## It's a Free-for-All In N. Y. Politics Now

By WILLIAM BARTON

NEW YORK, June 20-With Mayor O'Dwyer's refusal to run for re-election definite as at this moment, municipal politics in the City of New York is getting to look like the scramble for a successor to Joe Louis.

Democrats and Republicans are expected to select their candidates for office later this month; the leaders of the Fusion-reform movement will probably support the Republican

The Liberal Party is awaiting the decisions of the other parties before it takes any action. The Stalinist-controlled American Labor Party will undoubtedly run its own slate.

The race is so wide open that the New York Post is running a mail-in straw vote among two dozen potential candidates plus possible write-ins. The New York Daily News is planning a house-to-house canvass.

The campaign is not only of interest to those looking for an "exciting battle" in their newspaper stories. The nation's largest city is also one of its key political centers. The basic ingredients of American politics at any particular time are here vividly crystallized, often in extreme form. What happens in the next few months in the "big town" is important for developments throughout the country in the near future.

SOME BACKGROUND

The recent history of New York City politics is an important part of

vote on the Ober "anti-subversive"

law in the November, 1950, elections

is practically assured since 12,949 sig-

natures to a petition for a referen-

dum have now been delivered to the

office of the secretary of state. More

still will be turned in before the

deadline on June 30, although the

state constitution requires only 10,000

Meanwhile a ruling is pending on

two court suits-one challenging the

constitutionality of the law and the

other asking for a stay of enforce-

ment of the law pending the outcome

of a referendum vote. Judge Sherbow,

who presided at the hearing on the

two cases, brought by a citizens com-

mittee and by the Communist Party,

stated that he would "not be able to

give a ruling for some time because

of the pressure of other trial work."

is delaying the enforcement of the

section of the law which would sup-

press "subversive" organizations (al-

though the loyalty oath part of the

law is already being put into effect)

in order to learn the outcome of the

federal trial against the heads of the

While all this has been going on,

Maryland labor in general has been

hiding its head. Both the state and

city CIO councils voted down mo-

tions to conduct a petition campaign

for the referendum. The city CIO

council explained its stand in a tele-

gram to Philip Murray which was a

Communist Party.

There is speculation that the state

signatures for a referendum.

for-all around the mayoralty post. Fiorello H. La Guardia, former maverick Republican congressman, swept into office in 1933 as a Fusion candidate after a long stretch of domination by Tammany (New York County Democratic Party machine) -a reign which had been broken only by a one-term "reform" administration but which finally cracked as a result of depression - evoked discontent given life by the Seabury investigation and Jimmy Walker's res-

Equally significant was the break within the Democratic ranks in that election. The Tammany Manhattan group had its organizational candidates. The Brooklyn and Bronx groups, representing the most rapidly growing parts of the city and enjoying a close tie-up with the Roosevelt administration, ran their own candidates, who received the second highest vote. Since then, playing upon their close identification with the New Deal administration, the Brooklyn-Bronx wing of the Democratic Party has been dominant in the city.

But La Guardia's strong hold upon the popular vote was an anomaly. Whereas no other "reform" administration had been able to succeed Itself, he and his colleagues were three times elected. His closeness to the Democrats around the White House was almost as great as that of Democratic Boss Flynn of the

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The sense of what they said was

that since people in general do not

seem to be concerned over the issue,

and since some people are conducting

a petition for a referendum, and other

people are opposed to it, they have

decided not to take any action. It's

a sad day when the CIO council in

a city the size of Baltimore comes

out publicly and admits that it has

The AFL, at its recent Marylar

and District of Columbia convention,

also evaded the issue. After some

careful political behind - the - scenes

preparation, a resolution was adopted

without any discussion to go on rec-

ord against the Ober law. Then a

committee was set up which is sup-

nosed to "watch" the enforcement of

Now that a referendum on the

Ober law is virtually assured, labor

is faced with another question: Will

it continue to hide in its programless

shell of fear, or will it campaign to

rally the state labor vote against the

There is one bright spot in the pic-

ture. The executive board of the Bal-

timore Teachers Union, Local 340 of

the American Federation of Teachers,

has voted unanimously to carry out

an educational campaign to get its

members to vote against the bill. This

courageous stand might have the ef-

fect of stimulating other local unions

to start similar action, particularly if

they manage to carry their message

the law-in short, do nothing.

WHAT WILL LABOR DO NOW?

no mind or program of its own.

Maryland's Infamous Ober Law Will

Go to Referendum Vote of People

#### "New International" Carries First Report on Ukraine's Anti-Stalin Underground!

The current issue of The New International, leading Marxist monthly, just off the press, carries as its lead article a report on the fighting underground movement in the Russian Ukraine, which is the first detailed account to appear in any English-language periodical.

This issue of the NI is dated April, having been delayed by technical difficulties. The next issue, to be published later this month, will be the

# Big 4 End Talks with Score of Near-Zero

France Is Losing

War on Viet-Nam

(Based on the Bulletin of the Viet-

French imperialism is losing its

war in Indo-China to suppress the

In recent months and on all sec-

tors, Viet-Nam troops have been

multiplying annihilating attacks

against French strongholds and am-

bushes against vital communication

lines. The Viet-Namese have been

penetrating deeply into the zones oc-

cupied by their French enemy and

their activities there have been con-

Strategic initiative has passed

over to the side of the troops defend-

ing their nation's independence from

the French grab; this has been par-

ticularly true in the northeast and

northwest sectors, and more recently

in Laokay-Hagiang, where tens of

been liberated. In 1948 French

strongholds annihilated numbered

229, and now the rest are under

Knockout blows have been deliv-

ered by the Viet-Namese against

main railroads and central axes of

land communication. In the course of

these operations, entire armored con-

voys have been wiped out, each cost-

ing the colonial oppressors over 300

(Continued on page 4)

All this has seriously affected the

heavy pressure.

SOLDIERS DESERTING

killed and wounded.

thousands of square kilometers have

stantly growing in intensity.

nam American Friendship Assn.)

Viet-Nam Republic.

Auto Workers Face Their Convention—

## Is UAW Still the Vanguard?

By BEN HALL

"Unity in the leadership, solidarity in the ranks"-"Make the UAW the vanguard of America, the architect of the future."

With these inspiring slogans of two years ago, Walter Reuther rallied the delegates to the 1947 convention of the United Automobile Workers Union, won a second term as president of the union, smashed the Addes-Thomas-Stalinist bloc, and gained virtually unchallenged control of the apparatus. The road was cleared for the Reuther tendency. The old opposition, its irresponsibility further revealed in the next two years, went into complete and utter disintegration.

As the delegates assemble in Milwaukee for the opening of the 1949 convention on July 10, they will ponder this question:

"Is the UAW today, as it always has in the past, pointing the way

for the whole labor movement and for all the common people? Is it fulfilling the role of the "vanguard of America"?

#### THEY DID IT THEN

It was the UAW which won the first major victories through the sitin strikes and opened the way for the speedy rise of the CIO. It was the UAW which repulsed the first attempts, by Homer Martin, to bureaucratize the new militant union. It was the Rank and File Caucus in the UAW which led the fight against the no-strike pledge.

It was the UAW which led the first post-war strikes and in the course of the battle with General Motors raised the slogan: "Wage increases without price increases." It was the UAW which showed how to carry on a progressive struggle against the anti-labor Communist Party and how to wipe out its influence without succumbing to conserv-

It was the UAW, in the Chrysler strike of 1948, which broke the back of the employers' resistance and led the way toward another round of wage increases to meet the cost of

And just because it has served the interests of the working class so admirably in the past, we expect all the more in the future. in other local union papers besides

The labor movement must take a new step forward, a step at least as significant in the social life of the country as the formation of the CIO. It must form a new political party, an Independent Labor Party without ties to the two old capitalist parties, the Democrats and Republicans. And here too, the UAW must take

The labor movement cannot move the old political policy of the CIO and AFL, a policy which relies upon the election of so-called liberals from the two old parties, is bankrupt. The

events of the last years have proved it over and over again.

In the 1944 elections, the unions won what was hailed as a "great victory." But how quickly it evaporated!

The new Congress smashed price controls. Truman became president and anti-strike injunctions fell from his hands like confetti in celebration of the great victory.

As the 1948 elections approached, it seemed as though the labor leadership had learned something. Truman was denounced in vigorous terms by a long roster of big rumor names. Hints and threats: if you don't watch out we will form a new party. The International executive board of the UAW passed an encouraging resolution favoring a "new political realignment" in the United States.

#### **NEW ILLUSIONS**

But these facts were forgotten too quickly. The labor leadership heard a new love song from the Democratic Party. Truman, the big strikebreaker, became Truman, the great Fair Dealer. New promises-new hopes-new illusions. The UAW resolution on political action was dumped into Reuther's private wastebasket. Straying lambs returned to the Democratic fold and heaven sent its reward in another "great victory" observed in the 1948 presidential campaign.

But the political wind of eight months of congressional debate has blown by, not to mention the breezes wafted out of the chambers of innumerable investigations and hearings. The most acute onlooker can detect little transformation of the social climate. Not a single important measure has been won in Washington by labor. The hated Taft-Hartley Law, which and merciless extinction, is still on the books and hangs over labor's head in the 1949 contract negotiations.

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One newspaper put it this way, a week before the conference ended: "There had been no progress on Agenda Points No. 1 (Germany) and No. 2 (Berlin). Discussion of Point No. 3 (a German peace treaty) seemed futile as long as there was no progress on Nos. 1 and 2. There were no indications of when—if at all—the Big Four would get around to Point No. 4 (Austria)."

After we bring Point No. 4 up to date (the Big Four issued a communiqué on the bases for an Austrian peace treaty-part of which was virtually repudiated at the last moment by Vishinsky on orders from Moscow), that sad summary about expresses it. The Big Four conference ended, as it had so many times before.

in complete deadlock. Both sides would rather have disunity in Germany than see it united under the influence of the other.

Why then did they bother to talk at all?

Point No. 1 on Germany was merely window dressing. Nobody expected unity—this was the point on which the last Big Four conference in 1947 fell apart. The Russian delegates made a desultory proposal for the re-establishment of the four-power Allied Control Commission which would give it a finger in the pie of administering Western Germany. The Western powers politely declined and diffidently proposed a compromise-a federation of the new West German state and the Eastern zone, with extensive autonomy for West Germany over its own affairs-that is, combination without unity. And the Johnny-come-lately proposal of Vyshinsky, at the end of the third week, for withdrawal of troops and a united Germany was greeted with even more cynical

apathy. But some progress was expected on Point 2-the related problems of Berlin and the economic counterblockade of the Eastern zone. There was no doubt that the economic condition of the Russian zone was serious and that it would be well worth the Russians' while to seek some

#### means of alleviating it. JOCKEYING FOR ADVANTAGE

Economically West Germany is the strongest part of the country: even without the Russian zone, it is already rivaling France as the leading industrial power of continental Europe west of Russia. Industrial output of West Germany is about 80 per cent of pre-war levels, over all. The West German Ruhr is the industrial powerhouse of the conti-

In the Russian zone, industrial recovery lags far behind. Production of industry in the Russian area climbed only 26 per cent in 1948 over the previous year. In Western Germany output rose 50 per cent. Recently, in an effort to bolster the foundering Eastern zone economy, Russia has had to change her post-war policy of stripping German plants that could be used in Russia and has sent steel mills and factories back into the Eastern zone.

For Western Germany too, it is important to revive trade with the East. The achievement of economic balance in Western Europe depends upon the restoration of trade with Eastern Europe. And Western Germany, above all, cannot recover full economic health without a large volume of trade with the Russian zone (Continued on page 3)

# Left-Wing Group in Chicago Splits Socialist Party, YPSL

The majority of the Chicago membership of the Young People's Socialist League, together with a sizable number of Socialist Party militants in the same city, resigned from the YPSL and SP within the past few weeks. These comrades are generally associated with the "Libertarian" group in the YPSL and with the left wing of Norman Thomas' pale, diluted sector of the American socialist movement.

In leaving, they issued a document which presents a devastating analysis of the policies and practices of the SP-policies and practices which show how false it is for the SP to claim for itself the heritage of Eugene V. Debs. This document is entitled: "Why We Are Leaving the Socialist Party," and it is signed by the "Chicago Left Wing."

After pointing out that the SP is on its way to being "part of the left wing of the Democratic Party," it goes on to discuss "Plan for America," a pamphlet recently issued by the SP presenting its domestic policy. This pamphlet is a "men of good will" appeal for a "welfare state" slightly more advanced than, but projected along the same lines as, Truman's Fair Deal program. Such a "lib-lab" program has, of course, little in common with socialism and contains dangerous tendencies toward statism and toward restriction of democracy besides.

This domestic policy of the SP is related to, and in a sense flows from, its foreign policy. As the document

"Today the Socialist Party gives critical support to the foreign policy of the United States. In place of the slogan 'against both war camps' which should be the slogan of the hour, the Socialist Party chooses to

the United States and its allies. While correctly pointing out the crimes of the Stalinist oppressors throughout the world, its criticism of the Western powers has quieted down to an almost inaudible squeak. Every diplomatic victory of the United States is hailed as a triumph of democracy over the forces of evil.'

#### BLAST SP WAR LINE

The document then traces the SP's lack of opposition to World War II, its support of the UN and the Marshall Plan and its lukewarm opposition to conscription and military ap-

support the capitalist government of propriations. The SP's approach to conscription is not put on an anti-war basis but rather on the question of military necessity; while military appropriations are discussed in terms of waste and efficiency. And lastly we have the spectacle of the SP embracing the North Atlantic Pact, Thomas has his reservations of course but the role that these play is pointedly illuminated in the Left Wing docu-

> "As is his custom, Norman Thomas is much concerned lest the foreign policy of the capitalists be without

(Continued on page 4)

## ISL Fund Drive Closes: Largest Sum Ever Collected in Eight-Week Push

By YETTA BARSH Fund Drive Director

described.

JUNE 20-The sum of \$12,733.78 represents the total received by us at the official ending of our Fund Drive. This is fully 91 per cent of the \$14,000 goal which we set for ourselves in a two-month period. The reason for our real satisfaction with the results can easily be communicated to our readers when the whole picture is

First: the sum of \$12,733.78 is the largest sum of money we have ever raised in an eight-week period. It should also be remembered that this record is made at a time when our friends and comrades find their financial difficulties increasing.

Second: we are not extending the final report on our Fund Drive by even a week.

Third: 12 of the units in the drive

oversubscribed their respective quotas. The total oversubscription at this date amounts to \$1,175,60. Another seven units reached the 100 per cent mark (a number of these indicated that additional sums will be sent in during the next week or so). Three additional units are over the 91 per cent mark and are also among those which expected to oversubscribe.

#### 98 PER CENT MARK POSSIBLE

Fourth: we have postive assurances that an additional \$1,027 will be contributed toward the Fund Drive in the next week or two. Detroit, which is only a few dollars short of its quota, writes that it will hit the \$700 mark (\$100 above its quota) within that period. Word reaches us from Los Angeles that an additional \$45 has already been collected and that it guarantees the \$175 beyond that

necessary for its quota. Chicago will be sending in the \$82 or more to meet or oversubscribe its substantial \$1500 quota. New York City is now in the process of collecting an additional \$300 for the drive. Newark and Seattle each expect to remit another \$10. And during that

period the National Office expects to

be able to report another \$300.

In addition, other units, such as Reading and Youngstown, expect to be able to increase their totals and we have not yet heard the last word from the Socialist Youth League. All of this assures us of at least \$1,027, which will raise our total collections to \$13,760.78-98 per cent.

Fifth: for the first time we have had the active and energetic support of our Socialist Youth League in a Fund Drive. Not only did our young

(Continued on page 2)

### Philly Branch Calls for Democracy In NAACP Setup, Hits Govt. Purges

By JOSEPH WILLIAMS

masterpiece of evasion.

PHILADELPHIA, June 14 .- The membership of the Philadelphia Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People voted tonight to submit resolutions to the national conference calling for democratization of the association, rescinding of President Truman's loyalty order, and a great expansion of civil rights.

The meeting also elected the Rev. E. T. Lewis, Legislative Committee chairlady to the presidency, and Goldy Watson and attorney Theodore Spaulding as its delegates to the conference to be held in Los Angeles in July.

The Resolution on civil rights asked for a federal FEPC and for the outlawing of lynching and the poll tax. In the resolution condemning the loyalty program, special attention was called to the Negro postal employees in the Philadelphia area who have been victimized by these purges.

The resolution calling for demo-

ally asked that the constitution be changed so that the national conference become the final authority, instead of that being the executive

nominating committee at the annual conference be entirely an elected one by the outgoing board. A greater measure of autonomy was asked for the local branches.

cratization of the NAACP nation- 5,000 by the closing date of June 26.

ASK FOR NAACP DEMOCRACY

It was further proposed that the instead of being partially appointed

At present, branches do not have authority to act on "national" cases. For example, the Philadelphia branch was recently advised by the national office that it could not take a position on the case of the firing of the "legless veteran," James Kutcher, even though the national organization expressed itself as willing to cooperate with veteran organizations on the case.

The local branch also announced that its current membership campaign has netted almost 3,000 members to date. The goal is at least

is that its fight against the CP in the past has been on a red-baiting basis. This is particularly true of Attalah, head of the district organiza-

Some progressive CIO shop stew-

ards who are in favor of an all-out

fight against the Ober law say that

the trouble with the CIO leadership tion of steel, which dominates the Maryland CIO Now that the main attack of the Ober law (on the surface) is directed against the CP, the CIO leadership is confused by its own red-baiting past and by the fact that it never did oppose the CP on the basis of a bona-fide program of union democracy and militancy.

Some of the CIO militants realize that if the CIO is to campaign against the Ober law, they will have to rely on those who see the similarity of the bureaucratic methods of both the CP in the unions and the present Murray bureaucracy, because the only kind of campaign by labor against the Ober law that would make sense would be one that would clearly say that labor must fight any encroachment on civil liberties and labor democracy, whether it comes from the bigbusiness - controlled state legislature or from the CP within the unions.

#### DEFAULT TO CP

Naturally the Communist Party has been active in fighting the law, since it is the CP's own neck which is at stake. It is generally recognized that the committee set up to conduct the petition campaign for the referendum was initiated and pushed by the Communist Party, although its sponsoring list was eventually well-padded with names of liberals and some non-CP labor people. The citizens' committee that brought the suit of unconstitutionality was apparently also CP-inspired. The Stalinists took the field and the non-CP labor movement let them have it by default.

The large number of people who readily signed the referendum petition indicates that the Baltimore CIO is wrong when it says that people in general are not concerned over the issue. The experience of those who canvassed for signatures showed that large numbers of working-class people were glad to sign the petition.

It would seem that the Maryland labor movement has a good chance of getting strong support for a campaign against the Ober law which would defend the necessity of democracy for the labor movement, expose the phony character of the CP pretense at being defenders of democracy, and put itself in the forefront of the fight to stop the gradual encroachment on the free expression of ideas in the labor movement which is being fostered by the big-business interests of the country in their campaign to prepare labor for a submissive role in the coming Third World

# UAW Still the Vanguard? - WAR Still the Vanguard? - WAR Still the Vanguard?

(Continued from page 1)

But the powers of rationalization and sophistry seem unlimited. It is not our own political policy which is at fault, explain the wise leaders of the PAC-no, no, not at all. The trouble is, they tell us, we did not carry out our policy vigorously enough. If only we had been able to elect another dozen or so senators, another score of representatives, then the Republican-Dixiecrat coalition would have been defeated.

#### DISAPPOINTMENT TO DISAPPOINTMENT

Only one little fact is left out. The so-called friends of labor, the liberals, the Fair Dealers themselves, have been moving steadily to the right. Give them a majority in Congress in another "great victory" of 1950 and we will see the new majority fall apart. From "victory to victory" equals "disappointment to disappointment."

It is already difficult to draw clear line between the standpoint of the Taftlevites and the Fair Dealers. One liberal Democrat, Paul Douglas of Illinois, proposes to substitute a provision for government seizure of plants to replace the T-H injunction law. But if the workers in the seized

plants refuse to return to work, then, he says, injunctions will be in order. Senator Elbert Thomas, reporting

on his administration-supported bill, explained that while it did not mention injunctions or plant seizure, it was deliberately written in such a way as to permit the president to ask for both.

The fight in Congress on the Taft Law has become a three-ring circus. When the clowns go home, whatever they do, nothing has been changed. For the ringmaster, Harry Truman himself, told the press many weeks ago that laws providing for injunctions against strikes which "imperil the national welfare" (any big mass strike) are not necessary, since (he says) the president always has had and will have such power and can exert it without any act of Congress.

Thus, under the Fair Deal administration, after two great "victories," fifteen years after the passage of the Wagner Act, the novel discovery is made by a "liberal" that the power of strikebreaking is the unquestioned right of the president.

#### FIGURE IT OUT

What has happened and why? Each UAW delegate will have to mull it over in his mind and realize that if this problem is not brought

has failed.

You don't have to be a diagramless-puzzle fan to figure it out. When they thought they were losing their grip on the workers, the "liberals" became liberal to woo them back. But when labor's "friends" tied the unions back into the Democratic sack, their interest in the problems of labor dulled. They remembered how "complicated" political problems are and

how "necessary" it is to compromise. Let the labor movement break away from the two old parties and the political and social climate will change with dizzying speed, regardless of the outcome of the elections in any given year. What is the prospect of the UAW's taking the lead in fighting for a new political line within the CIO?

Unfortunately the Reuther leadership, now firmly in the saddle, has failed up to now to carry out its promise to blaze a new political trail. Even Emil Mazey, who has been known as a leading labor party advocate, has been silent, at best.

a single strand in the conservative cobwen which has been settling over the head of Phil Murray. He is noted now, not as the man who carries forward the UAW tradition of taking the lead in changing CIO policy, but as a foremost apologist for continuing

Reuther is now unwilling to disturb

the old line in a hard and fast manner. He is the author of the plan to ex-

before the convention, the convention pel every CIO union which refuses to go along with official policy, thus initiating a bureaucratic innovation in the traditional concept of the American labor movement of international autonomy. Although he proposes this new line as a blow at the Communist Party, its most important effect will be a blow at the most progressive trends in the CIO, especially a blow at the UAW, and it will make it difficult to carry the CIO forward.

#### IT CAN BE THE VANGUARD

Reuther vacillated during the recent rank-and-file Ford strike. He was afraid to scare off labor's fainthearted friends in Washington. He made a hurried trip to see Murray to make sure that the latter's congenital conservatism was not ruffled. And finally, he reached a rotten compromise after promising to turn the Ford strike into the big strike

The 1949 convention of the UAW will mark a new step forward if . . . if those militants who put Reuther into the presidency begin to press him forward; if they take the initiative in shoving aside those conservative elements within the Reuther camp who believe that the time is ripe for turning the UAW into a "normal" housebroken union; if they begin at this convention to take those steps required really to make the UAW tomorrow "the vanguard of America."

#### Coal Industry Slump Forces Miners to Strike in Fight for Job Security of coal above ground is the greatest mon, with other mines working two. By GERRY McDERMOTT

The one-week "stabilization" strike by almost half a million of the nation's coalminers is the second round in this year's battle by the diggers for a decent living. The recent week of inactivity follows an earlier memorial stoppage in March, also for

Both of these stoppages have been strikes "on the installment plan." They are down payments on the bitter battle shaping up for this summer. To understand why the United Mine Workers' high command has resorted to this unusual strategy, it is necessary to outline conditions in the coal industry.

The situation can be summed up in one word-slump. A number of factors are responsible. For one thing, the large export market has dropped away as European mines resume normal production. Further, the postwar period has seen a spurt of mechanization in the mines, with machines replacing men.

In addition, technological improvements in the burning of coal have cut the demand. Finally, the trend from coal to oil has taken business away from the industry, especially on the railroads, which have been

converting to Diesel at a fast clip. All of this means that the supply in the nation's history. The principal motive for the recent stoppages is to cut into this stockpile. Lewis apparently feels that short stoppages now will be better than a longer stoppage this summer. A real showdown fight this summer will cause a long enough strike as it is.

#### DEFENSIVE BATTLE AHEAD

Every indication is that the UMW this year will be fighting a defensive battle, although gains are by no means ruled out. As a matter of fact, the best defense in the class struggle is to go forward—a lesson Walter Reuther might well ponder on.

The greatest danger is to the health and welfare fund. At present, the fund is being paid out faster than new money comes in. This is possible only because unspent money piled up in the fund during the long battle last year over the size of retirement pensions. The condition cannot continue for long. With tonnage produced declining each year, the royalties must be increased.

The second defensive battle the minors must fight is one in defense of their very jobs. Partial unemployment has already been plaguing the industry for some months. In many mines. one day's work a week is not uncom-

three, or four days a week.

Already, the smart big operators are using the threat of short weeks to speed up production and play off one mine against another within a corporation. "The most productive mine gets the most days work"that is the club being used to drive men to faster and faster back-breaking and life-taking work.

#### THE OBJECTIVES

The answer to this must be a shortened work week without a cut in pay—with a raise, in fact, if that can be wrung from the operators. A raise is very much in order for, although the hourly wage of miners is high compared to other industries, the miner gets much less than a full year's work. But the short work week, in order to assure a job for all miners, is the prime objective.

With so much coal above ground, the operators are in a position really to sit out a long strike if they choose to-in fact, a long stoppage would actually help their sales and price level. They may, however, choose to give in, say, on a royalty increase if the union will forego the short work week. Then, after partial unemployment has weakened the union for another year, they would close in to try for the kill.

## ISL Fund Drive - -

(Continued from page 1) comrades voluntarily increase their quota from \$300 to \$350, but they proceeded to oversubscribe that latter figure to the tune of \$208.25, almost 160 per cent. Our SYL comrades head the list of Fund Drive results and once more demonstrate their lovalty and devotion to our League.

We pledge ourselves to fulfill our

obligations to them in like manner.

Sixth: of the units which are far below their quotas, we know the following: Our Los Angeles branch explains that it has been unable to raise its quota within the allotted time; however, its Fund Drive director reports that another \$45 has already been collected, that the pledges secured by the branch total \$465, that it is confident that other friends and comrades will contribute the \$35 necessary to meet its \$500 quota and that it will keep plugging until it meets its quota. Our Akron comrades report unexpected financial difficulties which have prevented them from raising the full \$200, but they too will be able to exceed their

present total. Unexpected difficulties have made it impossible for our Baltimore comrades to meet the \$200 quota which they at first were so confident they could meet: however, they too report that additional sums will be forthcoming.

Our last week's receipts total \$1,-362.45 and include the following: New York \$468.70, Seattle \$220, San Francisco \$101, Buffalo \$75, Detroit \$75, Chicago \$69, Cleveland \$60, Pittsburgh \$50, West Virginia \$32, Newark \$31.75, Philadelphia \$29, Los Angeles \$24, Akron \$8, Manhattan SYL \$10, Brooklyn SYL \$7, Bronx SYL \$2.

We especially commend our Socialist Youth League and our St. Louis, San Francisco, Philadelphia, Cleveland and New York branches for their wonderful results, as well as all of the other branches which met or came so close to meeting their quotas.

We thank all of our comrades and friends for their hard work, cooperation and sacrifice, and promise to do our part in building the ISL and improming our LABOR ACTION and The New International.

	Branch	Quota	Received	Per Cent
	Manhattan SYL	\$50	\$116	231
	Chicago SYL	100	200	200
	Bronx SYL		94	188
	St. Louis	50	81	162
	Brooklyn SYL		69	139
	Buffalo		1200	120
	Buffalo SYL		. 60	120
	San Francisco		920	116
	Philadelphia		456	114
	Cleveland		454	114
	New York City		4471	112
,	Pittsburgh	50	55	110
	Indiana	100	100	100
	Oregon	50	50	100
	Reading	100	100	100
	Seattle	300	300	100
	Streator	25	25	100
	West Virginia	125	125	100
,	Youngstown	100	100	100
	Detroit	600	594	99
	Chicago	1500	1419	95
	Newark	300	283	94
	National Office	1500	905	60
	Los Angeles	500	278	56
	Akron	200	108	54
	Boston	100	52	52
	Berkeley SYL	50	25	50
	Labor Action and New Int'l	150	. 68	45
	Connecticut	50	10	20
	Baltimore	200	16	8
	Miscellaneous			
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	AND THE PERSON NAMED IN CO., INC., I		2.2	

By Max Shachtman

## Under the Banner Of Marxism

A Reply to Ernest Erber

Because of the unexpected size of this Workers Party Bulletin (116 pp.), the charge per copy is 50 cents. All orders already received at the previously announced rate will be honored.

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# Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor.

#### **Buckmaster and Bass**

To the Editor:

In a recent issue in an article on the ouster of Buckmaster as president of the Rubber Workers Union (CIO) by the general executive board, your local Akron correspondent covered the factual side of the story extremely well. Articles like this are what make LABOR ACTION such an indispensable paper for every union militant everywhere, to keep him informed of what's really happening.

Yet it seems to me that the story tended to give an unnecessary emphasis at THIS time to two aspects of the struggle of factional forces in the URWA which are not wholly germane to the real heart of the matter at stake.

(1) "This is essentially a fight for power, spoils and offices thereof."

I disagree. The body of the article makes it quite clear that as against the conservative, anti-democratic and red-baiting of the Buckmaster-Watson clique, the Bass - Eagle - Lloyd group in the union stands for greater democracy in union affairs and a more militant struggle against the employers. It is true that this is a very elementary platform for a union group to stand on today when the union movement, led by the Murrays and Buckmasters, is right up against the end of its blind alley.

Yet, nevertheless, this group DOES take a more correct stand: it is this platform, weak as it is, that for many years has permitted the Bass grouping not only to exist but to grow. It would seem far better to me that this fact be seen in its correct perspective: this is "essentially" what is behind the current fight. The question of power and offices is posed in all serious factional struggles; that is their common denominator. What differentiates them is the relative merit of the program of the contending forces. The fact that the Bass caucus contains elements which are not above Buckmasterism is in this particular struggle not the decisive question and should, reportorially at least, be kept on a different plane from what is "essential."

(2) "The healthiest thing that could come out of the struggle would be the formation of a rank - and - file third group, based on a written and proclaimed program of democratically chosen political and economic aims."

My only objection to this proposal is the "third group" perspective at this time. How is such a group to come into existence? It so happens that the struggle in the union now is wholly absorbed by the two groups, has been for some time, and there is no immediate prospect for a third group in terms of leading personnel and supporters.

In such circumstances, well-founded union experience has always dictated against the formation, or even the advocacy in any immediate sense, of a separate "third group" until the possibilities of the "progressives" in the struggle have been fully determined. Particularly would this be true of a group like the Bass caucus. which has a living democratic tradition that should and might well be strengthened and made more conscious in its course against Buck-

master The problem of the "growing bureaucratic and tough school" that exists in the Bass group could well be handled by indicating to the genuine militant and progressive people therein that their democratic and fighting cause is being definitely harmed by the antics of any such right-wing elements. True, this would take a good deal of patient explanation and hard work; but in any case, would not the same apply if an unrealizable "third group" perspective were entirely prematurely undertaken?

As I see it, the main problem now in addition to the always-present need for socialist politicalization of the rank and file is to broaden and deepen the struggle for democracy and against Buckmasterism within fore you write. the framework that lies at hand. Fraternally

R. L. F. June 11, 1949

The exceptions here taken to the article by our Akron correspondent have been very widespread. The consensus, as we gather it, seems in fact to be in agreement with Comrade R. L. F. We're looking for further discussion from Akron before any additional editorial comment.-Ed.

#### Farrell Objects on Wright Interview

In your issue of May 30, 1949, you carried the translation of an interview with Richard Wright in Paris. Concerning "The International Day of Resistance to War and Dictatorship," Richard Wright was quoted as having made the following statement: "When the American delegates arrived in Paris, they expected that, like themselves, I would take a resolutely in favor of the Marshall Plan and the Atlantic Pact. I immediately told them that my position on these questions-and on many others—was not the same as

The American delegates to this conference, alluded to in this statement, were Sidney Hook and myself. Sidney Hook had no political discussions with Richard Wright in Paris. In consequence, this statement refers to myself.

Richard Wright has either been misquoted, or else he was inaccurate and misleading. Prior to the conference. I had one meeting with Richard Wright. He raised the question of his participation in the conference. He was dissatisfied, and his dissatisfaction had developed before Hook and I had arrived in Paris. It was an expression of an inner RDR difference. After he told me how he felt, I advised him to do nothing at all concerning the conference. I said that I did not think that a man should act against his convictions in any manner, and that if he had any doubts concerning the purposes of the organization of the conference, it would be best for him to play no role at all. In our discussion, differences concerning the Marshall Plan and the Atlantic Pact played no role. In fact, we scarcely discussed them at all. Far from attempting to put any kind of pressure on Richard Wright, I advised him, in the most gentle possible manner. to act on his convictions, and not to participate in any kind of a venture if he felt he would violate his convictions. In the light of this fact, it is clear why I describe his statement as inaccurate and misleading.

I might add that out of ignorance, you have pointed up the significance of this statement in the wrong way. Contrary to what you stated in LABOR ACTION, Richard Wright did not attend the conference; he boycotted it. The statement which he, Jean-Paul Sartre and Merleau-Ponty signed was sent to the conference. It was written before Sidney Hook and I delivered our speeches, and neither Sartre, Merleau-Ponty nor Wright knew what Hook and I were going to say. Their opposition was against David Rousset and the other leaders of RDR, more than it was against Hook and myself, because of the fact that they did not know what position Hook and I were

In the light of the above, I'd like

gave to Richard Wright in Paris. My advice to you is this-in the future, it will not hurt you, your paper, nor your principles, if you will find out what you are writing about be-Sincerely yours, James T. FARRELL

I think is as good as the advice I

(1) We're glad to publish Far-

rell's comment on the statement by Richard Wright as given in the Salomon interview. LABOR AC-TION has always been, and will remain, anxious to correct any misstatement of fact, including unimportant ones. (2) Why Wright's incidental remark (to which he gave no emphasis

at all in his interview) is considered so "misleading" by Farrell is a little hard for us to see at first blush, however, and it is perhaps slightly harder to see why Farrell should be quite as upset as the tone of his letter indicates. Perhaps Wright was mistaken when he thought the "American delegates" "expected" him to be for the Marshall Plan and the Pact-in any case we fail to grasp the "significance" which Farrell apparently sees. And to this diately told them" what his position was (he is NOT quoted in the interview as stating that there was any discussion on the questions).

(3) Nor was there the slightest imputation by Wright that Farrell or any one else was "attempting to put any kind of pressure" (political pressure, we assume) on him. But we are compelled to add that in our opinion it would have been perfectly legitimate and natural for Farrell and Hook to have done just thatwhat on earth would be wrong with doing so? We make this comment only because we gather from Farrell's letter that he feels he is defending himself from an accusation of having done something wrong,

(4) In the detailed report on the RDR conference which appeared in our issue of May 23, the precise facts about Wright's relationship to the conference are given. He and Sartre "withdrew their active participation in the conference" "later modified their attitude and sent a written declaration to the conference expressing their views." In the editorial note in the following issue preceding the interview with Wright, it was incorrectly stated that Wright "attended" the conference. Farrell's correction on the secand is enthusiastically welcomed.

That burning question being settled, we still have to be enlightened with regard to the "significance" of this error. Frankly we can't think of any. For whatever relevance it may have to the question, it may be useful to add that the opposition of many in France to the arrangements made by the leaders of the RDR was at least in part motivated by the fact that such people as Farrell. Hook and Mrs. Roosevelt, supporters of American imperialism's policies, had been invited to speak as the representatives of the American Left.

(5) The advice which Farrell says he gave Wright—"to do nothing at all concerning the conference"—is one which we are glad Wright did not accept, at least to the extent of submitting his excellent written declaration against both war camps. On the basis of the foregoing, the reader may perhaps agree with us that Farrell's rather nasty last sentence is the peevish sort of thing which one writes in a pique and then discreetly crosses out before mailing-

#### Policy on Indonesia

To the Editor:

An agreement has been reached between the Dutch imperialists and the Indonesian Republican government by which the republic has, in effect, accepted a position of autonomy within the empire. This has been the Dutch formula for its own creature in the East Indies: the so-called United States of Indonesia. The decisive terms of the new relationship have been left to future negotiations under conditions of Dutch ascendancy. This also was part of the original Dutch plan. Whatever decisions are reached, an independent and free Indonesia will not emerge from these discussions.

The leadership of the governmental parties resumes the disastrous course of compromise on an issue which cannot be compromised-national freedom. This leadership has failed again. It is necessary to forge a new leadership for the republic. Only those who loyally fought in the republican war can make the claim for such a new popular leadership. That was the meaning of the policy I advocated in LABOR ACTION.

who up till saw the main enemy to be the republican leadership, in a letter two weeks ago in LABOR ACTION writes: "once, despite its compromises and capitulations [this leadership], represented in a distorted way the need and aspirations of the people. . . ."

to give advice to your editor, which I think is as good as the advice I thought.—Ed.

But the conclusions drawn by R. I think is as good as the advice I thought.—Ed. (1) The government of compromisers is not a "Dutch puppet regime"

any more than Nehru is a British puppet because he has just reunited India with the empire. (2) It is irresponsible to give "po-

litical and material support to the Proletarian Party headed by Tanmalaka." Not enough information is available for such a serious commitment. We do know that the republicans assassinated Tanmalaka in April, probably as part of their preparation for capitulation. Just what policy Tanmalaka pursued during the war or what the PP is doing now under the new conditions. I have not been able to ascertain. It is therefore impossible to say that we are in agree-

(3) For example, does the PP hold to the crucial proposal of Magnus for continuing the war against the Dutch and extending it to war against the Republic? For my part I reject the identification of this miserably compromised republic with the foreign imperialists and cannot advocate a common program against both. The former remains an arena of struggle.

The central question for socialists in Asia is not even seen by Magnus as a problem: the reconstruction of a revolutionary leadership and party. Our relations to social-democracy in Indonesia, as in India, should be determined by this overriding consider-

Jack BRAD

### Philly UE Local Enforces a 5-Day Week by Picketing Over Weekends

PHILADELPHIA, June 19.-Local 107 United Electrical Workers (CIO) for the second successive week forced the Westinghouse Corporation to cease all production in its South Philadelphia Works on Saturdays and Sundays.

The union's purpose in forcing the company into 5-day operations is to make Westinghouse honor a previous agreement on sharing the work in lieu of layoff.

On June 17 the management agreed in effect to the union's demands but asked that certain departments and groups be exempted from the "no-overtime rule." The union membership is cautious about granting exceptions and at yesterday's meeting of the local they voted to permit the rule to be made more elastic but withheld decision on any exceptions until the next membership meeting in July.

There is little doubt that the company and the union will soon reach agreement on the effective elimination of overtime on the basis that "no check [production] worker will be permitted to work more than 150 hours [for salary, this is 160 hours] in any consecutive four-week period." This rule will apply only to the Steam Division and not to the Aviation Gas Turbine Division where the work force is still being expanded. However, differences will continue on the companys proposal that groups such as the Engineers and Service in the Steam Division also be exempt.

#### PICKET LINE SOLID

Moreover the management is still reluctant to go along with the union's proposal that, where the work load cannot maintain a 5-day week, the work week be cut to 4 days before any layoffs take place. This "share-the-work" plan was operating succeessfully for many weeks in some sections, until two weeks ago, The sabotage of the 4-day plan and the elimination of the overtime agreement by Westinghouse is responsible for the weekend picketing

by the union. There have been no incidents on the picket line. Management has made no effort to call in any production workers for weekend work. The only employees admitted by the union are a few plant guards, firemen, and power-plant men. The union membership remains overwhelmingly in favor of the union proposals to share the work and prevent layoffs.

> Al Findley and Esther announce the birth of JOSHUA June 17, 1949

By LEON TROTSKY Marxism in the United **States** 

35 Cents . . . Order from Independent Socialist Press 4 Court Square Long Island City 1, N. Y.

## Editorials **Palaver** in Paris

The Paris Conference has drawn to its inevitable end, with virtually nothing accomplished. The upshot of the conference seems to be that the Big Four agreed to keep contact with one another, not to go to war (not yet, at any rate!), and to continue their cold-war wrestling match on all fronts and in all fields.

The essence of the agreement over Germany seems to mean that each power will continue along its present course, Germany will remain divided and occupied as heretofore, and efforts will be made to resume trade between East and West. A meager and miserable result after more than three weeks

How many more such futile and dreary conferences will there be? That is not difficult to predict-up until the moment when war can no longer be avoided and such conferences serve no purpose whatever. At the moment, they still serve the purpose of maintaining formal contact between the rival powers, and therefore they will go on.

But it is clearer than ever before that no serious or basic settlement can take place at such gatherings. After more than four years have passed since the end of the war, not even peace treaties have been concluded with the principle belligerents, Germany and Japan.

They cannot conclude such treaties (and are tangled on even the comparatively minor one with Austria), because the differences among them have now swelled to such a point that their desire to impose harsh penalties upon their former enemies has been more than overshadowed by their desire to obtain mutually favorable terms for the purpose of their future war plans. They are at odds on the question of peace even with their ex-enemies; they cannot make peace with themselves. Thus, they cannot bring peace to our

There are few people who retain any illusions about either the intentions of the Big Powers or their ability to accomplish anything. Those few who still remain have probably now had their last hopes dashed as they watched the disgusting spectacle unfolding in Paris. Everything remains essentially as before, although the tension of a few months ago has been relieved to some extent. But the last word has not yet been said.

While it is true that no one has illusions about the capacity of these spokesmen for their respective imperialist nations, it still remains true that most people do not yet see any possible way by which peace can actually be brought about. To loose one's illusions is one thing; to gain insight into what must be done is another and more difficult problem. Yet this process has begun, and it has been the German people and the German working class who have shown the way...

In the end, the Paris Conference will be remembered not for the miserable failure of the Achesons, Bevins, Vyshinskys and Schumans, but for the fact that it was at this time that the German people resumed their political and social life and began the task of regaining their national freedom. The struggle of the Berlin railroad workers will be recalled long after the speeches of Vyshinsky and the quips of Acheson.

#### Tanmalaka

#### INDONESIA REPUBLICANS MURDER SOCIALIST LEADER

By JACK BRAD

A dispatch in the New York Times on June 7 reported the death of Tanmalaka on Java, his native island in Indonesia. The news had a New Delhi dateline. However, confirmation of the fact has been obtained from the Indonesian Republic office in New

Tanmalaka was one of the great revolutionary figures of Asia. He was known throughout the Malay-speaking world, which includes the Indies, Malaya and Singapore, as an indefatigable anti-imperialist. He was an enormously popular figure. For 25 years his name was linked with the great upsurge of the people which has dominated Asiatic politics.

One of the founders of the Communist movement in Indonesia, he broke with Stalinism as early as 1928. In both 1922 and 1926 he led general-strike movements which, in the latter year, culminated in open rebellion against the Dutch regime. He had particular strength among the Javanese peasantry.

After the 1926 revolt was suppressed by a terrible white terror, Tanmalaka escaped to Malaya, where he reorganized the party from exile. Unlike Musi and Alimin, the other CP leaders, he refused to go to Moscow to become a Comintern agent. He was instrumental in breaking the Stalinist hold on the Viet-Namese CP and helped form the Trotskyist party in that country, which until the war was larger and more important than the CP. He also organized a Malayan revolutionary group. Tanmalaka became associated with the movement for a Fourth International. Hounded by imperialist and Stalinist political police, he neither surrendered the fight nor escaped to safer pastures.

At the war's end he returned to Java, where he organized an independent revolutionary communist organization. Unlike the Stalinists, he refused to join the coalition government of the newly founded republic, insisting on class independence. He be-

> Read LABOR ACTION and THE NEW INTERNATIONAL

came involved in what appears to have been an adventurist policy which resulted in the kidnapping of the Social-Democrat, Sjahrir, at that time prime minister.

Jailed for this abortive coup, he denied complicity and was released just before the launching of the Stalinist war on the republic in late 1948. He defended the republic against the CP putsch. At the same time he fought for a militant, uncompromising war on the Dutch to save the republic and for a revolutionary social policy, particularly the elimination of feudalism on the countryside, so as to rally the people to the republic's sup-

#### POLITICAL MURDER

When the Dutch launched their war gainst the republic in Decen 1948, Tanmalaka organized independent guerrilla forces against the Dutch. This is now confirmed. He did not participate with the regular government forces.

The Times dispatch cited the probable cause for his murder by the republic as the old charge of the kidnapping of Sjahrir. This is unlikely. What seems more probable is that his immediate policy in the war then raging and his uncompromising position against the Dutch were the reasons for his political murder. Tanmalaka had raised the banner of no negotiations with the imperialists while a single Dutch soldier remained on Indonesian soil. Republican leaders were meanwhile involved in conversations and deals preluding their surrender policy of several weeks ago. Tanmalaka's adventurism provided

the necessary excuse. The facts of Tanmalaka's life are shrouded in darkness. Fighting in the colonial underground on the slimmest of resources, hiding from the police, without even a press for long periods and without contact for over a decade with socialists from other countries, almost nothing is available even on his politics except fragments.

Regardless of his policy toward the republic and the Indonesian Social-Democracy, about which too little is known for adequate judgment, Tanmalaka was one of the greatest figures produced by the colonial revolutionary movement. His death is a terrible blow to socialism as well as to Indonesian freedom. It removes a powerful obstacle to further compromise by the republican leaders.

#### LABOR ACTION

A Paper in the Interest of Socialism

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# Cardinal Spellman Abuses Cry For Full Religious Freedom

By PHILIP COBEN

Cardinal ("I-am-proud-to-be-called-a-strikebreaker") Spellman has made the news again.

In a political speech addressed to a large Catholic rally on June 19, truly amazing in many respects, the U. S. head of the church hierarchy filled the air with accusations of "bigotry," "un-American," "anti-Catholic," and "religious prejudice." These are no light accusations especially since it is no secret that anti-Catholic prejudice and discrimination DOES exist in this country.

But what is the act of bigotry which Spellman was denouncing? It was simply the introduction of a bill in Congress for federal aid to education which would give such aid only to the government's own public schools and not to private institutions such as the Catholic Church's parochial schools!

The views of the sponsor-Rep. Barden of North Carolina-on religious toleration are unknown to us and do not interest us in this connection. Nor is Spellman reported to have made any point in this regard. The question is solely: Does the Catholic Church have the right to DEMAND, as its "democratic" due, and in the name of religious tolerance, that the government help support its schools?

#### SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE AT STAKE

In our opinion, the cardinal's speech was an arrogant attack on the principle of separation of church and state, and an arrogant demand which everyone-Catholic and non-Catholic alike-should indignantly

Spellman argued that the Catholic parochial schools exist "by right and not by privilege or toleration," and tied his demand up with "the inalienable rights of the human person to freedom of religion and freedom of education." We find it hard to believe that the cardinal's theological training has failed to develop his sense of logic to the point where he can see that his demand has nothing to do with these great principles.

The Catholic Church does have the right to run its own schools, just as LABOR ACTION has the right to set up a school of its own. Catholics or groups of any other faith have the right to propagandize for their religious beliefs just as (for example) socialists have the right to educate for theirs. Any attack or limitation upon this right would be bigotry or undemocratic. But since when does the inalienable democratic right to operate a propaganda or educational institution entail the right to

The Catholic parochial schools already enjoy privileges which, in our opinion, are no inalienable part of religious toleration (tax-exemption, for example), but any attempt on their part further to dip their fingers into the public treasury ought to be repulsed by public opinion in no uncertain terms. The same would apply if any other other religious body-Protestant, Jewish, Buddhist or Jehovah's Witnesses-attempted to claim

#### THIS IS COMPLETE RELIGIOUS FREEDOM!

Especially at this time when the Stalinist tyranny in Eastern Europe is persecuting the Catholic Church for its own totalitarian purposes, Independent Socialists ought to be clear on what freedom to worship means, and on what separation of church and state means. (The latter, incidentally, is NOT complete in the U.S., contrary to oft-repeated statements, as we have indi-

As against the despotic barbarism behind the Iron Curtain, we insist that every religious institution without exception and without discrimination has a full and unhampered right to hold its religious services and to publish, speak and teach its doctrines. As against the pretensions of the church hierarchies, we insist that this right is no more and no less than that of any other edu-

And that, we add, is the only form of COMPLETE freedom of religion-which includes the right to be an atheist, for example, without being penalized for it by having to pay taxes to support religious propaganda!

# demand that the people as a whole pay for it?

#### such extra-religious privilege for itself.

cational institution or medium to do likewise.

# **Quit Parley**

(Continued from page 1) and with the countries of Eastern Europe which have always been the source of supplies and the market of industrial Germany.

In short, it would have seemed that there was a basis for the talks and for some sort of mutual agreement on trade. Yet there was no agreement.

Here, too, the fundamental cleavage between the great powers dividing Europe operated. If trade was to be revived, the question was: to whose advantage?

Russia was not interested in reviving East-West trade if this were to lead only to a dependence of the East on Western economy and the possible danger of Titoism in more economically independent satellite countries. The West was not interested in reviving trade if the advantages were to be siphoned off for Russian production and the net result was to tie Germany more closely to Eastern economy. Neither side could get the guarantees they

#### WHY NEAR-COMPLETE FAILURE?

But if the economic concessions that it was generally expected Russia would make were not forthcoming, why did Russia insist on the conference?

Here the answers are by no means clear-cut. They probably lie, in the last analysis, in the delineation of Russia's world strategy for the coming period-which has not yet been

POUM Conference Marks Advances—

and possible answers are suggested by the course of the conference.

First, the Russians may have been anxious to spread the responsibility for the continuation of the cold war. The political and economic difficulties in which Russia has found herself in Germany (defeat in the plebiscite, the growing political opposition, the railway strike) make it important for her to show that she it seeking some solution for the German problem.

Second, the conference was called in time to take some of the glamor off the Bonn Constitution and the establishment of a Western German state. Not too enthusiastically supported by the Western German political parties, the Bonn Constitution became even less gilt-edged once the Germans got a whiff of the "unity" lure in the air.

The Russians could and did make capital of the economic absurdity of a Western German economy. They pointed out, what was true-that France, England and the Benelux countries would not let West Gernany compete in their markets and said in effect, "These Western countries have taken your pre-war markets and are determined to prevent you from entering them again. Why else do they continue to dismantle your industry? If you want huge, undeveloped markets for your capital goods-look to the East."

In spite of political opposition to Russia, these are arguments not without effect, particularly in the

made clear either. Several partial face of the riots which met British dismantling operations in the Ruhr at the time of the conference and the well-known disagreements as to the future of German economy between America (which wishes to achieve some sort of self-sufficiency for Germany) and her French and British

#### CAN'T LOOK TO CONQUERORS

Third, Russia may have wanted to see exactly what kind of amelioration of the cold war will be possible. Neither side is ready for a showdown in Germany. Russia now has the problem of integrating vast new Asian territories into her political and economic system of satellites. Butter and arms must be spread thinner over larger slices of terri-

The coming conference on Austria will tell more of what is to be expected. No substantial concessions from Russia seem to be in the offing, but a careful jockeying for positions between the Big Two.

And Germany? That it cannot look to its conquerors for a solution of its problems, which are the problems of Europe itself — this is clearer than ever. Not all the phony federal Bonn Constitutions, not all the phony puppet Eastern People's Councils, not all the Bible-quoting foreign ministers' conferences in the world will put the cracked heart of Europe together again. But the German people can do it through their independent struggle for unity.

#### Section of Student Membership Dissatisfied Based on their broad support, the national officers proceed on a very

particular program of action. The statement "the world must be united politically" is interpreted by the officers to mean: the world must be united by pressure on the president and Congress to confer with Russia. Moscow and Washington, plus their respective satellites, should then agree upon a convention of the UN to make out of that body a "world government.

YOUTH and

Student CORNER

By JULIUS FALK, National Secretary SYL

Prominent among campus political organizations today are various

groups of students working for "world federation." On campus they are

represented by the Student Division of United World Federalists, and to a

These organizations have mushroomed in the last two years, but their

The ability of UWF to attract arch-conservatives, liberals of the ADA

growth has tapered off somewhat recently. UWF has a chapter on almost

every large campus in the country, and it is quite conspicuous where it is

stripe, Stalinoids, religious anarchists, and social-democrats is explained

by the broad and meaningless policy of the organization. On one campus

a statement by a UWF chapter on world peace received endorsement or

some favorable action by the Young Republicans, Students for Democratic

Action, Young Progressives, an independent socialist group, and a pacifist

club. Due to the effort of the industrialists and corporation lawyers in the

national office, the UWF has gained "respectability" and now has little

the coming war between the two imperialist camps and fed up with the

traditional diplomatic methods. They are yet unable to see the real causes of war, but reach out for any "new" solution that appears. Most of them

have no difficulty supporting the World Federalist statement of policy, and

hence are willing to pay their dues in the hope that they are helping to

Most of these supporters of "world federation" are liberals fearful of

World Federalism in the Student Field

esser degree by World Republic.

active. It claims 9,000 members on 250 campuses.

difficulty drawing support from the middle class.

A section of the student membership is dissatisfied with this narrow approach. Some of them agree with the World Republic group in pressuring for a "People's Convention" of elected delegates from all countries, and others have a revolutionary approach.

These groups have been quite vocal at conventions and other official gatherings of UWF, but have been unable to inform the general membership of their existence. This bureaucratic censorship is due to the monopoly of communication by the national administration in its official

It is with these members that socialists should be concerned. Most of the students, although generally dissatisfied with various aspects of the UWF program have not evolved a crystallized position of their own. There are some who believe that effective political action can only be accomplished by the working class and definitely oppose the effort toward a world govnment resulting from a deal between Wall Street and Stalin.

Socialists should be alert for these members as they are usually very close to a third-camp position. Individual members and possibly entire chapters can be brought closer to a socialist position on the war if we can provide the answer to their search for peace.

#### Social-Democratic Sad Sacks on Campus

A meeting under the auspices of the Social-Democratic Federation was held on June 9 in Berkeley just off the University of California campus. The occasion was the 25th anniversary of the New Leader, Social-Democratic weekly publication.

There were two speakers for the evening. The first was Robert A. Gordon, an economics professor from the University of California, who is also an important figure in the local ADA and a member of its national executive board. His speech was primarily a frank admission of the lack of drive, selflessness and initiative in the liberal movement today.

The second speaker, Prof. Brandt from Stanford University, who is a former official in the German farm cooperative movement, gave a ridiculous performance. He first praised the New Leader and then gave a right-wing Christian-Democratic line, finally ending up by speaking in favor of a constitutional monarchy for Germany!

All in all, the meeting provided pretty sad specimens of people who fawn on American imperialism and call themselves socialists. In the question period which followed the speeches, the discussion revolved around the slogans "Neither Washington Nor Moscow" and "A Labor Party Now" which were raised by individuals in the audience.

#### Socialist Youth League Tour

Julius Falk, national secretary of the SYL, is leaving New York for a six-week tour of SYL units and youth fractions beginning Wednesday, June 23. Meetings and discussions have been arranged for Comrade Falk in the following localities: Baltimore, West Virginia, St. Louis, Chicago, Detroit and Buffalo.

In addition, the Philadelphia branch of the ISL has tentatively arranged for a week's visit by Falk in September.

#### SYL Educational Bulletin

Another SYL Educational Bulletin is coming out this week. In it are articles on the British Labor Government, an analysis and review of the City College strike, a reprint of an article by the Ukrainian socialist youth organization, and others. The magazine sells for 15 cents and the bundle order rate for ten or more copies is 10 cents per copy. Orders for the bulletin should be addressed to Socialist Youth

League, 114 West 14th Street, New York 11, N. Y.

## Underground Confab Meets in Spain

During the first half of May, the fifth conference of the underground organization of the POHM took place somewhere in Spain, The POUM-Workers Party of Marxist Unity-is Spain's leading Marxist organization, prominent in the fight against Franco during the Spanish Civil War and one of the leading revolutionary socialist forces in Europe.-Ed.1

Overcoming the innumerable difficulties of the moment, the POUM comrades inside Spain have once again succeeded in bringing the party forces together in order to examine thoroughly the development of the Spanish political situation and to define the tasks facing revolutionary socialists.

Well prepared from the organizational as well as from the political point of view, the fifth conference went forward without any mishaps and with full success.

The Catalonian representation was the largest. Participating as well were delegates from Castille, Valencia, Aragon and the North. There were present, in addition to representatives of the party leadership, the comrades in charge of Socialist Solidarity, the relief organization for pri-

#### NO LETUP AGAINST FRANCO

The conference was opened by the secretary of the party committee inside Spain. Following this, the conference in a fraternal salute paid homage to all the militants held captive in various Spanish prisons for having fought against Franco's regime under the banner of the POUM.

inside Spain delivered a full report which summed up quite succinctly the work done by the Party since the fourth conference. He emphasized above all that the POUM, unlike other organizations, had not halted for a single instant its activity against the Franco tyranny. He underscored the fact that the material and political aid of the organization in exile had permitted the party inside the country to keep abreast of the political developments outside Spain and to grapple with the most pressing He reported on the publications is-

sued, on the part played by the party in the defeat of Franco's "municipal elections," on the relations maintained with the other workers' organizations, and on activity in the tradeunion sphere. After a brief discussion in which different delegates participated, the report of the committee was approved unanimously.

There followed a full examination of the political situation and the tasks of the party, both inside as well as outside Spain. The discussion revolved around the resolution approved by the party plenum in Paris on April 9 and 10 of this year and of a document presented by the party's executive committee.

Declaring itself in complete accord with the resolution of this Paris plenum, the conference approved it and insisted that "the party must remain faithful to the policy of the united front for the overthrow of Franco's regime as defined in the Toulous Congress of April 1948."

Having approved the political ori-A member of the party committee entation to be followed, the confer-

ence next examined the executive committee's document with respect to the tasks that must be carried out inside Spain. The discussion was very spirited. The document in question was approved after some modifications had been introduced.

#### APPROVE STRUGGLE PROGRAM The conference declared that in the

new phase the party must adapt itself to the following points: (1) Struggle against the totalitarian

tyranny in every sphere. (2) Denunciation of the "democratic farces" - municipal elections,

etc.-of the regime. (3) Action for the reconquest of real democratic liberties. (4) Defense of the demands put

forward by the laboring masses. (5) Denunciation of Franco's prowar policy, and struggle against war. (6) United front against Francoism. based on concrete problems, with all opposition organizations.

After the conclusion of the political discussion, a new leadership of the party inside Spain was elected. Then the conference approved a series of suggestions on the party's work in exile, and instructed the new leadership to transmit them to the executive committee.

Before disbanding, the delegates decided to send a message to all the revolutionary socialist organizations and in particular to those of England. the United States and France, urging them to intensify their activity against Francoism, and to support the struggle of the POUM in Spain.

(Translated from La Batalla by A. Ferrarra)

#### Books for Germany: Help Build Socialism!

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

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

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

#### The Chicago Socialist Youth League presents-

#### IRVING HOWE

co-author of the forthcoming book "The UAW and Walter Reuther," contributor to Partisan Review, Commentary, etc.

#### PORTRAIT OF THE STALINIST AS AN INTELLECTUAL

on

The lecture will be followed by a gala social food, drink, original entertainment

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CHICAGO

drive against "cosmopolitanism" is

directed against the Jews as a group?

O'Connor, as well as the open Stalin-

ists, implies that it is mere accident

that the culprits are Jews. But if it

is a mere arithmetical coincidence.

the coincidence is too great (49 out

of 50) to be swallowed by the non-

gullible. In the Stalinist mind, it is

the Jews who are associated with this

"crime" of cosmopolitanism. As far

back as the beginning of 1946, Pierre

Hervé, a prominent French Stalinist

natural that as a result of their sit-

uation the Jews are more susceptible

The striking features of the anti-

Jewish campaign take it out of the

class of the usual run-of-the-mill

purge and stamp it as a centrally di-

rected campaign of thinly veiled anti-

Semitism: the fact that virtually all

the accused are Jews, that their Jew-

ish origin is stressed, that they are

treated as a unified conspiracy, that

clothed in hysterical language.

the attacks are wide in scope and

O'Connor's disingenuous attempt to

make out that only anti-ZIONISM is

involved runs up against the facts

which he ignores: the use of the

slanderous stereotyped expressions

applied to the Jews which have been

part and parcel of Eastern European

anti-Semitic terminology - "traders,"

"shopkeepers," "passportless wander-

ers." "rootless," "landless," etc. The

charge of "cosmonolitanism" was used

as a pretext for anti-Semitic measures

in Czarist Russia. On all this, O'Con-

There is an interesting case of the

use of parenthetical real names in

the Russian press which again shows

that these are not for the purpose of

nor is prudently silent.

identification.

to cosmopolitanism."

FAMILIAR STEREOTYPES

journalist, wrote in an article: "It is

#### Concluding Part of a Reply to Stalinist Apologetics on Russian Anti-Jewish Drive—

## CP Defense on Anti-Semitism Flops

(Continued from last week)

By AL FINDLEY

O'Connor does make two valid points which are freely granted. One is on the aforementioned boner by. Harry Schwartz about Gide and Zhid in a Krokodil cartoon. Taking advantage of this one thing which he can actually prove, he goes on to deny the obvious fact that the "cosmopolitans" portrayed in Krokodil cartoons have accentuated hooked noses. This is set off against the portrayal of good defenders of Russian movies, given a short nose and blond hair. (The fact that the cartoonist himself is a Jew is in the tradition of Stalin-

The second valid point made by O'Connor is that anti-Zionism is not anti-Semitism. This is entirely true, but it is beside the point, since the evidence points not only to anti-Zionism (nothing new in Russia) but to anti-Semitism in addition.

The statements of Nahum Goldman, conservative Zionist, to the contrary are not very convincing. Goldman is attempting to save as much as possible of the declining pro-Russian position in Israel. He is afraid that exposure of Russian anti-Semitism will enrage the Russians and lead to the cutting off of ALL emigration to Israel from the satellite countries. These are the reasons for the cringing attitude of the official Zionist organizations.

JEWS SINGLED OUT

By WILLIAM BARTON

For a long time, a much advertised

technique for creating "harmony"

hetween workers and bosses in oppo-

sition to trade-union organization has

"profit - sharing" systems. With the

growth of large - scale trade - union-

ism, the schemes have again been

offered, this time with the purpose

workers "shares" in the company in-

stead of a certain amount of their

pay. To some workers this has seemed

an easy, reasonable substitute. The

April issue of the United Automobile

Workers (CIO) monthly magazine

'Ammunition" contains a review of

these plans which, if widely read,

would call a halt to the possible in-

roads such schemes may have unfor-

Beginning with a restatement of

the tremendous increase in business

profits during the past few years, the

article points out that profit-sharing

employers generally state that work-

ers will receive increased income only

if profits go up even further. Contin-

uation of present levels of super-prof-

its will mean no change. If business

orders fall off, one profit-sharing com-

"Democrats" at Work

Federation (Canada's powerful labor

party) got some free advice from its

country's capitalists on how the At-

lantic Pact means the defense of de-

The British Columbian section of

the CCF voted 54-46 in convention

assembled to reject the official party

policy of supporting the A-Pact. This

fact is interesting enough, and equally

But thereupon the Financial Post,

official organ of the Canadian monop-

oly interests, started viewing with

alarm. In a piece headed "Who Bosses

the CCF?" this capitalist paladin of

democracy demanded that the CCF

leadership crack down on its dissi-

It concluded by warning: "The

wild-eyed agitators whom Mr. Cold-

well is unable to kick out of his par-

mocracy.

welcome.

dent section.

The Cooperative Commonwealth

tunately had in labor ranks.

Whatever the precise form of oper-

of avoiding "conflicts" over wages.

What about the facts of increasing Russian elimination of Jews? Is it true or not that the creeping discrimination that began with the Stalinist consolidation in the late '30s has now become a galloping disease? Is it true that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Foreign Trade have become almost completely "Judenrein" - the Nazi term for the "purification" of Jews from their

IS it true that NO Jews are accepted for diplomatic training? Is it true that military and engineering schools accepted only a limited QUO-TA of Jews? Is it true that whereas until last year Jews constituted the overwhelming majority of movie directors, art critics, literary critics and dramatic critics, a survey of the current Russian press shows that less than one out of ten current appointees is Jewish?

To all this O'Connor answers: Is Russia anti-Semitic because it refuses to force Jews into certain occupations? This is the worst kind of a transparent dodge. What is actually happening is that Jews are being prevented from entering occupations of their own choice.

What about the charge that Jews in Russia are being forcibly denationalized? O'Connor in one breath denies assimilation of Jews in Russia, and in the next comes up with the brilliant argument: Is Russia anti-Semitic because it does not force Jews into ghettoes and segregated social life? He then goes on to say that the Jews of Russia are assimilating as a result of equal treatment.

But, alas, he here contradicts both the Stalinist line and the facts. The Stalinist line is that the Jews want to live separately in Birobidjan and that Yiddish culture is flourishing in Stalinland. The facts are that the striking feature of Jewish cultural life in Russia is not a gradual voluntary assimilation but forced denationalization by government ukase. If all nationalities were deprived of their cultural rights (as in Czechoslovakia) one could lay the development to reasons other than anti-Semi-

But when all minority cultures are encouraged and only the Jews deprived of their rights, the only conclusion is that here is bias of an anti-

'Profit-Sharing' Is a Speedup Plan

The Bolsheviks, in the revolutionary days of Russia under Lenin and Trotsky, encouraged and supported the development of secular Yiddish culture. This policy was not seen reversed even by the Stalin counterrevolution. As late as 1933, there were 135,000 students in Yiddish schools in the Ukraine, and 35,000 in White Russia. There were numerous Yiddish papers and publishing houses. Viddish organizations were active, including the foreign organization ORT.

In 1938 all this changed. All Jewish organizations were dissolved, the Yiddish press suppressed, and the publishing houses curtailed. An iron curtain fell on the Yiddish schools; and observers believe they were simply not reopened after vacations. Only

the theater escaped destruction. . During World War II, the Stalinists founded the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee to get help from world Jewry. Two papers, Einikeit and Der Shtimme, were started.

JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS NIXED

Today almost nothing exists. There are no Yiddish papers of ANY kind in Russia (with the possible exception of Birobidjan). Not a single Jewish organization, not a single Yiddish publishing house! The Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee has been dissolved, with many arrests among its leaders and members. Also arrested are all leading Yiddish writers, like Bergelson Nester etc.

Yiddish is now the only minority language in Russia that has NO time whatsoever on the radio. There are no Yiddish schools outside of a few in annexed territories (last heard of in 1946) and some in Birobidjan, Even the two theaters left are in great danger. A reporter in the Jewish Morning Journal (New York) for

June 1 says that the director of the Moscow Yiddish State Theater has been arrested and that the theater itself will soon be closed.

This is the case of Normano, a German - Jewish economist, now dead, who is accused of having influenced the thinking of three purged "rootless cosmopolitans," Russian - Jewish economists. The magazine Bolshevik refers to him as "Normano (Levine)." repeating the Nazi statement that Normano's real name was Levine. Nobody else ever knew him by that name or ever took the Nazi claim to heart.

ON THE MUDDY WATERS

On this matter of names, O'Connor makes explicit what Novick only implied: the claim that it is a common Russian practice. He cites the cases mentioned above with regard to the Stalin awards. We have already pointed out the probable reason for the exceptions. In any case, the decisive fact is this:

NEVER were any of those attacked referred to in public print by their Jewish names. Only when attacked cosmopolitanism - which is a "crime," and moreover a crime to which Jews are considered especially suspectible-only then are their Jewish names given and emphasized.

The Stalinist defense will not wash. Russian reaction, organized in the neo-barbarism of the Stalin regime, has embarked on the muddy waters of anti-Semitism, like its reactionary forebears of other stripes.

France Losing in War -

morale of the French soldiers and mercenaries, who are going over to the defenders' lines in increasing numbers with arms in hand.

Most important were the attacks of January 12 and 24 against the Danang - Thuathien railroad two others in February against the Saigon-Phanthiet communication lines. and an attack on the Tienven-Dinhlap road on April 3. In the course of the last attack 32 trucks were destroyed, 300 French and Africans killed and wounded, and a large stock of armaments seized.

The opinion that the French are losing their war of colonial oppression has also been expressed in the pages of Life magazine (March 3).

THE "DIRTY WAR"

Meanwhile this luckless imperialist raid is draining the pockets of the French people. On April 13, Franc Tireur, a leading Paris daily,

"It is apparent now that this dirty and tragic war has become the main obstacle in the way of our rehabilitation at home, the immediate cause which threatens to upset the promises

"M. Queuille has repeated with assurance: 'I said no more taxes.' But unfortunately, the 'dirty war' has bothered us. It was the Viet-Minh offensive in North Tonkin and the necessity of sending reinforcements of men and materials. It is now the enthronement of Bao Dai whom they intend to bring back to his states as an emperor [Bao Dai is the Indo-Chinese puppet of the French whom the latter have put forth as their candidate for ruler of the country-Ed.] All that costs more than merely some oratorical saliva or the price of a banquet at the Lutetia. Paul Ramadier has just presented the bill. 'I require,' he said, 'and at once, 30 billion for the reinforcements and for various operations, plus 20 billion for other petty expenditures concerning national defense; in short, 50 billion

WORKERS ARE PAYING

The magazine Ragards (March-April 1949) gives the following information:

"This hapless conflict is also a

bloody and ruinous adventure. The following figures quoted from reliable sources cannot be given without some feelings of sorrow:

"Thirty thousand young Frenchmen and at least a considerable number of Viet-Namese have already fallen in this hideous war.

"Every year 87,600,000 francs have been thus wasted, 200 million per month! A French worker does not earn, in one year, as much as a minute of what this atrocious conflict costs: 166.670 france.

"In a country which is itself covered with bruises and where reconstruction turns out to be long and difficult, what could they not do with these wasted billions?

"It is worth noticing that the government which is not afraid to squander 200 million francs a month, devotes only 250 million a year to the equipment of our primary schools and 50 million to the struggle against TB!"

The independent Paris newspaper Combat (on April 1) revealed that the French imperialists are banking on Washington's aid for their scalping operation in Indo-China.

## SP Left-Wing Group-

sufficient popular support and he is ready with unsolicited advice as to how such a catastrophe might be

A great deal of space is devoted to the question of democracy in the Socialist Party. The SP is a thoroughly bureaucratic organization. The party does not regularly issue a discussion organ and its conventions are run with an eye to minimizing political discussion. Its new constitution is undemocratic and the party has bureaucratically intervened in the affairs of the YPSL."

The weakest aspects of the document are those which put forward the group's program and discuss their organizational perspectives. Although their general political positions of "against both war camps" and "for independent working - class action" are correct, the question of a labor party as the next stage in the development of the American workers is nowhere mentioned. Their organizational perspective is for the leftwingers of the YPSL and SP to leave those organizations and form a new one of their own. They intend to propose this at the Libertarian Summer School which is now being held in

This Chicago SP split is related to a pamphlet which has just been published by the Socialist Education Committee. This is a small loose group in Chicago which has been in existence for some time and many of whose members are in the group that left the YPSL. The pamphlet is entitled "Against Both War Camps, A Program to Defeat War and Totalitarianism," by Victor Howard, who is a prominent member of both the SEC and the Chicago Left Wing.

THIRD-CAMP POLICY

In general, the pamphlet is an excellent polemic against the supporters of either Russian or American imperialism and a defense of the thirdcamp position. Howard discusses the

war: a large standing army, the stockpiling of atom bombs and other military materials, the draft, etc. These have their effect on the domestic scene in the form of a permanent war economy, repression of the labor movement and witch hunts.

He examines the machinery which Washington has set up in its preparations for the third imperialist world war, Marshall Plan, Atlantic Pact, etc., and shows how these are affecting the peoples of Europe in terms of lowering living standards, and through the subjection of Western Europe so that it fears a satellite relationship to the U.S.

He correctly points to the fact that capitalism and Stalinism feed upon each other. The French and Italian workers cannot be broken away from their support of Stalinism if capitalism is the alternative. Nor can Washington appeal to the Russian masses for a popular anti-Stalinist opposition. Only a socialist third-camp movement fighting for the needs and interests of the masses of the world can accomplish this task. Only a socialist America would aid the Russian people and the anti-Stalinist movements in Russia.

In arguing against the lesser-evil tradition, Howard defends Rosa Luxemburg's views on the "national question." His application of these views to the world of today is extremely sectarian. He condemns the concept that there can be any progressive bourgeois wars today and says that the only war which socialists can support is a war for the socialist revolution and colonial rebellion. One wonders, therefore, what position Howard had toward the war of the bourgeois republic in the Spanish Civil War and toward the nationalresistance movements of Europe during the recent war. Or: what if the Polish people today (even under petty-bourgeois leadership but fighting under democratic and national-independence slogans) wage a war against

preparations of the U.S. for the next their Russian (and Polish) Stalinist oppressors? Would Howard remain indifferent?

SECTARIAN APPROACH

The pamphlet contains a section on various attitudes toward the war. After briefly discussing the Stalinists and the pro-American left, it analyzes the pacifist and anarchist groups and points out the fallacies in the solutions which these groups offer. The fact that so much space is spent refuting the approach of "saving of society behind its back" is significant; it shows the political orbit to which the Libertarian tendency in the YPSL is attached. The pamphlet refrains from any mention of the fact that there is a socialist third-camp movement in America - the Independent Socialist League and the Socialist Youth League.

The program which Howard offers is, by and large, a good one. Its attitude toward the labor movement and for a "working-class political party" is correct, generally. There are, however, some dubious statements about a general strike against war if it seems imminent and in relation to the question of refusing to be drafted into the army.

The crystallization of the "third camp" elements within the SP and YPSL and their departure from these moribund organizations is a healthy sign. Unfortunately, however, they seem determined to take a sectarian organizational approach in terms of their negative attitude toward the ISL and the SYL and their organizational exclusiveness.

It is hard to imagine that even themselves as another tiny sect. While there may well be important political differences at present between them and the Independent Socialists of the ISL and SYL, these are surely less important than the fact of agreement on the basic questions of the war. As in the past, the Independent Socialist movement extends a hand of friendship and welcome to them.

# Free-for-All in New York

(Continued from page 1

Bronx. In the 1941 campaign he actually vied with his rival, the present incumbent, in affirming his loyalty to New Dealism.

Much of his continued popularity stemmed from his ability to hold the support of the ever-growing labor movement. In 1936, the American Labor Party had been organized, with a few of the largest New York unions as its base, to support Roosevelt's candidacy. The following year it supported the Fusion ticket and got some seven hundred thousand votes under its banner.

Most unions not connected with the ALP likewise supported La Guardia. His labor support may have gone down by 1941, but enough was left to give him a narrow victory over O'Dwyer, the rising gangbuster from Brooklyn.

HOW O'DWYER CAME IN

By 1945 the ALP had been completely taken over by the Stalinists, and their opposition wing split to form the Liberal Party. La Guardia was no longer a candidate. O'Dwyer had, presumably, a "good labor record" and enough of an identification with the national administration. The ALP supported him. The Republicans nominated a dissident Democrat who was, for some reason, supported by the Liberal Party. The old "non-partisan" reform-Fusion group presented a ticket with two leading members of the old administration, neither of whom had La Guardia's specific labor appeal. O'Dwyer won with a majority over both rivals combined.

His administration has seen several developments. He has definitely become associated in the popular mind with the "liberal wing" of the Demo-

cratic Party. It is thus that he has been able to maintain his pro-labor coloration despite his abolition of the five-cent fare. He has been carrying on a campaign, with alternating successes and failures, to "reform" the Manhattan Tammany Democratic organization-i.e., to put in control men local to his own branch of the New York party.

Rumors of scandals in the administration have been frequent, particularly fostered by La Guardia's former secretary, Clendenin Ryan, but nothing in any degree sensational has yet been brought to light. A group of leading Manhattan Democrats have set up their unofficial rival to Tammany, the "Fair Deal Democrats," whose name should be self-explanatory.

LABOR FLEXES ITS MUSCLES More significant have been the two

recent campaigns in which the established machines went down to bitter defeat. In Flynn's Bronx bailiwick, ALP candidate Leo Isacson last year defeated three rivals in a Congressional by-election. (The record contains few Flynn candidates who had ever previously come close to defeat.) Recently, in Manhattan's 20th Congressional District, Franklin D. Roosevelt Jr. also defeated three candidates. On his side were one Manhattan district leader of the Democratic Party, the Fair Deal Democrats, the Liberal Party, Americans for Democratic Action and several unions. Against him were the traditional powerful political forces of the city plus the Stalinists and their ALP.

The lesson of all this was the overwhelming importance of getting labor support. Roosevelt Jr. won because of the bell-ringing of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union (AFL), the Amalgamated ers, Office Workers-will, of course, Clothing Workers and Transport Workers Unions (CIO), several other labor bodies and their political affiliates in the ADA. The choice of candidates this time is directly geared toward securing or, if necessary, neutralizing the allegiance of those and similar groups.

Thus far, the leaders of the New York labor movement have shown a genuine recognition of their political strength, but not too many signs of independence. One of the leaders of the short-lived movement to "draft" O'Dwyer was CIO Transport Workers Union President Michael Quill, formerly a leading Stalinist union spokesman for many years, whose break with the Kremlin may be partially ascribed to his close association with the mayor. Quill apparently spoke only for himself; his own union and the rest of the non-Stalinist New York CIO have said only that they want to be "heard" in the selection of any candidates by any of the major

RUN A LABOR MAN! The AFL leadership, much of which has been for a long time directly linked with Tammany through the influence of Longshoremen President Joe Ryan, is now likewise "watching and waiting" and demanding some consultation in nominations. Despite their control of an independent political apparatus in the Liberal Party, the leaders of the ILGWU and the Millinery Union (AFL) are actually not much different in their approach. They are prepared either to support the Democratic or Republican candidate if he is one of the many potentials on the list whom they like. The CIO unions controlled by the Stalin-

campaign for the ALP candidate.

It can be seen that in the politics of this city, the trade-union leadership is not tied to any political party, unlike the state of affairs on the national scene. It feels itself, therefore, in a good bargaining position. Even if this were true, its returns from the deal will probably not be too great.

If the Democrats nominate someone like Supreme Court Justice Ferdinand Pecora, most of them will probably be satisfied. If the Democrats nominate someone not to their liking and the Republican-Fusionists nominate Newbold Morris, the union leaders will be content with that choice. They do not as yet conceive

of the possibility of going it alone. What should amaze one is the fact that they do not seriously relate local politics to the important problems they face in Congress. They do not plan in terms of using this very important campaign to help right some of the wrongs engineered by the political party colleagues of both Pecora and Morris in the 81st Congress. Their slight confidence in their political power is still that of the child who has just begun to walk but is afraid to take more than a few steps from his mother's side.

The situation certainly cries aloud for the labor movement, more than ever a kingpin in the city's politics, to run its own LABOR CANDIDATE. The ready apparatus for that campaign exists in the Liberal Party, as was pointed out in these columns last week. It has an obligation and an opportunity. Members of the labor movement and its supporters outside ought to be insisting that the labor movement plan an independent camists-Electrical Workers, Fur Work- paign in this municipal election.

#### ty today could easily become the real bosses of the CCF tomorrow." You see what democracy means to these Atlantic partners: Use your majority today to kick out the minority, lest democracy turn around and kick you in the pants.

So: squelch the minority because they're against the A-Pact, and that's bad because the A-Pact is necessary to defend . . . democracy!

> ORDER YOUR BOOKS THROUGH LABOR ACTION BOOK SERVICE 4 Court Square

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by lowering prices, thus definitely ensuring that there will be no income increase for workers regardless of general economic conditions.

UAW Tells Why Men Oppose Plan to Make Them Feel Like Capitalists

A STEP BACKWARD

been one of the many varieties of As a result, these plans have not been very popular with the workers of plants that have adopted them. The National Industrial Conference Board recently reported that of 161 plans studied, 60 per cent have been ation, the formula is one of giving terminated. Of these, one-third were dropped because of worker opposition. Another 14 per cent ended because there was "too little profit to pass out, or there was no profit at

> In terms of what the labor movement is aiming for, "profit-sharing is a step backward," says "Ammunition," quite correctly. The workers' demands are for more security on the job, including some security of income. Profit-sharing only intensifies already existent insecurities. Takehome pay becomes dependent upon a variety of factors over which workers have no influence or control. They may be further driven to work harder and faster to achieve the desired goal of greater company profits to secure a little more for themselves, but business experts, in their candid moments, agree that they can do little

As Burnham Finney, editor of the American Machinists Journal, wrote in the September 1946 issue of his magazine: "The average worker in the average manufacturing plant is far removed from having any direct bearing on profits. He realizes that, no matter how diligently he may work, he will not affect appreciably the company's profits at the end of

SPEEDUP GIMMICK

Even if there is some increase in profits, there is no necessary increase in worker income. One company with a long-time profit-sharing scheme, the Jewel Tea Company, has admitted that under its plan "Cost is incurred only after a reasonable rate has been earned for the stockholders and after additional profits have been produced." In other words, the regular stockholders get two juicy slices before the "sharing" workers get their little tidbit.

In an article in the December 1947 issue of the magazine, The Management Record, a president of a steel company baldly confessed: "I share the conviction that profits created through the profit-sharing plan outweigh the amount that is distributed to employees."

Making these plans even more distasteful for workers are the numerous intricacies of company accounting that must be dug through to prevent further cheating. One leather-tanning company worked a gimmick by borrowing money from another company which it owned: a good share of the profits thus went to the renavment of that loan to itself instead of to the

In another case, the "sharing" com-

pany avoided its payments by showpany will compete against the other ing a small book profit through the device of paying high prices for material to another company which it owned. In a third reported setup, one man owned both the company and the bank that supplied it with capital: company profits were officially drained off to pay off the bank loans.

The UAW's demand to look at the books of General Motors was met with a horrified refusal. Even if unions could examine the company records, even if their deliberate complications were easily understood, such tricks would show how profitsharing plans could become an even worse fraud without too much employer effort.

One thing they do accomplish: despite their lack of result for the worker, they do enhance the possibilities of speedup. They are thus similar to the much-hated "incentive" pay schemes against which so many unions have long rebelled. These are designed to find out how fast workers can be driven.

As D. D. Decker of the Calumet & Hecla Consolidated Copper Company of Detroit puts it: "If our bonus plan is ever discontinued, we will have definite records of what should and can be done productionwise. We would expect to maintain such standards, bonus plan or no bonus plan."

WEAKENS UNIONS

For the union organization itself, profit - sharing upsets most of the hard-won traditional procedures. Says the UAW article: "Workers have fought for years to get good grievance procedures set up in the plants -on the contract, where they could be seen, interpreted and enforced. Under profit - sharing plans, nobody has time to process a grievance. Everybody is too busy knocking out an extra nickel an hour for himselfand extra dollars for the boss. Working conditions get worse for the same reason."

Negotiations became more complicated than ever. Workers understand little of the mechanics of profit-sharing statistics, and tend to tire of the whole thing very soon. But by that time the union's solidarity and militancy may be seriously affected.

It is not very strange that just about the entire trade-union movement has been opposed to profit-sharing. These are organized to make workers feel like "miniature capitalists." Soon, however, workers realize that they have little effect on or control over profits, that the plans are too complicated and open to manipulation for them to become very enthusiastic. The mortality rate is thus very great. But meanwhile speedup may have been instituted, workers driven to compete with each other. union policies dangerously unset.

pointing out that the workers' interests are best served by a policy of collective union demands, guaranteed wages, examination of the company books, wage increases without price increases, and continued worker solidarity and militancy.

The UAW has done a good job in