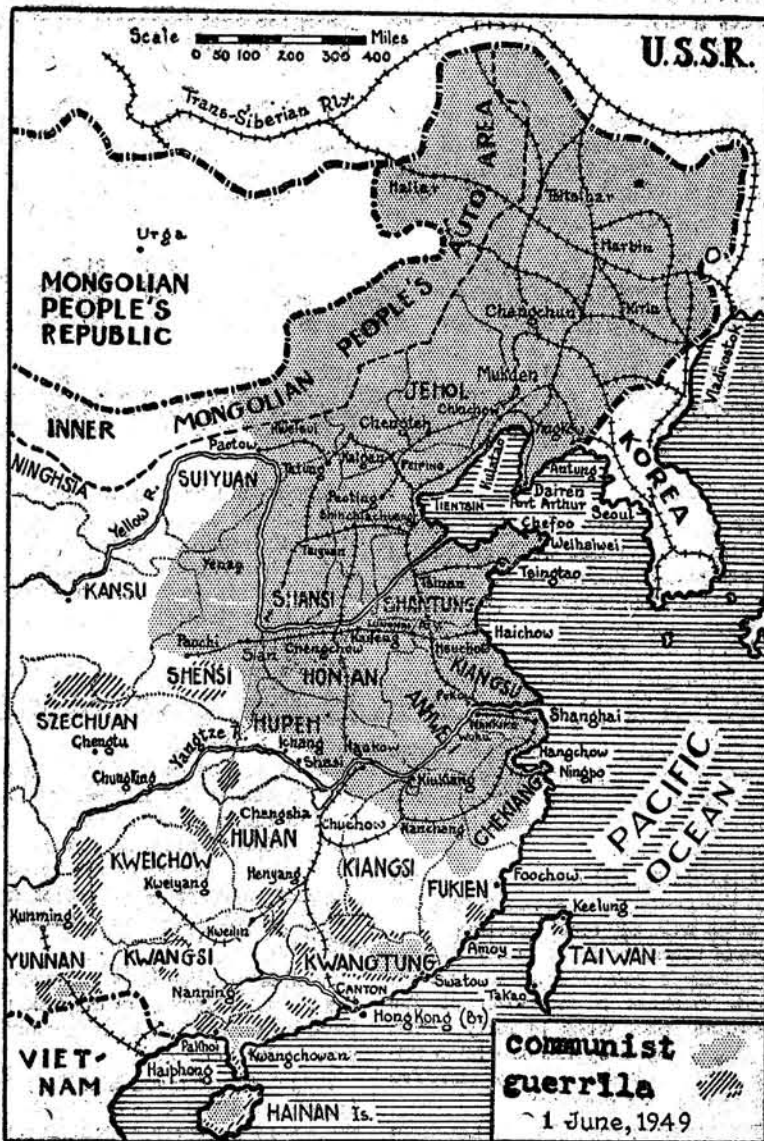
There is, in addition, a larger con-

sideration. Russia's interest in Central Asia has expanded considerably since 1941 when she began to relocate her industry.

Huge new industrial structures have been erected in formerly barren wastes. Only a few weeks ago, Russia negotiated a new monopoly of air traffic over Sinkiang. It is suspected that this new treaty will reorient Sinkiang economy westward toward Russia and that many special rights, including control of magnesium deposits, have been recognized.

Russia's interest extend to China's northwest provinces and to the two Mongolias. Most important, and possibly decisive to China's industrialization is Russian economic and strategic interest in Manchuria. With regard to Manchuria there are some indications that in recent weeks understandings have been reached between Russian and Chinese Stalinists as to the division of economic control.

A federation of regional governments would be part of the formula for a modus vivendi with the Russians. Varying degrees of Russian interest could be protected locally while the Chinese CP base itself in the central regions. Under such a formula the Sinkiang Treaty, with its recognition of Russian spheres of influence and special prerogatives in Manchuria, would receive the sanction of the Chinese CP. If the above analysis proves correct, such a federalism could be one of the means of exorcizing the ghost of Marshal Tito from China for a short period at least.



**34 WEEKS**  
since labor won its great "victory" at the polls on November 2 by re-electing Truman and a Democratic majority—but  
**The Taft-Hartley Law is still on the books!**

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## Readers Take the Floor...

### "Home of the Brave"

To the Editors:

Two comments on the review of the moving picture, "Home of the Brave," that appeared in the June 13 issue of LABOR ACTION:

(1) Some mention should have been made in the review of the fact that during the entire film the hero never at any time stands up for himself against the character in the picture who heaps the worst abuse on him; his white buddies are allowed to do this for him. The fact that his buddies do this is real and natural, but the fact that they alone do it is extremely unnatural. Had the hero taken a swing at the race-baiter or told him that he would unless he shut up, the movie would have conformed more closely to real life. However, those who profit from Jim Crow have too much invested in the film industry to allow the portrayal of such reality. In every theatre where this movie is shown, those in the audience whose minds are not twisted with prejudice would rejoice if the baiter took a few on the jaw or got told off.

Thus, one of the major avenues of capitalist propaganda would, in this case as in many others, be giving the stamp of approval to a justifiable reaction to Jim Crow.

Hollywood is going along with that group of industrial capitalists who are nominally led by C. E. Wilson, president of General Electric and chairman of the Truman Committee on Civil Rights, who are today giving lip service to the fight against Jim Crow, and little more, in order to conservatize the Negro population. Even though, as the author of the review says, the production of such a film is "a fact to be celebrated," the reasons why it was produced and the more than probable limitations of this and future Hollywood films on the same theme must be kept in the limelight by socialists.

(2) The review raises a question in the next to the last paragraph, in a way which can only mislead the readers of the ISL press. "In decades," it says, "perhaps, the Negro question will become a subject for historical or period movies and the simple, elementary fact of Jim Crow will no

longer arouse such dramatic tension. Crow will have disappeared except for some of the psychological leftovers." What does the reviewer mean by "in decades"? Does he mean after as it does today? This could be paraphrased: "In decades, perhaps, Jim the establishment of socialism, perhaps? Or does he mean that perhaps capitalism can end Jim Crow? The position of the ISL is that it can only be eliminated under a new society, and this should be made clear. Had the author left out this comment about the future of Jim Crow it might be said that it is unnecessary to formally inject the League's position into every article and particularly in a movie review, but it is raised and seems to reflect the same illusions put forth in an article which appeared in the April 1948 issue of the New Internationalist, entitled "Can Capitalism End Jim Crow?" in which the author, E. R. McKinney, answered his own question with an indirect, ambiguous, "round and about" YES.  
SCOT BYER

Regarding Point 2 in Comrade Byer's letter, we think he's overlooking the actual point of the sentence he quotes, which was not intended to bear upon any discussion of the future of Jim Crow under capitalism. It was written in connection with the comparison between Home of the Brave and the French film Jenny Lamour in the course of making the excellent point that American films will show themselves COMPLETELY free of race prejudice only when they are capable of doing what Jenny Lamour does: show a white father and his Negro boy without any necessity for the slightest comment or pointing-up. It seems to us rather far-fetched to consider that the reviewer's use of "in decades, perhaps" in making this point should necessarily entail a discussion of "Can capitalism end Jim Crow?"—Ed.

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# Editorials — Don't Let CP Carry Ball For Civil Liberties!

The Greater Los Angeles CIO Council, under its new anti-Stalinist leadership, stumbled and fell on the issue of civil liberties and the Communist Party.

The case in point was that of Dorothy Healey, secretary of the Los Angeles Communist Party, who has been cited for criminal contempt in refusing to answer federal Grand Jury questions and who solicited the CIO Council's support.

The reply of the Council Executive Board in a resolution passed by a wide majority was that the case does not "involve any question of civil liberties," and that "for the executive board to support Dorothy Healey in her personal situation would be tantamount to supporting the Communist Party."

Now, why did the council disclaim any responsibility in the Healey case? Further on in its resolution it maintains that it "will vigorously and wholeheartedly support any members of the CIO, or others, who are the innocent victims of violations of their civil rights," but not the Communist Party.

The disposition of the Healey case throws into sharp focus the new political relationship of forces and the new atmosphere in the council, where a "right-wing" coalition ousted the twelve-year rule of the Stalinists.

Hated of the Stalinists, however well founded, and lack of a positive and creative program is blinding the council leadership to the point where it cannot see any issue of civil or democratic rights if the CP is concerned.

There are many dangers inherent in the stand the council took on the Healey case:

(1) It ignored the current political atmosphere in the United States. This is the day of the witch-hunter and the loyalty probe. The over-all trend is toward the curbing of independent ideas and expressions.

(2) There are other issues involved besides the Communist Party. The judicial and legal infringements used now against the Communist Party all serve as precedents against any non-conformist.

(3) The CP is being allowed to appear to carry the ball on the question of civil liberties. Since genuine infringements of rights that are supposed to belong to all are involved, the Stalinists are able to gain sympathy and adherents when they become victims of and fight against these infringements.

(4) It's the wrong way to fight the Communist Party. The CIO is finding it difficult to combat the charge that it is abetting, or at least winking at, the Rankins and Tenneys in their own particular fight with the Communist Party.

(5) The ranks are tired of pure-and-simple anti-Stalinism. There have been many criticisms made by rank-and-file supporters of the CIO leadership. "We're tired of fighting the Communies just for the sake of fighting the Communies."

The major fear motivating the CIO disclaimer of civil liberties is that of allying themselves in any way with the Communist Party. This is party-line logic in reverse.

What is totally lost sight of by the CIO leaders is that a statement by the CIO condemning the violations of civil liberties, even when they affect members of the Communist Party, at the same time disclaiming any sympathy or support whatsoever of the Communist Party, would be the most effective blow that could be delivered against the totalitarians on both sides.

The too-subtle and too-convenient argument about the Trotskyists and the CP support of their prosecution under the Smith Act has already boomeranged. The CPers answered the CIO spokesman: "Why, then, should you make the same mistake the CP made? Why don't you support the twelve?"

There is a small genuinely reactionary core in the "right" caucus which says: "You have to fight fire with fire—you have to use totalitarian methods against the totalitarians." There is a good chance that the totalitarian hose will be turned on those who are now looking the other way.

It has been demonstrated by the CIO majority to the point of boredom that the Stalinists follow the Moscow party line. But where is the answer to the Stalinist charge that the majority follows the Washington-Wall Street party line?

# Norman Thomas' SP Tries to Dodge on A-Pact, Gives It Shamefaced Support

By SAM FELIX

It might be thought that a socialist organization would have a relatively easy time in rejecting a military pact which, it admits, "intensified" the cold war, a pact which formalizes the race to war between the two imperialist camps.

The Resolution on the North Atlantic Pact by the National Executive Committee of the SP, appearing in the May 27 issue of the Socialist Call, attempts to skirt even the elementary responsibility of taking a position, any position.

The resolution indicates that there is a "new situation" in which there are "important dangers" such as increase military appropriations, militarization of our relations with Western Europe, and military aid to "prolong imperialist control over the lives of colonial peoples."

It is through this device of stating that the pact creates "none of these dangers" which threaten the world with a new imperialist war, but that they are merely "intensified" by the "formalization of the pact," that the SP avoids a definite position.

WASHINGTON'S LEFT WING This resolution is the attempt of the SP to find a middle ground between support of the American imperialist camps and a socialist rejection of the imperialist war camps.

ADOPTS BASIC APPROACH OF LIBERALISM "It may mean the indefinite postponement of the program of universal disarmament"—but it is not longer able to reject the consequences. So firmly has it tied itself to the tail of American foreign policy that it is virtually indistinguishable from the more liberal elements in the State Department.

And so they move from bad to worse. The resolution starts with the statement "The Socialist [that is, the SP] view of the current problems of foreign policy stems from two basic objectives. One is to maintain peace. The other is to stop the expansion of

totalitarianism. We are interested in each of these objects for its own sake. . . . These twin objectives constitute our approach to the problems raised by the North Atlantic Pact."

NOTHING TO SAY What ought to distinguish a socialist (any kind of socialist!) from middleheaded liberals, kind-hearted bourgeois, men of good will and assorted peace-lovers is precisely the fact that the socialist's view does NOT "stem from" the desire for peace and opposition to totalitarianism ALONE.

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# SPARKS in the NEWS

## Confession

From a report published by the American Military Government in Germany:

"Government should be careful not to expose its impotence. To prevent strikes by law is very difficult. This has been the experience of all industrialized and democratic countries. The only solution is to deal with the causes which underlie the strike."

The report, made for the AMG by an AFL man, further points out that "despite threats of dismissal," even civil-service employees in Germany staged a one-day strike against high prices. And it comments: "No disciplinary action actually followed, and the work stoppage demonstrated the truth of the maxim that 'government should be careful not to expose its impotence.'"

By the same token, it would be a good thing for workers to find out the truth that the powers-that-be ARE impotent when the men fight together in solidarity for their own interests and their own rights.

## Numismatic Note

In addition to all of his other economic difficulties, in Spain, Dictator Franco is having trouble with his coins.

Certain of them, bearing a profile of The Leader, have been circulating with a Stalin mustache expertly engraved over the Franco phiz. It seems that critics of the dictatorship in Barcelona took them to illicit engravers.

The government is trying to retire them from circulation as—shall we say—a face-saving device.

## Lowdown

The "Weekly People" for June 25 reproduced an interesting ad for war bonds which the U. S. Treasury Department ran in the April 1943 issue of "Institutions," a manufacturers' trade magazine. It read:

"This is more than a war of mechanical monsters clashing in the night, more than a war of production.

"It is a war for markets—YOUR markets! The Axis wants your business—wants to destroy it once and for all. With so much at stake, there is no doubt you can meet this Axis threat. . . ."

The revenuers didn't run this ad very widely—seems its appeal was limited. . . .

## Funeral Eulogy

The Des Moines Tribune can recognize a convert when it sees—or smells—one. In an editorial about the testimony given by Norman Thomas on the A-Pact, it says:

"Socialist Norman Thomas could hardly be called a 'warmonger' . . . In fact, he is more properly classified as a pacifist. . . . Yet Norman Thomas has given the proposed Atlantic Pact his qualified endorsement. . . . Most Americans would accept these qualifications."

Then comes the knife: "MR. THOMAS HAS NOT LET HIS BELIEFS IN SOCIALISM AND PACIFISM BLIND HIM TO THE BASIC ISSUE IN THIS CASE. . . ." You said it, Mr. Editor: this "socialist" you're plugging certainly isn't letting his beliefs in socialism blind him to anything—he's got them firmly under control. In his back pocket, closely buttoned.

And now here's the really funny part. This will say you:

The Socialist Call (June 10), organ of the Socialist Party, reprints the above editorial (in even earlier detail) in boldface type. They're PROUD of the fact that the capitalist press is back-slapping their leader for successfully acting as if he were NOT a socialist!

# Cal. 'Anti-Subversive' Tenney Bills Would Subvert Democratic Rights

The accompanying article is condensed from a talk broadcast by news commentator Gordon Haskell over FM station KPFA-interim (Berkeley, California) on June 2. Mr. Haskell's commentary may be heard every Thursday night at 7:45 over this station.

The present session of the California State Legislature has before it a whole sheaf of bills which, if passed, will gravely affect freedom of speech, press assembly, education and association in this state. These bills have been introduced by State Senator Jack Tenney of Los Angeles, who for some years has been chairman of the state Un-American Committee.

Most of the "Tenney Bills" require the signing of a so-called "loyalty affidavit." The people required to sign them would be all teachers; employees of state, county and local government; all candidates for public office; employees of any employer who has a contract from the federal, state or local governments; all attorneys and candidates for an attorney's license. In addition, such loyalty affidavits could be required by all unions from their members.

Any person in the above categories who refuses to sign such an affidavit would be denied employment or could be fired if already employed. Any person falsely signing such an affidavit could be prosecuted for perjury or for fraud in accepting his or her salary, and could therefore be fined and imprisoned.

## DEFINITIONS A LA TENNEY

The bills as they are actually shaping up for passage require an affidavit stating that the person does not belong to any organization listed by the attorney general of the United States or by a congressional committee as "subversive." People will also have to check off all organizations on the attorney general's subversive list to which they have ever belonged or which they have supported directly or indirectly.

In this effort to remove any so-called Communist or "subversive" from any job remotely connected with the government or government spending, Mr. Tenney has left nothing to chance. In Senate Bill 129 the terms "Communism" and "Communism" are defined for all legal purposes as follows:

"Communism is a political theory that the presently existing form of government of the United States or of this State should be changed, by force, violence or other unconstitutional means, to a totalitarian dictatorship (a) which is based on the principles of communism as expounded by Marx, Lenin, and Stalin; or (b) in which the government holds title to all or substantially all raw materials and production and distribution facilities.

"A Communist is a person (a) who practices communism or who advocates communism by word of mouth or writing; or (b) who prints, publishes, edits, issues, or knowingly circulates, sells, distributes or publicly displays any book, paper or document or written or printed matter in any form containing or advocating or advising communism; or (c) who organizes, as-

sists in organizing or knowingly becomes or remains a member of a group of persons advocating or practicing communism; or (d) who knowingly and voluntarily assembles with a group of persons at which meeting communism is advocated."

## WIRE THE WASHROOMS

That was quite a, mouthful. But there's more to come. One bill provides that any person attending a meeting to which the press and the public aren't invited at which "Communism" as defined above is taught must see to it that his right name is placed on a public register. If he doesn't, he's a criminal.

In another bill, any building or place which is used for a meeting of two or more persons at which anything "subversive" is advocated as per Mr. Tenney's definition is declared a public or private nuisance and shall be "enjoined, abated and prevented" in about the same manner that a bawdy house or a gambling den. That includes any meeting hall, your home (which used to be your castle), or the washroom at your plant.

We mention this last especially for Mr. Tenney's benefit. Experience indicates that dictaphones planted at appropriate places in factory and office washrooms will quickly prove them to be veritable hotbeds of meetings of two or more persons advocating all kinds of subversion against foremen and employers, particularly with regard to "their rights under the Constitution of the United States" to administer their property and employees as they see fit. Of course, these places would also be provided with public registers so that all workers attending such meetings can put down their right names for the benefit of their boss.

Finally, an act already passed by the Senate forbids teachers to "indoctrinate any pupil with, or inculcate any preference in the mind of any pupil for: Communism, fascism or Nazism. Teachers may teach the facts about these political or social theories, but only in such a way that no one could possibly be swayed to prefer them.

## DOES IT "DEFEND DEMOCRACY"?

Now what is the purpose of proposing all these bills for passage, regardless of their detailed provisions? And what would be the effect on our civil liberties if any or all of them actually become law?

It may very well be that you are violently opposed to the Communist Party in this country and to Stalin's slave state which it represents. It may be, further, that somewhere you've picked up Mr. Tenney's notion that all people who advocate the ideas of Marx and Lenin are for a violent imposition of a totalitarian dictatorship over the people of America.

Does it follow from this that the best way to defend democracy in America is to make it impossible for any person who might hold such views to make a living? Does it follow from this that the defense of democracy in America in the 20th century requires the denial to people who hold such views of the right to meet to discuss them, or to publish papers and books advocating them? Is it really possible that democracy

is scarcely capable even of thinking like a socialist organization. It sees the dangers involved—to the SP the big danger is that "it may mean the indefinite postponement of the program of universal disarmament"—but it is not longer able to reject the consequences. So firmly has it tied itself to the tail of American foreign policy that it is virtually indistinguishable from the more liberal elements in the State Department.

The SP remains the loyal left wing of this imperialist policy. ADOPTS BASIC APPROACH OF LIBERALISM "It may mean the indefinite postponement of the program of universal disarmament"—but it is not longer able to reject the consequences. So firmly has it tied itself to the tail of American foreign policy that it is virtually indistinguishable from the more liberal elements in the State Department.

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**SP Pushes for Merger with SDF**  
In connection with the accompanying story on the growing friendliness of the Socialist Party toward the American imperialist policies, it is interesting to report that a few weeks ago the SP's Socialist Call officially reported a strong possibility of unity between the Norman Thomasites and the Social-Democratic Federation.  
Such a merger has been in the air for some while, but the recent convention of the SDF took a long step toward it. The SDF is the organization of the extreme right-wingers who split from the SP in 1934 because of left tendencies in the latter group; at that time the SDFers were known as the "Old Guard" (i. e., fossilized) socialists. Today the policies of the SDF are virtually indistinguishable in any way from other general liberals, and even its socialist phrases are reserved for ceremonial occasions.  
The SDF National Convention, held May 21-22, instructed its National Executive "to confer with the Socialist Party on the feasibility of calling a joint convention as soon as possible." A minority resolution went further, with the instruction to "propose to the SP that simultaneous conventions be held. . . . in the fall for the purpose of uniting the two organizations." This was indeed carried by a narrow margin on a hand vote and defeated by only 29-22 on a rollcall.  
As a result, the SDF leadership has announced, following the convention, that a membership referendum on immediate unity will be held in December.  
SP representatives at the convention declared that "as far as the SP is concerned, we believe that unity is feasible now. Any policy differences. . . are well within a socialist framework and can easily be thrashed out in a joint convention."  
The two most important questions up to now hindering SP-SDF unity have been election policy (support of the Democrats or not) and foreign policy (support to American imperialism). The SP is now indicating that it is willing to go over to the SDF crowd on both of these points.



Analyzing the Forces at Work Seeking to Undermine Militancy of America's Greatest Union—
UAW Proud Democratic Tradition Under Attack

By ABE MILLER

The democratic traditions and practices of the Auto Workers Union (CIO) can easily be numbered among the proudest and most cherished achievements of the American labor movement since the days of the almost legendary IWW.

In the darkest days of the last war when practically all other unions rushed, uncritically and bureaucratically, to fall in line with the no-strike pledge and other anti-union pledges, the UAW was the only union to call an immediate emergency conference to vote on the question.

TOWN-HALL CONVENTIONS

The conventions of the UAW in their way demonstrate the difference in content and form between the auto workers and, say, the unions of the steel or textile workers.

Conventions of the latter are generally marked by a dullness and uniformity that remind one somewhat uncomfortably of Stalinist-controlled conventions. There is the apotheosis of the leader and/or his chief assistants. Over the convention hangs the hush that is generally to be observed in schoolroom assemblies while the principal pontificates.

The UAW conventions, by contrast, are the genuine town halls that so many of our gentry like to hark back to in their nostalgic moods. A mood of genuine egalitarianism pervades its sessions. Everyone is game for the delegates, from the august Phil Murray to hixoner Joe Blow.

man of the convention does not order the delegates around—he pleads with them.

Leaflets and newspapers representing different points of view or the resolutions of various locals are distributed until the tables are literally covered with them. Parliamentary rulings by the chairman are quite often challenged and beaten. The seriousness and intensity of the delegates in pleading their points of view are reminiscent of the argumentativeness and political differences at conventions of political parties of labor.

ROLE OF SHOP STEWARDS

For many of us, the contrast between the UAW and the rest of the labor movement is marked in other ways. The auto union is a shop stewards' union, not the kind of business agents' union so well represented by the International Ladies Garment Workers (ILG), the Amalgamated Clothing Workers or the Textile Workers Union.

Elections for shop stewards in most UAW locals are generally contested. The steward plays an important role in the conduct of UAW affairs. Local officers and even International officers solicit his support.

UAW locals publish monthly, even weekly, newspapers—genuine products of shop workers, encouraged by the national center.

UAW leaders and stewards have not been trained to avoid the use of their economic weapons—strikes, walkouts, slowdowns, etc.

LEADERS RESPONSIVE
Leaders in the UAW come up from the ranks. They are democratically elected by delegates. Compare the methods used in many other unions: Outsiders are hired and organized.

While fundamentally these forces have not as yet altered the course of the auto workers, they have made their impression, as we shall see below.

The practices of the Communist Party have weakened the democratic traditions of the UAW. UAW activists, although uninfluenced by Stalinist political policies, have not hesitated to use some of the methods initiated by them in political struggle in the union.

Leaders in the regions and in the International of the UAW change quite often. Regional directors seldom last more than three terms. Local presidents, particularly in the larger locals, move in and out of office. They yield to pressure from the rank and file stewards and secondary leaders.

But various pressures are battering unceasingly to open the union gates to "good," "respectable," "responsible" trade-unionism.

Through the agencies of their journalists, politicians, and even "friends" in the labor movement, the corporations try to induce the UAW to give up its "foolish adolescence" and to don "long pants," presumably the striped variety.

SAPPERS AT WORK

Leaders of other Internationals, embarrassed by UAW practices as contrasted with their own, try to persuade it to "grow up," to practice industrial "statesmanship." Articles about the impartial-chairman policy of the ILG are plugged; the textile union's policy of refusing to ask for wage increases is widely publicized; the N. Y. Times praises Murray's policies—all of this with an eye to molding rebellious unions,

especially the UAW, in the image of the "cooperative" and "agreeable" unions.

While fundamentally these forces have not as yet altered the course of the auto workers, they have made their impression, as we shall see below.

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In Toledo, where one amalgamated local dominates the life of the UAW, it is practically impossible to change the leadership because of the very structure of this amalgamated local. Here the Gossler group is based on bureaucratic practices well mixed with a minimum amount of militancy and smart public relations.

On the West Coast, support of O'Halloran by Vice-President Livingston and representatives of Walter Reuther has alienated some of Reuther's most devoted followers.

Charles Kerrigan, long-time director of Region 9A on the East Coast and also a new convert to the Reuther camp, is basically conservative. During the war he fought every local in his region which was following progressive policies, such as the militant Local 365 led by Tom Delorenzo.

In the past, whenever the matter of speedup has become a burning issue among the rank and file of any plant in the corporation and when sufficient pressure was applied to the International Executive Board for strike action, in most cases such action has been authorized and strikes have taken place.

from the proud policies of his former local.

Another latecomer to the Reuther group is Norman Matthews, one of the directors of the East Side Detroit region. By skillful political navigation, he has remained in office long enough to build a machine which specializes in maintaining "correct" relationships with the important corporations.

REUTHER'S DRIFT

The Reuther group is not a monolithic whole, far from it. In its makeup there are conflicting tendencies which are united in the past by the desire to defeat the reactionary Stalinists and their allies.

Perhaps one of the most vital issues facing the coming convention of the UAW-CIO at Milwaukee will be the question of speedup.

It is no accident that most contracts existing in auto today contain a uniform clause protecting the right of "free enterprise" to exploit labor by increasing production standards (speeding up) unhampered by union interference. Labor leaders have agreed to the inclusion of this clause in contracts, in large measure, because they agree with the bosses that the "rights of free enterprise" have to be respected.

For example, the present contract between General Motors and the UAW says in Paragraph 78:

"Production standards shall be established on the basis of fairness and equity consistent with the quality of workmanship, efficiency of operations, and reasonable working capacities of normal operators. THE LOCAL MANAGEMENT OF EACH PLANT HAS FULL AUTHORITY TO SETTLE SUCH MATTERS."

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Each section of this stratum has its own reasons for whittling down democratic methods. One group desires to build a benevolent dictatorship à la Dubinsky (in the interests of the workers, naturally!).

Others fear the return of the Stalinists to power to such an extent that they give the conservative elements of the Reuther administration a blank check. Many sincere militants are confused by current political and economic events.

and file is extremely militant, production standards are frozen at the rate which existed before the strike took place.

However, even before the ink is dry on the settlement papers, the efficiency experts are back on the job checking and changing standards. The workers involved, seeing that nothing has been won by their fight, suppress their anger and gather their strength for the next test—a test which often ends in the same manner as the previous one.

BUGAS BRAYS

The National Association of Manufacturers, forced by the growing discontent and rising militancy of the American worker against speedup, is attempting through full-page advertisements in various newspapers throughout the country to justify the speedup on the basis that there is no excessive fatigue involved and that the take-home pay is greater.

John Bugas, Ford vice-president, just previous to the recent Ford strike against speedup, issued the following statement to his supervisors and the general press:

"Experience elsewhere with standards based on the same normal pace as our 100 per cent shows that qualified men with incentive pay and without limiting conditions, can work at 125 per cent or more YEAR AFTER YEAR WITHOUT ENDANGERING THEIR HEALTH."

Recently, the management of the Singer Sewing Machine Company in Elizabeth, N. J., a plant now out on strike against speedup (a speedup, by the way, agreed to by the Stalinist leadership of the union several years ago, and the company is now throwing this fact back into the same leadership's face) issued the following statement in a full-page advertisement carried in all metropolitan newspapers:

"We are sure that our workers are more refreshed on Friday after a full week's work than they are on Monday at the start of the work week AFTER ONE OF OUR TRADITIONAL AMERICAN WEEK-ENDS."

The company further goes on to state that the incentive plan meets with the full approval of many workers on standards since they have been producing at a capacity of 140 per cent efficiency.

But the fatigue "angle" and the greater take-home pay propaganda is slowly being exposed for the phony argument that it is. No one can deny that a greater expenditure of energy is required when speedup takes place. Anyone who has ever worked on a Ford, Chrysler or GM assembly line knows the depth of fatigue experienced after the day's work is through.

But the speedup cannot be beaten if fought only on humanitarian grounds. LABOR MUST CHALLENGE THE RIGHT OF FREE ENTERPRISE TO ESTABLISH PRODUCTION STANDARDS AND INCENTIVE PLANS AND TAKE THIS RIGHT FOR ITSELF.

Walter Reuther may not personify these forces but he allows himself to be used by them. In his better moments, he talks and occasionally even acts like a socialist. But he finds it more expedient to go along with the backward leaders of his group. He does not discourage the Reuther cult among the paid functionaries of the union.

While forces are moving toward calcifying the union, Emil Mazey is playing a role that is surprising many of his former associates, especially the Briggs workers. Mazey, once known as a dynamic fearless fighter for his minority point of view, is now acting like a mere office administrator.

(To be continued next week)



Labor Control of Production Standards Is Needed to Fight Speedup

By ROBERT WEST

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ON THE RIGHT WING

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OHIO LABOR NOTES

Ohio Legislature Kills FEPC Bill; W&S Strike Weakened by Scabbing

By JOE CLARK

COLUMBUS, O., June 22—All hopes for an FEPC from this session of the Ohio legislature were killed leader than the proverbial doornail here today. The proposal has been kicked around like a football by the politicians since last February.

The action today was stormy and took place in the Senate. The House had previously passed a fairly strong bill, one that had some chance of being effective, but it was well known that the Senate was of quite a different mind.

Newspapers report that this was the stormiest session of the Ohio legislature in many years. It lasted six hours and the language used by some of the senators was hardly fit to print in a family paper.

The proposed bill was attacked by representatives of the Ohio Chamber of Commerce, by lobbyists for a number of large manufacturers, and last but not least, by Senators Boyd and Sawicki of Cleveland, which happens to be a large industrial city and the largest city in Ohio. Thus it is not difficult to see who is opposed to FEPC.

Some months ago the Cleveland City Council had before it an ordinance for setting up an FEPC in the city. Representatives of some of the large employers argued that the job could be done just as well by a voluntary committee, that educational work was needed most and that this could not be done by force or by passage of an ordinance but must be "voluntary."

STRIKERS LOSING GROUND

In the long and bitterly fought strike at the Warner & Swasey Company in Cleveland, the company appears to be getting the upper hand.

Some of the strikers are returning to work (with lots of police protection) and it also appears that some outsiders are being hired and are going through the picket line.

ing through the picket line. This is far from the normal working force of 1800 but it is enough to give the union a big headache.

This is reflected in the union's changed attitude toward the company. The union is now pressing for "arbitration" but the company is cold and distant and shows no desire to meet at all; through its representative it says it "does not wish to go on any more exploring trips and there is no use in meeting unless the union has something concrete to offer."

The strikers are facing a very difficult situation. Some time ago the company obtained a court order limiting the number of pickets at each gate. This had been done some time ago at the plant of the Wellman Company, struck by the MESA (Mechanics Education Society).

Not so long ago we witnessed the Fawick-Airflex strike which was so magnificently messed up by the United Electrical Workers (CIO) and resulted in 440 days jail sentences and \$22,000 fines for the strikers. In that case the well known CP membership of the strike leaders was exploited to the utmost by the forces of "law and order" and the judge got away with it because no other organizations came to the support of the UE.

Of course the International Association of Machinists, under whose auspices the W&S strike was called, is by no stretch of the imagination a CP-dominated organization. But the local pattern was set in the Fawick-Airflex struggle, and the Warner & Swasey Company was quite happy to take advantage of it.

A feeble attempt yesterday to picket the home of one of the strikers who had returned to work was soon broken up by police. The union is in a tight spot.

to get the plant running with scab labor. But business in general is slow. They probably figure that this is a good time to break the hold of the union. The strikers are weakened by six months of unemployment.

TRUCKERS GET RAISE

Just in time to prevent a strike, 3500 Cleveland truck drivers were given a raise of 10 cents per hour and six paid holidays per year. They are members of Local 407, Teamsters Union. Although the Cleveland Draymen Employers Association had loudly insisted they would never yield to the drivers' demands, they finally did so.

WAR BETWEEN RIVAL PAINTERS

Several newly painted houses in Cleveland have been hit by stench bombs and "smear" paint during the past week. So far the police have made no arrests. This has brought bitter complaint from F. A. Luchino, business agent for District 50, United Construction Workers. His union is an affiliate of the United Mine Workers and the buildings which were hit were being painted by UCW painters.

Luchino charges that the bombings are the work of AFL painters who are trying to kill the rival union.

UNEMPLOYMENT, RELIEF NEEDS

Ohio, like most of the industrial states, is experiencing a rapid growth in the number of unemployed and consequently the problems of relief are increasing. Governor Lausche has already warned the whole state that "Ohio's poor relief load is increasing by leaps and bounds. With relief and unemployment growing larger daily we soon may find this to be our most pressing problem.

Cuyahoga County, in which Cleveland is situated, has cut 10 per cent from the allowance of most of its relief families. Others have been put to work on city projects. Signs of depression are beginning to reappear.

UAW's Militant Policy—

(Continued from page 1)

in the CIO would undermine the leading role of the UAW.

All the delegates from Detroit know or should know about the frantic efforts that have been made in recent months to quell movements WITHIN the Reuther caucus by staunch Reuther supporters designed to freshen up the leadership by removing some of the less competent or qualified regional directors.

Actually what is involved is not this or that individual, but the right and duty of the ranks to make improvements in the leadership, as they have been doing for years. What is involved is the preservation of the democratic tradition of the UAW, the fact that the ranks have been able to make changes.

Today it is ONLY the personal intervention of Walter Reuther that is saving or may save the scalps of some of the regional directors who, everyone knows, can be replaced by better leaders who will fight more consistently and understandingly for Reuther's program as outlined in his many speeches in the past three years.

What has happened in the pre-convention discussion in local unions is a resurgence of the terrible factional atmosphere that marked the Reuther-Ades-CP fight, only this time the violent antagonism has been against any critic, even those pro-Reuther supporters who differ on how or that point.

HOW WILL THEY FIGHT?

Has official CIO policy been adequate in meeting the problems of the day? That is what must be decided by every militant who supported Reuther in the hope of finding a new, a better way out of the difficulties of the labor movement.

The CIO leadership, including Reuther, has mapped out its de-

mands for the 1949 contract negotiations: wage increases, pension plans, health insurance. Every one of these demands is excellent. But that is not the decisive question.

The employers in every case have so far turned down all demands with a blanket No. Why was the Ford strike abandoned and not turned in to the big strike of 1949 for all the demands of the auto workers?

The union leadership today is afraid to embark upon a militant strike policy because they are afraid of antagonizing their faint-hearted friends in Washington. They fear that the great "friends of labor" in Congress would desert them when the chips are down.

And where is Reuther's balance sheet of the results of CIO election policy? What happened to the resolution for a "new political realignment"? What will be proposed to the convention is a carefully worded statement of policy which emphasizes building labor's own political machine on a grass-roots level.

It all depends upon the militants, especially upon those inside the Reuther caucus who have put Reuther

financial, to be solved by an increase in dues. The union must change its course. Every militant would be ready to pay more money to his union to support strikes for the 1949 demands, or to launch a new political organization. But that is not what is being proposed.

The Reuther leadership, in particular its conservative wing, feels emboldened by lack of opposition. However, they may find it convenient to exaggerate the danger of the Communist Party in order to keep their own people in line. But it remains to be seen how far they can succeed in their bureaucratic manipulations.

Can they get their blank-check increase in dues? Can they palm-off two-year conventions? Can they "strengthen" the constitution by making inroads into local union autonomy and by putting "sleepers" into the constitution which will then give the International board greater powers over the rank and file?

It all depends upon the militants, especially upon those inside the Reuther caucus who have put Reuther

in the leadership because they want a more democratic union, a more militant one, one which shows the lead to the whole country.

FIGHT LOOMING

What these militants can do was proven in the recent Ford strike, which was called despite Reuther and which was led by pro-Reutherite local leaders. By militant action they forced Reuther to come out in support of their strike despite his vacillations.

INTERESTED? Get acquainted with the Independent Socialist League

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

I want more information about the ideas and principles of independent socialism and the Independent Socialist League.

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The problems of the union are not