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LABOR ACTION

MAY 23, 1949

A PAPER IN THE INTEREST OF SOCIALISM

FIVE CENTS

American Apologists Get Cold Reception from Crowd at Huge Rally

RDR Holds 'Anti-War Day' in Paris

By PIERRE COLIN

PARIS, May 6—One week after the Stalinist "Peace Partisans" conference held in this city, an "International Day of Resistance Against War and Dictatorship" was held on April 30 on the initiative of the French RDR—the Rassemblement Démocratique Révolutionnaire (Revolutionary Democratic Assembly).

The title selected for the conference betrayed in advance that it would be vague in character and confusing to those who looked ahead to some sort of clarification and inspiration. Who on earth professes to be FOR war and dictatorship?

The "Day" consisted of an afternoon session at the Sorbonne Amphitheatre and a large mass meeting in the evening held in the Madison Square Garden of Paris, the Velodrome d'Hiver. The aim of the RDR sponsors was to provide a free forum for an interchange of ideas and attitudes on the war among the various currents of the "democratic Left." Their idea of reinstating democratic discussion within the French labor movement, in order to counterbalance the corrosive totalitarian practices of Stalinism, is praiseworthy; but to do this effectively requires a clear posing of the specific problems of the Left and a clear-cut defense of one's own position. As we shall see, this was not entirely the case during this RDR rally.

TOUT LE MONDE ET SA FEMME

Pre-conference preparations were impressive: hundreds of giant posters were placarded through Paris; thousands of handbills were distributed; the Franc-Tireur, third largest Paris daily, devoted a special page to the conference for a week preceding the conference.

The heterogeneity of the conference's participants and supporters were enough to arouse an uneasy feeling even prior to its convocation—they ranged from Ingrid Bergman to the French Anarchist Federation and from the Bolshevik-Leninist Party of Ceylon to William Green of the AFL, etc. Supporters from the U. S. included Reuther, David Dubinsky, Harold Urey, Sidney Hook, James T. Farrell and Karl Compton.

The Spanish delegation represented all anti-fascist currents excluding the Stalinists. From England came representatives of the Labor Party, the Independent Labor Party, the Commonwealth Party, Bertrand Russell, several scientists, etc. From the Italian socialist movement came Ignazio Silone, Carlo Levi, Faravelli and Garosci. The German trade unions of the bizonal area were officially represented by their leader, Tarnow.

Numerous international organizations also supported the conference, among them the Socialist Movement for a United States of Europe and the anti-imperialist colonial Congress of the Peoples. The French delegation was particularly extensive, encompassing almost everybody

from liberal-center to the extreme non-Stalinist left. It included the four non-Stalinist trade-union federations, the left wing of the MRP [Popular Republican Movement, government party], the Socialist Party, the Anarchists, non-CP intellectuals, etc.

Almost on the eve of the conference Jean Paul Sartre, member of the National Council of the RDR, and Richard Wright withdrew their active participation in the conference declaring that the character of the conference and the beliefs held by a number of the participants indicated a danger that it might appear as a "pro-American bloc." They later modified their attitude and sent a written declaration to the conference expressing their views.

FARRELL RAISES THE FLAG

The afternoon session at the Sorbonne heard short talks on the question of war and democratic liberties by 30 delegates. Violent pro-Atlantic-Pact speeches were given by Sidney Hook, Farrell, and DeKadt, Dutch Social-Democratic deputy. Many gave sentimental, ambiguous talks about liberty, humanity, and peace (Depreaux of the French SP, Tarnow of the German unions, LaCroix and several others of the Catholic Left, etc.). Varying versions of the third-camp position on the war were presented by Racine, leader of the French Autonomous Trade Unions, Claude Bourdet, editor of the daily Combat, Paul Fraisse of the RDR, Bob Edwards of the I.L.P., Marceau Pivert for the Paris Federation of the SP, and a declaration signed by Sartre, Wright and Merleau-Ponty.

The American delegation which actually was present at the conference

(Continued on page 4)

RDR Muffed Its Chance To Take Clear Stand

By MAX SHACHTMAN

The Paris Conference Against War and Dictatorship organized by the RDR of France [see accompanying report—Ed.] was a significant demonstration, much more by virtue of what went into it than by what came out of it.

In its own way—and the conference reports show how inadequate its way was—it showed how extensive and deep-seated are those forces in Europe that seek a democratic road out of the blind alley into which the Old World has been driven by the social crisis, how strong is the fear of Europe's destruction in the war between the two imperialist giants, and how great is the hope and resolve that real peace shall at last be enjoyed by the peoples.

These are the forces that went into the conference and made up its real substance. They showed that despite the cruel blows and wounds that Europe has suffered, and the greater ones that threaten it, the old continent is far from dead and not everyone on it is pessimistic, cynical and resigned to a gloomy destiny. Their assembling under one roof even for a single day's demonstration, is an encouraging sign for the future of Europe.

SHOWED EXISTENCE OF THIRD-CAMP FORCES

Europe in the last couple of decades or more has known more than one "anti-war" and "pro-peace" and "anti-fascist" conference. In practically every case, they had no more in common with their proclaimed purposes than the one held not so long ago in New York's Waldorf-Astoria Hotel or the one that followed it under the same auspices in Paris. They represented nothing more than a mobilization of Stalinists and dupes of the Stalinists for the defense abroad of the totalitarian terror in Russia. Whatever weight they had went onto scales of the Russian Foreign Office, which organized them.

The conference organized by the RDR was of a radically different nature. Not because it, in distinction from the others, adopted a program on the basis of which war and dictatorship can be effectively combated. The makeup of the conference precluded the adoption of such a program. Its distinction lies in the fact that it assembled significant organizations and representatives of important currents of political thought that are hostile to Stalinism and all other totalitarian regimes.

(Continued on page 4)

CP 'Bureaucratic Revolution' Rolls Over a Passive China

By JACK BRAD

The central strategy of the Chinese CP armies is clearly not geographic. While their march below the Yangtze has brought huge territorial acquisitions, the main military objective is the destruction of Kuomintang armies rather than conquest of specific objectives. The crisscrossing of columns to form a series of encircling pincers is the immediate plan being employed.

These armies have progressed as fast as their feet could carry them. Their limitations are not due to enemy obstruction. No authentic battle has yet been recorded. The Kuomintang, intent for its part on preserving the remnants of its organized forces,

will continue to hesitate to give battle. The main objective of the KMT, insofar as it has any consciously directed orientation, is salvage. That is one major reason it has not committed its armies to battle and probably will not do so in the current campaign.

The present campaign has certain limited aims. A far greater consolidation will be necessary, for example, before launching the conquest of Canton and the South and Southwest. Many political problems will have to be resolved, among them being relations to Viet Nam, the question of Tibetan autonomy, what to do about Hong Kong and the administration of the Southern commercial metropolis of Canton. No statements have been forthcoming on these matters as yet. It seems likely, therefore, that the CP armies will limit themselves to the Yangtze valley and the provinces adjacent to it.

BUREAUCRATIC REVOLUTION

This kind of piecemeal strategy is an essential characteristic of the Stalinist conquest. It is based on military advance, strictly planned and regulated by the top leadership. The great masses of village and city are deliberately kept quiescent. Their support is solicited, but only as benevolent neutrals. On the day of launching the present offensive the CP military leadership issued an eight-point proclamation, the first point reading in part: "It is hoped that all people regardless of their class, faith or profession will maintain order and adopt a cooperative attitude toward the People's Liberation Army."

Nowhere in the countryside have CP armies been met by self-liberated peasants who have risen against their oppressors and taken the power. Reporters on the scene write that the peasants continue their daily round of toil while the armies maneuver and battle around them. This also is a consequence of the bureaucratic character of the revolution.

Point 7 of the above proclamation indicates the policy that keeps the peasant in his place until the CP gets ready to liberate him. "The feudal land-ownership system in rural areas is to be abolished, but it must be eliminated only after adequate preparations and step by step. The land problem can only be solved after the People's Liberation Army has arrived and work has been carried on for a considerable period for its solution."

This is a far cry from the great popular revolutions of other times or of China in 1925-27, when the armies

of the then revolutionary KMT were greeted everywhere by local peasants' militia and general popular soviets. The tiredness of the people is evident. They do not take their own destiny in hand but permit the CP to do it for them. Thus the CP is coming to power on the backs of a passive populace rather than on a great insurgent wave. That is why it

(Continued on page 3)

Big Anti-CP Caucus Organized in UE-CIO

By J. B. TERRY

DAYTON, O.—The May 7-8 conference in this city of 300 anti-administration representatives of the CP-controlled United Electrical Workers Union demonstrates a formidable gain for the opposition. It marks a distinct change from the guerrilla tactics of the previous opposition campaigns to rid the UE-CIO of its Stalinist bosses, and places the struggle on a higher and broader level. This big development at least poses the possibility of defeat for the Fitzgerald-Empack-Merles machine at the September convention.

In selecting its candidates, the conference drew upon forces which have up to now been complacent in their opposition to the Stalinists. Thus the candidate elected for president is Frederick M. Kelly, business agent of Lynn (Mass.) Local 201, who is recognized as a leader and spokesman of the General Electric workers; these, along with the Westinghouse members, constitute the bulk of UE strength.

CANDIDATES SELECTED

Mike Fitzpatrick of Local 601 (Westinghouse) in Pittsburgh was the choice of the conference to oppose Julius Empack for general secretary-treasurer. A leader in Local 601, Fitzpatrick has solid backing of the overwhelming majority of his 15,000-member local and is not to be confused with his brother Tom Fitzpatrick, a close collaborator of the Stalinists and their handpicked choice as Pennsylvania state chairman of the Wallace Progressive Party.

John E. Dillon, president of Ford Instrument Local 425, Long Island City, was tapped to contest James J. Moties as director of organization. Dillon, a product of the traditional opposition group UE Members for Democratic Action, balances the slate of one from the General Electric chain, one from Westinghouse and one from the independents. His candidacy is noteworthy in that he is an advocate of an independent labor party and was the author of the District 4 group's platform submitted to the conference and including the labor party plank among its proposals.

The conference, called under the sponsorship of five Dayton locals representing 23,000 members, took a giant step forward in establishing itself on a permanent caucus basis by selecting an executive committee that is to meet regularly and by creating an administrative center to function out of Dayton. Joseph Hawkins of Local 711 and William Snoots of Local 804, the secretary-treasurer of the Montgomery County (Ohio) CIO, were designated as chairman and secretary respectively and charged with responsibility for the center.

The selection of Ohio-Kentucky District 7 as the site of the conference was not accidental since the greatest oppositional progress of all the UE districts has been in this one. District 7, which casts roughly 560 votes at the convention and which voted solidly for Fitzgerald & Co. at the 1947 Boston Convention, now shapes up 370 for the opposition and 190 for the administration. Confidence was expressed by District 7 reporters that this ratio would be

(Continued on page 4)

Ford Strikers Bitter; Co. Insists on Speedup

By WALTER JASON

DETROIT, May 16—The Ford Motor Company continued its drive against the UAW-CIO during the past week in a way that has aroused the kind of bitter feeling and hostility among the strikers such as will make any compromise settlement more difficult.

Meanwhile the UAW leadership was beginning to lose hope that it could isolate the strike issue into merely a B building dispute. The negotiations between company officials and UAW leaders headed by Emil Mazey began to sound acrimonious this week.

Rubbing salt into the wounds, the Ford Company announced that another seven Ford Local 600 officials were fired last Friday.

Since the company did this ostensibly under the "company security" clause which was put into the 1946 contract by the bloc between Richard T. Leonard and the Stalinists (and it remained thereafter), there is not much agitation on this point by the Stalinists. In other respects they are trying desperately to exploit the inability of the Reuther leadership either to win a quick compromise victory on the speedup issue or go all out for the pension plan now.

When a few pickets under the urg-

ing of the Stalinists began to picket negotiations, Walter Reuther denounced them, and the newspapers had a field day against the "Communists." Among UAW ranks this was taken as a matter of course. Everyone knows the CP is trying hard to make a comeback.

REUTHER'S PRESTIGE DOWN

But when Reuther posed in a very friendly picture with John Bugas, the ex-FBI agent who is boss of the Ford negotiations, the reaction against Reuther was noticeable in many shops. There is little question but that his personal prestige has taken a slump downward during the past week and a half. The friendly pose was taken when Reuther congratulated Bugas on the birth of a child. It was certainly a poorly timed publicity stunt.

For some reason that is inexplicable—unless one delves into the field of psychology—the top Reuther leadership felt late last week that settlement would be reached. This judgment was wrong.

Ford officials are making a real fight on this question. They insist on the right to speed up the line, through running production schedules as they see fit.

(Continued on page 3)

28 WEEKS
since labor won its great "victory" at the polls on November 3 by re-electing Truman and a Democratic majority—but

The Taft-Hartley Law
is still on the books!

Alka-Seltzer, Wheaties, Ex-Lax, and Now—

Big Ad Campaign Sells Capitalism

By MIKE STEVENS

Big business has organized one of the biggest propaganda campaigns ever attempted in this country. The purpose of the campaign is to convince the workers that there is no need to struggle for a better living. The theme of the program is that this is the "land of opportunity" and that workers and capitalists are both part of "one big happy family."

The program is called "a campaign to explain the American economic system." Big business is enthusiastic about it. General Electric and General Foods each contributed \$100,000 to it in two months. Among some of the other heavy contributors are: Republic Steel, Remington Rand, B. F. Goodrich, Prudential Insurance, International Business Machines, Burlington Mills, Aluminum Co., U. S. Rubber and 100 other corporations.

This gag has been tried before. But never on so great a scale as in this campaign. Nor has it been approached so skillfully in the past. And the sorriest aspect is that it has the blessings of trade-union leaders and some heads of Negro organizations.

ANA FRONTS IT

When big business decided on this campaign two years ago, it directed the Association of National Advertisers to set up a committee for this work. The ANA is made up of public relations and advertising executives from all big industries who know how to sell products and ideas. It is one of the organizations set up by big business to protect big business.

The fact that these people are experts in propaganda was only one reason why this outfit was chosen. A more important reason is that the name ANA is not associated in the public's mind with big business. Never-

theless, the label ANA means the same things as National Association of Manufacturers or Chamber of Commerce.

The ANA says it conducted a survey and found that "Americans are as sympathetically inclined today toward the American Economic System as at any other time in U. S. history. But they are misled by labels and 'causes' such as 're-distributing the wealth,' 'planned production,' etc. They cannot appreciate our System because they do not understand the basic fundamentals of how the System functions. Unknowingly they favor moves which would do violence to the very system they profess to believe in—again because they don't understand how the system works. Especially in the event of a recession, it is agreed that our system may well need understanding at the grass-roots level to survive."

LABOR LEADERS FALL FOR IT

The ANA took this statement around to leaders of trade unions, Negro organizations, college professors, social workers and to others and sold them on it. Many of them joined the "Public Policy Committee" front of the ANA. The only thing, it seems, that they saw in it was that a big advertising campaign was going to be put on to show the American workers that they were better off than the workers in Russia and other totalitarian countries.

How else can one explain the fact that leaders of labor have agreed to sit on such a propaganda committee with representatives of anti-labor corporations? How else can one explain why a representative of a Negro organization sits with executives of companies who do not hire Negroes, and tells them the kind of

propaganda that might appeal to the Negroes?

We know that these labor leaders and heads of Negro organizations are not for socialism and therefore we do not expect them to behave like socialists. But we do expect a labor leader to question why Republic Steel, for example, is spending hundreds of thousands of dollars in this campaign. We expect the Negro organization leaders to be shocked when anti-Negro businessmen ask them if a certain type of "propaganda" will make Negroes happy and docile.

(Continued on page 4)

St. Louis Students Vote 3-1 for Immediate Admission of Negroes

By ANDY MARTIN

ST. LOUIS—The students at Washington University here have voted overwhelmingly in favor of the admission of Negroes by September, 1949, in a poll held May 4, 5 and 6 by the Student Committee for the Admission of Negroes (SCAN).

The total vote of 2283 was the largest ever recorded in the history of the school on any issue; it amounts to more than one-third of the student body. Of this number, 1767 favored

admission and 516 opposed it. The percentage favoring admission was more than 3 to 1. The election was preceded by a vigorous campaign of agitation and publicity, culminating in an open-air rally attended by over 400 students.

This record vote with its favorable result was attained in spite of the opposition of Student Life, campus newspaper. The newspaper opposed the poll on the ground that it was "designed to force the administration's hand." Pressure from the administration was obviously the reason for its taking this cowardly position.

The administration is supposedly committed to "eventual" admission of Negroes to all schools and recently announced that Negroes would be admitted to all graduate schools, except dentistry and nursing. However, the membership and leadership of SCAN were determined to secure more rapid action on this question and therefore insisted on specifying the date on the ballot. This resulted in the defection of some of the less courageous elements and in the opposition of Student Life.

But their determined stand also resulted in a poll that has some real meaning. The poll cannot be interpreted in any other way than as a demand by the student body that the administration end its policy of discrimination and immediately begin the admission of Negroes.

**Coming —
NEXT WEEK —**

**An Interview with
RICHARD WRIGHT**

famous American Negro writer, who attended the recent RDR "Anti-War Day" in Paris and there presented a forthright stand on the war question together with Jean-Paul Sartre and Merleau-Ponty. We regret that this dispatch was received from Paris too late for inclusion in this issue.

Student Federation Against War Formed by New York Campus Clubs

NEW YORK—The New York Student Federation Against War was founded here on Friday, May 18, at a conference attended by 35 representatives and observers from student clubs and off-campus anti-war groups.

Campus clubs participating were from Brooklyn College, Queens College, City College Day Session, City College Evening Session, New York University and Columbia. These seven clubs are the charter affiliates of the federation.

Individual students attending the conference who were not members of any student club indicated their desire to join the organization as members at large.

In drawing up the constitution, the delegates voted to make the planks on the anti-war fight and the fight for civil liberties the basis for affilia-

tion. Also included in the declaration of purpose were: orientation toward the labor movement and the aim of an equalitarian society.

Two weeks before this founding conference, a preliminary discussion of the project had taken place at a similar meeting called by the Independent Socialist Club of Brooklyn College, where the club president presented an outline of the proposed organization, stressing the necessity of basing the movement on unalterable opposition to the war preparations and policies of both Russian and American imperialism. This anti-war plank was adopted by the May 13 conference.

In next week's LABOR ACTION, the Youth and Student Corner will carry more details and discussion of the New York Student Federation Against War.—Ed.)

LABOR SCOPE

CIO Dodges Fight on Md. Ober Bill Labor Misses Chance for Civil-Rights Fight

BALTIMORE—The Ober bill, worst "anti-subversive law" yet passed in any state, is still the leading issue in Maryland news.

The Maryland CIO Industrial Council, at its last meeting in Hagerstown, defeated a motion for the state CIO to conduct a petition campaign to get the measure put on the ballot for a referendum in the 1950 general election. The reason given was that the members of the council were not well enough informed on the law to decide on any action. This is a backward step from the strong stand which the CIO took when it came out against the bill at the public hearings in Annapolis.

The failure of the CIO to take action is in sharp contrast to the optimistic and aggressive stand being taken by the assemblyman from Garrett County who was the lone dissenter when the bill passed the House and Senate. He recently announced that he has canvassed the voters in his county and is convinced that the majority of them would vote against the Ober bill if it goes on the ballot in a referendum, on the ground that any move to take away the civil rights of minorities is the first step toward taking away the civil rights of all.

Meanwhile, the state attorney general has announced that he will delay the appointment of the special assistant attorney general called for in the bill to enforce the law, until a suit brought to test the constitutionality of the act by a committee of ten citizens has been decided. He says the suit claims, in part, that the appointment violates a section of the state constitution which makes it unlawful to create or abolish any regular office under an emergency law (which the Ober bill has been declared to be). Until the special assistant has been appointed, there can apparently be no action taken to enforce the section of the act which would list subversive

organizations and order their dissolution. However, the state and the cities have already set machinery in motion requiring employees to sign loyalty oaths.

A CHANCE TO EDUCATE

It is to be hoped that the CIO will change its mind in the near future and decide to conduct a campaign to submit the Ober bill to a state referendum. Here is a chance for the CIO to show WHY it is anti-Communist. Too often, in the past, its anti-Communist attitude has been on a near red-baiting basis.

In a campaign against the Ober bill the unionists can show that they are anti-Communist because they must defend civil rights and democracy in order to survive, whereas the CP opposition to the bill is a fake because they neither believe in nor practice democracy, either in the unions they control, in their party, or in the countries which they rule with a heavy bureaucratic hand in Europe and Asia.

If the CIO fails to fight, it abandons the fight for civil rights to the Communist Party, and thereby helps to increase its prestige. If, however, the union movement of Maryland takes the leadership of the fight against the Ober bill, it will be grabbing an opportunity to kill two birds with one stone—expose the phony democracy phrasemongering of the CP and at the same time show that the big-business pro-war elements of the state also are the enemies of democracy.

There is speculation among some union men of Baltimore on how much the influence of the Catholic Church has to do with the reluctance of the CIO to fight the Ober bill. It is known that some priests gave sermons supporting the bill before its passage and that Catholic organizations were prominent in supporting it during the hearings.

Philco Strike Ends: No Pay Raise; UE Local Awaits 'National Pattern'

PHILADELPHIA, May 10—The 6500 production workers at the 21 Philco plants in this area returned to work today, ending a 7-day strike. The union had demanded a 15-cent per hour wage increase but went back to work without any increase at the present time.

The agreement, which was ratified by the membership of the Philco Local 101 and 102 of the United Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers (UE) at meetings yesterday in the Kensington Labor Lyceum, did however provide for a one-year extension of the contract with two additional holidays (total eight) and provided "standard hospitalization benefits" at company expense. The wage question was left open with a stipulation that Philco would be required to consider wage increases "if and when in the opinion of the union, a national wage pattern within the industry is established."

There was considerable opposition in Local 101 to the acceptance of the agreement since the wage rates at Philco are lower than those now being paid elsewhere in the radio industry.

AFFECTS NEW UE GROUP

Since the leadership of the two locals is an important part of the opposition caucus in the UE, and since James Carey and Harry Block were participants in the negotiations, the poor settlement terms tend to weaken the fight to regain control of the national union from its Stalinist leadership. If a new national wage pattern is established within the radio industry by the present UE leadership, then the resulting wage increases which would be gained by the Philco workers might be credited in a large part to the Stalinists. However, to date, the Stalinist machine has just stepped aside to let others establish the national pattern by postponing negotiations with General Electric and Westinghouse.

The strike was well supported by the membership. A picket line numbering in the hundreds barred office workers from entering the main plant at C and Tioga Streets while flying squads prevented the company from transferring work to various small plants and offices. The original demands for the 15-cent increase and the pension plan were reasonable considering the needs of the workers, comparative pay scales, and the corporation's ability to pay.

Even though the agreement does provide for a possible increase if a new industry-wide pattern is established, such increase is by no means automatic. New negotiations will be necessary and another, strike might have to be called.

Good Clean Fun

"The Department of Commerce opened today a four-day conference designed to inform Negro youths of opportunities in small business. The youths were told that every American, regardless of race, creed or color, should be able to enter into business and achieve whatever success his initiative, his energy and his talents and ambitions bring him."—(New York Times, April 21.)

Weren't they lecturing at the wrong people?

Over-Enthusiasm

The expensively printed semi-monthly magazine USSR Information Bulletin is published by the Russian embassy in Washington. In its table of contents for April 22 we see the following article listed:

"Socialist System Has Transferred Lithuanian Agriculture."

Inside, it turns out to be a typo error for "transformed." The editor was just ahead of himself. Even Russian science hasn't learned how to dismantle a plowed field in order to ship it beyond the Urals.

CIO's Dilemma—Labor Movement Faces Prospect of Defensive Fight

The following article was received by LABOR ACTION before the Ford strike. We regret it has been crowded out until this issue. With the situation it discusses now highlighted by the Ford strike, it is important for understanding the background of current developments.—Ed.

By WALTER JASON

Although the United Auto Workers, as well as the steel workers' and the coal miners' unions, has ambitious plans for pensions and welfare gains in 1949 contract negotiations, the fact of the matter is that these unions are finding themselves in a series of defensive actions to retain what they thought they had permanently won.

While the unions are proceeding on a "demands as usual" basis—and it is very significant and important that the ranks of the industrial-union movement expect gains this year, and are prepared to fight for them—the unions are running into the realities of life caused by the tremendous war-preparations program and the Marshall Plan.

The dilemma of John L. Lewis is apparent. A coal industry which is having a sharp reduction in production this year is hardly likely to accede to Lewis' grandiose plans, nor are his friends in the Republican Party in a position to help him "gang up" with the operators to raise coal prices again to a level which assures high profits and bigger pay checks with less hours of work. President Philip Murray of the Steel Workers has already announced a "me-too" attitude: "I want what John L. gets"—hardly a bold course of action for a man claiming to be the leader of the industrial-union movement in America. Suppose Lewis doesn't get anything? What does Murray propose? To fight? Hardly! He has already

preferred to tail behind the UAW or the coal miners.

The trouble with the UAW leadership is that it has not sufficiently taken into account either the situation in the other unions or what the Wall Street rulers of the auto industry are planning and doing. Nor does it take into account what the cost of the Marshall Plan, the Atlantic Pact and other U. S. commitments are. The "guns and butter" theory is having a harder time as each day goes by.

In terms of the national political situation, the UAW leaders have said they believe the political climate is more favorable for the union's winning demands this year. The mood of the workers is better, far better than it was in 1948—what is the climate in Washington? For concessions from Truman and Congress? To ask the question is to answer it.

UAW'S DILEMMA

Everybody in the UAW expected, for example, that with the introduction of new models the corporations would try to speed up the assembly lines. They have always done it and they always will until labor controls the industry.

But the fight against speedup has far transcended the "normal" struggle. It is not just that over 200,000 auto workers in the past three months have been engaged or involved in "wildcats" or have called strikes against speedup. It is the fact that the corporations aggressively continue this drive, and keep the union fighting a series of defensive struggles—not to win something new, but to keep what they have already won!

OHIO LABOR NOTES

Ford Strike, UE Struggle Affect Labor Movement in Cleveland

By JOE CLARK

Cleveland electricians have been given an increase of 15 cents per hour by an industry arbitration board in Washington, D. C., effective May 16. This will open the way to all the other building-trades unions, representing approximately 30,000 members. The painters have been on strike more than two weeks and are asking a 25-cent increase with a welfare fund provided by the bosses.

Fifteen of the 19 building-trades unions had agreed to continue on the old wage schedules provided none of the others got an increase. Now this is all changed. There is much propaganda from the bosses that this will cause building costs to skyrocket and produce a lot of unemployment; but of course that is an old story and no one takes it too seriously.

About 175 mechanics who worked for the Ford agencies in Cleveland are still on strike. They also were victims of the famous Ford speedup. Their work was all set up on different

pay bases and the rates were drastically cut.

Common Pleas Judge Joseph H. Silbert has granted an injunction to limit picketing at the plant of the Warner & Swasey Company in Cleveland, where a strike has been in progress since last December. A total of 68 pickets is allowed; but since there are 15 gates to the large plant, that is not many. A conference was held recently in the Hotel Biltmore in New York by the company officials and leaders of the union (International Association of Machinists) but was adjourned without any agreement being reached. No date was set for another meeting.

At the conference of the anti-Stalinist opposition in the United Electrical Workers, CIO, held in Dayton Sunday, May 8, were delegations from Cleveland, Mansfield and Warren representing Ohio. Leaflets were circulated at many of the plants under UE contract, denouncing the conference and urging members to boycott it with veiled threats for those who did not.

Fact and Fairy Tale on Buffalo SWP Policy

By MURRAY DAVIDS

BUFFALO—Articles in LABOR ACTION have already laid open to view the scandal of the policies pursued in Local 424 (Buffalo Auto Workers) by the Socialist Workers Party (Cannonites). To complete the picture in Buffalo there remains to consider the situations in Westinghouse Local 1581 of the United Electrical Workers, CIO, and Bell Local 501 of the United Auto Workers.

Here too the groups supported by the SWPERS suffered smashing defeats. In a couple of articles in The Militant (SWP paper), the attempt has been made to rationalize this debacle and at the same time smear and slander all opponents of the SWP; the doubts of their own members have to be quieted. Once again and characteristically, the method used is the invention of a sinister conspiracy in which all opponents of the SWP of whatever stripe are lumped together.

We present first the facts, then the fairy tale.

The Facts

Last year a group called the Rank and File Caucus defeated the Stalinists in Westinghouse Local 1581, UE. The Buffalo Evening News intervened at that time against the Stalinists. The Rank and File campaign against the Stalinists, however, was on a trade-union basis. Following the election, the pro-SWP section of the Rank and File Caucus split from the new administration and made a bloc with elements of the ex-Stalinist administration led by the ex-president. The bloc became known as the Solidarity Caucus.

During a dispute over the ex-president's financial delinquencies, the Buffalo Evening News intervened with a series of articles attacking the SWP in a particularly dirty manner. The articles were condemned by the executive board and the local union. The majority were supporters of the administration which The Militant condemned. (This was conveniently omitted in The Militant article.)

The tale concerning the Bell UAW local is a longer one.

Following the 1947 convention of the UAW, a Reuther caucus was formed in this local. Its origins can be found in the switch from Reuther to Thomas-Addes taken by the SWP-supported Rank and File administration. For the first time since it took office this administration was opposed by a complete oppositional slate. The Rank and File won all top posts but one. In the ensuing stewards' election, however, a majority was won by the Reuther group. Just prior to this year's election, the Buffalo Evening News attacked the Rank and File caucus as SWP-dominated, fingered many of its candidates as having attended SWP meetings and used the attorney general's "subversive list" as a link in the articles.

RETRACT SLANDER

The first action of the Rank and File Caucus was to accuse the Reutherites of writing the article and

calling them stoolpigeons and company stooges in the shop. This was then denied by the Rank and File Caucus and an appeal for a united front against the News was made to the "stoolpigeons and company stooges." Then, at the union meeting, the leading spokesman of the Rank and File said: "We know that the leaders of the Reuther group had nothing to do with the News article."

At this union membership meeting they presented a resolution condemning the News. In the discussion following, leading Reutherites condemned the News articles and attacked Clark's subversive list. They also attacked the Rank and File for its slanders and false charges of collusion made in the shop. During the discussion there was some red-baiting from both sides against the SWP, the Workers Party and the Socialist Party.

The discussion became for-or-against the administration instead of for-or-against the News articles. With this as the motivation a leading Reutherite made a motion to table the resolution. This was bureaucratically waved aside by the chair. In the vote that followed many workers from both caucuses abstained. The resolution was defeated. In the ensuing elections the Reuther slate swept all executive and bargaining-committee posts. The Rank and File Caucus then disintegrated and all ran independently in the stewards' election.

These are the facts. Now let us look at The Militant articles on this situation.

The Fairy Tale

The second Militant article presents the following story: All the progressives supported by the SWP did a wonderful job. They were opposed by reactionaries who conspired with the boss press. As a result of this conspiracy the progressives were beaten but it was only a temporary setback.

First proposition: The "progressives" did a wonderful job.

Their Evidence: They made the following gains in three years: union shop, paid holidays, increased vacations, company-financed insurance plan... the highest wage rates in the air-frame industry.

Facts: The facts are that the union shop was won in spite of the Rank and File administration. They belittled it as a demand, saying that it was unimportant and unattainable. They were against signing the non-Communist affidavits and did so only after being outvoted by their opposition. It was only after this action that the union was able to have an NLRB union-shop election, the result of which forced the company to grant the union shop.

Further, The Militant omits the fact that the local union already had the highest wage rates in the airframe industry before the Rank and File administration took over. It also omits the fact that during the first year in which the greatest gains of that administration were made, two leading Reutherites were on the bargaining committee, one of them being the successful presidential candidate of

the present "reactionary" group which defeated them. And it further omits the fact that the international representatives who aided them were part of the "Reutherite bureaucracy."

ROLE OF REUTHERITES

Second Proposition: The Reuther group that defeated the "progressives" is a reactionary group.

Their Evidence: Assertion by The Militant that this is "a group of corrupt, incompetent and lazy office-seekers—utterly destitute of any devotion to the most elementary trade-union principles and lacking the slightest urge to fight on behalf of the workers; in a word, a group of bankrupts with nothing but the heaviest dose of reactionary prejudices to qualify them for union office."

Facts: The Reuther group actively participated in making the gains of the local union, actively supported all strike votes and played no small part in obtaining favorable results, supported the Kutcher defense and has repeatedly come out for a Labor Party, on the union floor and in campaign literature. The year before it was criticized by some of the Rank and File leaders for being "too political" when it criticized the Marshall Plan in its campaign program.

In this year's campaign it concentrated mainly on the shortcomings of the Rank and File administration in regard to trade-union issues, such as the failure to provide adequate education, political action and other committee work.

Since it has been in office, this Reuther group has won for the workers an upgrading program which the past administration had tried without success to win for a year. The first issue of the union paper put out by these "reactionaries" has come out for a Labor Party. It is now taking a strike vote to enforce the demands unanimously agreed to by the local union.

Further, it is fighting to protect some of the leaders of the former Rank and File administration from company persecution and discrimination. It has already won some unsettled disciplinary action cases left over from the past administration.

Third Proposition: The Reuther group was in collusion with the boss press, in its red-baiting articles against the Rank and File Caucus and the SWP.

Their Evidence: Assertion by The Militant that "Reutherite stoolpigeons supplied information to the Buffalo Evening News."

Facts: Even the leaders of the Rank and File Caucus stated at the union meeting that this was false. One of them said: "We know that the leaders of the Reuther group had nothing to do with these articles." Further, any insinuations linking the Reuther group with such collusion were denied by responsible leaders of the Rank and File in the shop.

FELL APART AT FIRST DEFEAT

Fourth Proposition: The defeat of the Rank and File Caucus was only a temporary one.

Their Evidence: In spite of the red-

baiting attack by the News, it drew a heavy vote, says The Militant.

Facts: The actual facts are that the Rank and File Caucus was decisively beaten beyond its worst expectations. It lost 15 out of 15 posts, in many cases by from 3-2 to 2-1 majorities. Their defeat was so decisive that after the election the caucus split, disintegrated and went out of existence. Its members in the ensuing stewards' elections all ran independently and in the main dissociated themselves not only from the SWP but from the past administration and its policies.

Today they have no organized opposition to the Reuther administration. But the component elements snipe from all directions and take no responsibility for each other. The sniping attacks range from the usual so-called left-wing attacks on Reuther and the Reuther group to red-baiting and flag-waving at the other extreme. The only bond remaining is a common opposition and hatred of the Reuther administration.

What are the real reasons why a tight-knit machine which held office for three years, a good part of that time without opposition, collapsed at the first major attack on it and could not even hold together after its first defeat?

The answer lies in three main factors: (1) the isolationist policy of this group; (2) the failure of this group to differentiate itself from the Stalinists in propaganda and action; (3) the unprincipled nature of the group and its lack of an ideological basis. These three factors, plus many minor errors, can explain its vulnerability to the outside red-baiting attack and its inability to meet its opposition in the union on fair grounds. What is the evidence for this?

WHY THEY DISINTEGRATED

This group made a switch from the Reuther to the Thomas-Addes camp without even settling the basis of the switch or the switch itself within its own caucus. The caucus was held together on the line of "We don't care what happens in the rest of the country—we're only interested in Local 501." To carry on safely with this sort of line, it abstained from as many issues as possible, and abstained from most activities beyond the confines of the local union from 1947 on, thereby further isolating itself from the broad currents of the trade-union movement. Its abstentionist policy even carried it to the ridiculous extreme of boycotting the UAW area compensation council.

Over this whole period of time that the group was opposed to Reuther, it in no manner differentiated itself from the CP in its attacks on the international union. And even when attacked by the Buffalo Evening News, it did not have a single sentence in any leaflet differentiating itself from the Communist Party. Rather it aped the Stalinists in their tactics to alarming proportions. Even within the local union it sought no aid in rebuffing the News until it thrust away from itself its opposition by slanderous insinuations of collu-

sion that later (after the election, not before) appeared in full bloom in The Militant.

The lack of a principled basis for this group and its subsequent lack of education and line bore fruit in its complete disintegration and showed that the basis for its existence was not a common union program but rather merely the common desire to maintain itself in office and to maintain the individual positions of its component parts. This was clearly brought out in the post-election period, when various members of the caucus ran for office with the line that "We are through with the SWP and we pledge ourselves to drive all socialists out of the local."

It would have been better for The Militant to analyze the past policies and actions of this group rather than to further isolate itself by antagonizing and disgusting all progressive tendencies within the labor movement in Buffalo.

Readers Take the Floor . . .

On the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising

To the Editor:

I was glad to see that the anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto uprising, which this year has not been noted even by most Jewish periodicals, was commemorated in LABOR ACTION. "Jacques" expressed very well the significance which the battle of the Ghetto has for us. But I feel obligated to write and disagree with an idea implicit in his article.

In any history of the Jews, or of socialism, the "Bund" deserves an important place. It was this movement which emancipated the Jewish worker from clerical domination, which raised Yiddish from "jargon" to language, which took a leading role in the first Jewish self-defense units. It is almost impossible to describe the effect the Bund had on Jewish life, and so, indirectly, on world history. And the Bund—in general, socialist activity—has a rarely equaled record. Unfortunately, the present leadership of the Bund does not seem to be carrying on in this tradition. Certainly its attitude toward the revolt of the Warsaw Ghetto is not what one would have expected.

The uprising in the Ghetto was something which touched the heart of every Jew and made him proud of his people. It will unquestionably be recorded in the same way as was the Hasmonian or Bar Kochba revolt. And at first it was made immensely more impressive by the unity which the fighting Jews showed. The tremendous differences in the Jewish community were forgotten in a united struggle for group survival. This unity was not maintained by those outside of the Ghetto. Certain groups have

been loudly proclaiming their own ideological comrades as the leaders of the revolt. We could, I think, have expected this from the Revisionists. It is disillusioning to find similar actions by partisans of the Bund.

Many groups took part in the Ghetto revolt. But it is an indisputable fact that the first impetus to organized resistance, and afterwards the main force of that resistance, came from the ranks of the Socialist Zionist movement. At times the Bund has gone to extreme lengths to deny this. In March, 1944, for example, it published in the American press a report that in London "a new list has been received of 36 members of the Bund who were killed in the Warsaw Ghetto uprising." This was true. It was also true that the list contained a total of 223 names, of which 150 were those of members of the Labor Zionist movement.

The revolt was organized and conducted by the Jewish Fighting Organization, with Moshe Anilewitz, a member of Hashomer Hatzair, as commander. Out of the organization's 22 fighting units, four were "Bund." There were four Communist units and one General Zionist. The remaining 13 came from five Socialist Zionist groups. The Jewish National Committee, in a report dated May 1944, said: "The Bund had no more than 18 per cent of the total number of fighters. The Bundist groups within the Jewish Fighting Organization fought bravely, just as all other groups without exception. But they gave no special color or character to the battles."

Another committee report, dated May 24, said: "Let the world labor movement organizations in all countries know that the pro-Palestine labor movement organized and conducted the battle of Warsaw, and that hundreds of fighters fought and

died with the thought that [their] death would form one of the foundations of the socialist future of the Jewish masses in Palestine."

The revolt of the Warsaw Ghetto was one of the noble events of this era, in every sense of that overused and now cliché word. It was led by people who left and re-entered the Ghetto regularly, who could easily have saved their own lives. They felt it their duty, their socialist duty if you will, to remain and try to help others, to raise a banner of revolt in the Ghetto, to let the world know that the Jews did not propose to be annihilated without resisting.

There were many in the Ghetto, at first a majority, who refused to believe that the Germans would massacre a whole nation. The Socialist Zionist movement, and particularly its youth, had the courage to face the facts and proclaim them, and the idealism to sacrifice the chance for escape for their people's sake. Later the Bund realized what was happening, and a united Jewish socialist movement was able to organize and carry through the uprising.

A dispatch from the underground Poale Zion in Poland expressed very well our attitude toward party squabbling must be: "The boasting of certain elements with deeds which were not theirs is so grotesque, and at the same time, in the light of our tragedy, so macabre, that any controversy on this subject would seem a disparagement of the greatness of the cause."

Artie KAHN

Jacques had no intention of getting into the controversy which correspondent Kahn discusses in his interesting letter.—Ed.

Economist Pacelli

POPE SAYS THAT WORKERS SHOULD RESPECT "EMPLOYERS' AUTHORITY"

By GORDON HASKELL

Four hundred employers from all over the world were told exactly what they had come to hear last week in Vatican City: namely, that "free initiative of individuals" and not socialism is the key to economic progress.

The speaker who addressed these employers was Eugenio Pacelli, who is better known as Pope Pius XII in his capacity as head of the Roman Catholic Church.

According to the Associated Press, Pacelli told the employers that there is in the world today an "opinion, unhappily too widely spread, that between them [workers and employers] there is an irreducible opposition of divergent interest" and that this opinion is "erroneous and bad in its consequences."

"USURPING AUTHORITY"

Pleading for elimination of mutual suspicion by workers and employers, Pacelli said the answer to the world's economic ills must be found in employer-worker relationships which preserve the authority of the employer while providing for "the prosperity of all the members of the people."

It is assumed that the employers were highly pleased by this speech. We might wonder whether or not the workers tramping the Ford picket line at the time the speech was delivered could agree that the important thing for prosperity is to ensure the "authority of the employer." If the organized auto workers had not "usurped" some of that authority or at least "infringed" upon it in their contract, they would have no defense against the speedup today and wage cuts tomorrow.

The same is true for the idea put forth by Pacelli that workers and employers really have the same fundamental interests. To be sure, many workers and even labor leaders of high position share in this opinion. Unfortunately, very few employers are of the same mind, although they are always glad to spread the idea among their help.

THERE'S A SINGLE KITTY

But when it gets right down to cases, the employer is absolutely convinced that it is his job to produce dividends, and that any means to that

end is justified. Thus when profits fall, he throws workers out on the street (and their families on relief rolls), speeds up the work, and cuts wages. The only thing which limits his production of profits at the expense of his workers is the power of their organization.

For the employers know very well (their bookkeepers can show it to them) in the book balances at any time that both wages and profits have to come from the same place. There is no way around that fact under the "free enterprise" system, and no economist has found a way around it, and no religious leader has been able to exorcise it.

If profits and wages have to be drawn from the same kitty, at any given time more profits mean less wages, and more wages mean less profits. If the kitty is big, both may be able to get along. But when things begin to contract a little, there suddenly appears an "irreducible opposition of divergent interest." The worker wants a living wage and employment, and the employer wants a profit, regardless.

Pacelli had quite a bit more to say, according to the papers, but we don't have space to comment on all of it. He spoke against "statism," and we're against that too. He said that "the economy is not by nature an institution of the state; it is, to the contrary, the living product of the free initiative of individuals and groups freely constituted."

TRY SOME INITIATIVE!

Well, we don't rightly know what the economy is "by nature." We hope, indeed, that some day it may become "the living product of the free initiative of individuals and groups freely constituted," and that's why we are for socialism.

One of the chief reasons for our determination to put an end to the system of capitalism is precisely that under this form of economy the vast majority of individuals cannot exercise any "free initiative" at all. (Just try a little "free initiative" on any assembly line in the country.)

"Free initiative" under this system is reserved solely to the biggest banks, corporations and bureaucratic governments. Those who can exercise it are a tiny minority of the population and they exercise it without any consultation with the majority, and, in fact, at their expense.

We note that the big employer-controlled press gives Pacelli's economic opinions front-page space. For workers, the result of accepting these economic opinions is simply to disarm them in the face of the employers. This is just as true for those workers who accept the religious leadership of Pope Pius XII as it is for those workers who do not.

China's 'Revolution'

(Continued from page 1)

has been able so successfully to canalize the movement. That there is no alternative leadership in existence to offer another road, to rouse the people, to challenge the CP monopoly—these are conditions which give the CP an unprecedented advantage.

In every other modern revolution a rainbow variety of ideologies has had to struggle for support and positions of hegemony. Every philosophy, in attempting to give answers to the fundamental questions raised by the revolution itself, contended for power. The revolutionary dynamic brought the marketplace of ideas into the remotest villages and demanded that each man make his choice. This was the source of the enormous release of energy and the dramatically democratic nature of the revolutionary process. Millions, emerging on the stage of history, became politically literate overnight, developed unforeseen talents, assumed new roles and carved out a new historic path.

POLITICAL DESERT

But while this has been the nature of revolution in modern history, this has not been true in China today. The CP is marching to victory over a road which is a political desert. No contenders are in the field against it and no other political movement allied with it. The military character of its conquest is a consequence of this reality. We are witnessing the classical form of bureaucratic-collectivist revolution, the precondition for which is the prostration of the great urban social classes which have been the prime movers of history since the Renaissance.

If the above is true of the Chinese peasantry, it is even more valid for the capitalists and working class. Neither of these have political organs to express their interests. In contrast to 1927, the "compradore" bourgeoisie does not have its KMT rallying center. The workers are not in a political revolt and general strike as in 1927. Typical of the scene is Shanghai today, where the greatest unrest is caused by the inflation and where economic strikes are common. But with CP armies at the gates and KMT power at an ebb, the workers remain non-political, not even organized as a class group.

The CP seeks an alliance with the compradores in order to ease its takeover. "All privately operated factories, stores, banks, warehouses, vessels, wharves, farms, pastures, etc., will be protected." The compradores have only to remain at their posts. To the workers the proclamation gives the following instructions: "It is hoped that workers and employees in all trades will continue work and that businesses will operate as usual." From the other viewpoint, the CP is directed, in another statement by Li Li-san, as follows: "The trade unions as the principal mass organizations of the workers must be established and coordinated. All workers with hand and brain should be systematically organized by industries."

CP rule is based on the closest organization of every section of the population. Now that it is coming into cities it will apply these techniques to the workers as well. This is a far cry indeed from the release of enormous mass-organizational energies which the revolution of 1927 generated. Not only the military character of the revolution is determined by its

bureaucratic origin but even the very tactics of the military advance. In terms of a mass popular movement it would not be possible to proceed with piecemeal conquest, reform by stages, conquest of one city at a time and only when the army gets there and the administrative apparatus has been prepared (the so-called "Peiping Formula"), the lengthy negotiations with discredited classes and governments. The economy of this bureaucratic revolution is one of its most attractive aspects to many of its American liberal supporters. For the revolution unfolds under the conditions and directives of law and order.

BEYOND THE YANGTZE

With the crossing the Yangtze the CP has entered the heart of China. The Yangtze valley stretches for fifteen hundred miles through one of the most densely populated areas of the world. Here are located the great rice provinces of Szechuan and Hunan. The tired soil has long ago been exhausted by the intensity of man's exploitation. Fragmentation of the tiny holds (many of them are not more than half an acre) intensifies the universal poverty which is the lot of the valley's two hundred millions. At crucial junctures in this hinterland there have developed great cities. Indeed, China's cities are concentrated along the banks of the Yangtze—eight cities of over five hundred thousand each and twelve of over a hundred thousand, culminating in Hankow (one million), Nanking (one million) and Shanghai.

The city of Shanghai contains six million people, the largest city in Asia and the fourth largest in the world. This metropolis is the great entrepot for foreign imports on the one hand, and on the other the great market for the products of its agricultural hinterland. One half of all China's foreign trade passes through this port. Half of China's industry, including two-thirds of her textile production, is located here. It is a main road terminus. The city is the center of the foreign-trade communities as well as of the largest Chinese class of compradores and tradesmen. Shanghai is China's chief window on the outside world.

The CP armies will not risk battle for this city if it can possibly be avoided. If the KMT troops try to defend it, they will find themselves surrounded by the opposition of the bourgeoisie classes. Already, as in Peiping, committees of local compradores are beginning both open and secret negotiations with the CP to hand over the city peacefully. How soon the armies enter Shanghai will depend on the speed with which the commercial classes can subdue all will to struggle on the part of the KMT troops.

Control of Shanghai will present the CP with its largest single problem to date. Assuring the food supply of its six millions alone will challenge its greatest efforts. The maintenance of services, control of skyrocketing inflation, supply of raw material for industry and, above all, foreign commerce and foreign relations, will become the new axis of CP politics. With Shanghai, the CP will bid farewell to its agrarian days. It will have to administer a sizable working class. As the new masters, Stalinism will intensify exploitation of labor to raise production. In cities already in CP hands, the workers have invariably been the first victims. The conquest of all China by Sta-

linism is an event in world history whose full significance will unfold with time. If Stalinism can organize effectively this continent of half a billion people and begin its industrialization, it may very well be one of the great turning points of history. A powerful social force, albeit the force of counter-revolutionary Stalinism, is sweeping aside the three-millennia-old incubus of decay and stagnation. China is being torn from her antiquated roots and thrust into the modern world maelstrom. The tragedy of the Stalinist victory lies in this: that this gigantic event takes place under the aegis of a totalitarian rather than a liberating leadership, one which will tie China to the Russian despotism in world politics as well as in domestic economic construction.

HISTORIC SIGNIFICANCE

Whatever Stalinism can manage to do in that ancient land, China is certain never again to live simply in its ancestral decadence. China's emergence into the world arena will alter the world balance of forces. It has already begun to have the sharpest repercussions on the politics of all Asia.

For capitalism, this irrevocable removal of China from the imperialist arena is a fateful blow. Just about 100 years ago European and American imperialism began the dismemberment and exploitation of China. Unlike the case of India, no one power achieved dominance. Cut into many "spheres of influence," China was the melting pot of imperialism. Because of their inability to overcome their own antagonisms, no one of the capitalist masters ever reaped the full fruits of exploitation there. Latest to aspire to this prize was the U. S. One of its post-war objectives was control of all China, south of the Russian sphere in Manchuria, through domination of a powerful centralized regime under Chiang Kai-shek. This dream is now dust. The U. S. is left without even a "policy" in China. A huge potential market has been permanently removed from the arena of American capitalism.

The Chinese CP has made these conquests on its own. It is the only CP to have achieved power in a major country through internal political and military victory. With extension of its power beyond the Yangtze, the Chinese leadership is increasingly faced with problems which cannot be solved by Russian dictation. No Chinese party could hold power long simply by following Moscow's orders. The power and prestige of the native leadership has been increased enormously by these recent events.

However, Russia's relations to China are not the same as to East Europe. Strategically, there is no Western power the other side of China. Economically, Russia is on a higher level in relation to China by contrast with her European borders. Russia's aims are not, therefore, the same in Asia as in Europe. That a conflict between Chinese and Russian Stalinism—both nationalistic—is inevitable, may very likely be true. This conflict will center firstly on the question of who is the real power in Manchuria and its industries.

But this conflict need not take a Titoist form. Nor is it in the immediate offing. It is more likely that we are about to witness again something new under the sun: the development of an all-Asiatic form of Stalinist society. Many preconceptions will fall before this development.

A-Pact in Denmark

SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT REFUSES TO HOLD A REFERENDUM

COPENHAGEN, April 4 (Based on VSU Press Service)—The Social Democratic government of Denmark has forced the country to join the Atlantic Pact. The people were not even asked. Although the question is a serious one for Denmark, the government has rejected the idea of letting a referendum of the people decide the question.

Prime Minister Hedtoft openly admitted, in his speech in parliament, that although the government would be certain of getting a majority of the votes for its policy, it did not expect more than 50 per cent—or even 40 per cent—of the voters to cast their ballots for it. (In Denmark 80-85 per cent of the voters usually go to the polls.)

This means that there is no majority among the Danish people for the pro-pact policy. The government would be able to get a majority because it has unconditional support from the newspapers of three of the big parties and from half the papers of the fourth big party. But most of the voters would stay at home, in protest.

The prime minister's argument against a referendum is that this question is too complicated for the voters to decide. In this way, the Danish "socialist government" gives the fascist movements excellent arguments against all democratic institutions.

LEFT SOCIALISTS AGAINST

In parliament the government has the support of its own party, the Social-Democrats; Venstre, the reactionary big-farmers' party; the Conservative Party (Tory); and part of the Georgists. The majority of the Georgists and the Radikale (small farmers and non-socialist intellect-

uals) brought in a motion in favor of a referendum; they want to bring Denmark back to the policy of neutrality—a pure illusion. The Stalinists, who are at present suffering from a severe internal crisis and the loss of every position within the trade-union movement, supported this demand also.

The Left Socialist Youth League (Venstresocialistisk Ungdom), which opposes the Social-Democratic policy, has however not raised the question of the Atlantic Pact from the point of view of the dream of Danish neutrality, but from the viewpoint of socialism. Its resolution opposing the A-Pact has been distributed at factories and trade unions and has evoked a serious response.

The resolution, adopted at a conference in March, concludes in part: "we strongly oppose the self-constituted initiative of the government in signing the pact and demand that the question be decided by a referendum of the Danish people."

"We demand publication of ALL diplomatic negotiations between the participating states before such a referendum. . . . At the same time we demand the abolition of secret diplomacy. . . . to make sure that no secret deals are made and no secret clauses added to the pact."

"While the government and the ruling class seek security by joining one of the existing power blocks—a security which is no security but which will only lead to disaster—the people. . . . must seek their own security by uniting with all the classes and groups, in the East and in the West, in the homelands and the colonies, which are the victims of oppression, in order to form a third front, the front of the oppressed against the oppressors in all countries. . . ."

British ILP Blasts A-Pact

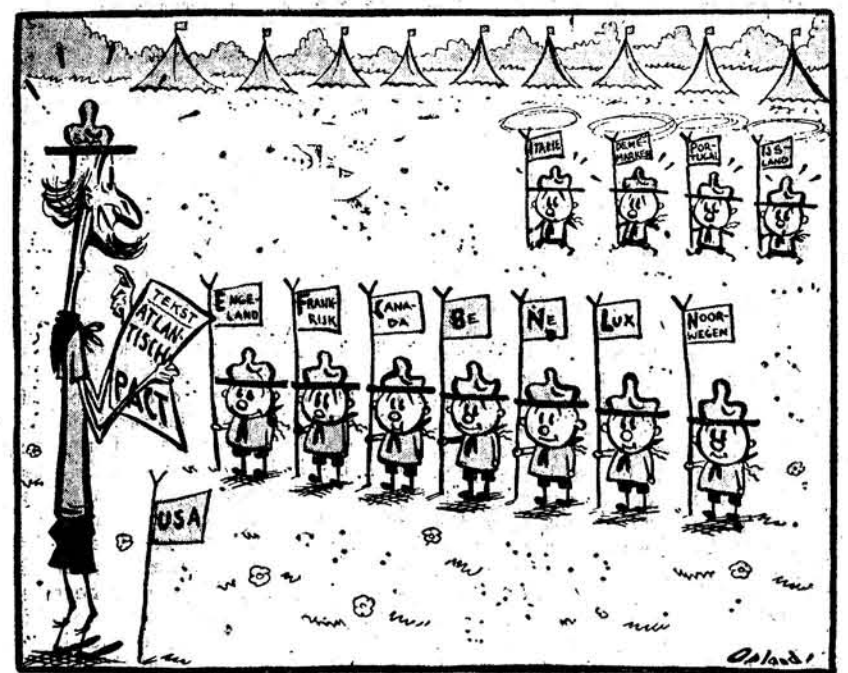
At its conference in mid-April (reported in a recent London Letter by George Stone), England's Independent Labor Party went on record against the A-Pact. The resolution said:

"This conference of the ILP proclaims that the Atlantic Pact is a continuation of the system of power politics which is the external expression of the internal forces of capitalism and imperialism upon which the social and political systems of the members of the pact are based."

"It considers that the signing of the pact will bind this country and all other members to the continuance of the policy which seeks to stabilize the existence of the two great power blocs driving towards a Third World War, which will result in the extermination of all that remains of civilization and humanity."

"We therefore protest against the signature of the pact. We state that the only possible way to ensure a lasting and abiding peace between the peoples of the world is to abolish the system of power politics and to ceaselessly proclaim and advocate the establishment of a Socialist Federated Europe as a first step towards the building of the World Socialist Commonwealth."

A Dutch View of the A-Pact



Curiously enough, the above cartoon appeared in "The Knickerbocker—Magazine of the Low Countries," a semi-official Dutch promotion publication, put out in New York, accompanying the usual kind of pro-Atlantic Pact article

Dept. of Unbridgeable Gaps (Macdonald Sec.)

"There is, indeed, a gap between Soviet—or, better, Kremlin—and Western culture which can no longer be bridged. But this gap, this abyss is not just a political matter: democracy vs. totalitarianism. . . . It is that, too, but it is also something bigger. There was more in common between Bakunin and Metternich, or Debs and Frick, or Marx and Mill—and there is more in common between the present-day similars of such extreme antagonists—than there is between, to reduce the scale slightly, Comrade Howard [Milton Howard, writer for The Daily Worker] and myself. The chasm that separates Western from Kremlin culture is the most important political fact in the world today. The basic premises, the very concepts of reality have become so different that there is simply no communication possible, and it is either ignorance or hypocrisy to assert that there is."—Dwight Macdonald in *Politics*, Winter 1949, page 10.

"I must confess that I got quite a different impression of the Stalinoids—at least of their New York 'cultural' periphery—than I had from my previous experience, which was based largely on their press. Talking to them face to face, I had two main impressions. The first was that it was possible to communicate, since we had a common culture and even (oddly enough) political background; that is, we read the same books, went to the same art shows and foreign films, shared the same convictions in favor of the (American) underdog—the Negroes, the Jews, the Catholic hierarchy and the U. S. State Department. . . . It proved to be very easy to enter into discussion, or at least argument with NCASP [National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions]; even Howard Fast proved to be quite congenial. . . ."—Dwight Macdonald in *Politics*, Winter 1949, page 32-D.

Heads, we bridge the gap; tails, we don't.

Ford Strikers Bitter

(Continued from page 1)

Ford officials likewise are hammering home the fake argument that union politics is the ONLY cause of this strike. Newspaper stories are also appearing about "Reuther losing control of the ranks," etc., all calculated to influence Reuther in a conservative direction.

Union publicity and arguments have not been very hard-hitting or effective against the company drive. The top UAW officials do not yet see the political picture clearly, nor are they ready by any means to make the kind of fight required to get the UAW on the offensive and the company on the run.

Ordinarily when a company pulls that old gag, the union officials blurtly tell them they had better negotiate or else the plants will remain shut down until hell freezes over. The silence of the UAW top officials in the face of this company arrogance is ominous.

In negotiations with Briggs or other companies, Emil Mazey at such points starts getting tough, and before the thing is over the union has won considerable concessions. It remains to be seen if he has either the determination or the power to do so in the Ford strike situation. Reuther is in Washington at a CIO board meeting.

MUFFING THE BALL

The entrance of the U. S. federal mediation service does not change things a bit. In critical situations like

this involving major disputants like Ford and the UAW, the mediators are pretty small potatoes—and the Ford Company has already reminded them that they are.

The great opportunity that the UAW leaders are missing to crack down on Ford and get results for the rank and file can be indicated by merely pointing to some of the things the Reuther leadership has failed to do.

Henry Ford II is a nobody insofar as the actual operations of the company are concerned. He never did a thing to contribute to the manufacture of automobiles. He is a pure and unadulterated parasite whose sole claim to the vast Ford empire is inheritance. Ford's position is that of a feudal lord, whose very existence (not to speak of his role in society) is a condemnation of society and its injustices. The UAW has been very nice to Ford in its publicity.

The history of the Ford Motor Company is notorious, especially its speed-up record. Keith Sward in his book, *The Legend of Henry Ford*, has enough goods on the Ford Company to expose it everywhere and to everyone's satisfaction. Instead of a beligerent exposé, the UAW keeps asking Ford to be reasonable.

STRIKE VOTE SOFT-PEDALED

In the recent strike vote at Ford Local 600, over 30,000 workers approved a strike on the speedup issue, with only 4,000 voting against. This fact has never been emphasized in UAW publicity, even though it would help prove that the issue is a real one, and not caused by factional politics. But since this fact contradicts the "line" that this strike somehow

or another was fomented by "Communists," which conservative Reutherites are busy peddling in Detroit, the truth is ignored or brushed aside.

The UAW leaders have done little if anything to mobilize the rest of the auto workers behind the Ford strikers, under the theory that the strike would not last. Yet only the greatest show of strength of the UAW will impress Ford. This used to be elementary in the UAW, but it appears that many people have to re-learn the ABCs they once taught and now have forgotten.

Books for Germany

From many parts of Western Germany we have received requests for Marxist literature IN ENGLISH. Books and pamphlets by Trotsky, Lenin, Marx, etc., are in urgent demand, but any Marxist works are needed. Almost none of this literature is available at present. All books and pamphlets contributed will be widely circulated.

Help rebuild Germany's socialist movement! Send us your unused or duplicate copies of any and all Marxist literature, or any you can spare. They will be forwarded immediately to those who will make good use of them.

Send them to: LABOR ACTION (Attention: H. Judd), 4 Court Square, Long Island City 1, N. Y.

ORDER YOUR BOOKS THROUGH LABOR ACTION BOOK SERVICE 4 Court Square Long Island City 1, N. Y.

ACEWR SPAGHETTI DINNER for European Workers Relief Wine, salad, all the trimmings. Followed by: sale of new dresses and wool blankets just received, an auction of Mexican jewelry Dinner from 5 p.m. on 90¢ SUNDAY, MAY 22, 130 W. 23rd St., N. Y. C. Sponsored by Amer. Comm. for European Workers Relief

Debate New York IS WORLD GOVERNMENT POSSIBLE TODAY? "Yes!" Abe Bargman for World Federalists United National Student Projects Dir. "No!" Hal Draper for Independent Socialist League Editor of Labor Action FRIDAY, MAY 20 114 West 14 St., N. Y. C. 8:15 p.m. Sponsored by Socialist Youth League

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RDR Rally in Paris —

(Continued from page 1)
ence was composed of Sidney Hook, Farrell and Karl Compton. Reuther and others who had been invited failed to show up because of prior personal commitments.

Farrell's ten minute speech could easily have been given before a Rotary or Democratic Party rally. After an attack on Stalinism he gave a violent irrational defense "of my country" where people are free to think, write and express themselves as they wish. "I declare myself a partisan of the Marshall Plan and the Atlantic Pact because I am convinced that the principal danger comes from behind the Iron Curtain." He added further that the Marshall Plan is a means of satisfying the needs of the people (that's news to Europeans; since the institution of the Marshall Plan the cost of living has mounted). Nowhere in his speech could one find a word about socialism or about the need to recognize Europe on a socialist basis, which even the most incorrigible of social-democrats in Europe insist upon.

Hook presented the same line more intelligently. After denouncing the suppression of the right of the artist and scientist to freely express himself in the Stalinist world, he stated that the Atlantic Pact was the only means of protecting the Western world from Stalinist expansionism and that the pact gave progressive and socialist forces in Western Europe the necessary time to construct a socialist Western Europe. (In other words we can build socialism under the protective cover of the planes, tanks and atomic bombs of Democratic America.)

SARTRE, WRIGHT FOR 3RD CAMP

Hook and Farrell had undertaken a difficult mission—the rallying of the socialist forces of Western Europe under the banner of American imperialism. For them the war had already begun; the only choice possible is to don an American uniform and to shoulder an automatic rifle. Anyone who tries to convince Europeans of such an approach to the problem of war and peace might as well give up before trying. It is no exaggeration to say that all Europeans regard the Atlantic Pact as a warlike step—they know it, they feel it in their bones. It is true that they are more sympathetic to capitalist America than they are to Stalinism, but such an attitude also includes a consciousness that United States foreign policy also is leading the world to war; they feel offended when someone tries to sell them a "peace-making" Atlantic Pact.

The crowd's reaction to Hook and Farrell was a mixture of stunned astonishment, polite applause and open booing. By the time DeKadt got up to speak, he was drowned out by indignant booing.

All speakers who rose to defend a policy of "Neither Washington nor Moscow" were met with enthusiastic applause. Those who spoke for this concept varied from the confused left liberal like Bourdet and double-talk hokum from Marceau Pivert, to those like Racine and Sartre, who presented the third-camp idea in a more lucid fashion.

The declaration made by Sartre, Wright and Merleau-Ponty denounced the Stalinist totalitarian world as the antithesis of all aspirations of free men and socialists. Both America and Russia today play the role of warmakers. America is far from being the mythical democracy that it is portrayed; today Negroes continue to be treated as sub-human; a hysterical campaign is taking place against not only the Stalinists but also the progressive and socialist world. American democracy is degenerating and faces the possibility of developing into another form of anti-democratic tyranny. To fight against war is to fight against totalitarian dictatorship and international capitalism.

Racine came the closest to putting forward the independent socialist attitude on the war: The working class is endangered by the war psychosis being built up by the two blocs. The struggle against the war is one of the forms of the class struggle today. Workers refuse to choose between the "financial dictatorship" or the "bureaucratic dictatorship"; "for them the problem is above all a social one in fighting against economic inequalities and for workers' control, which would lead to a real economic democracy."

COMPTON'S BOMB

At the mass meeting in the evening, over 10,000 people attended, including a large percentage of workers. The first speaker was Ignazio Silone who stressed the moral value of the socialist struggle and the necessity for a federated socialist Europe. After him followed the socialist atomic scientist Francis Perrin who for 15 minutes rambled about on liberty, Stalinism, and humanity.

Up to this point the meeting seemed to be going along in a sort of placid fashion and the audience

settled down expecting to hear more concrete ideas about the state of socialism and the war. The crowd was a mature left assembly from various parts of the non-Stalinist labor movement.

At this point Karl Compton, member of the Atomic Energy Commission of the United States government, was given the floor. Compton justified the use of the atomic bomb against Japan and explained that the United States government is doing a great deal of research on the use of atomic energy for PEACEFUL pursuits—but that if necessary it can convert quickly into war needs, etc.

The audience was shocked, dumbfounded, as were the organizers of the meeting. (It would seem that no one had bothered to find out beforehand what Compton thought about these problems!) Murmuring arose from the crowd and was quickly transformed into a wave of booing. Compton fitted into this meeting as aptly as Churchill at a Communist Party rally.

At the conclusion of Compton's speech, the French Anarchists made an organized assault on the platform in order to present one of their own speakers. (They had had a speaker at the afternoon session but they had been denied one in the evening meeting.) For about 10 minutes pandemonium broke out as the Anarchists clashed with the RDR corps of sergeants-at-arms. In the meantime the French group of orthodox Trotskyists [PCI—International Communist Party] also demanded a voice. The chairman finally agreed to give each five minutes and peace was restored.

ROUSSET WOBBLER

Privas, secretary of the PCI, then was given the floor and demonstrated in classic fashion what the word "sectarian" means. In the form of a litany he started to explain why workers should defend the Soviet Union. . . . He didn't last two minutes before he was drowned out by a wave of booing from the audience. Many were so disgusted that they began to walk out.

There followed a short speech by Garry Davis, whose appearance on the platform was greeted by acclamations. Davis is the American who tore up his passport and papers in Paris and has started a "World Citizens Movement". Then David Rousset, the featured speaker of the evening and leader of the RDR, took the floor. In sweeping phrases he castigated and rejected the "totalitarian anti-capitalists" as well as the capitalist system. Our hopes, he stressed, lie in an international reorganization of the world on a socialist foundation. The largest part of his speech was spent in delivering an attack upon the Stalinist conception of socialism and democracy. "It is not enough that the state become the owner of the economy in order that everything be resolved. It is necessary to know who is owner of the state. The workers can be masters of the state only if democracy rules, only if the trade unions are independent of the state, and only if the parties are independent of the state; and—I say this clearly—it is essentially this which makes us reject the Communist solution, the Russian solution."

The part of his speech devoted to America was another matter. In America, he said, despite the existence of blemishes, there do exist certain basic democratic liberties. . . . In passing he stated that the RDR is opposed to the Atlantic Pact because it only serves to feed the flames of the cold war.

In view of the political program on which the RDR was founded—against both imperialist war blocs—the worst thing about Rousset's speech was its almost complete failure to mention the role of U. S. imperialism in the world today. Indeed, in articles in the *Franc-Tireur* several days earlier, he had waxed especially eulogistic about democratic liberties in the U. S., with only incidental reference to war hysteria, anti-democratic persecutions, etc.

One must also ask why Rousset did not consider it necessary to make clear in his speech, to every soul in the audience, that the position of the RDR is in complete contradiction to that of the "peace-lover" Compton.

MORE HARM THAN GOOD

Llopis, former Spanish Republican premier, John Hynd of the British Labor Party, and a representative of the French trade unions also spoke. Given the length of the meeting and the aftermath of the Compton speech, people began to leave after Rousset's speech; only about 500 were left when the conference ended.

This meeting has done more harm than good to the prospects of the RDR. The ambiguous theme of the meeting, the degree of disparity in the views of the participants and its bad organization all contributed to weaken any possible effectiveness. But what was worse was the absence of any clear-cut presentation of the RDR's reason for existence: the rally-

ing of the left tendencies in France who hold in common the aim of building a movement against both imperialist war blocs and for a third camp of socialism. That was and is undeniably its attractive force, and those who joined the RDR or were drawn to it did so because they see no salvation in either Moscow or Washington.

It is therefore understandable that numerous active workers of the RDR are thoroughly dissatisfied with the manner in which this rally was organized and with the lack of clarity in the presentation of the RDR position on the war. A national conference of the RDR is being called for the latter part of June to discuss this matter and the general political and organizational problems facing the RDR.

The RDR has been and is the most hopeful movement on the French political horizon, despite mistakes committed by its leaders. It still remains the hope of thousands of French workers of the anti-Stalinist Left, despite political and organizational weakness and uncertainty. Criticism of the RDR in relation to this latest development is especially necessary precisely because of a deep concern with its healthy development as a revitalizing force in French socialism.

RDR Muffed —

(Continued from page 1)

Aware of the threat to the peace of the world and to the labor movement and democracy that Stalinism represents, the bulk of the conference was no less aware of the fact that American imperialism represents only the other side of the same threat. The conference was a demonstration that there are extensive democratic, labor and socialist forces in Europe that will not serve as agents of the Kremlin's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and that these same forces do not want to serve as agents of the American State Department.

That is the most heartening significance of the conference. For it is upon the consolidation of all the forces in Europe, particularly in Western Europe, which resolutely aim at establishing a genuinely independent Western European Union, which is truly free from economic and political domination by either American or Stalinist imperialism, that the future of peace and socialism depend in decisive measure.

IMPORTED DEFENDERS OF U. S.

As is known, a concerted effort was made to subvert the conference into an instrument of American imperialist policy. The effort itself was interesting and instructive. To find anyone who dares to defend American imperialism at a meeting of European democrats and socialists is no easy matter! At the Paris conference of the RDR, only one European could be found—a turncoat Dutch socialist—with the dubious courage to take the floor as a defender of Washington, and the reception he received from the audience was not less than he merited.

Forthright, unshamed and shameless apologists for American imperialism being at a premium in Europe itself, particularly among independent democrats and socialists, they had to be imported for the occasion from the United States itself. They appeared in the persons of Dr. Karl Compton, of the Atomic Energy Commission, Sidney Hook and James T. Farrell, and in the form of a recorded speech by Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt.

That these citizens should have been considered as the representatives of the American "democratic" or "socialist" left wing is fantastic. Mrs. Roosevelt is a direct representative of Washington in the United Nations and directly responsible for its policy. What Dr. Compton has in common with any left-wing trend is absolutely unknown here or abroad, though it is gratifying to read of the indignation with which the Paris audience greeted the outrageous coolness with which he defended American atomic imperialism.

Dr. Hook was announced in the press friendly to the RDR as the author of "Toward an Understanding of Karl Marx," which he wrote a long, long time ago, and every idea in which he has since abandoned in favor of intellectual leadership in the drive to undermine academic freedom in this country. Farrell was presented in the same press of the great author of the "Studs Lonigan" days, but the ideas of those days that he so distinguishedly and courageously defended have now been abandoned by him in favor of the ideas of Horatio Alger, Truman-Time model, which he presented to the conference as the new high point of contemporary American culture and politics.

In a word, the American delegation was a hoax. But it was an impudent hoax, for this delegation and it alone sought to enlist the conference in the service of American imperialism.

The conference adopted a declaration composed of hollow generalities which, at best, has no meaning or value. It lost a splendid opportunity to proclaim as the goal of European democracy and socialism the establishment of an Independent Western Union as the first great step toward

Defending 'Democracy'

The South African Broadcasting Corporation has banned all phonograph records by Paul Robeson.

Robeson, of course, is a Stalinist fellow traveler, and we haven't the slightest use for his political ideas or his apologies for the Kremlin tyranny.

But for one thing, we more than suspect that the South African action had at least as much to do with the color of his skin as with the hue of his politics.

And for another thing, we wonder whether Americans who read about this monstrous action got as wrought up about it as so many do when similar monstrosities are perpetrated by the Russian overseers of art (Robeson's friends, this time).

In banning access to Robeson's songs, the South African government is taking a leaf right out of Stalin's book. All in the name of defense of democracy, no doubt!

See the Difference?

"By removing suspicion and fear, through teaching employees to do work-simplification procedures themselves, it is possible to create the desire among employees to increase work output, he continued. A basic principle is to differentiate between work 'done at high speed' and work done 'in a hurry' . . ."

(A. H. Morgensen at the Time Study and Methods Conference, reported in the N. Y. Times, April 22).

Anti-CP Caucus in UE —

(Continued from page 1)
maintained and even improved in the balloting for convention delegates in the local unions in July and August.

NO "KREMLIN STOOGES"

Declaring that it was inaccurate to call the opposition the "minority," spokesmen for District 7 placed at 284,000 the number of members represented by the caucus. (While a number of speakers and delegates used the term "right wing" advisedly and gloried in its most reactionary connotations, significant expressions of disgust with the terminology were heard. One delegate, a young Ohio militant, claimed he was "just as 'left' as the next guy" but said he "drew the line at being a Kremlin stooge.")

The gathering, which was nationally publicized, drew its share of CP plants and disrupters both within and outside the meeting hall. A number of stooges who were successful in getting past the door committee seized upon various opportunities during the two-day session to make flamboyant exits from the hall, vowing that they had come there with open minds but that this, that, or the other thing was just too much to swallow. Accompanied by catcalls and boos in the best UE tradition, they swept out of the hall to take their places on the "rank and file" picket line of business agents and international representatives shuffling around the hall carrying signs that complained: "This meeting open to the press but barred to UE members."

The annoyances were ignored in the main while the delegates hammered out a generally rounded-out program embracing the need to fight for wage increases and against the speedup, plus a series of resolutions on the situation that finds the UE officers and general executive board at "civil war" with the non-Stalinist unions and officers of the CIO.

POLITICS PLANK WEAK

While the decisions on fighting the speedup and the resolution on wages and unemployment were militant and progressive, the approach of the conference on political action and legislative program was faltering and conservative. Discussion ensued on this point but not above the level of the already developed CIO program. No mention of support for an independent labor party was made except in the resolutions committee, where the delegates from N. Y.-N. J. District 4 pushed for its adoption. A section of the "General Statement of Policy" included a demand for "greater independent political action" free from the boss control of the two old parties.

The "political scabbery" and "irresponsible political adventuring" of the UE general officers & G.E.B. in the Wallace movement has had the effect of dampening labor party sentiment and contributes to the general backwardness of the UE ranks in the political sphere.

The conference adopted the full CIO program on the Truman administration and its foreign policy. The imprint of CIO Secretary-Treasurer James B. Carey's diplomatic projects and activities was reflected in the conference and its program as stated in the resolutions and statement of policy. A lengthy document on world trade-union unity calling for the creation of a new interna-

tional of free trade unions to replace the discredited and Stalinized WFTU and rebuking those CIO affiliates that defy the authority of the national CIO in their haste to join up with the Russian-sponsored "trade-union secretariats" was also adopted with little opposition.

The one note running through the speeches and resolutions at Dayton and reflecting the prime objective of all the delegates was anti-Stalinism. While there were undoubtedly those present who would lump all independent socialist militants in the same group along with the Stalinists as "reds," they were fortunately only a handful and gave little concern to the body. A reference to theoretical communism as a reactionary philosophy was deleted from

a draft resolution after spirited objection to it was made, according to a member of the resolutions committee.

The pro-Russian orientation of the UE leadership has unfortunately resulted in a reaction of the membership along patriotic lines. The endorsement of the Marshall Plan and the North Atlantic Pact by the opposition is a manifestation of this attitude. But notably absent in this atmosphere was any expression of aggressive jingoism or war talk.

Although the delegates were extremely optimistic about their chances of victory over the CP-controlled administration this September, indications point to a difficult fight. The opposition has gained but the Stalinists are still formidable.

Fund Drive Crowds 50% Slight Sag at Half Mark Shows Need for Push

By YETTA BARSH
Fund Drive Director

MAY 16—Newark, which up to this week showed only a 2 per cent contribution, came through with flying colors. With its second contribution of \$205, it achieved 70 per cent of its quota, placing it high up on the list and ahead of schedule, too.

New York continues to maintain a steady pace. It came across with \$212 and places in the 70 per cent bracket also. All the signs are good for the early attainment of its quota by New York.

Buffalo made a 10 per cent gain with another \$100. Although at this date it appears that this branch is behind schedule, we have been assured that it will do all in its power to meet its substantial quota. Buffalo has always kept its promises in the past—we are confident that it will do so again.

Philadelphia sends in \$75, bringing it up to 72 per cent—the highest "large quota" branch. It writes: "There is no doubt in our minds that we'll make better than our quota. By exactly how much we can't say yet."

San Francisco's \$56 raises its percentage to 51, indicating that this branch is also maintaining a steady and even pace. Streator jumped to 80 per cent during the course of the week with another \$10 contribution. LABOR ACTION readers sent in an additional \$9.00, raising their total to 42 per cent. National Office collections increased slightly by a total of \$54.

The Socialist Youth League continues to lead in over-subscriptions: Chicago SYL added \$5, raising its percentage to 128; the Bronx SYL, with its \$37.50 contribution this week, jumped way over its quota to achieve 136 per cent, placing it at the very top of the list.

Once more we have to thank the SYL for enabling us to reduce our "Miscellaneous" item to \$1004 as a result of their over-subscription, thus closing the gap a bit more between the assigned quotas and the \$14,000 goal. In addition, the Buffalo SYL has entered the race with a \$25 contribution, 50 per cent of its quota. Three SYL units head our list as the organization continues to approach its full quota.

The collections for the week total \$788.50, representing only a 6 per cent increase. This is the first week that our collections have fallen below 10 per cent. Our impression is that this is merely a "breather" in-between lags. Of all the large-quota branches, only Baltimore, Los Angeles and Seattle has not yet gotten started in earnest. If they succeed in sending in substantial sums during the next week, our guess is that the slight slowdown will be made up without any difficulty.

All units in the drive that are below the 50 per cent mark as of this date will have to put a bit of steam behind their efforts in order to meet the Fund Drive schedule for themselves and in order not to retard the national effort. Let's see if we can't make up this week's 3 per cent lag.

Readers of LABOR ACTION: Help Launch the ISL!

Do your share! Help us hit the 100% mark!

Send your contribution immediately to: Independent Socialist League, 4 Court Square, Long Island City 1, N. Y.

Enclosed find \$..... as a contribution to the \$14,000 Fund Drive of the Independent Socialist League.

Name Date

Address

City Zone State

Selling Capitalism - -

(Continued from page 1)

The campaign is now under way. It appears under the name of the "Public Policy Committee, the Advertising Council." A variety of full-page advertisements and fillers have been prepared for magazines and newspapers. Outdoor posters, car cards, booklets, radio programs, and other forms of propaganda running into millions of dollars have been prepared.

The current full-page advertisement shows a group of people who built a "happiness machine." But when the machine was finished they got to fighting over who should get the most happiness. So, of course, the machine slowed down and there was no happiness.

The moral to this fairy tale is given too: "Now, here's a better ending! They stopped fighting among themselves." The whole answer is that by "just working together . . . The bigger the flow of goods, the more there will be for everyone. Higher wages to buy the good things of life and more leisure to enjoy them."

And this is one of the advertisements that labor leaders approve. So, if you don't present any grievances or go on strike, there will be automatic wage increases, shorter hours, happiness, etc.

For May, the message will be directed to "Dear Soviet Teachers," cleverly telling readers that capitalism is so wonderful that the teachers in Russia can't talk about it.

The implication, we suppose is that worse conditions in Russia are worse, much worse than in the United States, then the workers in this country should do nothing to improve their standard of living.

And that definitely is the implication in all of these advertisements: "Work hard, make a lot of money for the boss—and he will take care

of you and make the country great."

In addition to the national campaign there are attempts to have "in-plant and community action on a local level—a plan to improve labor-management and plant-community relations." This phase of the program will be pushed early this coming fall.

Union locals will be expected to participate because of the endorsement of the campaign by the top leaders of the unions. But we suspect that too many unionists will not make too much headway.

In French

- Alfred Rosmer: Le Mouvement Ouvrier Pendant la Guerre\$3.00
- Victor Serge: Portrait de Staline 2.50
- Leon Trotsky: Ma Vie 1.50
- C. Tules: La Commune de 1871 (Préface de Trotsky) 2.00
- Pierre Naville: Psychologie, Marxisme, Matérialisme—Essais Critiques 3.00
- Theorie de l'Oriental Professionnelle 2.00
- D'Holbach 3.50
- Lissagaray: Histoire de la Commune de 1871 2.50
- Z. Zarembo: La Commune de Varsovie50
- La Crise Française: Essais par C. Bettelheim, Martinet, Naville, Bessaignet, Le Corbusier, Hardy 2.00

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Branch	Quota	Received	Per Cent
Bronx SYL	50	\$68	136
Chicago SYL	\$100	128	128
Brooklyn SYL	50	40	80
Streator	25	20	80
Philadelphia	400	288	72
New York City	4000	2803	70
Newark	300	211	70
Cleveland	400	244	61
Detroit	600	332	55
Chicago	1500	771	51
San Francisco	800	406	51
Reading	100	50	50
St. Louis	50	24	48
Manhattan SYL	50	26	52
Buffalo SYL	50	25	50
Labor Action and New Int'l	150	63	42
Buffalo	1000	390	39
West Virginia	125	43	34
National Office	1500	484	32
Akron	200	59	29
Boston	100	22	22
Los Angeles	500	27	5
Baltimore	200	4	2
Connecticut	50	0	0
Indiana	100	0	0
Oregon	50	0	0
Pittsburgh	50	0	0
Seattle	300	0	0
Youngstown	100	0	0
Berkeley SYL	50	0	0
Miscellaneous	1004	0	0
TOTALS	\$14,000	6528	47

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