WORK FOR A WORKERS WORLD; JOIN THE WORKERS PARTY!

LABOR ACTION

SEPTEMBER 6, 1948

A PAPER IN THE INTEREST OF SOCIALISM

FIVE CENTS

Czech Regime Hits Labor's 5-Day Week

The workers of Czechoslovakia are finding out what their "popular democracy" means, under a Stalinist totalitarian government.

In this country, which was taken over by the CP gang only six months ago, the "new life" is being spelled out. The trade-union federation-that is, the organization which USED TO consist of free trade unions-has started a campaign against the fiveday week, in favor of a six-day week.

What is reprehensible is not merely this fact alone. One can certainly imagine that a government has the abstract right to ask its workers to add an extra day's work in order to help production in an emergency. For example, in this country, union progressives did not object to the wartime 48-hour week as such, but rather fought for the retention of time and a half and double time for Saturday and Sunday work.

What is revealing about the Czech announcement is the attempt by the Stalinists to deny that the five-day week should even be an AIM of workers and trade unionists!

The newspaper of the Czech totalitarianized "trade unions," denouncing advocates of the five-day week as defenders of their "personal interests" as against "those of the national economy," writes:

"All economic arguments speak for a six-day week, which in most workshops has been in force for a generation.'

In this dead give-away we have the mouthpieces of the "new popular democracy" appealing to the precedent of the old regime for its own exploitive and oppressive measures. This is from the mouths of the very people who once loudly asserted that the system that had been "in force for generations" was a system of 'soulless exploitation. They now announce that they are the inheritors and continuators of its practices. The paper continues:

"If anybody is so foolish as to think that the five-day week is modern progress we have to remind him that in the whole history of the workers' struggle there never has been any talk about a shorter working week, but only shorter hours.".

OUT OF THEIR OWN MOUTHS



3 CP EX-OFFICERS EXPELLED BY NMU!

ALP-Tammany Deals Seen As Dirt Flies

By WYATT LEE

NEW YORK-In the middle of a heat wave that turned New York's tenements into reasonable facsimiles of steam baths, a political rumpus last week raised the temperature a few more notches in the clubrooms of Tammany and the American Labor Party.

Representative Vito Marcantonio and Mayor William O'Dwyer, buddies during the last election, turned in a name-calling bout that competed with the weather for the headlines of the town's newspapers.

Marcantonio, speaking as state chairman of the ALP, called O'Dwyer a "double - talking, double - dealing, double-crossing hypocrite," in rejoinder to the mayor's orders to oust all ALP members from patronage posts in the city government. He charged that the mayor's wrath stemmed from the ALP's refusal to back Tammany's candidate for surrogate in the coming election.

The surrogate's post is one of the juiciest plums in New York County. Under the county's laws, all financial affairs of widows, orphans and other "wards of the court" must pass through that office, with appointments of administrators, executors, etc., made by the surrogate. The party which holds this key post is in a favorable position to reward political henchmen. O'Dwyer had a row with the official leaders of Tammany when they attempted to nomi nate a judge whose political reputation would assure defeat for the Dem-

ocrats.

THE DIRT FLIES

As a compromise, the Democrats gave the nomination to Judge John A. Mullen. The Republicans nominated one George Frankenthaler, who was promptly supported by the Liberal Party. The ALP, after one nominee refused to accept, put for-

councilman, who, Rogge charged, had asked him to withdraw in favor of Mullen, the Tammany candidate. This was the first public indication that O'Dwyer, in an effort to offset the Liberal support to the Republican candidate, wanted to make a backroom deal.

Whether Connolly acted with the consent of other ALP leaders in approaching Rogge is not known. According to Marcantonio, the proposals came from O'Dwyer and Hugo Rogers, Manhattan borough president. In a telephone conversation, Marcantonio charged. O'Dwyer offered to double-cross the Democratic candidate in Marcantonio's congressional district if the ALP chairman would substitute Mullen for Rogge on the ALP ticket. When he refused, Marcantonio stated, O'Dwyer pledged political vengeance. The ouster of ALP members from the city payroll fol-

lowed. Marcantonio's account of political double-dealing has the ring of truth. Side by side with his faithful adherence to the Stalinist line, the New Yorker from East Harlem runs his district in a hard-bitten manner that is the envy of Tammany. Neither he nor the ALP is unaccustomed to deals with the Democrats; such shady deals have been their stock in trade since the formation of the ALP. O'Dwyer admitted to reporters that ALP failure to support his candidate for surrogate "changed the picture."

NO HOPE IN ALP

Whether the current feud between O'Dwyer and Marcantonio means a permanent break in the ALP custom of supporting Democratic and Republican candidates remains to be seen. At the present time, the ALP is supporting six Democratic candidates for Congress, one of them Paul O'Dwyer, the mayor's brother. It may be that the surrogate deal fell through sim-

(Continued on page 2)

UE CONVENTION

articles devoted to the problems

facling the national convention of

the United Electrical, Radio and

Machine Workers (CIO).

Turn to page four for special

By N. R. GADEN

NEW YORK, Aug. 31 - At a monster-sized Port of New York membership meeting of the National Maritime Union last night, the rank and file voted 1462-523 to uphold the findings of a trial committee and expel three leading Stalinists from the union.

The trio - Howard McKenzie, former vice-president, Ferdinand C. Smith, former secretary, and Paul Palazzi, former port agent of New York-had been brought up on charges by President Joseph Curran and Treasurer Hedley Stone. The charges were five in number - all dealing with violations of the NMU constitution, committed while these men held their offices in the union:

(1) That they conspired and misused facilities and properties of the union in an effort to place the union under the domination of the Communist Party or, as an alternative, to disrupt and destroy the union.

(2) That they misappropriated and misspent union funds and used these funds for factional purposes.

(3) That they wrongfully exercised powers not approved by the membership in accordance with the NMU constitution.

NEXT WEEK-

LABOR ACTION will discuss editorially the significance of the NMU's expulsion of Smith, McKenzie and Palazzi. This action deserves the closest scrutiny by the labor movement. We also expect to present in greater detail the evidence presented.

(4) That they committed wrongful acts with respect to publication of the union organ, The Pilot, by publishing material not approved by the editorial board (consisting of the national officers) and printing slanderous and libelous statements against union officers.

(5) That they brough

This fantastic lie, of course, could be uttered only in a country where the liars need not fear refutation. It will be sufficient for us to point to the pamphlet put out by International Publishers (the American Stalinist fountainhead of "approved" literature) entitled The History of the Shorter Workday, by the Labor Research Association. This pamphlet has a special section (pages 40-42) taking up precisely the fight for the shorter working week. The section is entitled "Unions Win the Five-Day Week," and we have room to quote only its opening sentences:

"Some four million workers in the U. S. in 1941 had the benefit of the five-day week or two days off in every seven. And this benefit was a direct result of trade-union efforts to gain some measure of leisure for their members."

The Alice-in-Wonderland argument of the Czech Stalinists goes on:

"In the socialist country, the Soviet Union, they did not introduce the five-day week. [This certainly clinches a point-but it is not the Stalinists' point!] Finally, no other people's democratic state is forced to give attention to this issue."

The article goes to the length of arguing also (on principle!) against a five-day week even for married women, with children, house responsibilities, etc. Rather it reveals thatthe Czech "five-year plan" calls for the recruitment of even more married women into the factories.

But there are over a quarter of a million workers who have found a way, through their union ,of at least hanging on to its tail.

In the month of July the HCL jumped another two points. It now stands at an index of 173.7 as compared with an index of 100.8 in January 1941, which was the month used as the base for the infamous wartime "Little Steel formula."

And the current number of Business Week says of the helium-inflated cost of living: "It's still going up. And it won't come down much until the cost of food stops climbing. Despite bumper grain crops, that won't happen for at least a year, when the grain has been turned into weat." "At least a year" . . .

Meanwhile, what does that mean for workers whose contracts call for so many cents per hour, regardless of what happens to those pennies when their wives go shopping? It means their wages are cut-real wages, which are measured not in cents but in what the money can buy over the counter . But it does NOT mean that now

for the workers of the General Motors Corporation. No thanks to GM itself! Those workers are "different" because their union, the United Auto Workers (CIO) fought for and won a contract with a special provision which even the New York Times radio called "history-making." That was the so-call d "escalator clause." Back in May, the UAW forced

workers one cent an hour more for each 1.14 points by which the costof-living index rose in each quarter. As a result, these workers have now AUTOMATICALLY obtained a three-

cent-an-hour raise, for some 265,000 hourly-rated men. And 68.000 salaried workers will get \$15 each in December as an adjustment for the preceding quarter.

The escalator clause has paid off. Business Week warns: "Other companies that do not hitch wages to the price index are more likely to get a delayed reaction. They will have to bargain again with unions next spring though."

Translating this into a warning for workers (rather than Business Week's be able to hitch up their wages until next spring-if then. And then only if they fight hard enough. Meanwhile their wives will continue paying for those extra points on the

index. Anyone can see now why progressive unionists (and, for years, LA-BOR ACTION) have been fighting for such an escalator clause-a sliding scale of wages to rise with price rises-as an essential for the protection of labor from profiteering.

Their mouths ought to be pretty well stopped now. (Unfortunately, that won't stop some of these people from

When the GM section of the UAW signed that contract last May there was more than one voice raised against it, even within the union.

the UAW.) We'd like to see more unions bring

up this question of an escalator clause, demand it and fight for it. It doesn't solve the basic questions involved in the terrific price-gouging, but it's a "must" for even alleviating the kicking around that the worker-consumers are getting.

The GM auto workers have given a demonstration.

ward the name of O. John Rogge, one-time U. S. assistant attorney general. Rogge started the pot boiling a

couple of weeks ago, just before he sailed to attend the Stalinist -. controlled World Congress of Intellectuals held in Poland. He called in reporters to denounce the maneuvers of Eugene Connolly, an ALP city

"Purgers" Fire Legless Vet

businessmen): other workers will not Kutcher Case Brings New Low in Disgraceful Witch Hunt

By JAMES M. FENWICK

NEWARK-Another disgraceful episode in the government's hit-and-run campaign against all non-conformist political opinion has just taken place. The victim is James Kutcher, who was fired on August 13 from his job in the Newark Veterans' Administration. He was accused of being a mem-

ber of the Socialist Workers Party. "I have never denied my membership in the Socialist Workers Party," Kutcher stated. "I do not deny it now. On the contrary, I proudly reaffirm it. What I do deny is the false accusation that the Socialist Workers Party is subversive or advocates the overthrow of the government by force and violence."

"You have the right to disagree with my views, but not to deprive me of my job for holding them," he

Kutcher, who is the sole support of his parents, is a World War II veteran. He lost both his legs in the fighting in Italy, after having gone through the African and Sicilian campaigns. As a result of his injurries he was hospitalized for two years. A Civil Rights Defense Committee has been set up to fight his case and to work for an immediate hearing before the federal loyalty board. Carl Holderman, president of the state CIO, has pledged support.

In a statement on the case, Kutcher

"I entered the armed forces in Jandrafted me.

"I became an infantryman. When I was at San Pietro, Italy, in November, 1943, the German mortar crew

views or the party to which I belonged; they fired at me.

"The Army surgeons did not ask me about my political views or the party to which I belonged; they amputated both my legs.

"The Army did not ask me about my political views or the party to

Tresca Honored

the Purple Heart. "I have already been deprived of both my legs and my freedom of

which I belonged when it gave me

movement. I do not propose to have any government official deprive me of my freedom of thought and expression and my right to earn a living. The methods employed against me are those of totalitarianism and not of democracy."

Kutcher also said: "Although I am not in sympathy with communism, I would stand ready to defend any Communist Party member in the same position as I am at present."

Every person possessing a spark of humany decency should lend his support to the Kutcher case, which so clearly reveals the reality behind the recent war-which, we were told, was to preserve democracy.

into ill repute by subordinating the best interests of the union and its membership to the Communist Party.

DETAILED PROOF GIVEN

The above charges were thoroughly substantiated by detailed evidence presented. Receipts and vouchers signed by the three defendants showed moneys illegally withdrawn from the union's funds in the neighborhood of \$4,000.

Correspondence was presented showing that the union narrowly escaped a libel suit arising from their misuse of their authority as officials and their political connections with the editor of the union paper: it was proved that they changed the approved contents of the paper and inserted slanderous accusations for their own factional purposes. It was also proved that the accused issued false statements and tried to stampede the membership into a strike last June 15, after the union had taken a position that a strike at that time would be disastrous.

In general, it was made thoroughly clear that the three were being expelled for overt acts which no honest union could possibly tolerate and that this was being done on the basis of documented proof presented to the rank and file's judgment.

The trial committee, whose chairman presented the report last night. had been elected in accordance with the constitution by the previous regular membership meeting and consisted of five rank-and-file unionists. The committee had tried thirty-

(Continued on page 2)

Geltman—for—Congress Petition Filed; Signature Goal Passed

NEW YORK-Nominating petitions to place Emanuel Geltman on the ballot as candidate for Congress in the 19th District were filed with the Board of Election on Friday, one day ahead of schedule.

Altogether a total of 6180 signatures were gathered during the highly successful petitioning campaign. Required number is 3000. While the Workers Party has in every way complied with the many and contradictory technicalities of the law on petitions,

there still remains a period of three days during which any individual or group may record a challenge of this petition. The challenger then has six additional days in which to specify the nature of the objection. There are no indications at this time of such

a challenge. Plans for the election campaign proper are getting under way this week, beginning with visits to the many people who requested more information about the

Workers Party.

New Pro-Fascist Front in Israel

By ED FINDLEY

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A Revisionist Party conference convening in Jerusalem on Friday, August 27, voted to ratify an agreement-reached by its executive committee and the leadership of the Irgun's "Freedom Movement" to merge both organizations.

Under the terms of the agreement, the Irgun is to receive fifteen seats on the top committee of the new political unit while the Revisionists must content themselves with six seats.

In addition, the Revisionist daily, "Hamashkif" (which used to herald Franco's victories in Spain as the victories of "our side"), will be discontinued. Its place is to be taken by the organ of the Irgun, "Haheiruth," under a combined editorial board headed by the notorious labor-baiter. Uri Zvi Greenberg.

This merger of the Irgun with the anti - labor, pro - fascist Revisionist movement of Palestine should occasion some soul-searching among "liberal" and "radical" American apologists for the Irgun, who vociferously denied or minimized the political kinship between the Irgun and the Revisionist movement out of which

it emerged and with which it is now organically united. It is not clear, as yet, whether the National Federation of Labor-a tiny, strike-breaking company union operated by the Revisionists in an attempt to break the Histadrut Haovdim, the general trade union of Is-

raeli labor-is to be disbanded or taken over by the new "Freedom Movement." However, in view of the bitter anti-

Histadrut campaign being conducted by Beigin & Co. [the Irgunists], it seems unlikely that use of this duelunion outfit will be foregone.

SUCH FRANKNESS!

As we go to press, it is reported that Zhdanov, No. 2 warden in Stalin's prison state, has died. The Moscow announcement says cause of his death was "PARALYSIS OF THE HEART."

added.

said:

uary, 1941. My draft board did not ask me about my political views or the party to which I belonged; they

did not ask me about my political

By New Memorial "New honor has come to Carlo Tresca, murdered New York anti-

totalitarian editor, in the Italian mountain town where he was born," the Tresca Memorial Committee has announced. A striking bronze head of Tresca, sculptured by Minna Harkavy, now stands on a tall pedestal in a public garden in Sulmona, thriving market center, adjacent to a square called Piazza Carlo Tresca. Two years ago the name of this square was changed from Piazza Victor Emmanuel II.

As a young man of 20 in Sulmona, Tresca was sentenced to a year in jail, with six months in solitary confinement, for what was called libel, growing out of his editorial exposures in his paper Il Germe (the Seed) of political corruption in that area. He chose exile instead, fleeing the country. Now the heroic-sized sculpture stands in a tree-lined lane, a favorite gathering place for young people.

A Labor Party-A 'Must' for American Workers

September 6, 1948

Chapter 7

What Will a Labor Party Look Like?

HERE will be no mistaking the labor party when it arises. Whether it comes into being first on a local or regional scale or as a full-blown national organization, it will have certain characteristics.

First of all, it will be organized by and based upon considerable sections of the trade-union movement. It will be led by, financed by and fought for by union men and women. It will be controlled by union labor. Its political program will reflect labor's needs. Its candidates will for the most part be union men and women.

Its national committee will be composed, in the majority, of delegates from the unions. (In addition it may have, as the Farmer-Labor Party in Minnesota had. precinct and ward clubs.)

With the capitalist-minded labor leaders still in political control of the union movement, it was not possible for the ranks of labor to throw off these parasites in time to run a national labor party ticket in the 1948 election. That is our No. 1 task for 1952.

But we can start, today, to clean up our own locals, to organize in opposition to those who would weaken us by keeping us tied to the corrupt and corrupting capitalist parties. We can insist that our union leaders, if they are members of the capitalist parties, either break their alliance with such parties or face a contest for union leadership. We can organize in the cities to run city and state labor party candidates in 1950.

As each local labor-party movement gains strength, it owes it to its own future to invest a part of its money and energies in educational work to further the movement in its own state and adjacent states, to help other union localities to get on the right road. And the most far-sighted labor party leaders must keep constantly in mind the goal of a national labor party and must energetically seek to build a movement aimed at this goal.

Chapter 8

Why Old Union Leaders Oppose a Labor Party

W^{HY} don't people like Green and Murray and Tobin and Lewis and Dubinsky and Whitney support the campaign for a labor party? Certainly, they cannot contend that the two old parties have given anything to labor in recent years-except the Taft-Hartley Law, return to the labor injunction, higher taxes, the end of price control, heavy court fines and increasing militarization and regimentation.

The main reason that the conservative labor leaders oppose a labor party is because they think like capitalists, they believe in capitalism and its politics. They are rich men, receiving \$12,000, \$20,000, \$30,000, \$40,000 a year, plus all sorts of perquisites. They no longer live the same lives as do their union members. They have been out of the mines and factories and locomotive cabs for many years. They hobnob with the rich, dine with them, travel with them, drink with them, and absorb the ideas and politics and social views of the rich, to whom an independent labor party is abhorrent.

Not only are such union officials opposed to an independent labor party, they are for and often a part of the boss parties.

A poll of 410 AFL and CIO leaders was taken in May 1947 on the question: "As far as national politics are concerned, would you during the next two or three years prefer to work for labor's viewpoint within one or both of the major parties, or would you prefer to set up a new labor party entirely separate from either of them?"

The second course was favored by 12 per cent of the AFL leaders and 23 per cent of the CIO leaders. This is encouraging and shows that the labor party already has a good nucleus of support among the union leadership. It can be assumed that in the union ranks the proportion in favor of a labor party now is very much higher.

polled was in favor of a labor party "within the next ten years"-that is, "never, unless we are forced to movė."

Answers to the poll showed that two-thirds of these AFL and CIO leaders were members of the Republican and Democratic Parties. Within the the AFL, 10 per cent of the leadership belonged to the Republican, 49 per cent to the Democratic, 5 per cent to "other parties," 24 per cent to no party, and 4 per cent did not answer. In the CIO, 7 per cent were Republicans, 65 per cent were Democrats, 8 per cent "other," 17 per cent no party, and 2 per cent did not answer. Thus, 59 per cent of the AFL officials and 72 per cent of the CIO officials were affiliated with the political company unions of the employers.

This is a key fact about the present-day union officialdom, and unless you understand this, you won't understand why we haven't a labor party already, or what must be done before we can have our own party.

The chances are that you do not even know that the top official of your union is, in all likelihood, a member in good standing, and a peculiarly important member, of a boss political party. That he caucuses regularly with other members of his party-with bankers and manufacturers and editors and police chiefs and mayors and governors and aldermen, all in the interests of preserving the party which safeguards the profits of the bosses.

Why do union officials affiliate with the boss parties? Because they think like the bosses on political questions. Because the boss parties often help protect the union leaders in their union posts. Sometimes, to get a cut of the political graft.

The hidden political connections of the union leaders don't often come to the surface. It takes a crisis to bring out such hidden connections. Such a minor crisis was the announcement of Henry Wallace that he in tended to run for president on a third-party ticket. How the union bureaucrats scurried then to repudiate Wal-

A slightly higher percentage of the union officials lace and to reveal that they were and are members of the Democratic Party, that they are loyal to the party of Hague and Flynn and Kelly and Crump and Farley and Arvey and a thousand other political bosses!

> The reason these labor lieutenants of capitalism opposed Wallace was not because they were for a genuine labor party and Wallace was for a third capitalist party. They opposed Wallace because they were for the old Democratic Party, and Wallace's candidacy appeared to threaten the fortunes of that party.

> How can we get a labor party if our unions are headed by leaders belonging to, or looking for guidance from, the old parties?

> In the first place, there are at least 20 per cent of the union officialdom already won over to the idea of the labor party. (Another 20 per cent is neutral, not tied up with the capitalist parties.) This is a formidable group lying directly at hand, to help launch the fight.

> Progressive unionists, both in the ranks and in the leadership, should begin immediately to form a laborparty caucus in their union locals; to draw in sympathetic representatives from other unions. As soon as the movement has a base among the unions, try to draw in representatives of other organizations in the locality that might naturally be disposed to a labor party-consumers' cooperatives, the Farmers' Union, parents' groups, tenant leagues, Negro organizations, etc.

> Analyze the local political situation. Draw up a program that really meets the needs of the people in the locality-their housing needs, health needs, school needs, wage needs, union needs, transportation needs, the needs of the veterans, Negroes, youth, aged. Determine which offices the labor party should seek. Launch the political campaign.

> We'll probably lose the first time out, even the second time out, but we'll gain invaluable experience and we will have started the educational work which in time will bring the labor party to victory. Time and the tide of events are working for a labor party and against the old bankrupt parties.

NMU Expels Stalinists - -

(Continued from page 1) three cases prior to getting to Mc-Kenzie, Smith and Palazzi; it then presented the set of charges to the three CPers. The accused and their cohorts proceeded to denounce the trial committee as a "kangaroo court" and challenged its right to try them. There had been no question raised about the committee's validity in the preceding thirty-three cases.

One of the trial-committee men walked out of the hearing with Mc-Kenzie, Smith and Palazzi after their denunciations. The trial committee and Curran asked this brother to stay behind so that he could issue a

tee. He pointed out that the accused want "round the world" but never answered the specific charges. There was nothing left to do but uphold the findings of the committee.

The chairman then recognized various rank-and-file Stalinists. They were hysterical as usual, and when they concluded the question was called. The Stalinists started ganging up at the microphone, demanding more time, denouncing the "frameup" and generally trying to create a hubbub of confusion which, they hoped, would break up the meeting. But this tactic didn't work as it had in the past. The port agent of New York had prepared for the evenlier, two Curran supporters were the convention, the highest body of ejected from the meeting for not being orderly when a CPer had the floor. Had the Stalinists begun their disruptionist routine, they would not have been able to get very far. CRIMES DUE TO CP The meeting, one of the largest ever held in this port, was conducted in exemplary fashion. Chairman Warner bent over backward in favor of the "hacks." He gave them more

time than was allotted, recognized

as many Stalinists as possible, and

used no high-handed methods. Des-

pite all this, the Stalinists shouted

"railroad" after the vote had been

the union.

There could have been no doubt in the mind of any unbiased observer that McKenzie, Smith and Palazzi were completely proved guilty of the charges leveled against them, and that these charges merited expulsion regardless of the political views of the accused. The evidence-which, it is expected, will be published in The Pilot-provides, indeed, a case study of Stalinist union-wrecking and mis-

The three men were expelled for overt acts against the union, not for their political views, but at the same time it is clear that they committed

Buffalo UE Group Faces Issues RANK AND FILE OPPOSITION DIVIDED ON PROGRAM

BUFFALO-After sweeping the Stalinists completely out of office in May, the large Westinghouse UE-CIO Local 1581 here audited its books and was staggered to find that it was approximately \$12,000 in debt. Over \$8,000 of this sum was owed to the International Union in unpaid per capita.

In order to re-establish its credit with local venders, the Rank and File Caucus Executive Board voted to pay \$2,000 on local bills and make a part payment in June to the Innal as its first

financial budget plans galley west.

red-baiting and what did not; what attitude to take toward members of a minority, anti-Communist caucus which existed in the local; what was legitimate democratic procedure and what crossed the boundary into power politics within the Rank and File Caucus and on the Executive Board which it controlled; what attitude to take toward the company in negotiation demands-and other major and minor issues.

The issue of how many delegates were to be sent to New York found one Rank and File wing in favor of finances-only to find its plans dissending all eight delegates and anrupted by another problem inherited other wing in favor of calling a spefrom the previous administration. A cial meeting to reconsider the whole strike loomed on the horizon out of question, since the caucus had an unfinished job reclassification pledged strict budgeting of union battle with the company, knocking funds in its election. This was voted down by an organized minority on By July 19 the local emerged from the Executive Board, but it also prethis strike threat over job classificacipitated the other wing into organtion with a settlement which won izing itself. Two organized groups an allocation fund of two cents per now exist within the one caucus. The head, or a sum of \$200,000 to be set new wing reversed the previous Exaside to eliminate job inequities. This ecutive Board meeting and won a was the biggest stride forward on second board vote to recommend this problem in the two-year history sending three delegates to be electof the local. The previous adminised out of the eight accredited at the tration has made a few attempts at August 29 membership meeting The Board also voted to send the delegates instructed, and informally suggested that such issues as con-

demnation of the Communist Party, a fight against the Taft - Hartley law, signing of the non-communist affidavits, refusal of endorsement to Wallace, etc., be taken up at the membership meeting for the purpose of instructing whoever was elected out of the eight. Only the Wallace issue finds the two groups in the Rank and File administration in general agreement, against endorsement. On all other issues they are divided.

The issues of the convention will again revive the political differences between the groups, differences which

have been lulled since May because

of the immediate local union prob-

lems which faced the new adminis-

HENRY WALLACE

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tration as a whole.

minority report if he disagreed with the verdict, but he refused.

At the meeting last night, Stalinists took the floor demanding his right to make a minority report. This was ruled out of order by the chairman, H. B. Warner, because no minority report had been submitted.

A leading Curran supporter made a motion to allow both sides to speak for a half-hour each. The motion brought a howl of protest from the more impatient anti-Stalinists, but the membership voted 12-1 in favor of giving them the time, even though it meant a long meeting.

However, Palazzi and McKenzie spoke for a full hour. Smith, said to be ill, did not attend the meeting. They repeated their objections, which were:

(1) That the trial committee was illegally elected and unfair;

(2) That they were tried for acts performed while officers of the union; (3) That the trial was not open;

(4) That they didn't have enough time to prepare their case.

All these objections were amply answered by the committee: they demonstrated the first objection to be a lie; the second objection is absurd-these men were demanding special consideration simply because they were officers when they violated the union constitution; the third objection is invalid because there is no provision for open trial-committee sessions; lastly, the defendants were notified of the charges and given time to prepare defense in full accordance with the constitution.

Both Palazzi and McKenzie claimed they were being persecuted for their support of Wallace and their opposition to the Marshall Plan, etc. It is a fact, however, that many Curran supporters are also Wallace supporters and many oppose the Marshall Plan.

The two pleaded for "democracy." They attacked their accusers as "ex-Communists." They attacked the new leadership as "ship-owners' stooges and union wreckers." But they made no attempt to defend themselves against the specific charges.

Curran took the floor after they were through. His half-hour speech was devoid of red-baiting. He pointed out that the accused were given a fair trial. They were allowed to present their case before the member-

taken. tuality by appointing a small army of . The expelled men now can appeal masters-at-arms to keep order. Ear- to the national council and then to

OHIO LABOR NOTES **Real-Estaters Oust Vets**

By JOE HAUSER

CLEVELAND, August 28-How good is your memory?

Even the youngest of our readers must remember way back when nothing was too good for the boys. However, the politicians and property owners of Cleveland Heights know that the war is over and "the boys" must learn that the promises were not made in earnest.

This state of affairs has been vividly demonstrated in the past few weeks. The Veterans Administration has been anxious to locate a new hospital in Cleveland, as hear as possible to the University Hospitals and Western Reserve University, so as to have the advantages of the facilities and staffs of these well-known institutions. The VA had found a desired location in the Fells estate in Cleveland Heights, about a mile from West-

ern Reserve. Everything was set to build this much-needed hospital for veterans when the Heights property owners decided that this might lower the value of their fairly exclusive land; they found the members of the Heights Council quite willing to follow their advice in advising the VA to look somewhere else. After much publicity and many resolutions passed by various vets' organizations, the Council was prevailed upon to consider the matter a second time. Result: a majority vote for excluding

the hospital anywhere in Cleveland **Heights!** As things stand now, the Veterans Administration is considering a location inside Cleveland, near Western Reserve, but in a fairly congested area. Property values in the Heights will be protected, and the construction of the hospital will be delayed almost a year, due to the need for drawing up new plans. So much for the loud promises of a few years

back. CIO CRACKS DOWN

land industrial Union Council now cries for an independent labor party ship even though they had chosen have a clear majority over the Stal- to put forward labor's own candinot to do so before the trial commit- inists, and are pushing their advan- dates!

tage to make up for much lost time. Latest move is to censor scripts for the weekly radio program, "Labor Speaks," heard every Sunday over WHK. The CIUC contracts for this time and sells it in turn to various locals to put on their own programs. The United Electrical Workers and some United Automobile Workers locals have used this time to whoop it up for Wallace and the Progressive Party. At its last meeting the CIUC condemned this as a violation of na-

tional CIO policy, and voted to have the administrator, James Quinn, review the scripts in advance of the broadcasts. This action is designed to prevent Stalinist use of CIO time, but of course the UE and any other unions still have the right to broadcast their views on any time arranged for and paid for by themselves. . . .

OBJECT LESSON IN OHIO

The "reward your friends and punish your enemies" brand of politics has many Ohio labor leaders on the spot. Running for governor are the present incumbent, Republican Thomas Herbert, and his predecessor, Democratic Frank Lausche. Unfortunately for themselves, both candidates have had a chance to show what they could do in the governor's mansion, and on the basis of these records, the CIO-PAC had to say it could support neither in the coming elections.

Latest word is that the AFL's League for Political Education will be urged to endorse Herbert, because he vetoed the Van Aken labor bill, a little Taft-Hartley Act passed by the state legislature. Of course, no mention is made that the governor did this because he felt the T-H Law was good and effective by itself; and of course his action in using the National Guard to break the Univis Lens strike in Dayton further shows his

real stand on labor. What a perfect example this is of the bankruptcy of supporting the old-The pro-Murray forces in the Cleve- line parties! And how the situation

these overt acts against the union **BECAUSE OF their subservience to** the Communist Party and the Kremlin's politics. They feared and suppressed free discussion and exchange of ideas within the union because they wanted the membership to follow their line as blindly as they follow the CP's.

Although the rank and file of the NMU has thus far shown how to clean house, there are the usual dangers still inherent in the situationin particular the danger that, flushed by the expulsion of the three CP leaders, there will be elements which will move toward POLITICAL persecution of rank-and-file Stalinists and Stalinist supporters. Not only would this negate the value of the lesson, but it would facilitate the Stalinists' comeback.

Deals - -

in the national Progressive Party, proved recalcitrant when Connolly tried to shuffle him aside.

On the other hand, these workers should remember the fervor with which they supported O'Dwyer in the last election, a fervor inspired by the speeches of Marcantonio, Connolly and the other leaders who have only now discovered O'Dwyer to be a double-dyed hypocrite.

From such creatures, whose policies are determined on one plane by the dictates of Stalin and on another by the politics of job-holding wardheelers, there is little hope of building a party of American labor.

to LABOR ACTION

Caucus administration, however, was won at the cost of added expenses for strike preparations. Lost time for its large steward council body both inside the plant and outside, allshift strike meetings, had mounted up and added an additional financial burden to the slim budget. CLEAVAGE WIDENS A letter to the International requesting partial exoneration of Local 1581's debt because of the series of organizing drives it had conducted

in the past year to keep pace with rising employment rolls (membership rose from 500 to almost 4,000 in a year and a half) brought no offer from the top UE-CIO officials. A request in the same letter for clarification on the local's convention status brought no clarification. Meanwhile, the new administration had made a \$500 part payment on its June per capita, and by July made full payment and began to keep abreast of its obligations.

Based upon the original announcement that the convention was to be held in Buffalo, the local elected a full complement of eight delegates and two alternates, since transportation and daily expense allowances would be eliminated. When the convention was switched to New York there arose the problem of the expense involved to the local if all those elected were sent to New York City. This deepened an unofficial split which had been smoldering within the Rank and File Caucus. The split had been over such is-

sues as what position to take on the Communist Party; what constituted



All readers of LABOR ACTION are invited to attend meetings, class lectures and socials sponsored by local branches of the WORKERS PARTY, For information of WORKERS PARTY activities in cities not listed below, write to WORKERS PARTY, 4 Court Square, Long Island City 1, N. Y.

AKRON: Write to Box 221.

BALTIMORE: International Fellowship House, 21 West Preston St., 2nd floor. Public forums every second Friday of each month. Discussion group on remaining Friday evenings.

BUFFALO: 639 Main St., 2nd floor .. Office hours, 11 a.m.-2 p.m., Monday through Friday. Open meetings Sunday evenings. Discussion groups Thursday evenings.

CHICAGO: 800 West North Ave. Tel.: MIChigan 9003. Office hours: Wed-nesdays after 4:00 p.m. Meetings: Every Wednesday at 8:30 p.m. CLEVELAND: WP Branch meets Sundays, 8:00 p.m., in Room 4, Slöve-nian Hall, 6409 St. Clair Ave. Write

Bernard Douglas, Box 1190, Cleveland 3. Ohio. DETROIT: 6341 Gratiot, Room 10. Tel-

ephone: PLaza 5559. Open on Tues-days and Fridays, 1 to 5 p.m. LOS ANGELES: 3314 So. Grand, Los Angeles 7. Tel.: Richmond 7-3230 (if no answer, phone AX 2-9067). Office hours, 2 to 5 p.m. daily.
NEWARK: 248 Market St., Newark 2.

Open house Friday evenings. NEW YORK CITY: CITY CENTER: 114 West 14th St., 3rd

fbor. Open every day from 10 a.m. to 7 p.m. Wednesday and Thursday until 10:30 p.m. Tel.,: WAtkins 4-4222

HARLEM BRANCH: Wednesday, 8:15 p.m., at Workers Party Headquar-ters, 2143 Seventh Ave. (near 126th St.), Room 9.

CENTRAL BRANCH: Wednesday, 8:15 p.m., at the City Center, 114 West 14th St., 3rd floor,

CHELSEA BRANCH: Thursday, 8:15 p.m., at the City Center, 114 West 14th St., 3rd floor.

B'KLYN - BROWNSVILLE BRANCH: Wednesday, 8:15 p.m., at the De Luxe Palace, 538 Howard Ave. (near Pitkin Ave.).

SOCIALIST YOUTH LEAGUE

- MANHATTAN UNIT: Open forums, Friday nights, 8:15, at WP City Center, 114 West 14th St.
- BROOKLYN UNIT: Open forums, Sun-day nights, 8:15, at De Luxe Palace, 558 Howard Ave. (near Pitkin). For more information, write fo Socialist Youth League, 4 Court Square, 4th floor, Long Island City 1, N. Y.
- PHILADELPHIA: 1139 West Girard Ave., 3rd floor. Meetings Wednes-days at 8:00 p.m. Open House, Fridays 7:30-10. Tel.: St-2-3114.

PITTSBURGH: Write to P. O. Box 752,

Pittsburgh 30. READING: Write to P. O. Box 1671.

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piecemeal settlement of job inequities and then thrown the problem into a bottom drawer and doubletalked the workers into forgetting it. The victory of the Rank and File

ALP

(Continued from page 1) ply because Rogge, a prized figure

Independence from capitalist parties is the hallmark of a genuine labor party. If there be workers who still view the ALP as such a genuine political instrument, they should be disillusioned by the flying dirt that fills the landscape.





Commitments

Reports are thick that Walter Reuther, president of the United Auto Workers, is scheduled to speak at a rally in Detroit with Harry Truman, who is opening his campaign in that city.

As we pointed out two weeks ago, this possibility was the basis of one of the explanations given for Reuther's recent commitment to his membership to work for a "new political realignment" after the November election. And if so, it becomes all the more necessary to underline what we said about that commitment.

We believe that the militant unionists in the UAW, and in the rest of the labor movement too for that matter, must seize upon Reuther's statement and demand its fulfillment. It was equivocal, not forthright; it contradicted itself, rather than pointed a clear line; it hedged. But it will be up to the men in the ranks to see to it that it is made to mean something—specifically, that it means the formation of a new party based on organized labor, a labor party.

We want to emphasize that it must be the men in the ranks who take upon themselves the task of enforcing that commitment. The very fact that Reuther had to come out with that statement at this time-even if only to cover up his coming switch to Truman!-is the significant thing. Where there already has been pressure, there must be MORE pressure.

We call to our readers' attention the fact that the president of the Michigan State CIO, August Scholle, has followed up with a "clarifying" statement, to the effect that Reuther's commitment has been misinterpreted. What he really meant, says Scholle, is that we need a real people's party, namely, a rejuvenated Democratic Party.

Now it is easy to point out that Reuther specifically quoted the resolution passed last March by the UAW Executive Board, adopting as their official political objective the formation after the 1948 elections of a genuine progressive political party. . . ." If Reuther follows Scholle in "interpreting" this to mean merely a face-lifting operation on the donkey, we have no hesitation in predicting what will happen:

There will be an explosion under his feet; there is not a man in the UAW who will believe that this is what he "meant all along"; and above all, his influence over countless militants will be blasted away in a wave of disillusionment against a man who has claimed to be forthright and against doubletalk. It would be a risky maneuver for **Brother Reuther!**

The job of the men in the ranks is to make it even more risky. Let Reuther speak out now and tell us whether Scholle has a right to speak for him!

It is in this sense that we call on the UAW men to "seize on" Reuther's commitment and push toward a real break with the capitalist parties and capitalist politics. Reuther himself has not shown that he knows where he's going. He has denounced Truman and now apparently is on the verge of supporting him. He has sought to give the impression that he has promised a break with the old parties, but his commitment article (except for quoting the March resolution) persists in using the weasely phrase "a new political realignment" instead of the outspoken "new party." The Gus Scholles base their "reinterpretations" on this kind of hedging, hoping to pressure Reuther in their conservative direction-because Reuther is vacillating between pressures.

It doesn't hinge on Reuther. He's just the president of the UAW. It depends on how much steam the militants can get up to swing both Reuther and the UAW into line for the only "political realignment" that means anything for labor: the formation of a labor party-of, by and for the workingpeople of the country.

they do not offer a candidate of the organized labor movement.

There are several important moves in the right direction, however. Two weeks ago Walter Reuther of the Automobile Workers called for the creation of a new party (see discussion above). The UAW Executive Board is on record for the building of such a party in 1949-a party built by and out of and with the support of the unions. Thiš week, in Columbus, Ohio, a national youth conference for such a party is being held. At its national convention last week, one of the oldest and most powerful unions, the International Typographical Union, resolved to help initiate a National Congress of Labor-which among other things, would have to consider political action.

These are more than straws in the wind. These are signs of the political maturation of labor. The roadbed is being laid. It bypasses completely the Progressive Party. Such a Jabor party, free of capitalists and free of Stalinists, must come into being.

What should labor do in the 1948 elections? Labor cannot give support to Truman or Dewey, who represent the capitalist class; nor to Wallace, who represents the interests of Stalinism. Labor cannot vote for the imperialists of Washington or those of Moscow!

Without a party and candidate of its own. labor can only cast a protest vote. Not a protest vote against the policies of Wall Street alone or against the Kremlin alone! A protest vote against both is a socialist protest vote!

Vote for a socialist candidate!

There are three socialist presidential candidates in the field. A vote for any one of them constitutes a rejection of both oppressive imperialist forces.

Vote Socialist!

Pardon the 18!

Readers of LABOR ACTION are acquainted with the famous Minneapolis "sedition" trial of 1941 which resulted in the conviction of eighteen members of the Socialist Workers Party and the CIO teamsters' union, and their sentence to prison terms solely because of their political views and union activities.

A new campaign is under way by the Civil Rights Defense Committee to secure a full federal pardon for the victims of this piece of injustice, who were also the first victims of the infamous Smith "Gag" Act. Sponsored by poll-tax Congressman Howard Smith; this law is the first in 150 years to make the expression of opinion a federal crime. Full support is necessary to the new-born drive to demand that President Truman immediately restore full civil rights to the 18.

The CRDC requests your aid in two ways, in communication signed by Norman Thomas, John Dewey, Roger Baldwin and others: (1) Get your local or organization to pass a

resolution requesting Truman to pardon the 18. Send a copy to the CRDC.

(2) Send a contribution for the Minneapolis Case Pardon Fund to: the Civil Rights Defense Committee, 19 West 10th Street, New York 11. We urge you to get behind this campaign.

Wall Street to Tom Dewey

Most-quoted magazine of the month is Barron's National Business and Financial Weekly, one of the oldest Wall Street dope sheets. In its issue of July 26, it handed out some advice to Dewey and the Republicans on how to get the coming depression blamed on Truman. Here's how it figures:

"The present boom in business is ten years old. In the nature of things its end seems wholly likely to arrive in some time before the political campaign of 1952. If at that time Demey should want to run for re-election, with the hope of enjoying a successful second term, he would look with dismay upon the arrival of a depression in 1951 or 1952. "The only way he could try to avoid such a contingency would be to shape federal policies toward deflation as early as possible in 1949. A recession taking place so soon could easilyl be blamed on the Truman administration, and efforts towards recovery could be made once the medicine were taken.

WORLD POLITICS

NATIONALIZATION IN BRITAIN-II

(Continued from Last Week)

cuts the reviewing powers of the

Lords from two years to one year.

The bill aims at enabling the Labor

government to pass into law its steel

bill before the end of its term of

office. Confronted by this holdout of

reaction, the Labor leaders turned

back on the bill for the suspension

of the death penalty for an experi-

mental period of five years, which

had been passed by an enthusiastic

back-bench rank and file in the Com-

mons. In this particular matter, as in

others, the House of Lords merely

continues its role as a brake on all

And above all, it is the most hein-

ous sort of "revolution" which, with

forced modifications and acting in

new combinations, seeks to retain for

capitalism with the clutch of a tor-

tured beast that machine of slavery,

perfidy and violence known as the

British Empire. The foreign policy of

the British Labor government is one

of utter subservience to the war

preparations of American imperial-

To the demands of the workers

for a greater share and control in

the nationalized industries or for

greater security in their jobs, the

provocative and authoritarian meth-

Labor government replies with the

advanced and democratic steps.

The revolution to replace rotting This was made only too clear in the capitalism by a new system of sorecent dock strike. It began with an incident in which eleven dockers cialist democracy must be made, but were viciously punished by a week's neither Michael Foot on the left nor suspension without pay for demandthe Labor government has the audacity, the will, or the imagination ing more wages to load a dirty cargo of zinc oxide. The eleven men also to even contemplate its tasks. They lost the right of a guaranteed week stop short at the outset and shy away for thirteen weeks. Immediately the from the simplest of its needsstrike of 20,000 workers flared. The sweeping out the many anachronistrade-union bureaucracy and the govtic shambles which clutter up British society. It is a most pathetic form of "revolution," which leaves intact the hoary and parasitic monarchy with its outmoded privileges, masquerades and rites, and the myth around the throne before whose insipid occupant the Labor leaders themselves bend in awe and respect. Also remaining so far undisturbed the local pub. is the shabby galaxy of lords en-ATTITUDE TO LABOR PARTY shrined in their undemocratic, hereditary and vetoing stronghold-the The "Labor experiment," though it House of Lords. A new bill, however,

stops far short before the total social-revolutionary tasks demanded by the British and the world situation, offers great scope nevertheless for the application of a non-sectarian revolutionary socialist policy inside the Labor Party.

In the living conditions of the parliamentary struggle the Labor Party has to push itself and its policies forward more and more forcefully in antagonism to the Tories. If it is to maintain itself in power and again decisively win the next election, the Labor Party has no alternative but to sharpen its weapons against its Tory opponents.

Aneurin Bevan, His Majesty's formidably eloquent Minister of Health, has in a number of recent speeches denounced the Tories in venomous language ("the Tories are lower than vermin") and has thereby outraged Tory press opinion by his "bad manners." But his bad manners can give real revolutionaries leeway within the Labor Party for a more destructive attack on capitalism, and with equally bad manners enable us to put forward a more constructive program in the interests of the mass of British workers.

The Revolutionary Communist Party (Fourth International) shows itself unable to comprehend the situa-

ods of the capitalist ruling class. tion in Britain. Mired by its gimleteye focus on the CP, it refuses even. to steal a glance at the possibilities latent within the Labor rank and file. The present policies of the British Labor government can be turned in a revolutionary direction only if the small and isolated Marxist cadres can link themselves in a significant manner with the Labor Party work-

"The revolution must go on," but the only way to drive it forward is by applying inside the Labor Party the program for what Lenin called a revolutionary democratic state. That is, a program which will demand of the Labor government real revolutionary measures against all the outmoded privileges and profits of the capitalist class, and which will press for the introduction of the fullest possible democracy at home and in the empire-including the key democratic demand for workers' con-

trol via the nationalized industries. Most crucial is the organization of the masses for peace and against war preparations. In this connection a noteworthy development took place when a group of ten anti-Stalinist Labor MPs recently introduced a motion in Parliament against any military alliance or commitments with American imperialism.

If important advances can be made program of this caliber, then telling blows can be delivered against the two mankind-destroying contestants -Stalinist and American imperialism and their agencies, and the interests of democratic socialism will be furthered.

The measures of state capitalism introduced by the Labor government, as long as they continue to exist within the framework of bourgeois democracy and as long as a free labor movement exists, can become the threshhold for socialism only if and when a genuine socialist wing grows and expands inside the Labor Party. Otherwise bourgeois reaction or the Stalinist totalitarians will gain from the multitude of crises which will inevitably beset British society.

in the ranks of British Labor for a

B. SHERMAN

U. S. "EMBARRASSED" BY ITS OWN POLICY.

Secret Diplomacy

By PHILIP COBEN

Woodrow Wilson coined a good phrase-"Open covenants openly arrived at"-but the coin is as popular as counterfeit money among the statesmen of this pre-World-War-III day. It never was anything but a good phrase for the imperialist wire-pullers, from Wilson down and up.

A dispatch from London in the New York Times last Monday, August 30, by that news-paper's correspondent Clifton Daniel, makes the point clear enough, though not without pulling some punches. He writes:

"Secret diplomacy lately has been reintroduced in Europe, and the United States, which once stood for "open covenants openly arrived at," is participating in and sometimes [sic] encouraging this closed-door policy.

Two sets of private negotiations have been going on simultaneously-the Kreinlin talks on the Berlin crisis and the lesser discussions in London on the disposal of Italy's former colonies in Africa. Information about these meetings has been withheld from the public as a matter of deliberate policy by the four major powers. . . .

"In the case of the Italian colonies, the deputies wanted to avert disturbances in the territorles where opinion on the future of colonies was violently divided. Outside observers also suspected that the United States delegation, which was a strong supporter of the news ban, wanted to avoid the political embarrassment of having to disclose its policy—a matter of keen interest both in Rome and in Italian-American political quarters."

Now we ask anybody: why should it cause Washington "political embarrassment" to have to disclose its policy? The correspondent is rather delicate. For one thing, while the lords and masters of the earth are haggling over the fate of the colonies, the colonial peoples involved have no more say in the matter than a slave on the block. We seem to remember that there was something about the self-determination of peoples in a gobbledegook document called-what was it called now?-oh yes, the Atlantic Charter.

For another thing, according to all indications, the proposal of Washington's embarrassed diplomats is to turn the former Italian colonies back to Italy.

Now from the point of view of people with white skins there is a difference between the Italy of De Gasperi, the Italy of Mussolini, the Italy of King Victor Emmanuel and the (pos-sible) Italy of Togliatti-but, "narrow-minded" of him as it may seem to some "liberals." no native of Africa has been able to detect any fine shades of distinction in the various forms of his imperialist masters. Among their imperialist slaves, all the varieties of imperialists revert to type.

There will be a lot of talk about giving the colonies back to "democratic Italy," but no country is democratic as long as it rules over vassal peoples, chained in the bondage of empire.

Our own modest proposal is to give the "Italian" colonies back to their own people. This plan is so simple and, above all, so democratic that it has no more chance at the London confabs of the imperialists than the Sermon on the Mount at an NAM convention.

"Unusual Feature" A LESSON IN PINK SOCIALISM

By JACK BRAD A new government was recently formed in China. It is supposed to be the first constitutional regime and to mark the close of the "period of tutelage" under sole Kuomintang rule which Sun Yat-sen wrote about.

The new constitution and the first National Assembly illustrate the width of the gap between words and reality in China today. For the beginning of constitutional government is synonymous with one of the most despotic periods in Chinese history.

merce. All the state monopolies and the multitudinous enterprises, which far outweigh private business, are subject to its corruption. This ruling party and its support do not represent

The Shambles in Kuomintang China Dollars Can't Cure Chaos Under Chiana Kai-shek in control of the preponderance of industry and com-

ernment countered with a frenzied campaign to get the men back to work, called out the troops and finally proclaimed a state of emergency. No wonder the British Labor government cannot inspire any fervor of enthusiasm in its loyal and patient working class. Its politics are as insipid and stinted as is the beer at

No Substitutes!

Fifteen million organized workers, who have exhibited their economic strength in a decisive fashion against the Billion-Dollar Corporations are helpless to defend themselves against political attack.

Labor has no representation in the government. A majority of both Democrats and Republicans voted for the Taft-Hartley Law. The Progressive Party is not a labor party. If

mouths a "left" policy at the moment, as does the Communist Party, but it is not an independent party of the working class, based on the working class or dedicated to the interests of the working class.

An independent labor party must arise out of great economic and political struggles of the working people. It will be based on the fifteen million trade-unionists; its leadership will come from this mass of experienced militants. Does the Progressive Party correspond to any of this?

The Progressive Party is a coalition of befuddied liberals like Wallace and Tugwell, and the corrupt totalitarian, anti-labor machine of the Communist Party.

Its leadership, its active core, is the Stalinist party. Its roots are not in the labor movement. The only unions which support Wallace are those under Communist Party control or influence. Its primary concern is with a foreign policy of appeasement of Russian imperialism.

If the ruling class of Russia and the ruling class of the U.S. were to reach a new agreement to divide the world between them the Progressive Party would be scuttled overnight.

The great unions of the CIO and the AFL, the railroad brotherhoods and the independent unions will have nothing to do with this creation of the Stalinists. Most of these unions have sharply condemned the so-called Progressive Party as a tool of the CP. The mass of American labor does not look on this party as their own.

Yet the overwhelming reality is that these unions have not yet built a labor party. In 1948.



"With luck Dewey could be regarded as the man who had rescued the nation from a dangerous set back in prosperity."

What Barron's is afraid of is the old saying: Wars come in Democratic administrations and depressions in Republican administrations. Take your pick: maybe there's a "lesser evil" there somewhere. As Barron's says, it's "in the nature of things" under capitalism.



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INFORMATION BLANK am interested in joining the Workers Party of the United States. Will you please send me all information as to your Frogram and hew I can become a member.

The Herald Tribune noted editorially: "... a president with dictatorial ambitions might make himself an absolute ruler without serious infringement of the constitution if he could control a few key officials." That is the essence of the new constitution.

The National Assembly, which has been described as "the Nanking Force," was unable to resolve the conflicts between the four or five major cliques in the Kuomintang. It failed also, because of internal Kuomintang struggle for power, to provide enough seats for minority parties, so that it remains a one-party regime.

FAILURE OF NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

The Assembly engaged in a protracted struggle over the vice-presidency. The chief candidates were Sun Fo, for the insidious CC clique, and General Li, representing northern banking and military circles and supported by the U.S. embassy. The struggle over the vice-presidency became the focus of all the most vital issues of the nation. Open purchase of delegatesprices were in the neighborhood of 100 million dollars Chinese National Currency (CNC); visits by the secret police; every kind of pressure was thrown into the fight. The issue was control of the Kuomintang governmental apparatus and of military policy.

The Northern delegates, receiving daily messages about the Stalinist military advances, broke all restraints in their violent denunciation of the Chen brothers (CC clique) and ended with the slogan: "Down with Dictator Chiang Kai-shek." Even for the corrupt Kuomintang the venality of the National Assembly was extreme. The military victories of the Stalinist armies and the unmitigated economic paralysis cast long shadows over the Assembly, Under these pressures Chiang and the CC clique yielded and General Li was elected.

Li's election was the first defeat which Chiang and his group had suffered during their rule of two decades in the Kuomintang. The Chen Bröthers cilque suffered a genuine setback. The American embassy, taking the leadership of the unhappy and dispossessed Northern and Manchurian delegates, was able to beat the old machine. The Kuomintang as a whole suffered an ever deepening split. For LI's election did not in dhy way deci sively shift the balance of power. It rather added to the confusion and division in the party. Many of the political events since Li's election, such as the riots in Shanghai and the continuous wave of arrests of liberals have been expressions of the internal conflict, in the process of which Li's power has been considerably reduced.

The governmental crisis is unresolved. The Kuomintang remains the dictatorial ruler of Nationalist China. Its armies, its secret police, its bureaucracy, its ganster-run labor front, its economic enterprises are the state structure. It has been unable to spread its support to include other groups. It remains a corrupt police regime, exploiting all classes, employing terror and, vampire-like, sucking the maximum loot out of the people and the economy.

WHAT IS THE KUOMINTANG?

Its base is its military and police power. It does not enjoy the confidence of the banking, industrial or commercial groups. The Kuomintang has a rapacious relationship toward all productive social groupings in the country. It supports the landlord class against the peasantry and that is its primary social connection. Through its state power the Kuomintang is actively

1.1

power, shrinkage of the economy and unabated misery of the people have reduced the compradore bourgeoisie to a secondary place and a harrassed existence.

a rising bourgeois class such as organized the nation-

alist movement in the Twenties. This is not only two

decates later, but also 17 years of war later-years in

which defeat, Japanese occupation, rise of Stalinist

The Chinese state is a feudo-bureaucratic bourgeois dictatorial state. This state cannot unity China because bases itself on the least cohesive element, the landlord class, whose tendency is a centrifugal one. It is alienated from the 400 millions of suffering masses and, therefore, cannot arouse the support necessary to defeat Stallnism.

Its military helplessness is an expression of its inability to introduce even the simplest reforms against landlordism. This ruling class will be forced to put all its hopes in a Third World War, in which, by offering China to the U.S., it will expect American military power to accomplish the tasks it cannot perform.

The military crisis reflects this situation. The Stalinists now control all of Manchuria except Mukden, the nine most important Northern provinces (which have just been organized into the North China Liberated Area) and areas well below the Yellow River and inside the Great Wall. The Stalinists have proven their ability to penetrate to the Southern Yangtze River as well.

MILITARY AND ECONOMIC CRISIS

General Ho, national defense minister, gave the following graphic report of relative strength of the armies: In 1945 the Kuomintang armies had 3,700,000 men, 1,600,000 rifles and 6,000 artillery pieces. The CP forces had 320,000 men, 160,000 rifles and 600 artillery pieces. In 1948 the Kuomintang army has 2,180,000 men, 980,000 rifles and 21,000 artillery; the CP troops-2,600,000 with 970,000 rifles, 22,800 artillery. The relationship of forces has been reversed.

At the National Assembly sessions one delegate stated: "The troops don't know what they are fighting for-the government carries out no reforms that could gain the support of the people." The Herald Tribune's excellent correspondent Christopher Rand writes (June 7); "The army's state of mind is regarded by many as the chief reason for the Communists' success in China. Critics, both foreign and domestic, have said the army's leadership is confused from top to bottom, that there is little idea of any common purpose and almost no fighting spirit in most units."

The tendency now is for local landlord defense units to develop since the Kuomintang armies are so undependable. The result is the strengthening of warlordism and disintegration of the national administration.

The economic paralysis is demonstrated by an inflation which makes the German inflation of the early Twenties look like normalcy. In December 1945 there were 1,030 billion dollars CNC in circulation: at the end of 1946 it was 7,000 billions; at the end of 1947 it was 70,000 billions and in June 1948 it was 360,000 billions. This currency was issued against a blackening economic picture - declining production and imports and fewer commodities available.

In March 1948 prices were 330,000 times the level of 1936; in June they were 1.8 million times 1936 prices. In the single week of June 26, prices rose 80 per cent. One U. S. dollar could buy five million CNC dollars. With the disintegration of the national currency, local currencies and precious metals are becoming the only measures of value. In Southeast China silver is used (Continued next week)

The Socialist Call, organ of the Norman Thomas-Socialist Party, proudly reprints (August 27) an article from the Magazine Digest. It's about the Thomas-Socialists' sister party in Canada, called the Canadian Cooperative Federation, and most especially about the CCF's "socialist" government in the province of Saskatchewan led by Tommy Douglas. The Socialist Call editorially calls on the American people to go and do likewise-in the name of socialism we presume.

If we hereby devote a few inches of space to an excerpt from the heart of said article, it is to help everybody to understand what the phrase "pink socialism" means. After reading it, one may well wonder why even the second word in the phrase should be retained:

"Perhaps the most unusual feature about the Douglas version of socialism is that it actively encourages private business. It does something that the average non-socialist government, wouldn't think of doing: it reaches down into its governmental pockets for money to help small businessmen get started. Thus many an entrepreneur, unable to raise sufficient capital for a new business elsewhere, has been able to go to Saskatchewan and obtain financial help in launching his business.

"It may seem contradictory that Douglas, an avowed socialist, should have put out such a welcome mat to private enterprise. The explanation is that he, and the other members of the CCF, see industry and business divided into three parts:

"First, certain types of publicly-owned industries, such as utilities, monopolies, and lines which for one reason or another, private business does not wish to enter. Second, cooperatives, where people can best serve their interests by working together (the government has encouraged the farmers in establishing their own cooperative implement company).

"Third, private ownership is given the green light in all fields where it does not conflict with public welfare; this includes all retail and most manufacturing business—in fact, just about everything except as above mentioned."

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Now it happens that the above is almost exactly the domestic program of one Henry Wallace in the United States. And Wallace has a word for it. He does NOT call it socialism-and the Socialist-Call vigorously insists that Wallace's program is not socialism (when it's talking about the United States). Wallace calls it "progressive capitalism"-that is, reformed capitalism.

Of course, there are a great many people who think such reformed capitalism is a better idea than real socialism—but most of them, fortunately, don't go around calling themselves the Socialist LABOR ACTION

September 6, 1948

United Electrical-Radio-Machine Workers Union Faces National Convention-**ISSUE AT UE CONVENTION IS CP CONTROL**

By M. WARD

Page 4

Although a swelling tide of membership resentment endangers its control, the Stalinist officialdom of the United Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers of America (CIO) intends to proceed with its plans to use the union's national convention as an occasion for a noisy demonstration of the Wallace party's "mass labor support."

If the show falls flat, it will not be for want of trying. Long before the convention's opening date of September 16, the Stalinists began preparations to summon all their available New York manpower to pack the convention galleries, buttonhole delegates, circulate through convention corridors and committee rooms generally creating "atmosphere," and for the numerous other tasks of keeping the convention in line. Not the least of these is the organizing of the Yankee Stadium Wallace rally during the convention week, to serve the double purpose of impressing delegates with the Stalinists' power and providing an opportunity to parade their UE

"labor leaders" and "labor successfully elected delegates to the rank and file" before the public gaze as Wallace supporters.

Without at least some pretense of labor support the third party would be totally incapable of exercising pressure upon the American government. Therefore to strengthen this important adjunct of Russian foreign policy, Emspak, Matles, and the Stalinist clique have enlisted the name, power, finances, and publications of the UE in the Wallace campaign.

That they will continue this policy, whether or not they ask for formal endorsement of Wallace at the convention, is demonstrated by their past unfailing adherence to the Kremlin line-as for example when they denounced the Wallace-Roosevelt administration throughout the period of the Stalin-Hitler love pact, and switched to supporting that administration the day after Russia was attacked.

NEED DYNAMIC PROGRAM

The chief issue before the convention will be the fight to break the Stalinists' bureaucratic stranglehold, which has stifled independent thought, driven out non-conformists, and paralyzed membership initiative -and which has used the UE for purposes alien to the interests and contrary to the wishes of the membership.

Although this aim is held paramount by almost all the opposition groups within the UE, and has been acclaimed in a new upsurge of membership rebellion against the UE leadership, it appears that little progress has been made in convention representation.

The total number of opposition delegates will probably not exceed 30 per cent, and this total includes a large number of independent opposition groups, as well as the UE Members for Democratic Action, the national caucus led for the past several years by Harry Block and James B. Carev. The explanation for the low delegate strength of the opposition lies in the failure of the MDA caucus leaders to elaborate a dynamic progressive program that would serve as an alternative to the Stalinist-Wallace platform, and to conduct a coordinated national campaign for support of such a program. Instead, they conceived the illusion, nurtured by some cagy fellows at the top of the CIO whom they consulted, that the Stalinists would make their opponents' job easy by pulling the UE out of the CIO. The time schedule in that story called for the Stalinists to quit the CIO sometime this fall. The MDA leaders are apparently still waiting. Far from harboring any plans to leave the CIO, the Stalinists will fight to the last ditch against any move that might be made to squeeze them out. The Stalinists do not obligingly intend to commit political suicide for the benefit of their opponents. No effort has been made at any time during the past year to encourage an orderly nation-wide discussion among MDA caucus members, with a view to developing the independent program so urgently needed as the basis of an appeal to the UE membership.

convention on the basis of fairly advanced programs. The emergence of these groups holds forth the possibility of a realignment of the anti-Stalinist forces on a more progressive basis, either through a merger with the MDA or the formation of a completely new national caucus.

Three of the issues before the convention will provide an opportunity for the anti-administration forces to expose the Stalinists: the wage policy of the UE; foreign policy; and political action.

To cover their failures, the UE. leaders have denounced Philip Murray for his last steel industry contract which banned strikes for this entire year and therefore became a tremendous obstacle to the steel wrokers' demands for wage increases. At the same time the UE leaders have proclaimed themselves far and wide as having been the vanguard of the CIO fight for this year's round of wage increases. Matles, for example, made such statements before last month's meeting of Local 475 in New York City.

UE members are fortunately not as uninformed as he would like them to be, or as they would be under the kind of government which he admires. They are therefore aware of the fact that it was the UAW that cracked the employer front at General Motors and Chrysler, laying the basis for a national wage pattern and the resulting wage grants for both the steel workers and the UE workers in Westinghouse and General Electric. Wage negotiations between the UE and Westinghouse and General Electric had been broken off for a period of several weeks and were only resumed after the UAW settlement.

Local 107 Protests Use of Union Papers to Back Wallace, Truman

CONTRACTOR OF THE OWNER

Saturday, August 21, the membership ports Truman. most unanimously to direct its dele- that there were any rumors of the bers that over a period of the last sev-

of Westinghouse Local 107 voted al- Opponents of the resolution denied even the most loyal of union memgates to the 13th UE national conven- UE splitting from its parent organiza- eral years-during, which time Loca

107 has been officially on record for

Leaders Harm Union **By Affidavit Policy**

There are now many indications that the Stalinist-dominated General Executive Board of the UE will reverse its present stand and sign the Taft-Hartley affidavits sometime within the next year, in order to give the UE access to the machinery of the National Labor Relations Board. After the November national elec-

tion is out of the way, the Stalinists will buckle down to the job of trying to restabilize the position of their own machine in the UE by a series of measures which will probably include such signing of the affidavits.

Membership resentment against their unpopular policies has built up to the explosion point, with many locals passing out of Stalinist control, and others threatening to secede from the UE. Already in the New York City and Connecticut areas alone, shops with a total of more than 15,000 workers have bolted to the United Automobile Workers, by overwhelming majority votes of the membership.

SOME PREDICTIONS

To relieve the pressure, the Stalinists will, after November, refrain from using the UE name, finances, power and publications as a part of the Wallace party machine in as flagrant a manner as in the past. More time and emphasis will be given to an attempt to show that the UE leaders are concerned with the simple bread-and-butter trade-union problems of wages, working conditions, and union security. This will be combined with their usual totalitarian methods of intimidating the opposition by threats, removal from office on framed-up charges, and discharges in connivance with the employers.

The decision to sign will, of course, be made in close consultation with the Communist Party. Discussions are now going on in the upper levels of the Communist Party and its tradeunion bureau with regard to the problem of signing in certain instances, and as to the advisability of revamping the general policy of all Stalinist-controlled unions on the question of the affidavits. The tiny Farm Equipment Union, tightly controlled by the Stalinists, has already

signed.

If the UE Stalinist leadership decides to sign, a considerable reshuffling will be made to take certain in-

And they accomplished all of this without actually striking a single blow. For it is a plain fact that refusal to sign the affidavits does not in any way undermine, weaken, modify or interfere with the Taft-Hartley Act or its functioning, under conditions where it is only an isolated gesture.

POLICY HURT UNION

The refusal to sign the affidavits also served as a substitute for a genuine fight against the Taft-Hartley Act. The Stalinists bar an effective campaign against the Taft-Hartley Act, since that would require the organizing of independent political action of labor through a Labor Party, rather than a Stalinist-controlled third party whose chief function is serving as a lever to influence American foreign policy in a more pro-Russian direction.

Of course, the policy of not signing has greatly injured the membership of the UE and its locals by depriving them of the chance to use many of the legal rights labor still retains even under the onerous provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act. This policy necessitated a tremendous additional expenditure of time, money and energy by the union and its membership as a result of the many struggles rendered more complicated and more difficult by failure to fully utilize all legal bargaining rights. It has resulted in the loss of many shops and the failure to organize many new ones. It has resulted in the diversion of energy and attention from the genuine fight for labor's rights and interests to the false issue of signing or not signing the affidavits.

But the Stalinists considered all this a small price to pay for the chance to appear militant without actually launching any large-scale fight.

In the light of the fact that refusal to sign affidavits contributed nothing to overthrowing the Taft-Hartley Act, Matles, Emspak, Fitzgerald and the other national leaders who lay down the line in the UE have been unable to explain what motivates their refusal to sign.

Instead, they raised a whole series of false arguments implying that there are no circumstances under which any union gains any practical advantage from using what legal rights are left under the Taft-Hartley However, these argun

N.M.U.

PHILADELPHIA, August 24 - On The CIO's publication implicitly sup- ACTION NEEDED

However, it must be admitted by dividuals out of posts where they are constitutionally labelled "officers." In

MDA caucus leaders have simply confined themselves and their caucus to a passive and uncritical acceptance of "CIO policy," and as a consequence, Philip Murray's failures have also become their failures. Although the MDA has been able to criticize the arms and methods of the Stalinists, it has also revealed itself as being highly vulnerable to attack.

REALIGNMENTS POSSIBLE

Many anti-Stalinists in the UE have simply become disgusted with the MDA failure to provide constructive answers, and have sunk into apathy. Groups here and there, some in the leadership of locals, have expressed their desire simply to escape-by seceding immediately after this convention.

A number of local caucuses, formed independently of the MDA, have

PERIALISM VS. IMPERIALISM

Although it is clear that the UE Stalinist officials' militancy in words and timidity in action should be a subject for strong criticism on the convention floor, those delegates who endeavor to defend Murray's policies will find themselves subject to equal-



ly just attack. By utilizing the opportunity to make such an attack, the Stalinists can divert attention from their own guilt.

Nowhere is the UE leaders' subordination to Russian imperialism more apparent than in their discussion of foreign affairs. While they fulminate unendingly against American foreign policy and internal conditions and the external policies of America's allies in the cold war, not a single whisper of criticism of Russia or its satellites has even been known to come from them-although it is reliably reported that Fitzgerald once made a slip of the tongue in a private conversation when Matles had his back turned. . . .

However, criticism of the UE leaders on this score by the MDA caucus is blunted by its defense of the Marshall Plan and ERP. There is no dearth of ammunition for attacking America's dollar imperialism. Clearly, the only correct policy for the anti-Stalinists in the UE is opposition to all imperialism, whether Moscow's or Washington's.

Similarly, Murray's fumbling support to the reactionary Democratic Party and the Truman administration is hardly enticing as an alternative to the Stalinist Third Party. Only a proposal for a new political realignment in the form of a labor party can effectively answer the political problems before the delegates.

tion to protest the use of the UE News as a propaganda periodical in support of Henry Wallace and the Progressive Party without the approval of the membership of the

union All political news in the paper has been limited to approval and support of the Wallace Party. Articles have been printed without signature, and

without any editorial comment to the effect that the pro-Wallace views are not those of the union membership. No space has been provided for letters to the editor so that individual

members and the locals may express their views opposing Wallace and advocating support of other parties or the formation of a Labor Party. The resolution on the UE News was one of several submitted by the newly formed "anti-administration" cau-

GROUP PRESENTS PROGRAM

cus of the local.

This caucus recently elected four of the local's ten delegates to the convention on the basis of a program advocating: Constructive opposition to the Wallace third party; for opening the UE News to all union views; repeal of the Taft-Hartley Law; and keeping the UE in the CIO.

This is the first time in many years in Local 107 that an election slate has been based on a program. The introduction of the convention resolutions by the new caucus serves notice that it intends to carry through its campaign promises. The incumbent local leadership presented no resolutions to the local for adoption and presentation to the convention.

While the resolution condemning the UE News centered around lack of democracy in the union press, resentment was also expressed against the active participation of the UE leaders (notably president Fitzgerald) in the Wallace movement to the extent of obvious neglect of union duties.

In the course of this discussion Francis Bradley, business, agent of Local 107, announced that he had withdrawn as a congressional candidate on the Progressive Party ticket. partly to forestall locally the development of any feeling similar to that expressed regarding Fitzgerald's ac-

HIT TRUMAN SUPPORT TOO

tivity.

A resolution was also passed condemning the CIO News likewise for its presentation of political news. tion and said they saw no need for the local to reaffirm its stand on CIO unity.

The local rejected, by a narrow margin, a resolution to condemn the Wallace Party. The maker of the motion refused to motivate his action and thus lost a certain amount of support.

At the close of the meeting, the comment was made from the floor that Local 107 was no longer concerning itself with collective bargaining but was indulging in political "field days." This accusation is only true in a very limited sense, for on pure trade-unionism issues the local is one of the most aggressive and most effective in the entire CIO (as has been demonstrated in its recent walkouts over contract negotiations and loyalty purges). Also the local has been one of the country's most democratic.

a Labor Party-the great amount of discussion on the union floor on political issues has resulted in absolutely no concrete action on the part of the local to advance either the organization or the education needed for the formation of such a party.

Ardent exponents of "independent" political action have tried to capture the Democratic Party and more recently carried on a serious flirtation with the Wallace third party. Not a single pamphlet or leaflet has been issued by the local to educate the vast portion of the membership on the political needs of the union. One of the tasks of the new caucus

will be to arouse and inform the membership of the needs of the union and to break the Westinghouse local away from the confines of "pure and simple" unionism.



By a curious "coincidence" that should puzzle no one, the House Labor Subcommittee which is engaged in "investigating communism in trade unions," headed by Rep. Kersten (R., Wisc.), announces that it is turning its attention to the United Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers on Thursday. It just happens that the UE nanational convention is scheduled to start a few days later.

There can be only one mind in the UE with regard to the intervention in the life of the union by these reactionary snoopers. And that is a stern injunction addressed to them: Keep your hands off the union movement!

These articles in this issue of LA-BOR ACTION on the problems facing the UE should leave no doubt as to where we stand on the issue of Stalinist domination of that union and the great injuries it has wrought.

These government labor - baiters merely want to USE the issue of CP domination in order to take a swat at all labor in general and at labor militancy in particular. It is our firm principle that labor must clean its own house. It can't contract that job over to the agencies of a government which has passed and is enforcing a Taft-Hartley Law, which has brought the strikebreaking injunction back to

And above all should that be true for a union militant who is desirous of making a fight against the present Stalinist leadership of the UE. Unlike the Stalinists themselves-who, be it remembered, during the war days when the CP line called for "national unity," no-strike pledges and full cooperation with the war machine, acted as fingermen for the government against militants who refused to go along with their policy of capitulation-we must realize that once the hatchetmen of the NAM are in the house of labor, it is not only the Stalinists who get it in the neck. That was fully demonstrated in the

Carner-Lewin case of Westinghouse UE Local 107. We have dealt in detail with this important case in several issues, and we are sure that UE members are acquainted with it.

Here the government agency involved was the FBI, but it doesn't matter which tentacle of the octopus gets wrapped around you. Without the least explanation-to this day-

other posts they can effectively serve the machine without having to sign the affidavits.

As always, the decision of the Stalinist leadership will be made on this question without reference to the interests of American labor, the union or its members, but solely from the viewpoint of the private needs of the Communist Party.

Up to the present, refusal to sign has afforded the Stalinists the opportunity to strike a heroic pose, to make the gesture of being "militant." They were able to contrast themselves with others in the labor movement who were labelled as cowards and conservatives. They exhibited themselves as the only intransigent opponents of the Taft-Hartley Act. In short, they found a cheap way to cover themselves with the glory of being "fight-

the FBI informed the company that

Francis Carner, engineer, and H.

Lewin, sheet-metal worker, Westing-

house thereupon ousted them from

the plant without so much as a by-

your-leave to the union, until a re-

These two men were well known as

progressive opponents of the Stalin-

ists, demonstrated by their whole

record. Once you hand over to the

government the job of "cleaning up,"

you put in their hands a sword that

cuts in more than one direction. And

We want to take this opportunity

to again congratulate Local 107 on

its vigorous action in meeting this

offensive. Although it was not the

first case of its kind that had occurred

in the UE, it was not the national

leadership of the union which took

the initiative in fighting back with

labor's most effective weapons. It

Local 107 thereupon set an exam-

ple for the whole international and

the whole labor movement on HOW

to combat the witch-hunters and

"purgers"-not by remonstrances but

was rather the local union.

by mass solidarity.

the company to rehire them.

they use it!

ers."

been answered by the loss of several UE shops that could have been retained within the UE if the affidavit had been signed, and collective bargaining elections had been made use

While the majority of the UE locals may be able to retain their positions without recourse to the NLRB machinery, it is evident that there will be many locals that will find themselves in a critical position as a result of failure to use their full rights under the law.

POLICY BOOMERANGS

In new shops, for example, UE locals faced by the intervention of another union must go through the complicated, confusing and dangerous procedure of urging workers to vote 'no union" and then striking for bargaining rights. In such cases, the right to appear on the ballot tremendously facilitates the fight for bargaining rights.

In addition, no UE local can now legally obtain a union shop clause in any contract. This necessitates a lengthy and cumbersome procedure, involving the signing of individual two men were "poor security risks": checkoff cards by every member, as a substitute for the standard unionshop clause, even where the employer has been compelled to acquiesce. Compare this with the procedure of other unions, which have won 99 per markable sitdown strike demonstratcent of all NLRB union shop elections ed the workers' solidarity and forced and thereby facilitated their winning of the union shop and strengthening of the union.

> The Stalinists in the UE have followed a policy that has multiplied the dangers and difficulties faced by the membership in every local.

Now that this policy is beginning to boomerang in the loss of too many locals and too large a section of the membership, as well as in the loss of many prospective members, the Stalinists are considering a change.

The convention delegates should not permit the decision to be made in the private chambers of the Kremlin clique. The delegates should order the national leadership to sign the affidavits so that locals can make use of all legal means they find necessary for maintaining and expanding the union. Such a demand must be linked to the program set forth in LABOR ACTION as the only effective means for defeating the Taft-Hartley Law.

life, which is cooperating on every front with the vicious post-war antilabor drive to tame (if not to cripple) organized labor.

No UE militant, no UE progressive, no loyal union member of any stripe would touch this investigating committee with a ten-foot pole.