

LABOR ACTION

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UAW Gains Victory at Chrysler But Dangers Loom for Future

By WALTER JASON

DETROIT, May 7 — The United Auto Workers (UAW) won the kind of victory in its 100-day-long Chrysler strike that it can hardly stand more than once in about five years.

Two incidents on the day of settlement illustrate how differently this strike has affected the union, in contrast to previous peace agreements.

Downtown at the Sheraton Hotel, Walter Reuther and other UAW leaders refused to pose for any pictures with Chrysler Corporation officials, and there was none of the nonsense of a joint statement, the kind that usually reads: "We have achieved a basis for harmonious relations based on mutual understanding," etc. The strike is over, but there is no peace between the UAW and Chrysler.

At one of the largest local union halls, the photographers rushed out to get the standard strike settlement pictures: hundreds of workers waving their hands, cheering and grinning. It took much pleading to get some artificial action shots, including the one that appeared in the New York Times. Of course there was tremendous relief that the strike was over, but after that kind of strike no one felt like cheering about anything.

This different mood was reflected Thursday night at the national Chrysler delegate conference where 100 delegates heard Walter Reuther outline the pension plan, the health insurance concessions,

and the contract changes made in the new agreement between the corporation and the union. The subdued atmosphere almost puzzled Reuther. Outside of questions for a half hour, there was no discussion except that begun by one delegate from Chrysler Local 7 who quietly challenged some of Reuther's interpretations. The vote

(Continued on page 7)

U.S. to Finance War By France Against Viet-Nameese People

By JACK BRAD and H. D. SPECTOR

Secretary of State Acheson has agreed, on behalf of Washington, to underwrite and finance French imperialism's war against Viet-Nam to retain Indo-China within its colonial empire.

In so doing, the U. S.—which was, at least up to 1946, widely looked on in Southeast Asia as a friend of freedom—

comes out entirely openly for the first time since the end of the war as favoring the forcible suppression of Asia's struggle for independence.

The explanation is the necessity of "containing Communism" and stopping the Russian threat. All indications are, however, that its effect can only be in the direction of pushing Asia's nationalist aspirations into the fatal embrace of the Kremlin totalitarians—which, of course, will then be used to justify still further and more brutal suppression.

A "large part" of the \$75 million assigned to President Truman's foreign-aid kitty by Congress will be handed over for the

"dirty war"—as it is known all over France, and not only in radical circles. Acheson will also recommend that additional millions be voted by Congress to keep French colonialism in power.

Justifying this course, the U. S. press and official propaganda plug away at three propositions: Ho Chi-minh, the Viet-Nam leader, is a Communist; Viet-Nam was recognized by Russia; Ho is receiving military aid from Mao Tse-tung in China. How unenlightening these propositions are can be seen only from a look at what has been happening in Indo-China since the end of the war.

During the war, the nationalist movement in Indo-China was pointed against the Japanese. (Turn to last page)

HANDS OFF INDO-CHINA! No Support to France's War!

France is trying to keep control over the people and the wealth of Indo-China by force of arms. As one of the last bastions of naked European imperialism slips from its grasp the French ruling class turns to the United States with a cry for help.

And the American government proposes to help keep the people of Indo-China under the military heel of the French. Acheson thinks that the revolt of the peoples of Asia can be stopped by a proclamation of the State Department that the revolt should end. The mask of U.S. imperialism comes off, and planes and tanks replace the honeyed words of the UN Charter.

The American labor movement has a responsibility in this situation. The cry must be raised from one end of the land to the other: No arms for colonial oppression! Hands off Indo-China!

Pepper's Defeat Shows Two-Party System Is a "Myth," Says New President of Hatters Union

Liberal Party Leader Calls for New Party

By PHILIP COBEN

For the first time since the reelection of Truman in 1948, a leading figure in the labor movement and particularly in the movement for labor political action has called on labor immediately to break its ties with the Democratic Party and establish its own party.

This came last Thursday, May 4, from the newly inaugurated president of the Hatters Union, Alex Rose, who is also vice-chairman of the Liberal Party in New York State.

A trend in this direction had appeared in the tops of both the AFL and the CIO prior to the November 1948 election, but Truman's unexpected victory and the headzoning which followed it put a quick stop to it. Illusions on what labor could get out of its tieup with the Fair Deal machine mounted to new heights. Rose's surprise speech, complete-

ly unheralded in advance, indicates that it is on its way down.

Obviously important in leading to the Liberal Party leader's pronouncement was the result of the Florida Democratic primary election in which Claude Pepper, known as a Fair Deal stalwart, was defeated by Smathers on a program which differed little from that of the Taft Republicans.

The two-party system has become "a myth," said Rose.

"What further evidence do we need than the returns from Florida, which show that a Democratic candidate in a Democratic Party primary can win on Senator Taft's Republican program?" he asked.

The country has been reduced to "virtually one political party, with irregulars on each side," he explained, and he urged labor together with liberals to build a new party as the only effective

way to establish "a genuine two-party system in our country for the first time in generations."

"We need this kind of realignment so we shall know for whom and for what we vote on Election Day; to be able to know on election night who won and who lost; to know at once what political thinking was approved or rejected; to realize who is in the administration and who is the opposition; to know what to expect from Congress and our government in days to come."

CAN'T REFORM IT

It was in this passage especially that Rose showed his awareness of what the hypothesis with the Fair Deal has meant for labor: exultation over "victories" on election night because a Democrat supported by labor has won, followed by an unending series of disappointments, cries of "We were betrayed," and soul-search-

ing as the election victory proves its hollowness.

Most important of all, Rose's speech indicates that he, at least, has given up any hope that the Democratic Party can be taken over by any coalition of labor and liberal forces and reformed into a "party of the people."

At the same time, while taking this fresh step forward, the new Hatters' president stayed within the old framework in regard to present policy, pending the formation of a new party. Until then, he said, he was still for "pro-labor candidates of both parties," and even called on Senator Lehman to run for re-election. This, as Rose himself showed in his speech, can only lead to the same disheartening results and futile blind alleys.

But in spite of this, the Hatters' stand can help the revival of strong labor party sentiment

in the labor movement and can mark a new beginning. As a leader of the Liberal Party, Rose himself can do more than merely talk about his new orientation; he can attempt to transform the policy of his own party in this direction, in the direction of running independent candidates separately from and against the two parties with which the Liberals have constantly made deals. Whether there will be any change in this respect in view of Rose's speech still remains to be seen.

Disillusionment with the fruits of Fair Dealism for labor is bound to grow. As it grows with experience, pressure for a break with the Democratic machine will increase. Formation of an independent labor party is still labor's only way of ensuring that its vast political strength is used for itself and for social progress and not for the aggrandizement of pseudo-liberal politicians.

New CIO Union Challenges CP in Office Work Field

By MARY JOHNSON

A new white-collar and professional workers union is in the making. The new union is the CIO's bid for control of the field as against the Stalinists, whose United Office and Professional Workers (UOPWA) was expelled from the national organization.

It's the Community and Social Agency Employees, Local 1707, in New York City, which has been given a national charter by the CIO to embrace the forces which have left or want to leave the UOPWA, particularly the latter's Social Service Employees Union (SSEU). At present the new CSAE unites several chapters which have broken away from UOPWA's Local 19 with a number of chapters which left the UOPWA several years ago.

The situation out of which the CSAE arises spotlights the conditions of organized white-collar workers. In 1945, UOPWA claimed a national membership of 75,000, which, in itself, is a very low figure given the size of the field it had to organize. In 1949 it was paying per capita on the basis of 12,000. Today, it is estimated to have a maximum membership of 10,000. SSEU remains its stronghold with a claimed membership of between 4 and 5 thousand.

Even more than most Stalinist-controlled unions, UOPWA was used very openly as an adjunct of the Communist Party. Tightly controlled by the leadership with an unusually apathetic membership, all the usual resolutions were passed and donations to sundry Stalinist causes given by voting, at very poorly attended membership meetings for all sorts of levies and every policy of the CP. Given the size of the local and the chapter setup, most members functioned through their own chapters, concerning themselves primarily with chapter contracts. Only a small core of Stalinists, some of their sympathizers, and a small band of oppositionists attended local meetings with regularity.

Due to UOPWA are the highest of any CIO union in the city and this in one of the lowest paid fields. This fact was always a source of complaint by the ordinary rank-and-filer. Contracts have been very poor in many chapters and preoccupation with Stalinist political concerns frequently led to refusal to organize new chapters, even in cases where workers asked to be organized.

EXPULSIONS STARTED
The small opposition group was active in the chapters where, as shop chairmen or contract negotiators, its people attempted to maintain or get decent standards. Their activity at local meetings was by and large confined to speaking on the floor against Stalinist policy and receiving the roughest condemnation as "reactionaries," "fascists," and the like from the leadership.

When it appeared that UOPWA might be expelled or might resign from CIO, this group organized itself into a rank-and-file committee and tried to enlist local-wide support for remaining in CIO under all conditions. Although their failure to organize much earlier made it possible for the Stalinists to maintain their stranglehold over the union without a serious challenge, the emergency situation combined with their initiative and quick response brought instant support to the group.

At the first meeting called by the rank-and-file caucus, the Stalinists flooded the hall and disrupted sufficiently to make it impossible to continue the meeting. This typical undemocratic behavior of the leadership caused immediate resentment and resulted in even wider support for the rank-and-file group. The Stalinists, in a leaflet issued immediately after the event, stated that this group had no right to existence, that they were union wreckers and wanted to split the union.

Fearing growing support for this group, the Stalinists thought they would squelch it by bringing some of its leading people up on charges. Morton Clurman of the American Jewish Committee, who had acted as chairman at the caucus meeting, Eugene Jennings of the United Jewish Appeal of New York and Nat Roberts of the United Jewish Appeal national office were presented with charges accusing them of dual-unionism and the like.

The charge against Nat Roberts was simply that he avowed support for Clurman's position. The course of the trial presented a weird picture of bureaucraticism and Stalinist vilification. The defendants were never permitted to face their accusers. Sessions were continued after midnight despite defense requests for adjournment. This trick was used to get rid of observers who supported the defendants while the amateur GPU men were assured that their own coterie would remain to the bitter end. The defendants were not permitted to state their positions fully but were forced to confine themselves to yes-and-no answers.

Naturally, all were found guilty. Clurman expelled and the others suspended. Also appended to the jury's decision was the warning that anyone heard voicing support for or sympathy with Clurman's ideas would be likewise penalized.

CSAE started off very well and very democratically. There is eagerness and desire for participation on a scale unknown in the old UOPWA. Political experience is common among its members, and they are in the main very much concerned with keeping the CSAE democratically controlled and are constantly active and alert to any signs of bureaucraticism.

The chief reason CSAE has started off so well is the fact that an organized rank-and-file group conducted the struggle on a progressive basis inside UOPWA and remains in the leadership of the new union. Had no such group existed, either CIO would have made no move on its own to organize a new union or it would have done so entirely from the top with a group of hand-picked officers and an already solidified apparatus.

The importance of absorbing this lesson is closely related to some of the current proposals for organization campaigns which are being made by top CIO officials. Because the Stalinists fight with the weapons of slander and bureaucratic manipulation and because they sign back-door agreements with management in order to secure contracts, it is easy to fall prey to the idea that CIO has to fight them with the same weapons. This course may be faster but it fails in one essential—to build a genuinely democratic union with an active and participating rank and file. At best, it can guarantee a paper membership, inactive and apathetic, which is bound to degenerate into something similar to the old UOPWA.

It must be recognized that simply having the CIO tag doesn't work magic. This is especially true in the white-collar and professional field where the large percentage of liberals renders red-baiting and top organizing methods totally ineffectual.

CP USES SUPERVISORS
This move, calculated by the Stalinists to terrorize any possible opposition into silence, proved their biggest boner. Sufficient interest had been aroused by the trial to induce many otherwise inactive unionists to attend some of the sessions and everyone read the leaflets turned out almost every day by the caucus in answer to the Stalinist filth. Votes were taken in a number of chapters without waiting for the officialdom to proceed and in most of the chapters mentioned above, the votes were conclusively for remaining in CIO and condemning the trial findings.

The new union, CSAE, today represents between 1200 and 1400 members. In process of organization are several other chapters where the sentiments are still indecisive. The Federation of Jewish Philanthropies is still being organized by CIO despite constant pressure and intimidation of every type. Since many of the supervisors in the clerical departments are Stalinists or fellow travelers, a virtual fortress has been erected by them around the clerical employees and it is next to impossible to get in to talk to these people. However, with continued and determined efforts, even that obstacle should be broken in a reasonable period of time.

At the United Service and New York Association for New Americans, the situation is much more difficult and complicated. USNA and NYANA have largely a social-worker staff and this field has for many years been controlled by the Stalinists. For the professional social worker to dissent means possible loss of job, since supervisors, who must make regular evaluations of the union without a serious challenge, are in many cases Stalinists. There is also the fear that, once out of this particular agency and back in the general field of social work, the Stalinists will circulate their blacklist and make life economically and socially impossible for anyone on it.

ABSORBING A LESSON
However, with all these difficulties, the organization campaign is proceeding fairly well and CSAE plans to branch out into the many unorganized shops and get new contracts.

MICHIGAN LABOR NOTES Housing 'Solution' - Put Family Of Eleven into Three Rooms!

By JIMMIE LITTLE

DETROIT, May 7.—The local city government's "successful placement" of families displaced by slum clearance is not turning out to be as successful as it originally thought it would be. The plight of individuals from all walks of life was brought out in a citizens' meeting held last Sunday under the auspices of the Emergency Committee on Housing.

A case of what the city's official head, termed "successful placement" was that of a family of eleven. They were offered a three-room apartment in the Brewster Project.

Racial tension in the city, aggravated by the housing shortage, became more tense this week with the attempted burning of the partly constructed home of Dr. Wendell Cox. This marked the third time in recent weeks that vandals have attempted to dissuade Negroes from buying and building in the Fenelon and Seven Mile Road neighborhood—a predominantly white neighborhood.

The fire failed to do much damage since it went out after burning all the oil which had been poured on the floor. Police found two jugs the following day which, they said, had been used by the arsonist in starting the fire.

Following the fire, the Fenelon-Seven Mile Home Improvement Association went into secret meeting at St. Louis the King Catholic Church. Police immediately established a twenty-four-hour guard in the area with patrol cars.

Edward M. Turner, president of the local branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, wired Mayor Cobo, demanding that the vandals and arsonist responsible for the incident be arrested and brought before the bar of justice.

"These despicable acts of violence and vandalism on Negro property must not go unnoticed. We demand that those guilty, including the organizations which

are opposed to the building of Negro homes in the area and those individuals who are carrying out the acts of violence be brought to justice," Turner declared.

The NAACP president pointed out that these were not isolated incidents, but that they tie into a definite pattern to use force and "other means" to perpetuate the segregation which is the policy of the city administration.

The Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees (AME) announced this week that it would demand a guarantee of 52 weeks' work a year and an annual wage from all railroads.

The brotherhood represents nearly 300,000 track workers across the country. Its headquarters in Detroit.

As springtime rolls around, preparations are being made by many parents for summer camp placement of their children.

Although indigent Negro boys and girls comprise approximately 64 per cent of the total underprivileged children in Detroit, they received only 15 per cent of the available openings in summer camps last year. The other available underprivileged placements in summer camps went to white children.

One of the biggest offenders is the summer camp sponsored by the Detroit Free Press, which will not accept Negro children under any circumstance. This from the newspaper that has labeled itself a crusader for liberty and the American way of life! How can a newspaper that is read and supported by tens of thousands of Negroes justify this flagrant discrimination?

Read THE NEW INTERNATIONAL

May Day Perverted into M-Day by Both War Camps

By MARY BELL

May Day, 1950, aside from the celebrations of small independent socialist and labor groups, was nowhere—not in Moscow, Belgrade, Berlin, Tel Aviv or New York—a genuine workers' holiday where the banner of class solidarity and internationalism was hoisted high.

May Day, as a traditional militant working-class day of celebration, has been debased. It has been to a large extent snatched out of the hands of the workers by the power bloc of imperialism and made another instrument in the cold war.

Every official May Day demonstration in virtually every country was bisected by the sharp edge of the East-West struggle for domination. Every one of these May Day celebrations or parades

pledged allegiance in one form or another to some official flag—not to the red flag of working-class independence.

It is difficult to judge which travesty was more supreme, the "Loyalty Day" parades organized in this country by the anti-labor reactionaries and supported by the conservative labor leadership here, or the Moscow demonstration of new Russian jets in the air show which Stalin reviewed atop Lenin's tomb.

The crowning atrocity in the New York "loyalty" parade was the marching of the Cossack representatives of the Russian "anti-Communist center." The rest of this highly unsuccessful parade—unsuccessful from the standpoint of marchers and witnesses—consisted appropriately of Boy Scouts, youthful and adult.

It would be difficult to characterize adequately the May Day antics of the two ex-CPers, Ben Gitlow (former CP general secretary) and Joseph Zack Kornfeld. Under the auspices of the local American Legion, these two renegades from the working class organized and staged a mock "overthrow" of the town of Mosine, Wis., alerting the 1400 citizens to the "threat" in their midst.

The patriotic festivities wound up with an exhortation on Americanism by the Legion head and the congratulations of the mayor, who was also a foreman in the mill which dominates the town.

The Stalinist May Day parade in New York was an eerie spectacle. Down again this year to about 14,000 (last year 20,000), it consisted of the die-hard stalwarts, those who were willing to risk being photographed by the FBI along the road of march. There were sizable fractions from the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, the perennial Fur Workers' delegation, the Artists and Writers, "mothers" groups, etc. The slogans on the placards were mostly militant, not blatantly pro-Russian. The marchers had courage and the 1200 cops were tough. Yet all

profiteers' Angle
The big-business weekly Business Week doesn't have much faith in the corporations' charitable intentions—no more than we, it seems.

Coming out in favor of increased social-security benefits, its editorial explanation concedes that it has a selfish reason. This is: the unions are now driving for supplementary company plans which would give workers combined federal and private pensions of \$100 a month. Under these plans company contributions go down as federal pensions go up.

"That gives the companies with private plans an obvious interest in raising the level of social-security benefits," says Business Week.

And It's Your Baby!
Zachariah Chaffee, noted law professor at Harvard, in a recent letter to the House Un-American Activities Committee, has a descriptive phrase for the Mundt "anti-subversive" bill.

He wrote that the measure "is like using a hammer to swat a wasp on baby's head."

marched in the belief, some naive-ly, some cynically, that Russia is socialism, and that's what they're striving for.

PERVERTED TO M-DAY
Berlin's May Day turned out half a million in the Eastern sector and another half million in the West. For the Stalinists, it was a dress rehearsal for the Whit-sunday demonstration to take place May 28 which threatens to overturn Western Germany; for the anti-Stalinists, it was a counter-rehearsal, policed by thousands of occupation soldiers, with an eye to checking the scheduled CP demonstration.

In Yugoslavia, the haven of national-Stalinists and totalitarian liberals, the banners of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin were replaced with Marx, Engels, Lenin and Tito. Of the Stalinist sphere, if not in it, Tito issued his manifesto calling for a return to the traditions of "Leninism"—that is, appealing to all anti-Moscow Stalinists. Quick as a reflex, putting a proper period to the ignominies of May Day, the self-styled "orthodox Trotskyists" of the Socialist Workers Party cabled their felicitation to Tito.

It is clear that the spirit of the young American Federation of Labor of the Nineties, which initiated May Day in the struggle for the eight-hour day and the heroes of the Haymarket riot who were martyred fighting in labor's cause, is alien to the official May Day of this period and the labor officialdom as well. This new May Day is more of an M-Day, a mobilization for war, and is a mockery of even the pagan May Day, a spring festival which now survives in the maypole ceremonies of children. Better that May Day be left to children, dancing with maypole ribbons, than be perverted to the uses of atomic warfare.

The Labor Day is as encased in a spore, a dry seed that will only flower with a new, vigorous and widespread socialist movement.

First honors in the drive go to our young comrades of the Socialist Youth League. There is no doubt but that their efforts and results astounded us—all the leaders of the SYL, who decided on the division of the \$350 over-all quota among the various units, as well as the ISL.

The SYL raised a total of \$736.50 (210 per cent), thus partially compensating for the inability of some of the ISL branches to meet their quotas and testifying to the energy and devotion of our young comrades as well as to the stability and growth of the Socialist Youth League.

New York City likewise came through with flying colors. It was assigned the largest quota in the drive—\$4,000—which it not only met but exceeded to the tune of \$500. This means that our New York ISL branches raised and contributed approximately 30 per cent of the total amount collected in the drive—a substantial feat worthy of real recognition.

Our New York comrades planned their drive well and succeeded in securing cooperation as well as significant contributions from comrades and friends working in Detroit which prevented them from following through on their original plans.

As an example, so many of our Detroit comrades and friends were affected by the long-drawn-out Chrysler strike that it has been impossible to count on them to meet their pledges made early in the drive. However, we have assurances that our Detroit comrades will make up for this at some future date.

In addition, the Akron, Seattle, Pittsburgh and Baltimore comrades promise that they have not yet sent in the final sums on their quotas, and we still expect to hear from some old friends who will add to the "General" contributions.

Our Buffalo comrades exerted themselves to the utmost and raised a substantial \$800 of the \$1,000 quota assigned to them, more on the basis of the needs of the ISL than on the financial resources of the branch.

SYL AND N. Y. ON TOP
We want to thank our friends from various parts of the country

Howe in Three Meetings and 2 Debates at U. of C., Madison

By LEON J. MANN

CHICAGO, May 3.—Last night a series of three special meetings for Irving Howe, held by the University of Chicago chapter of the Socialist Youth League was concluded as a big success.

About fifty people heard Reuel Denney, a professor of English, and Ned Rosenheim, an instructor of humanities, both at the university here, discuss with Howe the "Changing Social Stereotypes in American Literature." The two previous meetings in the series were also very successful.

On Saturday night a symposium on "Religion and the Intellectuals" was held. About eighty people attended and an admission of 35 cents was charged. The other speakers with Howe were Christian Mackauer, professor of social science, and Gerhard Meyer, professor of economics. Interestingly enough, Meyer was substituting on the platform for another speaker who had withdrawn from the meeting at the last moment on the ground that the sponsoring organization was opposed to the government. On the other hand, Meyer, who has been seriously ill for several months, agreed to fill in at the last moment as a protest against the disgraceful withdrawal of his predecessor.

The second meeting in the series was held on Sunday as the SYL's May Day meeting. Sixty people heard Howe speak on "The H-Bomb and the Future for Socialism." In this talk Howe not only examined the horrible situation the world faced as a result of the development of atomic weapons, but also analyzed very carefully the shabby role of the ADA liberals and even the UAW's leader, Reuther, in this attitude toward the use of the bomb.

He concluded his talk with a very inspiring address to young people on choosing their life's work. He urged that they enter politics and devote themselves to the struggle for socialist freedom.

On Sunday evening after the SYL May Day meeting many SYL members and friends visited the home of a friend, where a social

was held in the late evening. Earlier, at 8 p.m., Howe spoke on Radio Station WIND in Chicago, where he debated Abba Lerner, Roosevelt College economics professor, on "Should Communists Be Permitted to Teach?"

Another meeting was held with Irving Howe at the university, where he again debated Lerner for the Politics Club. This in four days he spoke at the U. of C. four times. It was the best educational program at the university this semester.

By GEORGE SALM
MADISON, Wis., May 5.—"In a debate before the Socialist Club last night, both Irving Howe, author and writer, and Carl Auerbach, university law professor, agreed that a political realignment was needed in the United States but disagreed as to how realignment should be attained.

"Labor is the mass basis of the Democratic Party but it does not control the party and should withdraw," said Howe.

"He said that labor has received 'next to nothing' from the Fair Deal and that since labor is potentially a very powerful force it should form its own political party where it can effect social changes.

"Auerbach said that a labor party would isolate the labor movement and that it would bring forth the idea that labor was trying to take over the country.

"His plan is to get the liberal and labor elements to work together."—From page 1, The Daily Cardinal, University of Wisconsin.

About sixty people attended the Howe-Auerbach debate. Auerbach, member of the national executive board and a founder of Americans for Democratic Action (ADA), upheld the position of that organization. He claimed that now that both "extremes" (Wallaceites and Dixiecrats) are out of the party, it is possible for the liberals to take over. However, he failed to answer Howe's assertion that the Dixiecrats are very much in control of the Democrats in the South and that even the fair-haired son of the liberals, Senator Douglas, has turned upon his Election Day promises.

During the afternoon, several hours before the debate, a reception was held for Irving Howe in the student Memorial Union at the university. Many students came to meet Howe and discuss with him his UAW book and other writings.

FUND DRIVE HITS 98%; SYL, N. Y. STAR

By YETTA BARSH
Fund Drive Director

MAY 8.—The end of the ISL Fund Drive finds collections almost at the \$12,000 mark. A total of \$11,752.12—better than 98 per cent—has been sent in by the 28 units participating in the drive.

All of the indications are that contributions to the drive will continue during the next weeks, and that the \$12,000 goal will be reached and in all likelihood exceeded.

In a Nutshell

Henry Morgan, the radio funny man, addressed his April 23 WNYC show to an audience including secretaries of 200 congressmen. He gave them this message to take back to Washington:

"You can fool some of the people all of the time, and all of the people some of the time—and you should stop doing it."

Next — A Labor Party! by Jack Ranger

A Hard-Hitting, Meaty Presentation of the Need for an Independent Labor Party

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most likely to succeed; Joseph T. Ferguson, present state auditor and one of the leaders of the state Democratic Party machine; Michael V. DiSalle, mayor of Toledo; and Henry Miller Busch, Cleveland College professor and leader of Americans for Democratic Action.

The winner by a substantial margin was Ferguson, weak and colorless but faithful party politician. He is known solely for using his state office to publicize his name, often in petty and cheap stunts. His sole appeal to the labor movement is his claim that since he has the full support of the Democratic Party apparatus, he is THE man most likely to succeed. He has committed himself on no issues and offers no inspiration to

the voters anxious to retire the anti-labor Taft.

As a matter of fact, Taft, although unopposed in the Republican primary, polled nearly as many votes as all seven of his Democratic opponents.

Few events in recent years have so dramatically demonstrated the need for labor to have a party of its own and candidates of its own. With anti-Taft feeling running high and with the unions forming the backbone of that feeling, not one candidate who could even attempt to claim to be a labor spokesman entered the race. Ohio's outspokenly anti-working-class senator needs to be beaten, but this machine-politician opponent of his offers little incentive to do the job.

BALDAU CHOSEN TO HEAD CLEVELAND FEPC WITH SUPPORT OF LABOR MEN
Cleveland's Fair Employment Practices Law was recently passed by the City Council, and the members of the board to administer the law were selected by the mayor. The first controversy before the board was the selection of its executive director, with Frank Baldau in the center of the fight.

Baldau was the director of the old Community Relations Board and had antagonized the city's industrialists by his activity in behalf of the FEP Law. In what must

have been a desperate attempt to sidetrack Baldau by the votes of the three labor representatives on the new board, the personnel committee recommended Sam Sponseller, CIO regional director, for the job.

After quite a wrangle this move failed and Baldau got the appointment until the end of the year, with the labor members supporting him. While Baldau is not the best man for the position, under the circumstances his selection can be interpreted as a victory for the advocates of FEP.

Fund Drive Box Score			
Branch	Quota	Received	Per Cent
BERKELEY SYL	\$30	\$112	373
CHICAGO SYL	100	280	280
ST. LOUIS SYL	15	29	193
SYL AT LARGE	30	53	177
NEW YORK CITY SYL	125	187	150
YOUNGSTOWN	100	131	131
WEST VIRGINIA	50	65	130
NEWARK	250	284	114
NEW YORK CITY	4000	4500	112
ST. LOUIS	100	109	109
SAN FRANCISCO	500	545	109
LOS ANGELES	500	537	107
PHILADELPHIA	400	402	100
BOSTON	75	75	100
CHICAGO	1500	1500	100
CLEVELAND	300	300	100
READING	100	100	100
STEWART	25	25	100
NEWARK SYL	15	15	100
DETROIT SYL	30	30	100
BUFFALO SYL	30	30	100
Buffalo	1000	800	80
Baltimore	75	59	79
Akron	200	144	72
Pittsburgh	150	101	67
General	1525	971	64
Detroit	500	256	51
Seattle	300	110	28
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Editorials

Point of Pride

We have been DOING it for ten years. It has come to be taken for granted in the ranks of the Independent Socialist League. But the launching of a new public political discussion in the columns of LABOR ACTION (see page 6), reminds us that we have never written much about it.

"It" is a policy which is unique to the ISL, at least among socialist groups in this country. It raises one aspect of the oft-discussed question of socialist democracy. It has a bearing on the related question of the relationship between the socialist vanguard and the class whose interests we represent.

It is this: as a general policy, political and theoretical disputes and even factional controversies WITHIN the ranks of a socialist organization are not matters to be confined to "internal," "secret" bulletins and documents restricted to members only, and carefully kept from the prying eyes of "outsiders," but properly belong in publications and bulletins which are as available to non-members as to members; available, that is, to the general public, or whatever segment of the public is interested in the questions being discussed.

Thus, from the very inception of our movement in 1940 ALL of our "internal" political controversies—debates on policy, ideas and theoretical concepts within our membership—have always been published so as to be obtainable by anyone who wishes to read them. This has been done in the columns of the New Internationalist, in LABOR ACTION, and in the ISL bulletin "Forum."

This is neither an accidental organizational habit of ours nor a technical detail—far from it! It was adopted deliberately and with a consciousness of what it implies—in fact, BECAUSE of what it implies. We set out to revive the best traditions of the socialist and Marxist movement with respect to the internal political and intellectual life of the organization. And it has "worked."

We start first with the proposition that a socialist organization (for that matter, any political organization) in whose ranks there are NO controversies over policy and ideas is either (a) dead, or (b) monolithic in the Stalinist sense. As a result basically of the rise of Stalinism, there did grow up a tendency in the socialist movement to feel that the existence of internal differences was something to be concealed from the eyes of the "outside" workers; a united front must always be displayed on the "outside"... we don't want outsiders to know that we "quarrel" among ourselves, etc. Even the Socialist Party, loose as it is in every respect, has not been able to reconcile itself to consistently making its internal political discussion available to anyone. As for the Socialist Workers Party, this group still holds to the Stalinist tradition fully in this regard, including its fetishism of unanimity—and when a dispute does break out in its ranks, as is true now on the question of Titoism, its internal bulletins on the question are as jealously guarded from profane eyes as an emperor's belly button.

We threw all that rubbish out ten years ago. We believe that the political questions which we discuss "among ourselves" SHOULD be of as great interest to other workers concerned with politics as they are to us. We believe that advanced workers and sympathizers who are interested in these questions will find our discussions as educational as we do. We believe also that, insofar as they take a hand, in whatever limited way, we can learn from them. We believe, furthermore, that if and when we adopt a new view, line, policy or political tactic, or modify an old one, our friends and sympathizers are entitled to know why and how.

Quite the opposite of the aim of the Stalinists (or their fast-traveling relatives the SWP), the Independent Socialist League does NOT want to convey the impression that it consists of people who think with one monolithic mind on every question, new or old, that can come up. Just the contrary: we WANT to convey the idea that in the movement, and within the framework of the basic ideas which define it, there is going on the liveliest, most stimulating, most original and thought-quicken thinking on the problems of our day that is to be seen anywhere. And it is only because of the atmosphere that has thus been created over a decade that we have been able to develop, in the many-sided give-and-take of collaboration, fruitful and adequate answers to so many problems of the socialist movement today.

There were dangers and difficulties, such as monolithism and bureaucratism need not fear. Such an aim COULD have developed into the mere intellectual dilettantism of a talking-shop or debating club, instead of serious concern with hammering out policy for a fighting socialist movement. But it has "worked," and it is one of the characteristics of our movement of which we are most proud.

YOU and SCIENCE

By CARL DARTON

The misuse of science today shows up not only in the field of destruction, but also in many other ways which touch our lives daily. This misuse occurs because the guiding motive in American society is the drive for profits regardless of the effect on our health.

Take the field of medicine. Benefits from the marvelous scientific discoveries which have occurred in medical research sift through to the people almost by accident, and only after full tribute has been paid to the large drug corporations which thrive on the exploitation of these discoveries. In the mad rush for profits, new developments in medicine are released and broadcast to the unsuspecting public before their safety and beneficial effects have been fully established.

The term "guinea pigs" as applied to the American people was coined some years ago but its application has never been more apt than in recent months in reference to the "cold war in antihistaminics." A technical review under this title recently appeared in Chemical and Engineering News and illustrates the motto of American business of "full speed ahead for profits—the public be damned."

Antihistaminics have been known for several years in the treatment of certain allergies. However, about a year ago the results of tests at the U. S. Naval Hospital at Great Lakes indicated that antihistaminic drugs were effective in the treatment of the common cold if taken within the first hour or so after the onset of symptoms. Immediately a race began among the drug companies to capture the \$100-million-a-year cold-remedy business.

Soon Hydrillin, Diatrin, Histadyl, Resistabs, Anahist, Inhiston and many similar drugs appeared. Spurred by national advertising by radio, newspapers and magazines, the first 90 days' sales were estimated at \$15 million. The drug industry, one of the heaviest advertisers in American business, spent \$10 million for this purpose in the first month. The field became a real hustlers' holiday. All in all, about 50 brand names of antihistaminics have been "cleared" by the U. S. Food and Drug Administration. Many of these are permitted for "over-the-counter" sale, that is, without a prescription.

Despite the effort being put behind the promotion of these drugs, there is considerable difference of opinion in the medical profession regarding both the safety of their unbridled use as well as their effectiveness in the treatment of a cold. The widespread use of antihistaminics has resulted in many cases of adverse reaction, particularly where drowsiness induced by their use has resulted in harm to machine operators and car drivers. Overdosage has resulted in deaths, particularly with children.

CITED FOR FALSE ADVERTISING

The American Medical Association Council on Pharmacy and Chemistry has concluded that available evidence does not justify the widespread promotional claims for their use. Decrying the advertising methods of exaggeration and distortion, they condemn drug manufacturers who attempt to stampede the public to use unproved remedies.

The matter has gone so far that several states are considering bills to restrict their sale; such a measure has already been introduced in the New York State Assembly. It is also reported that in England antihistaminics may soon be put on the "Poisons List," which means that they cannot be sold without a prescription.

Finally, after months of study, when the battle was well-nigh over, the Federal Trade Commission took action on March 21 by citing two antihistamine manufacturers, Bristol-Myers and Anahist Company, with using false and misleading advertising. Later the Whitehall Pharmaceutical Company and the Union Pharmaceutical Company were also cited. It is interesting to note that the latter company is a subsidiary of the U. S. government-owned Schering Corporation, whose board of directors is appointed by the attorney general.

However, regardless of the questionable safety and efficacy of antihistamine usage, it would appear that the drug and pharmaceutical industry has won the "cold war." It was estimated that by March 1950 over 40 million Americans were using antihistaminics, and for the whole year nearly \$100 million will have been spent for these products. Thus the first objective of capturing a major share of the cold-remedy business has been won. Whether the health and safety of the American people have been advanced or safeguarded is still in doubt and, apparently, is not considered very important. In the world of today, where profits as well as preparation for war and destruction are industry's concerns, the people's welfare is secondary.

We do not wish to minimize the great contribution medical research can make to public welfare. If only a small portion of the money which is now spent on armaments were added to present meager funds for medical science we could in a few years go far in eliminating the major diseases and chronic ailments of today. Likewise in a more rational society committed to the welfare of all the people the attack on disease and ill health could proceed on a much broader front than at present. The elimination of poverty, poor working and unsanitary conditions plus better nutrition, planned medical care, more leisure and freedom from the strain of living in a crazy atomic age would provide the foundation for a sound, healthful living. Only in extreme cases would resort to drugs be necessary.

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Reading from Left to Right

THE KREMLIN'S PROFESSIONAL STAFF, by Louis Nemer. (American Political Science Review, March)

Under the subtitle "The 'Apparatus' of the Central Committee, Communist Party of the Soviet Union," we have here a detailed study of the organizational forms and methods used by the Moscow bureaucracy in implementing its totalitarian machine of control. The article does not admit even of brief summary, being check-full of facts and references. The following, for example, is from a section illustrating the turnover in the bureaucracy carried through by the "Cadre Departments":

"After the war, they carried through a series of widespread changes which often removed a heavy percentage of all office holders in their areas. Thus, 27 per cent of all persons selected for state posts by the Azerbaijan Party Central Committee were removed in 1947 and early 1948, and 24 per cent of their own appointees to such posts were discharged by the party officials in Pinsk Province during 1949. An example of the intensity of the purge is to be found in a report by the Cadre Department of the Smolensk Provincial Party Committee, which indicates that within one year some 2,118 (or 39 per cent of the total number) chairmen of collective farms in that province were summarily removed, usually without any explanation to the kolkhoz membership which theoretically had the sole right to select and dismiss its own leaders. Within 18 months after the war in the Byelo-Russian SSR, 90 per cent of all executive secretaries in the party district committees, 96 per cent of all leading governmental officials on the county and municipal level, and 82 per cent of all collective farm chairmen were replaced."

PRIVATE SCHOOLS: SNOB FACTORIES? unsigned. (Changing Times, the Kiplinger Magazine, April)

This could be a footnote to Veblen's *Theory of the Leisure Class*, what with more than 100,000 overprivileged children being dehumanized in about 1,000 private secondary schools in the name of "conspicuous consumption." The article makes the proper exception for special-purpose private schools with a legitimate reason for existence but stresses the general advantage of public school education even for the snooty set. But the century of the common man marches on. "One recent commentator on the situation is encouraged to some extent. He doesn't re-

member hearing lately such an exhortation as one private school headmistress used to make at the opening of each school term: 'All girls from west of the Alleghanies must realize that they are here on sufferance.'

"Many schools now insist that they be called 'independent' rather than 'private.' One distinguished headmaster chided the press for putting private school news items on society pages. And another denounced the persistent use of the adjective 'exclusive' whenever his school was mentioned."

"These are the evidences that many private schools are trying to take on the 'wholesome social atmosphere of the public schools where all kinds mix...."

Pretty thin evidence, of course, helped along only slightly by a tendency to increase the number of scholarships. It's so broadening, you know, to give the bluebloods a chance to rub shoulders with a live specimen of the Lower Classes....

HOW NEGROES LOOK AT WHITES, by Robert Lucas. (Tomorrow, May)

The former associate editor of Ebony and Negro Digest magazines does not really cover the big subject announced by his title but does include an interesting sketch of organized black-chauvinist movements among the Negro people today, small and unrepresentative though these are.

There is, for example, the "religious cult, the Muslims, who belong to the Temple of Islam, and are strongest in the Midwest, particularly in Chicago and Detroit where they still maintain temples to worship Allah. They call Negroes 'the original black man,' and label whites as 'dead people' and 'ghosts'.... This movement looked to the Japanese as potential 'liberators' of the American Negroes, he says."

"Most vocal of the current black nationalists in Harlem are Ernest Clyman, the driving force behind the new African Nationalist Pioneer Movement, and his aide, Emerson Washington" whose slogan is "Buy Black!" Lucas is vaguer about the "fragments of Garvey's organization [which] still exist today."

The article is almost purely descriptive, unfortunately, and makes little or no attempt to discuss the social context of black chauvinism—which, while basically reactionary in its social impact, does reflect in an extreme manner the antagonism of the Negroes toward the white community which Jim Crows him and exploits him.

LABOR SCOPE

CIO Utility Workers Complain of "Socialism"—to Wrong Address

By BEN HALL

"Socialism" was deplored in harsh and bitter terms at the convention of the CIO Utility Workers Union, which concluded its three-day sessions in New York City on April 30. It would hardly be news if the speakers merely excoriated totalitarianism, denounced the Communist Party and heaped abuse on "subversives," while praising the glories of our free-enterprise capitalism. They did all that, just as expected, and just as the Steel Workers' convention will do this week at Atlantic City. But that wasn't enough; they felt compelled to take a strong stand against an entirely different type of "socialism."

Let no one imagine that we are interested in this question because our own private socialist sensibilities have been touched on the raw. Not at all; for it was not ours but someone else's brand of "socialism" that was under fire.

The delegates who passed the resolutions and the speakers who voiced the harsh criticisms forgot to mention whose "socialism" made them bristle. We can very easily correct this oversight: it was the "socialism" of none other than that well-known red, that underminer of Americanism, that rabid demagogue, that fierce enemy of capitalism, Harry S. Truman. Republicans please note.

The convention attacked proposals for nationalization of public utilities and bemoaned the "creeping paralysis of nationalization of the industry" which was nothing less than "the first step down the socialistic highway" which would finally "put an end

to our American way of life." Government-in-business was "viewed with alarm" as was government competition with "light and power companies with whom we hold contracts."

But who is responsible for this specter of socialism? Certainly not the Republicans, who view it with just as much alarm. Certainly not the Communist Party, which missed out in the last few elections and is having enough trouble being filtered out of every nook and cranny of public life. A glance at the latest Republican platform and reference to recent history leaves us no alternative; it must be Truman and the Democratic Party. But that only makes it even more mysterious. For this same convention heard the boast that the Utility Workers, as part of the CIO, helped to elect Truman. And Truman makes no bones about it; if he is against anything, besides Russia, he is against socialism.

WRONG ADDRESS

Then where does the "socialism" come from? We rush to Truman's defense lest his party be put on the subversive list and he be denied the right to hold a government job. There isn't an ounce of socialism in a loaf of Truman-in-business.

What are the objections of the union to what it calls "socialism"? In the first place, government-owned industries are run by authorities, not elected but appointed, who will constitute a super-government with control of practically all the electric power in the nation. (We might add; this is true of private capitalist own-

ership as well as Truman-government ownership and we're against such bureaucracy in both cases.)

In the second place, job security, promotional opportunity, and working conditions are at the mercy of political bureaucrats; and working conditions and wages are fixed by political management. So that, in the third place, union members employed by the federal agencies work "under conditions inferior to those enjoyed by our members employed in private industry." And lastly, public power employees, such as those of the TVA, are not covered by contract or by civil service laws. Besides, some speakers pointed out, government employees are denied the right to strike.

This is an impressive list of legitimate complaints. But they are marked for the wrong address. Why blame socialism? Truman is president; the Fair Deal enjoys a certain influence; labor leaders can walk in and out of the White House. The Utility Workers should mail these protests where they belong.

Socialism is not "government ownership" of industry by a capitalist or bureaucratic government; it means the common ownership of the means of production and democratic control by the producers themselves; and that will be possible only under a workers' government.

Socialism isn't too popular in this country. That's bad enough. But please, brothers of the Utility Workers, if you're not satisfied with what you get from Harry, don't blame socialism. You put him up there, not we.

TAPPING the WALL ST. WIRE

Success Story

Up to April of last year, John J. Haggerty was a VIP in the government's Reconstruction Finance Corporation, which plays Santa Claus to big business. In that capacity he helped the Waltham Watch Company get a \$6 million loan from the federal treasury.

In April John J. Haggerty became president of the Waltham Watch Company.

In February of this year Waltham, under the presidency of John J. Haggerty, went broke and shut down its plants.

In April of this year John J. Haggerty was back on the RFC payroll.

All of which goes to prove, of course, that what we need is more businessmen in government—don't they know how to run things?

Pre-Digested Propaganda

The Reader's Digest poses as an impartial publication reprinting articles from other magazines for several million readers. It even gets Marshall Plan money for presenting a "true picture" of life in the U. S. in its foreign-language editions.

Now the House committee investigating lobbying, discloses a typical Reader's Digest operation on behalf of big business. More than a year ago the magazine printed a story by a French economist (so billed) on the terrible condition of housing in France, blaming it all on French rent control (which is one of the few breaks the worker gets in that country). The committee uncovered letters proving that Herbert U. Nelson, \$25,000-a-year lobbyist for a real-estate group, planted the story in the magazine, by arrangement with the editors. His outfit, the National Association of Real Estate Boards, then bought half a million reprints of the article for distribution. See, the *Reader's Digest* says so: now will you believe us?

The story is a bit deeper, as a matter of fact. Nelson got to the magazine editors through an intermediary, Leonard E. Reed, head of the "Foundation for Economic Education," a propaganda factory financed by the DuPonts.

Surplus Labor Rears Its Head

Auto workers' charges of speedup in the car plants are borne out by a Department of Labor release of March 6. Summarizing a survey of the industry by its Bureau of Employment Security, the department says:

"The survey showed that the record production of 6,238,000 motor vehicles in 1949—an all-time high—was apparently accomplished with fewer man-hours per week than during the preceding year."

"With approximately 18 per cent more production in 1949 than in 1948, total employment in the automotive industry in 1948 averaged 792,000... while in 1949 employment averaged 770,000 workers."

It adds: "For some time individual manufacturers have been reporting that slight declines in their employment were due to 'increased efficiency.'"

It's a Joke, Son

The National Association of Manufacturers is in the comic book business. And we're not referring to its regular output of pamphlets. It's put out a regular sure-nuff comic book entitled "Fight for Freedom," running to 16 pages and glorifying big business versus "socialism" and "collectivism."

It's a best seller, now over the 1,700,000 mark. Who bought it? Invertebrate comic-book readers like Standard Oil (187,000 copies), General Motors (150,000), Illinois Central Railroad (40,000), Caterpillar Tractor (30,000), etc. These companies stuff them into workers' pay envelopes, chuckling uproariously all the time.

ISL Program—in Brief

The Independent Socialist League stands for socialist democracy and against the two systems of exploitation which now divide the world: capitalism and Stalinism.

Capitalism cannot be reformed or liberalized, by any Fair Deal or other deal, so as to give the people freedom, abundance, security or peace. It must be abolished and replaced by a new social system, in which the people own and control the basic sectors of the economy, democratically controlling their own economic and political destinies.

Stalinism, in Russia and wherever it holds power, is a brutal totalitarianism—a new form of exploitation. Its agents in every country, the Communist Parties, are unrelenting enemies of socialism and have nothing in common with socialism—which cannot exist without effective democratic control by the people.

These two camps of capitalism and Stalinism are today at each other's throats in a world-wide imperialist rivalry for domination. This struggle all one lead to the most frightful war in history so long as the people leave the capitalist and Stalinist rulers in power. Independent Socialism stands for building and strengthening the Third Camp of the people against both war blocs.

The ISL, as a Marxist movement, looks to the working class and its ever-present struggle as the basic progressive force in society. The ISL is organized to spread the ideas of socialism in the labor movement and among all other sections of the people. At the same time, Independent Socialists participate actively in every struggle to better the people's lot now—such as the fight for higher living standards, against Jim Crow and anti-Semitism, in defense of civil liberties and the trade-union movement. We seek to join together with all other militants in the labor movement as a left force working for the formation of an independent labor party and other progressive policies.

The fight for democracy and the fight for socialism are inseparable. There can be no lasting and genuine democracy without socialism, and there can be no socialism without democracy. To enroll under this banner, join the Independent Socialist League!

Not in the Headlines

Winnie's Letters

The London Socialist Leader reports that files of Mussolini's correspondence and the records of Count Ciano have been opened to the public eye, and adds:

"He and Winston Churchill are reported to have carried on a lengthy correspondence in the period of the 'phony war' before Mussolini took the plunge and drowned himself in a sea of troubles."

"When the war ended, Mr. Churchill made a visit to Northern Italy and rumor had it at the time that he was seeking the records (or originals) of these letters. Rumor also had it that he was not successful in his quest...."

"A month ago the Italian police, on orders from the Ministry of the Interior, visited a small villa on Lake Garda.... The police ordered the caretakers to hand over some suitcases left there by Mussolini's mistress, Clara Petacci, when she left to join the Duce on his last journey from which neither of them escaped. There are 68 packages of letters therein and two have been published as examples of passionate exchanges...."

"The other 66 packages have gone to the Italian state archives for examination and there are rumors now of yet another set of documents in the villa."

"Will Winston be holidaying in Italy again this year?"

Censorship

The charge that the IRO (International Refugee Organization) has imposed a censorship on newspapers and magazines published by DPs has been made by a Republican senator, Knowland of California. The Republican's angle seems to be that it is a case of pro-Russian appeasement, but it looks more generally like a deprivation of the right to a free press.

As released by Knowland, the IRO directive orders "that newspapers (and magazines) published under IRO sponsorship by displaced persons must not be permitted to publish attacks on member states of the United Nations."

The National Science Foundation which was recently voted by both House and Senate has a gimmick in it which few have noted. As originally proposed, it provided that any discoveries or patents resulting from research projects financed by the government should be open for use by the public.

As adopted, however, the bills in both houses contain legal provisions on patent rights and other restrictions which appear to open the way for corporations to enrich themselves from such discoveries.

As adopted, however, the bills in both houses contain legal provisions on patent rights and other restrictions which appear to open the way for corporations to enrich themselves from such discoveries.

Triple Jeopardy?

VICIOUS PROSECUTION OF C.O. BY ATTORNEY GENERAL

In a letter to Attorney General J. Howard McGrath, the War Resisters League has asked that the Department of Justice drop prosecution of Amos Brokaw, 25, of Muncie, Ind., a conscientious objector who has already served two prison terms because of his stand on war. Brokaw, the father of three children, is now faced with a third prosecution because he has refused to fill out a questionnaire sent to him by a Muncie draft board.

In September 1948, along with several hundred other young men, Brokaw refused to register for the peacetime draft. For this offense he was sentenced to a prison term at Mill Point, W. Va., from which he was released last November 3. He had also served a sentence in 1946 as a conscientious objector during the war. Like other imprisoned non-registrant conscientious objectors, Brokaw was registered by prison authorities before his release, and the Muncie draft board eventually sent him a questionnaire. Being involuntarily registered, Brokaw

refused to fill it out. The draft board turned over his name to the United States attorney for prosecution. This was the first "cat and mouse" prosecution under the 1948 draft act.

In its letter to the attorney general the War Resisters League, a national pacifist organization of which Brokaw is a member, asked that the Department of Justice "consider closely the dangers in this 'cat and mouse' procedure of repeated prosecutions which if carried out to logical conclusions means one imprisonment following another for young men of deep moral and religious convictions."

The League charged that "the difference between this process and double jeopardy is only a technical legal one; in reality young men would be repeatedly imprisoned for essentially the same reason: a conscientious refusal to submit to conscription and war training. This, of course, raises basic problems of the right to believe and practice one's religious and conscientious beliefs."

PRO AND CON: A DISCUSSION PAGE

ON POLITICAL ACTION POLICY

Resolution Proposed by Max Shachtman:

The leadership of the trade-union movement, particularly of the CIO, gives every indication of continuing to follow the same course in the field of political action in the 1950 elections as in the 1948 presidential elections. This course has been active or passive support of the membership, including its more militant sections, and even those who have in the past been generally sympathetic to the idea of an independent labor party. Short of a sharp turn in the political situation, the prospect for the formation of such a party or even the presentation of a labor ticket under trade union auspices, will give way in the 1950 elections to the prevailing policy of working for "friendly" candidates of the capitalist parties, primarily the Democratic.

This means that the labor movement continues to act as the left wing of the capitalist parties and not yet as an independent political movement. Our problem continues to be to break this left wing—the organized working class—away from the capitalist parties so that it can constitute itself as an independent class party. Our main political slogan therefore continues to be the formation of a labor party.

If, however, it appears in the pre-election period that the unions will follow their present policy unaltered, and if the slogan of the left wing is not accepted by the union ranks, it is permissible, and under certain conditions necessary, to present to the ranks another slogan or proposal.

Where the policy of supporting the candidate of a capitalist party is adopted by the unions, it would be correct for the left wing, after a declaration that it retains its views on the labor party and recognizes the fact that its views have for the moment been rejected, to propose that the unions at least put forward their own candidates for the nominations, chosen democratically by the membership, and organize a fight for these candidates, in the primary elections, as against the official nominees of the capitalist party machines—pledging its support of the union nominees if they win in the primaries. The left wing should certainly give aid and comfort to those militants who may make such a proposal independently and should even stimulate them to do so.

The aim of this proposal is to help arouse rank-and-file militants, by an appeal to their class feel-

ings and their growing awareness of the organized political strength they have shown themselves able to muster and exert in recent elections, to support a line that will deepen and sharpen the conflict of interests between the bureaucracy of the official capitalist parties and the labor leadership that has attached itself to these parties, thereby contributing to a separation between them.

Consequently, it should not be identified with any of the customary agreements by means of which the official party machines promise their support of a trade-union leader for a minor office in exchange for the support by the trade-union movement of the machine candidates for major offices. It is precisely the major and outstanding offices which the left wing should propose that trade-unionists, responsible to the unions and chosen by them, shall contest against the capitalist machine candidates.

This being a new policy for the ISL, and one which is subject to opportunist interpretation, it is important to emphasize that:

(a) It is permissible under certain conditions but not mandatory or even applicable under others.

(b) It may be employed only in highly proletarianized and organized localities, where it can reasonably be expected to gain significant support from trade-union militants, where it can force the official leadership and above all the unions themselves to the left, where the presentation of such candidates would constitute in the mind of the people a labor ticket counterposed to a capitalist ticket, and in general where it would contribute to the only positive purpose that the proposal aims to achieve.

(c) Nowhere may members of the ISL sponsor or support such a proposal without the preliminary approval of the Political Committee.

Amendment by Garrett:

While we do not participate in Democratic Party primaries, or urge the entrance of labor unions into such primaries, we hold that, in considering particular instances, it is proper to support such candidates appearing on Democratic Party tickets who are of a kind and the product of a situation as described in the Shachtman motion.

Resolution Proposed by Ben Hall:

The slogan "For a Labor Party" serves the ISL as a means of putting forward the concept of the class struggle in popular language and of pushing the labor movement toward a break with the existing capitalist parties. The orientation of the labor movement today, including its most leftist sections, is generally toward the Democratic Party, in particular its Fair Deal wing. Our Labor Party slogan, put forward essentially as a slogan for breaking with the Democratic Party and for the formation of a new party, does not allow for the support of candidates on the Democratic ticket either in the primaries or the general elections.

The [Shachtman] resolution is conceived of as a second-trench defense of class politics after the Labor Party proposal has been defeated. The principled argument for the Labor Party must reject the concept of an alliance with Fair Deal Democrats. If the new tactic is to have any meaning from the point of view of the ISL it must be proposed in the same sense. Once the proposal for a Labor Party (or an independent labor ticket) is defeated, the proposal to contest the Democratic primaries with union candidates, and to support them if victorious as Democratic candidates, can only appear as ludicrous or deceitful. In attempting to apply the proposed tactic, our union comrades

can only escape from such a dilemma by abandoning the slogan for a Labor Party completely in practice or relegating it to an unimportant place.

The new policy presumably is especially applicable among the more advanced militants, as in the UAW. Yesterday these militants looked toward the formation of a *new party* but today, under the pressure of rightist tendencies in the labor movement, they have retreated back toward the Democratic Party. By initiating proposals for primary fights within the Democratic Party, the ISL will appear to endorse their retreat and will find it impossible to contrast their correct leaning of the past with the false tendency of the present.

Where unions actually do run candidates in the primaries, they will run them as part of a labor-liberal coalition within the Democratic Party against its right wing. Support to these candidates in the primaries as in the regular elections will not be support of independent labor candidates but of a Fair Deal coalition.

The [Shachtman] resolution is rejected because, in the specific conditions of labor's role in the Democratic Party at the present time, it would make it impossible to present a consistent Labor Party position with a genuine working-class content.

Launching a Discussion

LABOR ACTION this week opens a discussion on the question of independent labor political action, with the publication on this page of resolutions now before the Independent Socialist League and discussion articles on them.

This discussion originated in the deliberations of the year-end plenum of the National Committee of the Independent Socialist League which convened in New York. At that time a number of motions were presented on the question of independent political action and its relation to the slogan for a labor party. None of the motions received a majority vote of the National Committee despite the considerable discussion that ensued on their presentation.

The whole question is now being discussed in the Independent Socialist League and in its discussion bulletin *Forum*. No decision has yet been taken on how to consummate this discussion for the purposes of arriving at a decision of the League.

In this connection, it is necessary to refer to the campaign of Willoughby Abner, a candidate for the Illinois State Legislature from Chicago, reports of which were carried in recent issues of LABOR ACTION. Abner's candidacy arose several weeks after the plenum above referred to. The issue arose on a proposal of the Chicago Branch of the ISL, which declared that the actions of the South Side PAC, State PAC and CIO should be regarded favorably by all union militants and progressives. Since the National Committee of the ISL had adopted no decision on the motions presented to it, the question of attitude toward the candidacy of Abner, nominated and supported as an opponent of the Democratic Party machine by PAC and the CIO, had to be decided by a referendum vote of the National Committee.

A motion supporting the actions of the progressives in PAC and the CIO in furthering the candidacy of Abner and the fight against the Democratic machine was carried by a majority vote in a referendum poll of the National Committee. While this motion dealt with an important electoral campaign, it did not decide the general question of new methods to be employed in independent political action, such as those contained in the Shachtman motions or in others presented to the plenum. The matter of general ISL policy is yet to be decided. The Abner campaign, and the ISL attitude toward it, was exceptional. —Ed.

DISCUSSION ARTICLE— Against Support of Candidates In Democratic Party Primaries

By BEN HALL

The Independent Socialist League proposes the formation of an independent labor party based upon the unions and separated from the capitalist Democratic and Republican parties. Such a step would open a road to a renewed advance of the labor movement which is now blocked by the policy of collaboration and compromise with the Truman administration in the name of "Fair Dealism." At the same time, by organizing independently in rivalry with all parties a labor party would give a powerful impulse to class consciousness and to the class struggle, raising for immediate discussion, if not for instant decision, the role of the working class as the ruler of the state. Such would be the result, even though at the outset such a party would undoubtedly support the capitalist system and compromise with capitalist politicians.

It is now proposed that militants and socialists in the labor movement press for the nomination of labor candidates INSIDE THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY, in its primaries, in opposition to the regular party machine. The arguments for this proposal fall into two categories: (1) there is no movement for a labor party today; and (2) such fights in the Democratic Party would in reality be the class struggle, the struggle for a labor party in practice.

We contend that the first argument does not justify the new course and that the second is without merit, misleading and disorienting. The INTENT of the suggested change is to find new tactics for a CLASS policy; in this respect it diverges from the position of all those who would support so-called Fair Deal Democrats, like Truman, etc. But in PRACTICE, the application of any such policy leads militants to confuse the Fair Deal-labor alliance with a genuine working-class political program.

The labor leaders believe that they need the Fair Dealers and the vast majority of workers re-

(Continued on page 7)

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R.R. Firemen on Strike for Jobs and Safety

By GORDON HASKELL

May 10—Members of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen struck four major railroads today to enforce demands which had first been made on the railroads seven years ago. Issues in the strike are: an additional fireman in the engine room of multiple-unit diesel locomotives, and raising the lower wages paid for electric and diesel service to the regular steam-locomotive levels of pay.

The introduction of diesel power on the railroads on a large scale has created a serious prob-

lem for railroad workers. Diesels can pull longer trains at faster speeds than steam locomotives, and consume less fuel per ton-mile of operation.

Particularly in mountain territory, hundreds of engine crews have been laid off due to the abolition of helper service. The problem which confronts rail workers is a simple one: how to protect their jobs.

The railroads are screaming "featherbedding." Yet they have not made a single proposal by which the workers could obtain any benefit from the increased

efficiency of their labor brought about through dieselization. They want to hog it all for themselves, as all capitalists hog the proceeds of the greater productivity of their workers.

SAFETY ISSUE RAISED

They claim they have no responsibility for the thousands of men who have spent years of their lives making profits for the railroad corporations. They propose to throw them on the scrapheap as they do with their old steam locomotives. But the price for steel scrap remains high, while the price of human scrap

is zero. The railroad unions propose to keep their men at work. They insist that the great four-unit diesels cannot be operated safely if the fireman has to leave his post in the cab from time to time to adjust machinery in the engine room.

From the union point of view the chief danger in this strike is the fact that there are two engineers' unions. Both of them have claimed jurisdiction over the engine-room work. Both have been turned down by presidential fact-finding boards. At the present moment it is not clear whether

the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers will back the strike of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, or whether they will take a narrow jurisdictional attitude and try to keep their members working to replace the striking firemen.

If they take the latter attitude the firemen's strike may be a long and bitter one. But if the men stand solidly together, regardless of narrow organizational interests, the locomotive engineers should win their fight for a share of the wealth created by dieselization.

UAW Gains Victory at Chrysler but - -

(Continued from page 1)

of ratification was almost unanimous, perhaps five or six delegates voting against it. The Stalinists kept completely quiet, and some of the critics of Reuther who are so vociferous when he is not around were also silent. The "shock" of this strike has by no means passed away, as the routine membership meetings revealed on the following night.

GAINS MADE

Reuther outlined the pension plan won from Chrysler as including \$100 a month for workers at 65 with 25 years seniority, an improvement over Ford where the seniority requirement is 30 years. Credit hours at Chrysler are 1,630 for a full year, while at Ford they are 1,600. Chrysler payments into the trust fund will amount to about 7 cents per year. There is no fixed cents per hour for five years, as Reuther claimed existed in the Ford agreement. Chrysler will put in less whenever social security payments are increased. There is joint administration of the benefits, NOT of the fund.

On pensions Reuther has developed a new tack. The main aim of the UAW strategy now is to force an increase in social security payments, for the only good pension plan really is one for all workers in all industries at the age of 65 no matter what companies they worked for. (There is no more talk of building up a pension fund in one company and then increasing the benefits. That's where the cents-per-hour agreement has disappeared.)

The UAW got Chrysler to agree to the payment of one half of what an individual worker pays for minimum service under Blue Cross and Blue Shield health plans. This amounts to \$1.50 monthly, with most workers paying a larger share to cover their families. Among other fringe benefits, the union obtained an increase of six

payments to \$28 weekly, beginning with the fourth day of sickness. These two concessions are superior to those existing at Ford or Nash, the latest important agreements signed by the union.

The UAW did win its 10-cent package, judging by all indications. Of course, if social security payments increase, Chrysler will be able to decrease its payments into the pension fund, without informing the union. (At Ford the company must inform the union when it drops its payments.)

Among contract changes, the union obtained a voluntary checkoff; some minor improvements in seniority provisions; and an important reduction in the wage differential between Detroit and out-of-town plants by getting a flat 3 cent hourly increase for the out-of-town plants. It obtained a \$31 increase in vacation pay for those workers with 3 to 5 years seniority.

STEWARDS MENACED

Like-wise, the union was able to eliminate the most notorious feature of the Chrysler "company security" section of the old contract which read: "The union agrees that it will not oppose the discharge or discipline of anyone who instigates, leads or induces any other employee to take part in any unauthorized strike." Now the union may negotiate on this vital question, and this is an important modification of the harsh clause which caused more than one chief steward to lose his job, without any recourse to negotiations or appeal to the umpire.

In contradiction with this improvement, however, there is now included a new clause in the section dealing with the functioning (not the structure) of the chief stewards. Readers of LABOR ACTION may recall that the corporation sought to change the present operation of the chief stewards by foisting the General Motors setup

on the Chrysler workers. The company wanted to limit the time which the stewards may negotiate to two hours daily, as in GM. Under the Chrysler contract chief stewards could and often did take all day on grievances or related matters.

The Chrysler strike lasted another week because the company would not give up its insistence on some change in the clauses dealing with the chief stewards. Above all Local 7 leaders, including all "factious," insisted that UAW negotiators stand pat on not permitting any weakening of the present setup.

What finally emerged was the inclusion of this sentence in the old contract: "The privilege of chief stewards to leave their work during working hours without loss of pay is subject to the understanding that the time will be devoted to the prompt handling of legitimate grievances and will not be abused, and that the chief stewards will do the work to which they are assigned at all times except when necessary to leave their work to handle grievances as provided herein."

Reuther insisted that this new sentence simply was a face-saving gesture for the company. "How can we object to putting the word 'grievance'—a reasonable argument, but, as the speaker from Local 7 replied, the fact is that now the threat of loss of pay is implied, and also now the chief steward may have to argue he is on a legitimate grievance. Previously it was assumed that he was. The company could not argue about it. He interpreted this new sentence, as did the whole leadership of Local 7, as a new club over the heads of the chief stewards.

Reuther quickly challenged this point of view: "The UAW will remain a dynamic, militant, democratic trade union, and don't worry so much about the so-called trend towards business unionism which will lead to complete class collaboration." Reuther declared rather vigorously, but when he was kidded from the floor about misquoting a certain book on the UAW, he dropped the subject. Reuther also pointed out there were two reopening dates in the contract.

And this was the whole of the discussion of a strike that was the second longest and certainly the bitterest in the UAW history since the early organizing days and sit-down strikes.

REUTHER DENIES TREND

The second major point of discussion, what there was of it at the conference, concerned Reu-

ther's remarks about the hard-boiled attitude of the company, and his review of the time-table of events and concessions won only after 8 weeks of the strike. The Local 7 delegate told Reuther and the conference that the leadership had made a big mistake in not having Chrysler delegate conferences every other week so the secondary leadership could be informed of developments, to educate the rank and file and to give the strike a more democratic character. He suggested that the confusion and some of the bitterness could have been prevented, and the morale of the workers would have been much higher at the end of the strike, if they understood the social aspects of the struggle. Reuther's reply was that the union had tried to inform the ranks through the mass rallies and the radio programs, but this was an evasion of the point raised.

The fact that the UAW had signed a three-year contract with Chrysler with two reopening clauses (May of each year) was explained by Reuther as necessary since the workers could not and would not want a major struggle before that time. Both in terms of evaluating the militancy of the ranks (look how solid they were for 100 days in spite of the confusion!) and in terms of a disturbing trend towards conservative unionism, the viewpoint of Reuther was wrong, the delegate from Local 7 declared.

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Discussion Article by Hall - -

(Continued from page 7)

developments of the class struggle will create social conditions making it impossible for the alliance to continue.

ABNER CASE IN POINT

How rivalry between the two wings on a local scale is subordinated to a fundamental collaboration within the Fair Deal framework was strikingly demonstrated in the recent Chicago primary fight when Willoughby Abner, supported by the labor movement, ran against the local Democratic machine. Abner is an outstanding militant who has been in the forefront of the fight for progressive policies in the labor movement; but the logic of the real political lineup, and the role of the general labor movement within the Democratic Party, put him forward not as a labor opponent of the Truman administration but as the best local representative of continued alliance with it.

"Abner's voice, mind and personality," announced one leaflet, "can be a positive, urgent force to help Governor Stevenson [capitalist Fair Dealer]." The same theme is repeated in all his campaign literature. The alleged conflict between the Fair Deal and labor in such fights is illusory. Some comrades would, in general, oppose supporting laborites in the Democratic primaries but make an exception in cases like the Abner campaign. The facts hardly bolster such a contradictory position.

When the path to a labor party opens and the labor movement moves to break with the Fair Deal, it will . . . break with the Fair Deal! When the alliance at the summits of collaboration proves to be fruitless or dangerous, the labor movement will hardly fight for fragments of the Democratic Party at the base. When in 1948 sections of the labor movement threatened to break with Truman, they threatened to break with his party and form a new one. They looked

not to primary fights within the Democratic Party but to a split from it. Truman's turn to the left stilled these critical moods but the lesson remains: once the labor movement turns toward a new policy, we will witness not a running series of primary fights inside the Democratic Party but a speedy separation from it.

What should we, meanwhile, advocate that the labor movement become further involved in primary fights inside the Democratic Party? The actual result of such a policy can only be to de-emphasize our efforts toward educating labor to break with that party, and to de-emphasize the Labor Party slogan, until our position in favor of it becomes only a ceremonial bow in its direction—regardless of what is intended. The new proposal points to digging into the Democratic Party; our job, as a socialist vanguard, is to point to a breakout from it.

In over-all result, the UAW is tamer now than it was before the Chrysler strike began. Chrysler did General Motors a big favor. Any half-way reasonable agreement will be readily accepted by the Reuther leadership and the General Motors ranks. And everyone—that is, the vast majority of workers—will say "Thank God we don't face what the Chrysler workers did." But more on that in another article.

U.S. to Finance French War --

(Continued from page 1)

Nazi-dominated Vichy France had yielded the country to them, so that the tenor of the independence fighters was anti-Japanese, pro-Free French and especially pro-U. S. The Stalinists joined the nationalist coalition only in 1942.

When Japan was defeated, Ho declared a republic. Bao Dai, the emperor of Annam (northern, largest and richest section of Indo-China), voluntarily abdicated, declared that he wanted to become a private citizen, and was given an annuity by the new government. That was in September 1945. The French returned with British and American arms to take back their colonial possession, but could not dislodge Ho. In September 1946 they came to an agreement with Ho, recognizing his government of Viet-Nam in the North, while retaining the southern provinces of Tonkin and Cochinchina.

But this was only a temporary deal in the eyes of French imperialism. They began a series of provocative "police actions" directed toward expanding their area and set up their own puppet and separatist regime in Cochinchina. Thus full-scale warfare was precipitated again in January 1947, continuing today.

The issue at this point was not the presently touted "Communist threat," which has been built up since. It was the divide-and-rule policy of the French versus the national unification drive of Ho's coalition and the Viet-Nam government.

SETTING UP A PUPPET

France has been spending a half billion dollars a year on this, the last stand of open colonialism on the Asian continent. This represents half of its Marshall Plan funds, and a terrific drain on its economy. Yet, with all its billions, France has been almost completely unable to build a native army in Indo-China to fight Ho. The population is on the latter's side in what is undoubtedly as popular a resistance movement for independence as has been seen anywhere in the world.

The forces fighting Ho are French troops, not those even of its puppet government, which has not been able to recruit any significant force. But they are French troops mainly in the sense that they have been imported by France. Because of the war's unpopularity in France itself, the French had to recruit a large proportion of its fighting men from German prisoners of war in the internment camps, to whom they offered release on this condition. And most of the recruits among the Germans have been former SS men who were afraid to return to Germany.

France's inability to find any substantial basis for its rule among the Indo-Chinese was shown up glaringly by the shifts it had to resort to in order to put together any kind of puppet regime even as a front. After the French reopened the war in 1947, Bao Dai was brought to the Riviera where the French kept him in style, and where he quickly achieved a reputation as a playboy. It was to this discredited nonentity that the Paris imperialists had to resort.

But even this Bao Dai proved a reluctant tool, so great was the hatred of the French and the support for the Ho government. He kept the French dicker for two and a half years. The Bao Dai faction demanded not only a proper stipend for the playboy, of course, but also definite commitments to the enlargement of the country's independence; nationalism ran too deep for even this degenerate ex-monarch to ignore it completely.

ASIA HATES FRANCE

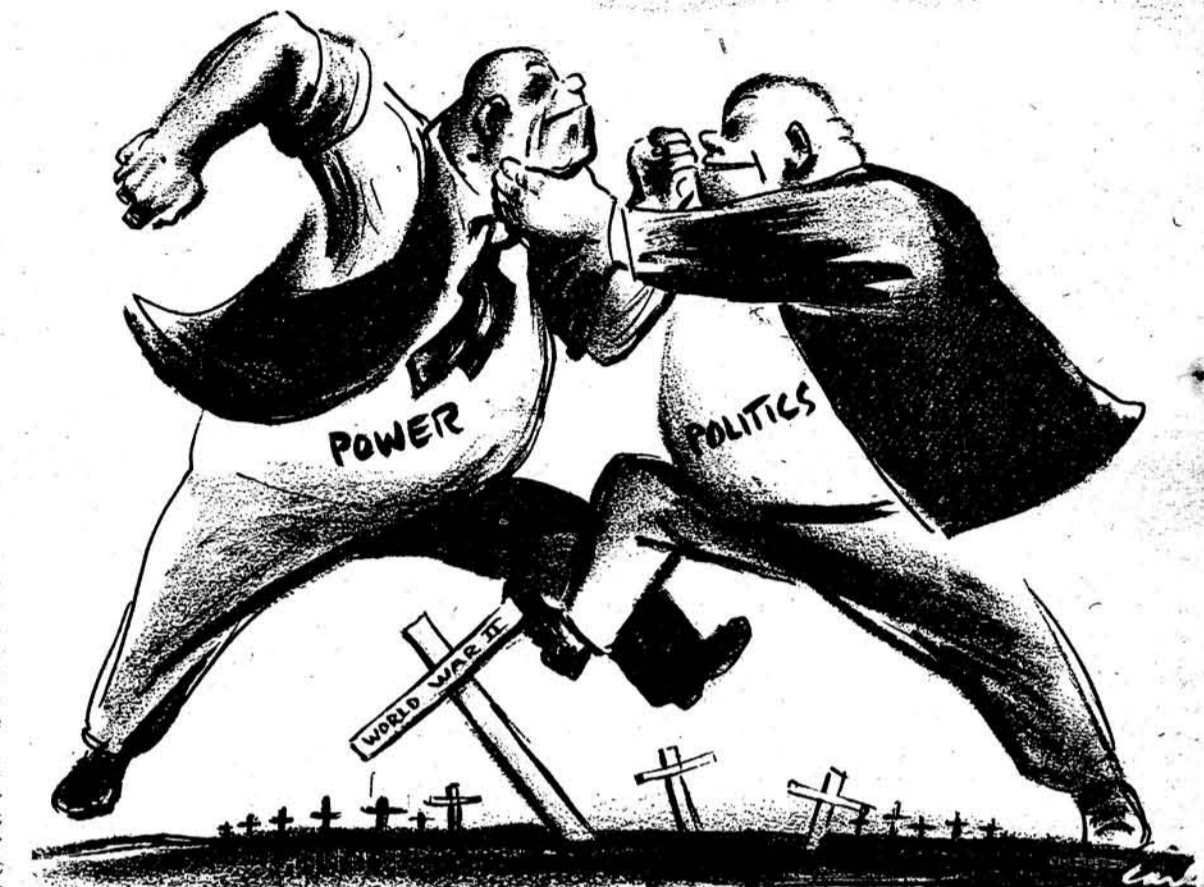
The deal with Bao Dai was made in the middle of last year, and he was set up. Certain powers in internal affairs were assigned to him on paper, while all crucial powers—military, foreign affairs, economic—remained in the hands of the French, but the Bao Dai regime has been unable to recruit an administrative apparatus to take care of even the powers granted it.

Bao's return has not changed the French situation. On the contrary, all reports indicate that France has been forced to throw in more and more to hold on; it has made no new gains except around Tonkin. Today its policy stands condemned both in Asia and in France, while it is helpless to achieve any solution at all, even by force of arms; meanwhile the war exhausts its domestic economy.

In France, as we have indicated, the war is denounced by extremely wide and varied sections of the people, from left to right—even by the leading conservative Paris newspaper, *Le Monde*. In all of Asia, as a result of this war, France has become the symbol of oppressive colonialism and hatred for it.

At the Colombo conference of the British Commonwealth states, the British (toeing the State Department's line) recognized the Bao regime, but the line could not be put across with India and Burma, which refused to go along despite great pressure.

Thailand (Siam) had the squeeze put on it by U. S. Ambassador-at-Large Jessup to recognize Bao early this year, together with a bait of substantial concessions in economic and military aid. The Thai government's asking price was a quarter billion dollars, but it settled for \$10 million. It then recognized Bao—



even so with tremendous internal opposition—but soon after decided that "further protection" was necessary: another \$25 million loan for military aid is now in the wind. . . .

And yet Thailand is the most reactionary of the Southeast Asian states. But so strong is the feeling that Ho's government is that of the people of Indo-China, and so great is the hatred of France, that Ho's agents still operate freely in smuggling operations across the Thai border. Not even Senator McCarthy could accuse the Thai government of being pro-Russian.

The French war against Viet-Nam is not a local affair in one corner of Asia. All of the Asian people are clear about it: the upsurge of independence for Asia is at stake. And it is in this light that the new Acheson policy will be viewed in that great portion of the world.

ROLE OF CP

It would be an understatement to speak of merely "popular" sentiment in Indo-China itself. It is in this context that Ho's relationship to Stalinism has to be understood. Ho Chi-minh is not Viet-Nam; he is the head of its independence struggle and of its government today. But neither his position nor especially that of the Stalinists in Indo-China is anything like that in China.

That Ho was a Stalinist is undoubted. The Trotskyist movement, which had very considerable influence before the war in both Saigon and Hanoi, particularly among the dock workers was part of the national movement. In 1946, Ho led an exterminationist campaign against these revolutionaries. All guerrilla groups under Trotskyist leadership were destroyed as part of Ho's campaign of consolidation. Only in recent months have there been some rumors of a revival of such groups in Cochinchina, near Saigon. Ho showed at least a willingness to be part of the world Stalinist drive against revolutionary socialists under Trotskyist leadership.

The nationalist movement was in full swing during the war as a broad coalition, and it is essentially today the same coalition: peasants, workers, native landlords, intellectuals, even the Catholics and former native bureau-

crats of the ex-colonial regime. It has existed for five years under extreme conditions; it has stabilized the economy in its areas; it has engaged in reclamation work neglected for 50 years by the French; it has set up an extensive educational system—in short, it is a functioning state, while the Bao Dai puppet regime is not.

With regard to its political character, the long and short of it is that no one knows much about it. The French have established an effective blockade. From such reports as are available we can gather: up to at least six months ago, the CP was in truth one of the leaders of the nationalist coalition but it remained a coalition. Unlike China, the CP has been unable to act independently or separately in its own name. The nationalist coalition has shown no serious indications of being pro-Russian or Russian-oriented.

In his last press interview, Ho steered clear of any Russian commitment at the very time when CPs all over the world were defiantly avowing publicly that they would never fight against Russia. Ho's recognition of Tito left many things unclear but it certainly did not point in the direction of Russian puppetry. As recently as five months ago, important elements in the State Department have been unequivocal in refusing to regard the Ho government as simply a Stalinist regime, as it is now being painted in justification of the Acheson turn.

THERE'S A THIRD ROAD

Whatever is the strength of the CP, up till now it has had to follow a nationalist line in order to keep the coalition intact and the loyalty of the people. To date the only reports of Chinese CP help to Ho have come from French sources.

In any case, what is directly to the point is something else. Here is a movement for national independence which is as nearly the unanimous will of a people as one has never seen elsewhere. Here is an imperialist power, France, which is trying to hang on to the last shred of colonialism in Asia in the face of a continent's hatred. Here is a nationalist coalition strongly influenced by what might be a Stalinist, ex-Stalinist or national-Stalinist force but

which is the only one the people look to. There is no doubt that Russia looks with greedy intentions for another conquest.

In the face of this the Western powers offer the Indo-Chinese people only the choice between submission to French imperialism or recourse to Russia, which is willing enough to pose as their friend. But there is a force which could dynamically offer them an independent alternative to both imperialisms. That is the idea, a live one there, of an independent Southeast Asian Federation of the peoples, together with India. Prime Minister Nehru has broached the idea; it could take fire; but Nehru himself is afraid to press it under pressure from the West. Acheson's declaration has shown the true colors of U. S. policy toward independence by choosing—France.

This is not because of any love borne by the U. S. toward French imperialism. It is the strategic place of France for the Atlantic Pact alliance, and therefore for Washington's world plans, which makes Acheson go along in the Indo-China war.

The State Department's last stand for a "liberal" Asian policy came over the question of what would get its aid, the Bao regime or France directly. Apparently Acheson has on this too accepted the French terms, in exchange for a promissory note. And not much of a promise at that. As the N. Y. Times reports (May 9) of the agreement: "It apparently entailed agreement by the State Department that the democratic evolution of the Indo-Chinese states could take place adequately within the framework of the existing accords between France and those states. The recent impression here was that the State Department wanted additional independence or at least the promise of it from France."

It is clear that the State Department has decided that a period is to be put to the national revolution in Asia, for the sake of its Atlantic Pact strategy. One thing is quite certain—that the people of all Asia will look upon this as a sellout. It will be surprising if the Ho government is not forced further into Russia's lap. Such is the nature of Western imperialism's policy of "containing Communism."

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