President Truman has set up

another Fair Deal tenpin to be

knocked down by Congress.

This time it is a wide health-

insurance program. Senator

Murray, committee head to whom it

has been referred, "expressed the hope" that the bill could be taken up

Perhaps Truman advocates his

health insurance program as a war

that people must be healthy to stand

the stress of modern war. Or per-

haps is interested in public health

as "one of the great challenges to

our democracy" as he put it in his

message to Congress, because of

course American capitalism must

show itself better than British "so-

cialism" and above all better than

the masses of Americans to whom

modern medical knowledge and tech-

their ears and listened. Here is some-

thing which concerns them vitally,

talist system that today, in President

Truman's words, "It is no longer just

the poor who are unable to pay for

all the medical care they need-such

care is now beyond the means of all

but the upper-income groups."

What a commentary on the capi-

sometimes as vitally as life itself.

niques are unavailable, pricked up

However, whatever the motives,

preparation measure on the theory

by the current session.

Russian "communism."

## Fast Pace Set By ISL Fund Drive

Fund Drive Director

APRIL 25-The first report of receipts in the Build-the-ISL Fund Drive indicates that real progress is being made in collections. To date, 14 per cent of the total goal has been col-



lected. If we continue at this pace, there is no doubt that the \$14,000 will be amassed in full.

Last week our "Miscellaneous" item was listed at \$1,100. During the week, the Socialist Youth League, which had been assigned a quota of \$300, volunteered to increase its quota to \$350, and we have reduced our "Miscellaneous" item to \$1,050.

The following quotas have been set for and accepted by SYL units:

go-\$100; Bronx-\$50; Brooklyn-\$50; Manhattan-\$50.

SOCIALIST YOUTH SET PACE

In addition, the SYL continues to set the pace for collections. In this morning's mail we found a \$43 money order from the Chicago Unit of the SYE which raised its total contributions to \$100.25, placing it at the head of our list as our first "100

What is even more gratifying is the following note which accompanied the first Chicago SYL contribution: ". . . at its meeting the unit accepted a fund drive quota of \$100 as proposed by the National Buro (SYL), but on the understanding that our own goal in the drive would be double that amount."

That's really setting the pace! We would not be one bit surprised if the Chicago SYL succeeds in meeting even its "unofficial" quota long before the end of the drive.

We might report in passing that when the news of the Chicago SYL accomplishment was announced to the New York SYLers, they immediately vowed that they would meet the challenge and follow suit by fulfilling the New York quotas in record

Our St. Louis comrades start off in the drive with a \$24 contribution (50 per cent of their quota). During (Continued on page 3)

### 25 WEEKS

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

The Taft-Hartley Law is still on the books!

# Truman Health Plan Joins Waiting Line —For Fast Freeze

# NMU Rank and File Reject Curran's Loyalty Oath' Gag by Huge Majority

By R. GADEN

One of the most startling and wholesome developments in the internal life of the labor movement took place this past week in New York, headquarters and key port of the National Maritime Union (CIO).

A regular membership meeting of the union overwhelmingly voted to "reject and condemn" a proposal of the Curran leadership to make an anti-Communist "loyalty affidavit" a

condition for membership in the

The meeting was held on April 21 at St. Nicholas Arena. The proposal was in the form of revisions of the constitution, which would have the effect of denying democratic rights to political minorities within the union. In putting this forward the National Council drew its inspiration from resolutions passed in a few of the gulf ports.

Not less impressive than the fact of rejection was the size of the vote at the New York membership meeting: 1535 to 97.

It constitutes the first serious rebuff which the anti - CP Curran regime has received since the 11-yearold stranglehold of the Communist Party over the union was broken last year-when the membership booted every Stalinist out of office.

In accordance with the constitution, the proposed constitutional amendments will be submitted to a referendum vote for 30 days beginning May 2. A simple majority carries or rejects the amendments. There is little doubt today in the minds of NMU members that most of the outports will go with New York on this ques-

The amendments to the constitution recommended by the National Counand Curran are three. The first

two state that "membership in the NMU is in conflict with membership in the Communist Party or any other subversive totalitarian organization" and that membership shall be denied to anyone "subscribing to the program or doctrines of the Communist Party or any other subversive organization with totalitarian aims." Furthermore: "membership in the Communist Party or any other subversive totalitarian organization shall be sufficient to disqualify a candidate from

membership. The third amendment reads: "Every member shall be required to affirm in writing that he is not a member of the Communist Party or of any other subversive totalitarian organ-

ization." The obvious intent of these proposals by the Curran leadership is to wipe out completely any present or future opposition to the present top leadership.

Who constitutes such a potential challenge to the right wing in the NMU? The CP in this union is a sorry picture today. Its most capable men have been expelled and its group is completely discredited. Its years of

Certainly it does not in any sense constitute a serious threat to anyone's rule in the NMU.

The only potential challenge comes from the militants in the rank and file, led by anti-Stalinist leftists-who are numerous and of quite a few varieties. The anti-CP left groups were the key to the defeat of the Stalinist machine in the big fight which culminated last year in victory for the rank and file and the Curran slate.

What would stop them from leading a disgruntled membership against a "do-nothing" leadership tomorrow? This was undoubtedly the type of reasoning which inspired the proposed amendments.

#### STIFF RESOLUTION PASSED

It should come as no surprise that the fight against Curran and his cothinkers on this question is being pushed by the anti-CP left forces in the leadership and in the ranks, and is being enthusiastically supported by the membership. The NMU ranks have been growing tired of constant attack on the Communist Party as a

(Continued on page 4)

#### Again, in the words of one of the physicians who supports the President's plan: ". . . the dollar barrier . . now blocks four out of five families from the full measure of medical care they need."

APPALLING CONDITIONS . What a commentary on American capitalism, which budgets \$16 billion a year for war preparation but does not provide any general hospitals at all, or only substandard ones, in 40 per cent of all the counties of the country! What a disgrace that in 1200 counties, with nearly one fourth

of the whole population, there is no

public health department at all or

only part-time health officers per-

forming the crudest services. The lack of all kinds of facilities, of nurses, of doctors, is appalling. Yet schools for training doctors are so inadequate that there are ten to fifteen applicants for every opening

To be sure the federal government and also some state governments have some kind of public-health programs, but they are merely tokens of good intentions. For example, in (Continued on page 3)

## CP Gets Ready to Take All China

Low Ebb of Western Imperialism Symbolized by Amethyst Incident

By JACK BRAD

With the crossing of the Yangtze there can no longer be any doubt that the Chinese Communist Party intends to take all of China. Its ability to accomplish this is unquestionable. Any obstacles arise from its own deficiencies and not from the strength of the discredited and routed

There are no doubt many battles still in the offing and it may be a relatively long time before CP rule spreads over all of the almost four million square miles of China. But no one can now doubt its inevitabil-

### 105 at U. of C., Farrell Support Kutcher Fight

APRIL 27 (KCRC)-One hundred and five members of the University of Chicago faculty have joined in a statement sponsored by Dr. Harold C. Urey. Nobel prize winner and director of the war research atomic bomb project with four other famous scientists and scholars, protesting the denial of genuine freedom of association and thought to the legless veteran, James Kutcher. The 105 educators asked that

Kutcher be given a full and fair public hearing and recorded agreement with the aims of the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee, a national nonpartisan organization seeking the victimized veteran's reinstatement. This strong affirmation by so many

faculty members of the right of free thought involved in Kutcher's case is regarded as especially significant because it is taken in the face of the investigation by the Illinois Seditious Activities Investigation Commission into alleged subversive activities at the University of Chicago.

James T. Farrell, noted novelist, has issued the following statement on the case of the Legless Veteran, James Kutcher:

"I have read the material concerning the case of James Kutcher, Mr. Kutcher, a legless veteran of World War II, was dismissed from a minor governmental post because he admits to membership in the Socialist Workers Party. The Socialist Workers Party has been arbitrarily placed upon Attorney General Tom Clark's subversive list. Mr. Kutcher has not been granted a public hearing. He is demanding a public hearing both for himself, and for his party. I support that demand.

"I am not opposed to fair procedures which will be used in a democratic way in order to rid the American government of espionage agents and spies. In the case of genuine espionage agents and spies, I do not believe a clear-cut civil liberties case (Continued on page 3)

ity. Russian-style totalitarianism will rule China.

One fact certainly stands out: the Kuomintang is finished, discredited completely both among its own people and with its Western "allies." It has been unable to rally the will of its supporters even to their own defense. The abandonment of Nanking, and probably of Shanghai, without a struggle, the desertion of the government from its posts, the pitiful wooden fence around Shanghai-all why U. S. policy in China has failed. These hollow men were the instruments of this policy.

Symptomatic of the Kuomintang's suicidal policy is its bombing of Nanking several days after having given up the city. This is not an act calculated to endear it even to its staunchest supporters.

The important questions which now arise more sharply than ever-estimation of the political consequences and historical significance of this eventwill be dealt with in LABOR AC-TION in subsequent issues.

### AMETHYST MYSTERY

The incident of the British ship Amethyst which inaugurated the Yangtze crossing is an adequate symbol of the present estate of Western imperialism in China. Just why the Amethyst was fired on remains a mystery. It is known, for instance, that CP propaganda has attacked the

### WE'RE SORRY

that space limitations have forced us to omit from this issue a number of interesting and important articles received-on the ADA, union news, the German assembly at Bonn, the Atlantic Pact and several more. You'll be seeing them next week.-Ed.



IN THE MARCH **NEW INTERNATIONAL** Profile of Eisenhower

by J. M. Fenwick DON'T MISS IT!

U. S. almost exclusively. Indeed the British have made several overtures, which were warmly received by the CP, aiming at the replacement of the pre-eminent trade position of the U. S. by Britain.

The possibility seems to be that local commanders, under orders to keep the river clear for crossing and flushed with expectation of victory. fired at the ship without higher orders or much deliberation. The Nationalist batteries on the south bank ists, however, may have had mixed motives. Aside from military considerations, they would desire nothing so much as an anti-foreign imbroglio.

Once the incident occurred CP headquarters quickly saw in it a Bevin-sent propaganda weapon, and their attitude toward the British hardened. Mao Tse-tung issued a demand on the United States and Britain to withdraw "all land, naval and air forces quartered on the territory and waters of China.".

The response to this was the departure of the imperialist fleet from Shanghai. This has been an auspicious and cheap propaganda victory for the CP. The biggest losers in this incident are the British Stalinists, who will not recover quickly from its ef-

### 3 More Ports Say No

On the heels of the smashing vote in New York against the "loyalty affidavit" proposal in the NMU, three other ports have followed suit with similarly heavily weighted rejections of the "NMU Taft-Hartley Act." At a Baltimore membership meeting, the proposed constitutional changes were voted down 197-64. In Philadelphia the vote was 325-3, and in Boston 351-0. While these membershipmeeting ballots are legally only expressions of opinion, there remains at this writing little doubt of the result of the referendum which is to be held on this question.

### Stalinists Lose Grip on In Los Angeles by 2-1 Vote

LOS ANGELES—By a resounding 2-1 majority, the Los Angeles CIO Council was taken out of the hands of the Stalinists by the national CIO forces for the first time since its formation in 1937, at a special unity meeting held April 23-24.

At the meeting, presided over by Richard T. Leonard of the administration, there were 760 registered delegates present, representing about 100,000 CIO members. It was the first joint meeting of the Stalinist and national CIO wings since the council split a year ago; at that time the anti-Stalinists walked out

when the CP leadership of the council refused to endorse national CIO election policy. New officers are: Clarence Stinson (UAW), president; Robert Clark (Steel), vice-president; and A. T. Lunceford (URW), secretary-treasurer.

This victory marks the first time in recent years that the national CIO group has organized seriously and brought its votes out. The CP wing has sustained losses but its strength, up to now, lay in an ability to get delegates down to meetings, parliamentary slickness, and the weak organization of the opposition.

in the medical schools.

## Stalinist Line on Zionism Twists Once More

It has by now become widely known known that the attitude of the Stalinists toward Zionism has changed LABOR ACTION has already carried timely reports on the events.

While the situation varies from country to country, there can be no doubt that it is centrally directed and emanates from one place-Moscow. It is absolutely wrong and ridiculous to do what some Stalinist apologists (Mapam, New Republic) do: blame it on the local Jewish Stalinists.

The truth is that, for more than a year, ALL (except Arab) Stalinist papers carried extreme pro-Zionist and sometimes purely Zionist articles. This was true of them all from the Polish Jewish Stalinists' Neu Leben to the New York Freiheit. The change started with the publication of an article by Ilya Ehrenberg in Pravda, in September.

The Jewish Stalinists, like all other Stalinists, followed orders, but with this difference. After they exhausted all excuses for delay in carrying out the ukase, they took the initiative in the struggle against Zionism. The ponderous, world-wide Stalinist machine moves slowly and irregularly at first, until finally all goosestep to-

The latest change in line has now permeated all Stalinist groups. In the satellite countries an all-out drive against Zionism and Jewish immigration is taking place.

The change in line has split the recently united 'CP of Palestine. As LABOR ACTION readers know, the CP was for many years divided into an Arab and Jewish section. The Jewish section, PKP, had its splinter group, known as the "Hebrew" Communists. The PKP, led by Mikunis, followed the official line in all its shifts and turns, from support of the Mufti to ardent pro-Jewish statism and even expansionism. The "Hebrews," led by Preminger, no less Stalnist on other questions, favored Jewish immigration and participation in official Jewish and Zionist bodies. The pro-Zionist line enunciated by Gromyko led to unification into one party first of the two Jewish groups and later, at the end of 1948, to a merger with the Arab Stalinist outfit, going under the name of Arab League for National Liberation.

The events surrounding the split read like a chapter in a cloak-anddagger mystery.

HOW CP SPLIT

An armed holdup took place at the Agudat Israel Workers' loan fund in Tel Aviv. The military police arrested Bezalel Narkis, 23, a lieutenant in the Israeli army. Narkis, a wellknown member of the Communist Party (a former "Hebrew" Communist), admitted that he had committed the robbery on behalf of the party, which was in financial straits. (He later changed his testimony, attempt-

ing to shift responsibility away from the party, but this was of course too late, at least for the CP.) The next morning a short notice

appeared in Kol Ha'am, CP daily: The Israeli CP had purged nine of the 25 members of its central committee (consisting of ten "Palestinians," nine "Hebrews" and six Arab Stalinists). The nine men had allegedly plotted with the Stern gang to form an anti-labor and reactionary political party called Ahdut Vema'as (Unity and Action).

Meanwhile the nine "Hebrew" executive members rallied against Mikunis' charges. They denied emphatically having been in touch with the Sternists. Pressed as to whether they considered the Stern group a fascist movement, they said that the Sternists had been fascist in the past but did not come forward with any definite political program in the recent elections.

They denied any connection with the Tel Aviv robbery. Moreover, they charged that Mikunis and his "Palestinian" followers had established contact with the Stern gang and knew in advance that Count Bernadotte would be assassinated. (Haboker, Tel Aviv, February 14.)

With regard to questions of ideology, they maintained that "you cannot be a good Communist unless you are first of all loyal and faithful to

over the world were patriots, they said, but the Mikunis faction had been against the Jewish state and against free immigration up to the moment when Gromyko came out in the United Nations in favor of the Jewish state; then Mikunis and his followers had switched overnight.

CP LINE IN TRANSITION

The Stalinist parties in Arabian countries have begun to change their emphasis. During the period of Russian pro-Zionism they had to apologize for the Russian pro-partition stand. One of their favorite arguments was that if Arabs were pro-Russian, the Stalinists would have supported THEM and not the Jews. As it was, they urged acceptance of the fact and the establishment of

They no longer admit that Russia strongly supported Israel, Israel and partition, according to a Syrian CP statement, are the creatures of the Anglo-American bloc. The Stalinists merely went along, since they had no alternative. No conclusions for action are made. It is obvious that the Arab Stalinist line is in a state of transition.

In the United States, too, the CP at last has swung into step. Tuesday, March 29, the Morning Freiheit, Jewish organ of the Stalinists, published a letter of "confession" by Moishe

Katz, one of its leaders, and a statement by the Freiheit association. The letter confesses the error of resisting Ilya Ehrenberg's interpretation of Zionism and events in Israel. The statement tries to explain why it took from September to April for the American Stalinists to come out clearly against Zionism as a result of the "consistent pressure of bourgeois nationalists."

It has obviously taken the current Russian campaign against Jewish writers and artists as "cosmoplitans" to convince the local Jewish Stalinists that Ehrenberg's line is worldwide and not limited to Eastern Eu-

LABOR ACTION was among the first to predict a change of Stalinist line in relation to Israel. This is now taking place. However, the new line will probably not be a DRAMATIC and 100 per cent reversal of the current line, as so often has taken place. Rather it will, for a period of time at least, be a policy of retaining as much Israeli support as possible, while at the same time rebuilding Stalinist fences in the Arab coun-

Only a major development will cause a violent break-such as the shift of a sizable Arab section to support of Moscow, or the adherence of Israel to the Mediterranean pact advocated by Greece and Turkey.

The Truth About a Scandal of Concern to All Labor Left Wingers

# SWP Squirms on Buffalo UAW Vote

A word of explanation is in order to our readers for the amount of space here accorded to what merely seems to be a local union election—the recent election in the Chevrolet Local 424 of the United Auto Workers (CIO) in Buffalo. In actuality, however, this local election has already received nation-wide attention particularly in left-wing labor and socialist circles—for good reason. An exchange of articles has taken place in the Socialist Party's paper, the Socialist Call, and in the Militant of the Socialist Workers Party (Cannonites, or self-styled orthodox Trotskyists).

The "situation" which called forth these articles was the scandalous behavior in the above-mentioned local of the forces of, and the forces supported by, the Cannonite SWP. While incomparably crasser than their policies in other sections of the UAW, this latter group's activities in Buffalo are of wider interest to UAW men in other parts of the country who have learned to know them.

The SWP and its Militant supported the "Rank and File Group" in the Buffalo UAW local's election. This group was crushingly defeated in the ballot by the local Reuther group. In its desperation to avoid the impending and well-deserved defeat, the "Rank and File Group" laid itself open to serious charges, reminiscent of the worst Stalinist tactics in the unions, which are discussed by our Buffalo correspondent

In reply, the Militant recently published an article by its Bert Cochran, attempting to whitewash the "Rank and File Group" and the SWP line, and making (of course) counter-charges against the local Reutherites. This is taken up in the accompanying article. The scandal of SWP union policy in the UAW should be made known to all unionists who come into contact with this group.

We regret that lack of space in this issue compels us to print this article in two installments.—ED.

alibi. Why Cochran's and the SWP's

heroes were defeated will really be

The Militant's writer then viciously

slanders the victorious administra-

tion: "The fact is that the local is in

the hands of the 'bookies,' and the

local president is a notorious racket-

Not only a racketeer but a "notori-

ous" one. . . . This, of course, is in-

tended to bring up a vision of the

use of physical violence against op-

positionists or its threat, of undemo-

cratic union meetings, crooked elec-

tions, and / or misappropriation of

union finances-everything that union

Now it goes without saying that

any group deserving of The Militant's

support would naturally fight, open-

ly and fearlessly, against such con-

ditions, or against any one of them,

or against any sign of them. Especial-

has never made the remotest hint of

the existence of any kind of "rack-

eteering" in the local! This group, The

Militant's friends, distributed more

literature in this campaign than all

other groups combined in any single

campaign. But not a peep about rack-

eteering! Three days before the elec-

tion, at the insistence of the Rank

and File Group, a debate was held

on all the issues; each and every can-

didate was given the floor. Not one

word was uttered about the "notori-

In discovering the existence of

racketeering in the UAW local. The

Militant has scored a scoop. We ad-

mire scoops. But why was the knowl-

'edge of this "notorious" racketeering

confined to the readers of The Mili-

tant (AFTER The Militant's friends

were plastered) and not disclosed to

As a matter of fact, the local's pres-

ident was the individual who actually

"pulled the switch" in the 1937 sit-

down strike; he has been a committee-

man since the very inception of the

local union and still is today, and has

been on the executive board for more

years than not. Doesn't The Militant

believe its own articles, which point

out that things are tough in General

Motors plants today? There are far

more lucrative fields of endeavor for

the membership of the local?

ous" racketeering in Local 424!

But the Rank and File Group itself

ly when they are "notorious"!

racketeering means to the reader.

somewhat clearer when we finish.

(2) "Racketeering"?

#### By PHILIP GANNER

BUFFALO—The policies of the Rank and File Group in Buffalo Chevrolet Local 424 of the UAW, and the defense of this group by the Socialist Workers Party's paper, The Militant, need to have light thrown on them, especially in view of the recent exchange of accusations between The Militant and the Socialist Call.

The Rank and File Group, an anti-Reuther combination which is supported by the SWP, took a bad beating in the February union election. In its articles, the SWP Militant attempted to explain away this drubbing and to make counter-charges against the Reutherites. We shall take up The Militant's arguments piccemeal, as they are given.

#### (1) "Conspiracy"?

Why did the Rank and File Group lose? In his Militant article, SWPer Bert Cochran devotes no less than two of his three columns to giving the "background." According to this fantasy-writer, the "background" consists of five articles which appeared in the Buffalo Evening News—vicious Trotskyite-baiting articles which presumably poisoned the union membership.

These articles in the Evening News appeared on January 21, February 18, March 2, March 4 and March 7. Cochran claims that they were the result of a collaboration of the Buffalo. Evening News and company officials together with the Reutherite regional office of the UAW and leading people inside the union.

In giving the only explanation in the entire article as to why the group championed by The Militant lost, the writer lays the blame on the above "conspiracy," which the Reutherites "could convert into the small change of victory for their faction inside the union."

Indignation over this distorted explanation—that the outcome of the election was, it would seem, determined by some articles in the bourgeois press—can be exceeded only by amazement at its utter stunidity.

In the first place, could any reader of The Militant possibly guess that the election took place on February 23? Yes, February 23—which means that three of the five newspaper articles were published AFTER the election they were supposed to influence! (These last three articles moreover dealt almost exclusively with the election in Bell Local 501 on March 10, and not with Local 424)

### ONE-SENTENCE CONSPIRACY

But what about the first two articles of January 21 and February 18? The January 21 article was truly a vicious job, but it happened to deal—only, solely and exclusively—with Westinghouse Local 1581 of the United Electrical Workers, CIO. In no manner whatsoever could it possibly be linked up with the Local 424 UAW

election.

The February 18 article, likewise, in no way whatsoever dealt with any UAW local or specifically with Local 424. (Contrary to the "clever" impression left by The Militant, anxious to prove a "conspiracy," this article did not appear in the same paper as the other four, but was in the Buffalo Courier Express. And it was not a special reprint of a Victor Riesel column; the Courier Express has been carrying his column daily for over a year.)

To keep the record clear: Within these five articles there is one line—just one—which deals with Local 424. The Evening News wrote: "At Wednesday election in Fisher Chevrolet UAW Local 424, the ticket supported by the Trotskyites was defeated." The reader will note the past tense. This one sentence on Local 424 appeared ONE WEEK AFTER the election, on March 2.

What then it left of the alleged "conspiracy" of the press and Reutherites to defeat the Rank and File Group in the election? Only what it started with—Cochran's imagination, and his lack of any other printable

a "notorious racketeer" than to spend 18 years as a working stiff in a GM shop!

However, again—one first gets indignant at the viciousness of The Militant's slanders, and then one marvels at their stupidity.

#### (3) "Militancy"?

Continuing our argument-by-argument dissection of The Militant alibi, we find next the familiar stereotype invented for the SWP by Bert Cochran himself when he first convinced his group to get in on the ground floor of the Addes - Thomas - Stalinist caucus in the UAW in 1947 (this caucus, counseled Cochran to his comrades, was going to win against Reuther and the SWP would be set for the take).

The stereotype was: The Reutherites are a do-nothing, conservative, company-minded administration. In Buffalo, according to Cochran, the Rank and File Group is a militant and progressive formation. This picture is nowhere as far away from all reality as in Local 424, with regard to the local Reutherite group.

Now The Militant itself unceasingly informs its readers that the one question which separates militant, progressive unionists from the company-minded is their attitude toward the speedup. And this is true. Now isn't it strange that The Militant article on Local 424 never once mentions speedup?

Did it not seem peculiar to the keen-eyed observer Cochran, who deliberately "extended his stay in Buffalo to make a full investigation of the facts," that in all the reams of literature put out by the Rank and File Group in this election campaign there is not one—not even one—mention of speedup as an issue in Local 424? But in spite of their silence at election time, this group has a public record on the question.

#### THEN THEY SHUT UP

The record concerns one section of the GM-UAW contract which is especially dear to the hearts of all genuine militants. The contract provides that disputes go through the grievance procedure and then, if not settled, go to an umpire whose decision is binding. But there is one type of dispute on which (according to Paragraph 46) the umpire has no power to rule. THIS IS ON PRODUCTION STANDARDS (SPEEDUP). If such a dispute is unsettled through grievance procedure, the union can call a strike five days after the grievance procedure is exhausted. In other words, the local can strike (even during the life of the contract) in order to enforce its demands on quantity and speed

In early 1948, when the then GM contract was expiring, the various local unions were preparing their demands for inclusion in the new contract. In Local 424 the Rank and File Group put out two leaflets in which it urged a contract change allowing speedup grievances to go to the umpire for decision! So insistent were they that they urged the voting down of any future GM contract which did not contain this change. Ironically the title of the first leaflet was "Fight the Speedup."

At the January 1948 local meeting, a Reutherite supporter thoroughly dissected this backward proposal, showing how the Rank and File Group (Cochran's militants!) was placing its dependence and confidence upon an "impartial" umpire rather than on the understanding,

militancy and strike action of the organized workers in dealing with this most important working condition.

So great a stench was left by this episode that, from that day to this, the Rank and File Group has never dared to use the speedup as an issue for itself. (Incidentally, these great militants never did openly withdraw the demand for compulsory umpire arbitration.) The betting here in Buffalo is that, skillful as Cochran is at squirming, he will not be able to transform "umpire arbitrators" into militants.

Perhaps the Rank and File Group has been militant in some other ways? One of the very few local unions in the entire Niagara Frontier area

One of the very few local unions in the entire Niagara Frontier area which have officially endorsed the efforts of the Kutcher Civil Rights Defense Committee has been none other than this "conservative" Local 424. A Reuther supporter made the motion. A Reuther supporter seconded it. Every speaker for the motion was a Reutherite—without exception. By neither a spoken word nor a physical motion (like standing up or raising a hand) did any Rank and File Group supporter present show any desire or inclination to speak on the issue—only abject silence.

Now this silence can be called a "clever maneuver," "prudence," "stupidity," "caution," "cowardice," or anything else—but please do not call it militancy!

(To be concluded next week, with disclosures on the policy of the Rank and File Group and the SWP's friends in the local regarding: the labor party question, the administration's record, the Negro question, anti-Semitism, red-baiting and Stalinism.)

### Meet the Candidates Boosted by the SWP!

Another angle on the "Rank and File Group" in Local 424 can be gotten by looking at the type of individuals this group ran in the recent election:

- A candidate for sergeant-at-arms: had worked in the shop for over 2½ years but had been a member of the union for only 10 months. He had to be declared ineligible by the election committee.
- Two candidates (one for Guide and another for sergeant-at-arms): had never attended a local union membership meeting.
- Two candidates (another Guide and vice-president): had attended only one local union meeting during the whole year—the meeting at which nominations were made. One of these, the candidate for vice-president, has been in the local ever since it started (12 years) and has shown his "militancy" by signing his name to exactly one grievance during that entire period. (Remember, this is a GM shop!)
- A candidate for trustee: attended two meetings during the year; demonstrated his "militancy" to one and all by winning a prize in GM's essay contest: "My Job and Why I Like It."
- A candidate for financial secretary: qualified for the "Rank and File Group" by having participated as an official in a company union at the very time the company was attempting to drive the young UAW out of existence.
- Candidate for recording secretary: openly declared himself against wage increases for Chrysler workers and openly criticized the local union paper for being too tough on supervision.
- Candidate for president: has been in this oldest UAW local in the East for the munificent period of 15 months! The group was obviously hard-pressed for material.

One can't say much more; the group had only nine candidates.

# Nationwide Opposition Group in UE To Plan Anti-CP Fight at Dayton

The anti-Stalinists in the United Election Workers (CIO) are organizing on a national scale.

A call for a national conference in Dayton, Ohio, on May 7 has been issued under the name of William Snoots, representing 23,000 UE workers employed in the Ohio plants of GM Frigidaire, Local 801, Delco and Leland.

The conference was called to unite all those in opposition to the national Stalinist leadership of the union, including UE Members of Democratic Action. Up to now this group has been the only opposition on a national scale. The conference was called in Ohio because the Ohio anti-Stalinists have a majority there and are in a strong oppositional position.

This meeting in Ohio represents the first serious organized threat on a national scale to the present Stalinist administration, which up to now has been having a relatively free hand in running roughshod over any of its opponents. It represents the growing dissatisfaction with the Stalinist leadership and indicates how rapidly the opposition is growing.

This opposition now includes the giant Schenectady GE plant of 15,000 workers in Local 01 and the 15,000 workers in Wastinghouse, Pittsburgh, Local 601. Intimidation no longer works as it used to do. The Philco workers' Local 101 donated \$1,000 to the RCA workers' anti-Stalinist fight in Camden, N. J., despite strong Stalinist pressure which still continues. Evidence that the Stalinists are really worried is the fact that an Executive Board meeting (in reality, of course, their counter-caucus) has been recently called.

### CP LEADERSHIP BANKRUPT The opposition is based on the

dissatisfaction noted throughout the UE in opposition to layoffs resulting from Stalinist - installed incentive plans, worsening of working conditions and the general impasse in the present contract negotiations.

The chains, the membership backbone of the UE, have recessed negotiations (GE and Westinghouse) despite an early start in negotiations. This is an unheard-of procedure and is an open confession of Stalinist weakness and of the fact that they are probably waiting for the auto and steel workers to set the pattern again. This of course does not prevent the Stalinists from donning a left face and threaten all kinds of militant action.

Despite all the fighting talk in the home local of James McLeish, the Edison Manufacturing Company in District 4, a contract was signed giving no wage increases In the same District 4, where McLeish is president of Consolidated Local 475, Schraeder, the key shop and home local of leading Stalinists Ruth Young and Jim Matles, signed a contract giving no wage increases. Small wonder then that dissatisfaction is growing against the Stalinists!

If the Stalinists are to be uprooted from their entrenched positions the growing opposition will have to develop a program of action to win over the dissatisfied UE membership. This membership will not be won over by simply engaging in a big red-baiting campaign.

It is absolutely true that the Sta-

It is absolutely true that the Stalinists are the pliant tools of the ruler in the Kremlin with the main purpose of serving the foreign policy of Stalin. But the UE workers are opposed to the Stalinists not because they are fighters against big business (as reactionaries make them out to be) but for exactly the opposite reason.

UE workers are ripping mad that the Stalinists have left them in such a weak position against big business and have helped institute incentive speedup plans, which are now resulting in mass layoffs. The elimination of the incentive systems throughout the UE is indicated as one of the central demands of the opposition.

### OPPOSITION CAN WIN-IF . . .

Despite the fact that the Stalinists are talking militantly, there is a great danger that they will accept rotten contracts in order to hold on to the union posts they now have. No toning down of the wage demands or any other working conditions must also become part of the opposition's program.

The Stalinists have been making a certain amount of capital out of the fact that the Truman Democratic administration has failed to carry out any of its campaign promises. They have been making much ado about the fact that the Taft-Hartley Law is still on the books. The only ones who can attack the Stalinists are those who favor the establishment of labor's own party, based on the American trade-union movement and taking orders from neither the Democratic impotents and their Southern reactionary friends nor from Stalin's stooges in the U. S.

The conference will aid its future ence develops will determine who work immensely if it organizes itself the process will be speeded up.

on a permanent basis, meeting regularly. A national representative steering committee, democratically elected, is the big need in organizing the anti-Stalinist fight. One of the big advantages of the Stalinists is the fact that they are tightly organized while the opposition has functioned loosely.

A good possibility exists that in the near future the Stalinists can be kicked out by the UE membership, who are the ONLY ONES eligible to do the job. How the Dayton conference develops will determine whether the process will be speeded up.

### **CCNY Student Strike Ends**

NEW YORK—The City College student strike to end racism at the college came to an end on the morning of the fifth day. The strike had maintained itself for the first three days but started to wane on the first day after the Easter vacation, Tuesday.

The next morning there were no longer any picket lines—only several students announcing a flagpole rally at 10:45. At that time the Strike Committee called for the suspension of the strike and the adoption of other means of fighting bigotry at the college.

The Strike Committee, as its last act, sent a delegation to the president of the college in order to lay the demands of the strikers before him. It is impossible to say at this point what future course of action the students will take.

The student strike, one of the biggest in the recent history of the country, is little discussed in the school now. There are a number of reasons for this. The strike did not accomplish its aims; it was called off when it was obvious to all that the great bulk of the students had gone back to class.

It is not true that the students are demoralized; the trouble is that too many of them think of the strike in the narrow terms of the specific demands of the strike and the failure to fulfill them. The school politicians who stooge for the administration do their best to spread this philosophy.

### REAL RESULT OF STRIKE

Those who realize that such a mass demonstration against Jim Crow and anti-Semitism is far more important for the effects that it has in the city and state and on the student body itself, feel that the strike was more than a success. Regardless of the immediate outcome, they know that the bigots in and out of the school will tread more warily for fear of the student body.

The socialist and progressive elements in the school will make clear to the rest of the students that the strike gave hope and heart to the Negroes and Jews in New York. And this fact, in the long run as well as the short run, is far more important that the "failure" of the strike to accomplish its immediate ends.

### The City College Student Strike in Action



# New Subversive Law Clamped on N. J.

By RALPH STILE

NEWARK—Recent political developments in New Jersey provide, on the state level, a possible preview of national policy on civil liberties during our days of "cold war."

Within one week, the New Jersey state legislature has passed two apparently contradictory bills on civil rights. The legislature has simultaneously enacted an "anti-subversion" bill restricting political freedom and a non-discrimination bill extending civil liberties.

Deceptive as it may appear on the surface, the left hand does know what the right one is doing. Elimination of politically dangerous elements and solidification of discontented social groups behind the war effort is the desired goal.

The five Tumulty-Mehorter bills barring "disloyal" persons from jobs swept through the Assembly and Senate as both the Democratic and Republican Parties joined forces. The "loyalty" bills, which require strengthened oaths of allegiance, passed both houses unanimously. The atmosphere in which this took place can be judged from the fact that the Stalinists were referred to as "members of an organized criminal conspiracy," "snakes," "traitors," "Murder, Inc." "slimy filth," and "contemptible termites."

quires allegiance to the United States, while the new version calls on the oath taker to swear he would defend the United States against all enemies. State officials from the governor down will be compelled in the future to swear that they do not advocate or advise the use of force or unconstitutional means to overthrow government either in the United States or in New Jersey, and that they are not a member of or affiliated with any organization, party or group which advocates unconstitutional means to bring about change in government.

### OATHS HERE AGAIN

Political Stage Set for Cold War on Home Front

The oaths will be applied to all future candidates for elective office or for political party position, to all public employees required to take an oath, and to school teachers.

For the 1949 general election, all candidates who refused to take the oath will have this legend printed on the election and sample ballots above their names: "Refused oath of allegiance." Beginning next year, no candidate will be permitted to have his name on an election ballot unless he subscribes to the oath.

Thus New Jersey, with the speedy passage of these bills and the governor's denial of a request for pub-

The present New Jersey oath repaires allegiance to the United tates, while the new version calls in the oath taker to swear he would aftend the United States against all lic hearings, is up front with New York, Maryland and other states in the suppression of civil rights, as it was a year ago, when Newark banned The Nation from the schools.

On the other hand, the same week saw the signing of the Freeman Civil Rights Bill, banning all discrimination in "public accommodations" and defines them as all places such as hotels, taverns, stores, soda fountains, restaurants, public halls, moving picture houses, bowling alleys, clinics, hospitals, schools, colleges, swimming pools, skating rinks and other public places.

### TEST CASES AHEAD

Civil-rights legislation of such an extensive nature is not without precedent in this state. New Jersey was the first state to outlaw segregation in its National Guard and public schools. However, New Jersey has been a typical example of how Jim Crow operated Northern style.

Until recently, for instance, no Negro, no matter how wealthy, could hope to obtain first-class hotel accommodations in Atlantic City, Asbury Park or any of the other famed New Jersey seashore resorts. Prospective Negro patrons were either barred or rudely treated in all the better restaurants or taverns all over

Swimming pools—notably the Palisades Park concession — brazenly barred Negro customers, and, on occasion, had them arrested for even seeking admission. Theatres in some sections of south Jersey barred Negro patrons or forced them to sit in the "buzzard's roost." Bowling alleys in Northern communities have refused to accept Negro patronage despite existing laws, and so have other public places.

The real test of the law will come this summer when the seaside resorts open up for the annual influx of pleasure seekers. Test cases are expected in Atlantic City, Asbury Park, and other resorts where Negroes are still limited by local custom to one small stretch of the beach and to Negro hotels and rooming houses.

The Tumulty Mehorter Law and the Freeman Law represent the two forces the national government has set into motion in the civil liberties field. Their aim is to set the stage politically for the coming war. As exemplified by the New Jersey legislation, the idea is twofold: (1) repress and silence left-wing opposition and (2) pacify all minority groups for achieving national unity for the coming struggle with Russia.

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Why Atlantic Alliance Worries Sections of the Capitalist Class

# Pact Spells Out Billions With a

By STANLEY GREY

The Atlantic Pact is not really a new departure in American foreign policy. It is the consistent extension of the Mashall Plan, the Truman doctrine and the many separate actions of the U.S. which have had as their main purpose the subordination of as much of the world as possible to the strategic aims of Washington in its struggle with Russia.

The Atlantic Pact formalizes the foreign policy which has long been in operation, and in this formalization makes explicit the "moral" and military commitments of the U.S. The pact has at least this virtuethat it should clarify the reality of the American policy.

Those benign souls who hailed the Marshall Plan as an unprecedented act of benevolence by the U.S. should now understand the meaning of the "reconstruction of Europe." America is preparing its first teams for the coming war.

Any serious consideration of the Atlantic Pact dismisses immediately its pretentions to being a method of waging what has come to be called peace. It is nothing less than the conclusive and coordinated declaration of the tacit cold war. However, it it valuable to consider the imperative reasons which dictated the formalization of this cold war at this time. In the main, there are three maior considerations.

#### FROM THE FIRST INNING

The first is the obvious aspect of the pact: namely, a clear statement to Russia that this war will find the U. S. in the game from the first inning. The U.S. is no longer the relief pitcher of Europe.. It is now the manager of the team. Hitherto implicit in American actions, there is now an unambiguous promise of a declaration of war in the event the U. S. decides Russia has been aggressive enough to deserve it.

The second is the indispensable need for the U.S. to assure the people of Europe that they will not have occasion to be "liberated" again in the future. The dread of war is so profound in Europe, the memory of the utter destructiveness of the last one is still so hot and compelling, that the U. S. cannot possibly hope to command the morale of these people with anything less than an assurance that it will DEFEND them if necessary and not "liberate" them.

The pact tries to do essentially that: Despite all the circumlocution that was necessary to make it appear as if Congress is still the real arbiter of military action, the pact is the American "quid pro quo" to the European people. It says in effect: You come into our backyard and under our protection and we will defend you

on the all-pervading feeling of the inevitability of war, the U.S. counts on Europe to make the choice of defense by the U.S. rather than liberation by Russia.

Finally, the pact, through its moral and military commitment to organize the next war, is the great propulsion for extending the production for war in the U. S. itself. And this is by no means one of its lesser consequences.

Already, military expenditures reach figures which only astronomers used to deal with. Dr. Nourse, in his latest speech, estimated that military expenditures are already about \$300,-000,000 per week. Note again: per WEEK.) That is, during that interval of time in which the worker pulls down \$50 \$300 million have been sunk into war preparations. The same figure, by the way-\$300 million-is the amount spent on education, housing, public health and rural electrification each YEAR (i.e., every 52 weeks).

#### BILLIONS-WITH A B

And, of course, this is only the beginning. The Atlantic Pact will make it necessary and also possible to start the ball really rolling. The House Appropriations Committee recently passed a bill allowing a few cents less than 16 billion dollars for war (note the B in billion). If there is any change in this trend it can only be in the direction of increased appropriations for armaments.

It is interesting here to note a significant accompaniment of the acceleration of war production. The same Dr. Nourse, a conservative economist, warned against increasing outlays for armaments as a consequence of the Atlantic Pact. He emphasized the need for staying within the budget already outlined rather than expanding it for larger appropriations.

The Hoover Commission, in a scorching exposure of the waste of military appropriations, also urges caution.

The military seems to be running wild. Each department is trying to grab a couple of billion for itself. Dollars are thrown around like interoffice memoranda.

The Hoover Commission, in its atack on appropriations, showed that the army had asked for funds to modernize 107 more tanks than it possessed. It was obviously a failing of the civilian mind which could not grasp the fact that in modern warfare, non-existent tanks have to be as modern as existing ones.

Or, in another example, the commission pointed out that the army had requested \$39,000,000 for a certain number of howitzers for the National Guard, and that this would make the cost per howitzer reach a fabulous figure. The original figure

against the threat of Russia. Banking. "3" before the "9" was carelessly erad-nation's energies. icated from the document and thus appeared by error on the final document submitted to the budget division. The figure should have been only nine million dollars.

Just a tiny error, as anyone but an isolationist miser can see! We are left to imagine how many more such errors, typographical and not so typographical, are floating around in the billions of dollars now pouring out

#### BUREAUCRATIZATION AHEAD

What is interesting about this is that a section of the bourgeoisie, reflected in the speech of Dr. Nourse and the actions of the Hoover Commission, are worried about the uncontrolled growth of the armament sector of industry. For two reasons: The first is that the continued and enlarged bulk of this sector cannot but transform the economy and open the door for new crises resultant from the disproportionate allocation of the

Secondly, such large government

outlays must be accompanied by an increase in government controls and intervention. The bourgeoisie cannot have its war economy and eat it too. The risks are tremendous. The dangers of an increasingly bureaucratized state with greater regulation of the capitalist class itself are inherent in the new development. If the bourgeoisie supports the Atlantic Pact and all its stands for-which of course it does-it is only because the dangers of a Russian-dominated Europe far exceed those which lurk at home.

But of these they are ever mindful. The Atlantic Pact is at last the official certification of the cold war. It is the over-all attempt to corral Europe into the U.S. side in the war. And it signifies conclusively the permanence of the war economy at home If diplomats still talk of it in terms of peace, it is because that is their job. But who else can possibly be-

### **Western Union Monopoly** Hit by Telegraphers Union

service? Far from it, declares the Commercial Telegraphers Union in a wrathful letter sent to the chairman of the Senate Interstate Commerce

Together with two other smaller AFL unions of telegraph workers, the CTU protested that the quality of wire service "has deteriorated to such a point that the very existence of the industry is at stake.'

Also, the unions charged that the members of the Federal Communications Commission, though supposed to regulate the telegraph industry, "have become mere rubber stamps to an incompetent management, dominated and controlled by a clique of Wall Street bankers." They asked that the Senate committee investigate this "utter lack of supervision" by the

The unions recalled that when Congress allowed Western Union and Postal Telegraph to merge in 1943, it was hoped that the resulting monopoly would "give superior service."

"That hope has long since been proven groundless because of the unwillingness of Western Union to give adequate service to the nation and because of the deliberate refusal of

Does a monopoly give people better the FCC to live up to its obligation to see to it that Western Union does give adequate service," the unions de-

> All over the country Western Union has been closing offices, many of them profitable, depriving large numbers of people of wire service. This has been done with the commission's consent, the organizations asserted.

#### STOCK JUGGLING?

Western Union has raised the cry of "poverty" to justify this "suicidal trend," the AFL groups pointed out. The same propaganda, they said, was spread prior to the amalgamation of Western Union and Postal Telegraph, and when the news got around that Congress would "okay" the merger, Western Union stock shot up 600 per cent in value.

The unions charged that a similar scheme is in the offing now. Western Union, they said, appears to be paying the way for a request to Congress to permit a merger with American Telephone & Telegraph - the Phone Trust-and thus establish one giant monopoly in the 'communica-

### tions field, "with the consequent rescue of stockholders" even though Govt. Parades Stoolies at CP Trial

#### pate in the discussion were required to submit their position in writing in advance of the convention. During the convention itself, one asked for the floor in writing and the presiding committee could grant or refuse

Jefferson School supported Browder's thesis of cooperation with American capitalism, told how Jack Stachel called the faculty together to tell them in no uncertain language that they, along with the whole American CP. had been mistaken in following Browder. When Meyer and others wrote letters to the Daily Worker in support of Browder the letters were ruthlessly suppressed.

your help," Eugene Dennis replied to protests against this action, Meyer

Going back fifteen years, in the case of Nowell, who opposed the "black belt" state theory as a form of segregation, the pattern of repression of all opposition was still there. Nowell was sent to Moscow to correct his heresy; when that failed, he

Aside from the actual testimony the government in the prosecution of

ing-class organization.

#### The Horse's Mouth—I

Extry! New York Times foreign editor attacks Atlantic Pact!

Anyway, this is how the headline reads over Edwin L. James' article on April 10:

"The Soviet Argument: Is It Really Any Good?

"What Can Be Said About Atlantic Pact That Cannot Be Also Said

About the Cominform?' Not much, Mr. James. But is that

#### The Horse's Mouth—II

"The political power of organized labor rests on its numbers. Its economic power depends on many factors. Among these are its strategic location in the community-the New York City tugboat workers; its monopoly position in an industry's labor market-the United Mine Workers; ITS WILLINGNESS TO STRIKE THE UNITED AUTO WORK-ERS . . .

(From Business Week, big-business magazine, April 16. Our emphasis.)

That's just among us boys, you understand. When they get good and willing to strike, we put the needle on a different record.

### Big Legal Fight On in Cleveland

By JOE CLARK

CLEVELAND-The Fawick-Airflex strike still rates space on the front pages of Cleveland newspapers, though the court battles resulting from it far outweigh the strike itself in importance. The plant is rather small with only 130 production workers involved but the legal struggles resulting from the strike are of real significance.

The strike was called on March 7 by a Stalinist-controlled local of the UEW, Local 735. A series of violent struggles at the plant was followed by anti-picketing injunctions, contempt of court actions with unprecedented jail sentences, fines, and a total of \$2,360,000 bail.

This was followed by appeals, with the Appeals Court freeing the defendants on much lower bail and polite reprimands for the judge (Common Pleas Judge J. C. Connell) who placed such exhorbitant bail. Other arrests were made of people who attempted to picket the judge's home and of still others who wrote him threatening letters. Altogether a great legal battle is in progress.

Last week affidavits of prejudice were filed against Connell in the Ohio Supreme Court at Columbus, The court decided that Connell was not prejudiced and was qualified to continue sitting in on the cases. This week another series of affidavits will be heard by the Supreme Court aimed at the same judge on almost the same grounds.

The complicated courtroom maneuvers have overshadowed strike itself which Connell ruled "judicially" ended. Picketing is entirely and completely banned and the company has announced recognition of a newly formed local of the AFL Auto Workers.

Branch

### Health Plan --

1946 Congress passed the Hospital Construction Act, authorizing the payment to states and cities of one third the cost of new hospitals and improvements. But thus far only four per cent of the nation's need for new hospital beds has been met.

#### STEP IN RIGHT DIRECTION

Apparently the president has been well advised about the inadequacy of past performances in the field of public health. His proposal is more far-reaching and comprehensive. It approximates the health-insurance plan of the British government.

Based on the payment of a payroll tax of 11/2 per cent by both employers and workers, for no additional cost the plan would provide examinations, doctor's visits, limited dental treatment, sixty days' hospitalization, home nursing, laboratory service, X-ray service, ambulance service, expensive medicines, hearing aids, wheel - chairs, eye - glasses, crutches and other special appliances.

Besides the health insurance aspect, the president's bill would enact federal subsidies for medical schools, for students, for local health units, for hospital construction, for rural doctors. The cost of the plan to the government is variously estimated at from three to eighteen billion dollars a year. The lowest figure is given by the friends of the measure while the highest is the prediction of the bill's most deadly enemy, namely, the American Medical Association.

The biggest concession the bill makes to reactionary pressure is in the way the money is to be raised. The assessment would be levied on the first \$4,800 of individual income, so that the largest contribution by any person would be \$72 a year. This is undoubtedly to meet the argument that the rich will be using their own doctors anyway—though the government services that they too would be able to make use of would be a bargain for them also. This feature means that the bankrolls with the biggest

### Kutcher - -

(Continued from page 1)

is indicated. The Kutcher case is different in character. I do not agree at all with the Socialist Workers Party. I would assert that it has a full right to the maintenance of its position publicly, and that James Kutcher, as a citizen of this country, has the same right. The dismissal of Kutcher seems to me to be inexcusable.

"It is clear that the current handling of loyalty cases is not only resulting in unfairness, in injustice, and in endangering our civil rights. It is also having a most serious demoralizing effect. If it continues, intelligent men with a sense of honor and dignity will merely refuse to participate in any kind of necessary governmental enterprise. The practice of arbitrary exclusion, so clearly indicated in the Kutcher case, is one which can only help to rot the moral fiber of the nation.

"I hope that James Kutcher wins his right to a hearing, and that he is restored to his post. This kind of treatment, especially in the case of a legless veteran of the World War, is shameful and inexcusable."

Quota Received Per Cent

figures will be paying a comparatively small percentage of the cost-far. far less, at any rate, than they ought to bear.

The CIO and AFL leaders, who know too well that 325,000 persons a year die for lack of medical care, support the president's bill. So does the NAACP, whose policy makers also know that in the state of Mississippi, for instance, there is only one Negro doctor for each 19,000 Negroes. Undoubtedly the passage of the president's health insurance plan would be a step in the right direction-though one may ask: "Why so little for health and so much for bombs and bomb carriers?"

#### WON'T BE PASSED

However, the president's bill is not going to be passed by Congress. There is the Dixiecrat-Republican coalition to contend with. Two other public-health bills are now before Congress. No Congressman dares come out on all fours against federal aid to public health; so these bills are also called public health bills.

One is authored by Republican Senator Taft. He is opposed to the whole idea of public-health insurance. Instead he would have people who are unable to pay for needed medical care go hat in hand and beg for it, the federal and state governments to split the cost of this charity.

The Taft bill would also provide federal subsidies for medical schools. for examinations of school children, for free treatment of needy children, for local hospital construction, etc. But this grandiose program of the Republican senator would cost the comparative pittance of \$1,817,000,-

000 in five years. The third bill is sponsored by Senator Hill from Alabama, member of the Democratic Party along with Mr. Truman-for whom labor voted when it voted for the Democratic Party. Senator Hill, being a dyedin - the - wool private enterpriser, wants the government to subsidize the private health-insurance plans, and only for limited services.

His bill makes no provision for general medical care, office calls, home nursing, etc. The Hill bill has the distinction of being supported by many state medical associations. which, along with the American Medical Association, stand as an example of what the private-profit motive can do to the spirit of men. (Parenthetically it must be stated that not all members of AMA have been thus corrupted. There are some three thousand doctors, members of AMA, who favor public health insurance and have organized a separate group known as Physicians' Forum with Dr. Ernst P. Boas as chair-

Considering the emaciated specimens offered by Senators Taft and Hill as substitutes for the Truman bill, one can foresee what kind of public-health act will emerge from the Congressional wringer, that is, whenever the representatives of the people get around to that issue.

It is being bruited about that CIO and AFL leaders have abandoned all hope of getting any measures they support passed by the 81st Congress. and are setting their sights for the 1950 elections. But will labor do better after the 1950 elections if it doesn't create its own political party for that election?

## ISL Fund Drive --

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Chicago SYL	4	\$100	100	
St. Louis	50	24	50	
Streator	25	10	40	d
Cleveland	400	134	34	
New York City	4000	1012	25	
Philadelphia	400	84	21	
National Office	1500	255	17	
San Francisco	800	92	12	
Chicago	1500	139	9	
West Virginia	125	10	8	
Akron		12	6	
Buffalo	1000	50	5	1
Baltimore	200	4	2	
Boston	100	2	2	
Los Angeles	500	10	2	
Newark	300	6	2	
Connecticut	. 50	0	0	ř
Detroit	600	0	0	
Indiana	100	. 0	0	
Oregon	50	0	0	
Pittsburgh	50	0	0	
Reading	100	. 0	0	
Seattle	300	0	0	
Youngstown	. 100	0	0	
Manhattan SYL	. 50	0	0	
Bronx SYL	. 50	0	0	
Brooklyn SYL		0	. 0	
Buffalo	. 50	0	0	
Berkeley SYL	. 50	0	0	
Labor Action	. 150	0	0	
Miscellaneous		0	0	
N N		-	_	
TOTALS\$	14,000	\$1944	14	

(Continued from page 1)

our first discussions, they requested a reduction in the quota originally suggested for them. Now it appears that St. Louis will do at least its

"We discussed the drive rather thoroughly," writes the St. Louis fund drive director, "at our last meeting and everyone in the branch is sure that we can make it. Personally I am keeping a \$100 goal in mind and will try to see how close we can come to it. . . . Here's hoping we make that 14th thousands!!"

### NEW YORK AT QUARTER MARK

Streator sends in its first \$10 contribution and writes that they "will make every effort to raise [our] quota.... We are almost sure that we will have no difficulty in raising it." Cleveland, too, writes: "Our pledges are encouraging so far and we see no reason why we shouldn't make our quota.' New York, which has the largest

quota in the drive, has been doing a magnificent job from the very beginning. Over 25 per cent of its quota has already been collected and we are assured that by May I they will reach the 50 per cent goal which they have set for themselves

The above excerpts are typical of the rest of the letters we have been receiving. Only space restrictions prevent us from quoting more of them and from commenting on other contributions received thus far. The response to the fund drive appeal from all sides has, to put it mildly, exceeded our expectations.

Let's keep up the good pace and make the full \$14,000!

Remember, the drive ends June 15. Fill your quotas as soon as you can and spend your spare time going over the top!

### Philbrook, FBI Star Witness, and Others Incidentally Reveal How CP Bureaucracy Works By WYATT LEE

NEW YORK-The government continues to draw its witnesses in the conspiracy trial of the Communist Party leaders from the lower levels of the party's organization. Two, so far, have been "plants" who joined the CP of their own volition but from the first reported regularly to the FBI: another two have been regular FBI agents, attending certain CP meetings as an assignment.

More effective testimony has been drawn from former party militants who have left the CP in disgust and now feel no compunction in aiding the federal government's case against their erstwhile comrades. Charles W. Nicodemus, one of the original organizers back in 1936 of the Cumberland, Md., Celanese plant, where he works and still serves as an official of the Textile Workers Union, testified that he joined the CP in 1937 under the illusion that membership would aid him in union work. He left nine years later, fully willing to do his best to send the CP leaders to jail.

Just why Nicodemus left is not apparent from his testimony. He told how in 1940 a minor party functionary ordered members working in the Celanese plant to map all exits and entrances of the plant, a project that could easily be construed as preparations for a strike. In 1945, when the turn from cooperation with the U. S. was taking place, an over-zealous district functionary painted a glowing picture of the Russian army invading the U.S. overland via the Alaskan peninsula. That Nicodemus, a party veteran of eight years, could take such nonsense seriously seems highly doubtful.

The 'long-abandoned theory of a "black belt" Negro republic in the southern United States was rehashed by William O. Nowell, who left the CP thirteen years ago. A Negro, Nowell's appearance was doubtless calculated by the prosecution to dispel any sympathy the three Negro members of the jury might entertain for the defendants as self-proclaimed champions of the race.

Just what legal connection there is between a CP policy of the early '30s and the specific charges against the defendants, whose "conspiracy to

feach and advocate" the overthrow of the government allegedly began in 1945 with the reconstitution of the CP, is difficult for a layman to see, but Judge Harold Medina somehow ruled the testimony in order.

### BULL STUFF

Nowell was the third bona fide ex-CP member to act as a government witness, following Louis Budenz, the Daily Worker editor who returned to the Catholic Church, and Frank S. Meyer, a former instructor at the Jefferson School here who quit when the famous Duclos article heralded the most recent turn in the CP line.

In addition, there were two FBI agents who attended a Detroit meeting addressed by Carl Winter, one of the defendants who took the stand; and a durable "volunteer" FBI agent. one Herbert Philbrick, who has been planted in or around the CP movement in Boston since 1940.

Second only to Budenz, who remains the government's key witness, Philbrick's testimony has aroused the most interest. A minor functionary on the party's lowest organizational level, the experiences of this advertising man, a model suburbanite and the father of four children, have given the public a glimpse of the routine workings of the CP.

In the mass, it is pretty dull stuff, though the press labored mightily to bring it alive. A never-ending round of meetings, enlivened by special mobilizations to write letters to Congressmen. Attendance at "leadership" training schools, where the initiated were permitted to hear readings from Stalin's brand of Marxism-Leninism. Not a bomb thrown, not a disguise donned, not a document filched from some secret file! In fact, Philbrick won his highest honors, both within the CP and his community, as a star salesman of government bonds during

Things picked up for this patriotic stoolpigeon, who must have grown mightly weary of his job, when the party entered its reorientation period following the expulsion of Browder. After traversing the long road through a pacifist front organization. the YCL, the AYD, the CP, the CPA and back again to the CP, Philbrick

found himself a member of the Boston "professional" section.

Here the "elite" of the Boston party were assembled, once every two weeks, for the collection of dues and the selling of literature. No doubt Philbrick was highly regarded here; he could pay his dues, make his contributions and buy literature secure in the knowledge that the FBI would reimburse him for all funds expended.

To this group came visiting lecturers, including, Philbrick claims, an MIT professor who mentioned every country in the world during a twohour lecture on Lenin's "State and Revolution." Later the group was broken up into units of five, who met only in private homes. With the passage of the Mundt-Nixon bill pending in Congress, this step was taken to protect its members.

### "EDUCATION" IN THE CP

"Education" continued in these smaller groups. According to Philbrick, one of the "teachers" defined the socialist revolution as "a violent revolution to be carried out by armed bands of workers against the existing state government." Unless Philbrick fabricated this quotation to earn his expenses, it is hard to see how even a student of Stalinist Marxism-Leninism could make such an idiotic

By and large, there is nothing in his testimony that anyone in the least familiar with the CP organizationally and politically does not know. The mystery lies in the subjective question of how Philbrick, apparently a normal young man genuinely interested in his job, his family and his church, could abide a sojourn of nine years in a political organization that was completely alien-and completely beyond his understanding.

One aspect of life in the CP is emerging with great clarity from this trial. The witnesses are revealing the technique of putting across the sudden changes in line practised by the Stalinists. Philbrick, for example, told how discussion was handled at the Massachusetts convention called to ratify the reconstitution of the CP in the summer of 1945.

Speakers who intended to partici-

speaking privileges according to the would-be speaker's point of view.

### CORRECTING HERETICS

Meyer, who as an instructor at the

"Browder can get along without

was stripped of all party posts.

and its veracity or cogency, the witnesses appearing thus far cast a devastating light on the workings of Stalinism in this country. An editor slips with craven silence into the sanctuary of the Catholic Church. pausing only to dip his fingers into the party till for \$900. Unionists, organizers of shops and factories, leave the party to join hands gladly with their ex-leaders. Stoolpigeons can exist in the ranks without danger of detection or, more important, without the danger of even a flicker of conscience arising to plague them.

These are the by-products of Stalinism, the corroding effect of cynicism and outright treachery within the party ranks, the terrible accompaniment of a movement that has lost all contact with genuine socialism or the elementary obligations of a work-

### ISL Convention Resolution on U. S. Trends — Part II

# The 1948 Election and the Road to the Labor Party

(1) The basic tendencies of the U. S. economy, described above [see Part I in last week's LABOR AC-TION1, together with its inescapably accompanying political effects. also mark out the general direction of the relations between the classes and the government's domestic pol-

Especially in the U. S., with its under past conditions.

great wealth and therefore comparatively great room for flexibility and compromise, it is important neither to mechanically deduce a straightline course toward bureaucratization and militarization on the part of the government, nor to make the opposite error of expecting a softening of class antagonisms such as might accompany an expanding capitalism

### Is a New 'New Deal" Possible?

(2) What is excluded, however, is precisely the aim publicly set by the Truman administration: namely, a new "New Deal," that is, a period of real reform concessions to labor and the masses of people of any farreaching nature-sufficient, at least, to exorcise the specter of class struggle for a period ahead. In this it is not even a question of the sincerity of desire on the part of the liberal wing of the Democratic Party (or even of Truman himself) to carry out campaign pledges, or to appear to do so, or to appear to make an attempt to do so.

What is decisive in this respect is this: if, as is quite possible for the next immediate period, American capitalism is fat enough to avoid any rapid course toward bureaucratic regimentation, even this capitalism is not fat enough to be able to afford the combination of an expanding war economy with significant domestic social reform capable of giving labor what it needs and wants.

(3) Typical of the movement of these forces has been the post-election development on the Taft-Hartley Law, the main single issue posed by labor in the 1948 presidential campaign. The fruit of the "famous victory" over the Republicans bids fair to be the replacement of Taft-Hartley with a new law midway between it and the New Deal Wagner Act-a new law which, if it had been proposed by Truman or the GOP as the substitute for the Wagner Act before the T-H Law was passed, would undoubtedly (and correctly) have been denounced by labor as a blow to its rights. This blow to labor's rights (in comparison with the New Deal labor policy) is now the Democrats' payment for the labor support without which their victory would not have been possible.

This pattern—two steps backward (T-H), one step forward (the Truman revision of the law)—represents both sides of American capitalism's dilemma, and its general direction.

as a resounding rebuff to the con-

servatism and reaction of the 80th

Congress and as the only "practical"

### Lessons of the Truman Election

(4) But if American capitalism, girding for a third imperialist war, cannot afford to give labor and the popular masses what they need and want, the latter are not prepared meekly to accept less than that. The first outstanding fact about the American working class in today's world is that it is undefeated, vigorous and strong - stronger than ever in its history.

Secondly: it is not on a lower plane of consciousness than before the war but (unlike the working class in Europe) on a higher plane. Its confidence in its own class power, particularly on the crucial field of politics, has increased, not decreased. This, in fact, was the most important consequence of the Truman victory in the 1948 election and of labor's participation in that campaign,

(5) The 1948 election and its consequences may well mark a turning point in the development of labor political action. Instead of the expected victory of the more conservative wing of capitalism, the election results clearly showed a leftward swing, as compared with 1946 especially.

That this leftward swing had to express itself through the re-election of a president who has broken strikes and who brought back government by injunction only underlines the blind alley into which "lesser-evil" politics has led the labor movement, but cannot blind one to the nature of the political stirrings which were manifested. The labor vote was mobilized behind Truman in unexpected strength, not primarily as an endorsement of Truman, his actual record or his politics, but in spite

Labor generally voted for Truman

### Socialist Policy in the Election

(6) A policy of abstention in the election on the part of the Marxist socialists would have, therefore, been misapplied in this election, in which it was among the best, and not the worst strata that the urge to votethat is, to "participate in politics" as that is understood at present by the politically backward labor movement -was strongest.

At the same time, the only working-class vote, the only vote that would be a protest vote against the policies of both sections of the capitalist class—was a vote for one of the socialist candidates, given the absence of authoritative labor candidates and given the character of the Wallace movement.

The National Committee position of calling for a socialist protest vote in the election was therefore correct. This includes also the reasons given in the NC statement for refusing to support the candidates of only one of the socialist sects as against the

(7) Even more than in the case of Roosevelt's electoral victories, the re-election of Truman against all the odds has had the effect of convincing labor of the tremendous importance of its own class power on the political field. This is not to say that either the labor leadership or rankand-file militants conceive of it in these terms or that clearly; nor does it gainsay the fact that a section of the rural vote may also have been essential to the Democratic upset.

It is sufficiently marked by the reaction: "We did it" throughout the ranks of labor. It was not the famous "Roosevelt coalition" which did it-this having been broken on one

way of endorsing the increasingly radical line which Truman was astute enough to present during his campaign under the pressure of labor and the threat to the Wallace movement. His presidential campaign was also to a significant extent carried by the momentum of the local congressional campaigns which were sparked by the AFL and CIO political arms. It was possible to mobilize the vote of labor because of the greater po-

liticalization of the workers that exists today, a political consciousness which made abstention difficult not for the most backward elements of labor but precisely for the best strata. This political consciousnessnot an independent class political consciousness to be sure, as yet-is today at its highest point in U. S. labor history.

In addition to the vote itself, the most prominent official manifestation of this fact is the entrance of the AFL into the same path of tradeunion political action that was taken by the CIO (the PAC and its predecessor, the LNPL)-in the case of the AFL, with the organization of LLPE, its plans for the permanent existence of this body, and its plan for the organization of a locallybased political machine through "political stewards," etc.

The concept of "no politics in the trade unions" is at its lowest ebb. and, if it has not completely disappeared by any means, has at least ceased to be the official approach of the majority of the labor movement. With this, the question before the labor movement becomes: "What kind

of trade-union politics?"

other by the Wallaceites. It was not

fact is that it is only the organized

## side by the Dixiecrats and on the

Truman who "did it," in spite of his personally strenuous campaign and his electoral acumen in appealing to the leftward sentiments of the people-certainly not in the sense that the kingpin of the Roosevelt coalition was always Roosevelt himself. If a section of the farm vote was as necessary to the final result as was the labor vote, the important

> labor movement which is in a position to take advantage of its social 1 4500 (8) A third respect, therefore, in which the U.S. labor movement is now at its highest point in its history is in its political self-confidence amounting-particularly right after the election-to cockiness. If since then there have been indications that the labor leaders themselves have been trying to moderate this reac-

> > Truman and under the liberal-Democratic-labor coalition. This is so for two reasons. One is the inevitable disillusionment with the "victory" of November 1948 when the fruits of the second Truman administration are again assessed, and after the heady exhilaration of the first flush of victory has been com-

tion, it is because this political self-

confidence is a lighted fuse under

pletely worn off by events. This will be especially true if there is an intensification of the economic struggle - strikes - in the course of the next two years. The conflict between the social needs of American war economy and the ever more confident aspirations of labor is heading in the direction of sharp-

(9) But while this first reason is basic, by itself it does not necessarily lead to a change in labor policy: labor has been disillusioned before. The second fact is that labor is driving, and is being driven, to a fourth

in political organization, in the building of a labor political machine. The forms under which this process is developing, and bids fair to develop, are important for an understanding of its probable consequences.

### Wallace Movement: A Portent

and lessons of the Wallace movement. The Wallace Progressive Party as an organized movement was mainly the creation and tool of the Stalinists, who organized it as their widest political front to serve as an instrument of Russian foreign policy in the U.S.; but the broad mass support it attracted and the healthy progressive sentiment it tapped was not the creation of the Stalinists.

While its domestic reform program was by far the most advanced of the petty-bourgeois radical parties in the history of the country, its Stalinist control and reactionary foreign-policy program of appeasement and capitulation to Russian imperialism clearly outweighed what was progressive in the movement and ruled out support by the socialists.

Its meteoric rise, as well as its swift decline following its disappointing showing in the election, is a social portent. For one thing, the attractive power it displayed in the early months of 1948 up to its national convention-and at this time its expectations of a ten million vote were not pipe dreams-showed not so much the personal drawing power of Henry Wallace and least of all that of the Stalinists, but rather the power of the third-party idea, of a radical break with the two old parties, of these masses' hungry search for peace and their desire to find a way out of the evils of capitalism.

Secondly: with an apparatus based on that of the CP but set up from scratch in all parts of the country in a few months, the Wallace party

succeeded in overcoming the reactionary electoral laws of the states and in getting on the ballot in fortyfive states (in the only important state where it did not make the ballot, Illinois, this was as much due to its own carelessness as to the reactionary state law and the Democrats' eagerness to take advantage of the latter). Following this experience. the anti-third-party state laws will never again be the prominent argument against independent politics

that they were up to this year. Third: the success in the early months especially of the Wallace appeal to the Negro masses-one of the most progressive aspects of the movement - demonstrated the fact that these masses are a ready and powerful reservoir of support to a left-wing third party.

Fourth: in spite of its Stalinist coloration and pro - Russian foreign policy platform, the Wallace party appeal to militants in the labor movement was strong enough to cause real anxiety and fear to the labor leadership. The magnetic pull which a similar third party without these two handicaps would have been able to display is a matter of speculation but there can be no doubt that it might well have changed the course of the entire campaign, even without the blessing of the official' labor leadership. There is also no doubt that even the Wallace party as it was constituted, with two strikes against it, was significant enough to stimulate the labor leadership to increased political activity in order to be able to present a counterforce to its attraction.

### Political Machine — For What?

(11) By the end of the 1948 election campaign, each of the three main sections of the labor movement. including the AFL and railroad brotherhoods, had its own political machine at least in framework. The question which faced them following the election was: What shall be done with these machines?

Partly under the impulse of the self - confidence generated by Truman's victory, partly under the stimulus the Wallace groundswell (including thereby those masses who did not support Wallace even to beoin with. but who were impelled his challenge to demand more from their own leaders), and partly because of the internal drive created by the existence of the machine itself (a political machine has to be party.

used or it cannot hold together), at least sections of the labor leadership have let it be known that they are now girding for a new objective: the capture of the Democratic Party by the labor political forces.

Futile and utopian as the project is, the first significant thing about it is the fact that they thereby indicate that they can no longer continue to put forward the perspective of merely "supporting" the Democrats. Even in their own minds, and before their rank and file, they are making a turn, striking out more boldly and ambitiously. From the militant-talking and as translated by militants in the unions, the aim of capturing the Democratic Party becomes: capturing it and transforming it into "our"

### Reform the Democratic Party?

(12) It is this latter goal in particular which is futile and utopian. It is quite possible that, given real effort in that direction, a new relationship of forces in the leading councils of the Democrats can be won by the labor leadership-greater positions of power and influence for labor Democratic politicians, the replacement of certain old-line politicians by union figures, in a reshuffled but continued coalition of the capitalist politicians and labor. It is also quite probable that labor can "take over" the Democratic label here and there, as it has done in Michigan (where the Democratic Party was a shell when the UAW stepped in to re-create it). Given a serious drive, there is absolutely no doubt that a series of "victories" will be chalked up, which will be hailed as milestones along the road to the "capture" of the Democratic Party, and which would indeed have important effects on the structure and functioning of that party.

But the transformation of the Democratic Party into a party really representing the interests of the masses is something quite different. This opinion does not spring from any dogmatic objection to this road toward the building of a party of labor if the transformation of the Democratic Party into a party of labor and the little people were really the goal, and if it were possible. But the character of the Democratic Party as a capitalist party is not merely a matter of program; its capitalist character is manifested in and founded firmly upon two very concrete political realities: (a) the fact that the main support of the power of the old capitalist political machines is patronage, particularly federal patronage, controlled from and doled out from the White House; (b) the fact that the old-party machines depend for their basic character upon the innumerable threads of their connections with the ruling economic powers-with the moneybags, with business, with the capitalist press, etc., with all the thousands of channels whereby capitalism maintains control over its political creatures.

The actual result of a serious drive in this direction would be the emergence in the U.S. of the European-type lib-lab coalition (some of which, in Europe, even went so far as to masquerade under the name "socialist").

It is, however, not yet at all decided that this course toward the Democratic Party will be adopted by the labor movement. An immediate job of the militants—especially the militants in the UAW—is precisely to prevent their leaders from trying to lead the unions down this blind alley. and to demand and fight for the perspective of transforming their own political machines into an independent party of labor.

(13) In any case, however, what is indicated for the period ahead is a process of the growth, consolidation and extension of the political apparatus of the labor movement or of its three sections. This holds true even if-indeed perhaps especially if -the project of "capturing" the Democratic Party is embarked upon. This process has a logic and internal

Discussion Meetings For the Benefit of Politics' "Packages Abroad"

Thursday, May 12 ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER. JR. Author of "The Age of Jackson" TRUMAN-HEIR OR EPIGONE OF THE NEW DEAL?

Thursday, May 19 DWIGHT MACDONALD Editor of "Politics" GOODBYE TO UTOPIA

Rand School Auditorium 7 East 15th Street At 8:30,

Admission 75¢

wing of labor and for pro-labor-party militants. These have, in the first place, the

task of demanding that these political machines do not merely remain top committees of bureaucrats; that they be extended and build from the ground up, or at any rate ex- roots of the labor movement!

drive of its own and also presents tended down to the involvement of great opportunities for the left the rank and file of labor; that the rank and file have the decisive voice about what these political machines should do, what politics they should pursue, what candidates endorse. what platforms put forward: Shape the PAC and LLPE into functioning membership groups in the grass

### For a Political Action Congress!

(14) The main slogans of the militants in implementing their fight for a labor party are thereby indicated: Organize labor's political machine in the ranks! Call representative conventions of the PAC, of LLPE! Organize labor's forces with a Political Action Congress of labor!

The framework is there-it has to be given flesh and muscle and blood. Who is going to decide the many important questions of policy facing labor's political arms? Who is going to decide whether labor's resources are to be expended on the will-o'-thewisp of transforming the Democratic Party, or on building its own party? On the state and local level, looking forward to the elections of '49 and '50, who is going to decide whether to endorse Democratic politicians or to put up united trade-union slates in favorable localities?

It is only by bringing together in convention the active forces of the organization, after first involving rank-and-file forces, that a democratic decision can be arrived at. It leadership can be made to present sults.

and defend their proposals on the Democratic Party, and the left wing can obtain the widest hearing for its proposals for labor-party actionand the convention adopt a line. (15) This slogan and demand for

a Political Action Congress of labor does not merely envisage a national convention of the PAC or LLPE (or what would, of course, be most desirable: of the political arms of both federations plus the brotherhoods); it is equally important and desirable. and probably more immediately realizable, on the smaller scale, on a state-wide basis, on a city-wide basis, especially since the elections in the coming two years will be on this smaller scale.

In any event, the demand for a Political Action Congress of labor, for a PAC convention, for an LLPE convention, is of the greatest importance in the immediate period, today, after the pledges and vows by Reuther and others that political action would remain a top-flight task of the labor movement following the election and in order to capitalize on is on this basis that the official labor labor's reaction to the election re-

### The Goal of Labor's Left Wing

more than ever, the central political task of American socialists today.

Before the presidential election, on the basis of the general expectation of a bad defeat for the Democrats, it looked for a while as if independent political organization by the labor movement was immediately on the agenda. The paradoxical result of the leftward swing which led to the upset was to postpone such action by the labor tops and to make necessary a longer period of development and incubation for such a stop; at the worst, the labor movement may actually be obliged to go through the experience of trying to capture the Democratic Party before a sufficient number of elements become ready for the next step.

But there is no reason to believe that the labor leadership of the U.S., pushed from behind by sentiment in the ranks and driven by the consideration that their own positions can cal bargaining power which is directly under their control, will fail to take the political road of its similars in virtually all the other capitalist countries of the world. The U. S. working class—stronger than ever, and on a higher level of political consciousness, political self-confidence, and political organization than ever—is driving in the direction of a new, third party based on the labor movement.

(17) For us the goal is a labor party based primarily on affiliated trade unions, a radical anti-capitalist program and complete independence from the old parties. Between this and the reality of the third party which is to come, there will in all likelihood be a wide gap.

All the present indications are that the party, when formed, will have a program and a leadership which will stamp the movement as a "third capitalist party," or more accurately, petty-bourgeois workers partyproletarian in composition and petty bourgeois in program and leadership. In this respect, it may not begin in any important respect different from the Wallace party minus its Stalinist perversion-indeed, in its domestic program it may not even be as advanced; or different from a national version of the New York State Liberal Party.

In French Alfred: Rosmer: Le Mouvement Ouvriêre Pendant la Guerre Victor Serge: Portrait de Leon Trotsky: Ma Vie ...... 1.50

C. Tales: La Commune de

1871 (Préface de Trotsky) 2.00 Pierre Naville: Psychologie, Marxisme, Matérialisme-Essais Critiques ... Theorie de l'Orientation Professionnelle ... 2.00 D'Holbach . 3.50 Lissagaray: Histoire de la Commune de 1871 .... 2.50

Z. Zaremba: La Commune de Varsovie ..... La Crise Française: Essais par C. Bettelheim, Martinet, Naville, Bessaignet, Le Corbusier, Hardy ....

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The traditional distinction which has been made by our movement between a "genuine labor party" and a "third party" (labor-based) does not, in fact, correspond to the developing reality, and it is sterile to counterpose the two concepts to each

The progressive and even revolutionary meaning of the organization of such a third party would be determined by the fact that it organizationally separates the working class from the two old capitalist parties in a political instrument which they look on peculiarly as their own, which by virtue of its composition and leadership is peculiarly suceptible to their influence and control, through whose experiences the political understanding and class consciousness of the entire working class will be progressively raised, and in which the Marxist vanguard can find an arena for developing intimate ties with the political by the fact that such a third party is based upon and represents the main mass of the working class in motion under the existing conditions.

While recognizing this to be true, the Marxist vanguard-because it, unlike all other tendencies, represents the future of the working class in the present-will seek to push the movement even further in program, democratic control by the tradeunion rank and file, independence not only from the old capitalist parties but from capitalist politics, and militancy in action. It can do so. however, only as a part—as the left wing-of labor's third party movement, and not as an outside critic

The formation of such a party is on the horizon. Its founding will have the most dynamic political repercussions in this country and throughout the world. The Marxist vanguard looks forward to it with eagnerness, enthusiasm, and unbounded confidence in the political development of the working class and in the new role which the bearers of the socialist program will play in its midst. Now more than ever we regard its acceleration as the activity to which all others is subordinated and to which all others must

(Next Week: Part III)

GREETINGS from the Oberlin Compartmentalists

Greetings to the Independent Socialist League! May the workers rally to its banner for the cause of workingclass emancipation. A Boston Comrade C. D. J.

(Continued from page 1)

substitute for regular union business. They are tired of seeing a dead horse beaten while so much that should be done is not accomplished or even attempted.

The first sign of organized opposition was a leaflet issued to the members one week after the National Council announced its position. It was signed by Vice-President Jack Lawrenson, by David Drummond, New York agent, and by a majority of the elected Port of New York officials. It was well received.

At the membership meeting the resolution, which received the tremendous vote of approval reaffirmed the membership's support of the fundamental rights granted in the union constitution, opposed any change in them, and then stated:

"Whereas the resolution and proposed amendments

"1. Provide for expulsion of members, without trial, because of their political belief and affiliation; and open the way for expulsions of members because of their race, creed, color nationality or religion;

"2. Deprive all members of our demcratic rights as Americans, trade unionists and human beings, to freedom of thought, speech and organization;

"3. Set up an NMU Taft-Hartley Act, forcing every member to sign a 'loyalty' affidavit placing dictatorial power in the hands of the officials;

"4. Empower officials to brand as 'subversive' any member who disagrees with them, and to deprive that member of his book, job and shipping rights; "Whereas the rank and file fought

and defeated the Communist Party machine because they violated our constitution and tried to establish a dictatorship of officials over the membership:

"We remain opposed to any attempt to undermine our democratic constitution and to set up any other machine dictatorship of officials over the membership, no matter who those officials may be:

"We are unalterably against giving any official the power, as these amendments and resolution do, to yank our union books and take away our jobs and shipping rights, because we disagree with that official, or criticize him, on beefs, union policies, politics, religion or any other matter. Now therefore he it

"Resolved: That we reject and condemn the Council's anti-democratic resolution and proposed amendments; and further be it

solved: That we urge all mem bers to: Defend our democratic liberties and shipping rights! Defeat thought control and machine control! Vote NO against the constitutional amendments!"

The resolution also called for its publication in the NMU "Pilot" and its presentation to all NMU ports and ships for concurrence.

### DISCUSSION A MODEL

The discussion that followed the reading of the above was one of the finest and most democratic this writer has ever witnessed. The chairman, Charlie Keith, insisted on alternating opposing speakers. Jeering and interruptions were not permitted by the chair, even though they were directed at speakers against the resolution which Keith signed.

Curran himself was not present as he had sailed for Israel the day before as a representative of the CIO to that state. But his views were read by Jack Lawrenson, who opposes Curran on this question.

The opposition organized by the most advanced elements within the NMU to fight back on this question has already had an electrifying effect on the ranks. The growth of a new bureaucratic machine was felt and seen by almost everyone. But there had been an attitude of hopelessness and helplessness toward this development. The reactionary tidal wave was about to engulf the NMU.

This development has changed the scene. A defeat to the right-wing leadership in the coming referendum will call for the next act: the formation of a militant anti-Stalinist left wing.

Writings and Speeches of Eugene V. Debs Introduction by Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr. (486 pp.) Reduced from \$4.00 to \$2.25

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