

**The Independent Socialist League  
Fights for a Socialist Democracy!**

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## Hoffman Warns Europe To 'Integrate' Economy

By SAM ADAMS

Coming on the heels of his report of a fabulous \$101 billion favorable balance of trade with Europe since 1914, Paul G. Hoffman, administrator of ECA, called for an "integration" of the economies of the Marshall Plan nations of Western Europe, before the Paris meeting of the Council of Economic Cooperation last week.

Although the demand for "integration" of the Western European economies is placed before the conference as a recommendation, it is already suggested, in the form of a well-placed Washington rumor, that unless the nations receiving ERP aid carry out this recommendation, the Truman administration will not ask Congress for additional funds to finance a third Marshall Plan.

The point of the Hoffman recommendation is that, given the continued existence of the multiple states receiving aid today, aid becomes expensive without a proportionate improvement in the economic position of capitalist Europe. The many frontiers, the conflicting national trade barriers and the sharp antagonisms of the erstwhile allies stand in the way of a formidable improvement of their economies, and increase the cost of revival many times. Above all,

this economic "nationalism" weakens the resistance to the Russian bloc—that is the inescapable conclusion that Hoffman made in his report.

What the United States wants in return for the billions of dollars now being expended is greater assurance that in the final reckoning with Russia and her bloc, the United States will have a considerably stronger base in Europe than exists now.

### CONFLICTS REVEALED

The report itself is an indictment of capitalism for the very hindrance it erects to "Western Union." American interest in such a union is dictated by economic-political-military reasons. Union of the ERP nations would make possible a pooling of their manpower and resources and thus reduce the costs of revival.

In demanding this "integration," Hoffman stressed the necessity for raising the standard of living of the people in Western Europe, and to do this by an improvement in the methods of production so that these countries may compete successfully in the shrinking world markets. Without this, the masses, he warns, may turn to the East.

These beautiful objectives placed before the Europeans by Hoffman

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## Bell Strikers Go Back, To Fight Case of 22

By MICHAEL FERRIS

BUFFALO, Oct. 31—The members of Local 501 of the United Auto Workers have returned to work at the Bell Aircraft Corporation. They returned without any specific concessions being made to the union by the company. They returned without 22 of their leaders. The fate of their economic demands, the fate of their leaders, lies in the hands of a state fact-finding board turned arbitrator.

Furthermore, some 60-odd members of Local 501 are waiting to be tried in a court of law for alleged offenses ranging from contempt and assault to conspiracy to riot. Possible jail sentences total years. Twenty-one strikers and friends have already been convicted of contempt of an injunction which may mean a \$250 fine and thirty days in jail for each of them.

On Sunday, October 16, members of the fact-finding board set up by Governor Dewey to investigate the Bell strike made a proposal to the union which they said the company was willing to accept. The proposal provided that (1) the strike should immediately be called off; (2) all disputes between the union and the company be submitted to the fact-finding board, which would then serve as arbitrator and its decisions would be binding upon both parties. The company claimed that one of the issues in dispute was that it would not require 22 of the strike leaders. The fact-finding board went along with the company on this and agreed to arbitrate the question of the 22 leaders.

It was the opinion of the international UAW representatives and a majority of the bargaining committee that the proposal should be accepted. A minority of the bargaining committee felt that the union should accept arbitration of the economic issues but that the 22 leaders should go back to work with the rank and file.

### PRO AND CON

A meeting of Local 501 was held on Tuesday, October 18, to vote on the proposal. Those in favor of accepting the proposal argued: The company has made a concession in agreeing to arbitration (which it had refused in the past). Arbitration means that the union will get at least some, if not all, of its economic demands. We do not like to go back without the 22 leaders (they argued), but we have a good case and might get them all back into the plant. The alternative is to reject the proposal, continue the strike and have to contend with the company's all-out attempt to bring in scabs while the union leadership is all tied up in fact-finding hearings and court trials. They felt the latter course meant more pitched battles, more arrests, more scabs and final demoralization of the union.

The spokesmen for accepting the proposal only if the 22 leaders returned to work with the rest of Local 501 also emphasized that the company had weakened by accepting arbitration. In the face of the company's weakened position, they contended, let us show our strength and solidar-

ity with the 22 local union leaders and refuse to go back to work without the 22.

They argued further: The company is getting fewer scabs to go into the plant; some of the men who returned to work earlier are beginning to leave the plant. Most important of all, the plant is not producing anything and cannot produce as long as we stay out.

What effect will our action have upon union militants throughout the country, they asked, when they hear that we have returned to work and let the company lock out the most aggressive, hardest-fighting part of our union?

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## Leading Intellectuals Break with Moscow—

## Titoism Infiltrates the French CP

PARIS, Oct. 24—"Titoism" and allied stirrings of discontent are bubbling in the French Stalinist movement.

The most prominent manifestation has been the public declaration of Jean Cassou defending Tito against the Cominform. Cassou is one of the most prominent of the French intellectuals who have hitherto been fellow-traveling.

More recently, two other leading Stalinist intellectuals, Claude Aveline and Martin-Chauffier, publicly sent a telegram to Budapest protesting the Rajk anti-Tito confession trial. It has created little short of a sensation in intellectual circles. Naturally, these two writers have been greeted with the usual insults and denunciations in the CP press. It is curious that Martin-Chauffier is still collaborating on a Stalinoid paper which, like the others, refused to publish his declaration. Duclos' two intellectual inquisitors, Louis Aragon and Francois Billoux, are reportedly working on Cassou, who is still holding firm.

The effect of these events has been especially strong on large numbers of young intellectuals and university students sympathetic to Stalinism, and Laurent Casanova (the Grand Inquisitor, who likes to refer to himself familiarly in the third person as "Casa") is working overtime to stem the trend.

The CP has issued orders to all party units to hold special meetings in order to pass resolutions approving the Rajk frameup, but several units—in provincial cities, especially in the North—have refused to do so, led by their secretaries. The CP leadership is known to be contemplating the advisability of dissolving these units and starting a party purge of the rebels.

### RUMBLING IN THE RANKS

Several months ago, the Prot affair in the Somme region likewise shook the leadership and its effects are still echoing. Prot, the Stalinist deputy mayor of Longueau, denounced the party leadership as hypocritical, careerist, etc. The party leadership tried to hush it up, but in vain. Instead of cracking down on Prot, how-

# LABOR ACTION

A PAPER IN THE INTEREST OF SOCIALISM

FIVE CENTS

## Steel Settlement Strengthens Murray; Relations with Reuther Strained

By WALTER JASON

CLEVELAND, Nov. 1—A major event affecting the outcome and outlook of this CIO convention was the announcement last night by CIO President Philip Murray that the strike at Bethlehem Steel has been settled on terms that the Murray spokesmen claim are superior both to the fact-finding board recommendation and the United Auto Workers settlement at Ford.

We want to emphasize that this is what the Murray forces claim. There is at present available only a press release on the general provisions of the Bethlehem agreement. It reads well, but leaves many questions unanswered.

UAW spokesmen have no official viewpoint yet, and UAW leaders are studying the Bethlehem agreement to make a comparison. But it is clear that the Murray forces feel they have "gone one better than Walter Reuther," and this is going to have repercussions in the CIO, for one of the most significant underlying developments here is the strain between the Murray forces and the Reuther leadership of the UAW.

Murray forces no longer feel the tension of the steel strike. They expect an early break in Big Steel. Now the ousting of the Stalinists seems even less grave and important to them. Nor are they suffering from any inferiority complexes before the "bright boy" from Detroit.

### BETTER THAN FORD'S?

The CIO press release says the following about the Bethlehem pension plan:

- (1) Completely paid for by the company.
- (2) Provides for a minimum of 100 a month after 25 years of service at the age of 65. (They remind you that the Ford plan calls for 30 years' se-

niority. Of course, Bethlehem already had a pension plan amounting to nearly \$50 a month, with retirement after 26 years of seniority, so the gain isn't as big as it sounds at first.)

(3) The present seniority provisions of the contract between Bethlehem and the union govern pension qualifications—and the press release adds very significantly that the pension is not calculated on the number of hours worked in a year. (The Ford contract calls for 1,800 hours of work a year to get full credit toward a pension.)

No details on administration are available. The duration of the contract is supposed to be for five years, with the union having the right to strike after two years if the company seeks to weaken the pension. There is no information available if the union can in two years improve the plan.

One of the outstanding independent insurance experts here says he thinks the plan is superior to the Ford pension plan. Final judgment must rest until all the facts are before us.

But what is significant is that this break in the steel strike tightens Murray's iron grip on the CIO and sharpens the antagonism between the UAW leaders and the Murray forces. We wondered yesterday, for example, why the only CIO leader introduced who did not get any applause from the right-wing delegates was Walter Reuther. And what Murray meant by his crack when he called Reuther to take the chair over: "I guess Reuther's caucusing again."

Behind the love feast that takes place in public, the growing clash between the conservative forces in the CIO, represented mainly by the Steel Union officialdom, and the UAW leadership pressed by its militant and democratic ranks may well be one of the most important developments coming from this convention.

## Smash Stalinism?—Yes! Political Purge?—NO!

As we go to press, the CIO convention is paving the way for its split. We can only speculate on what queer twists and turns the road will take; but the last stop is in sight. The Resolutions Committee, chaired by Walter Reuther, has voted to legalize expulsions of Stalinist-controlled unions. The United Electrical Workers, already half-way out when its Stalinist leadership terminated per-capita payments, has been expelled together with the Farm Equipment Workers.

Philip Murray calls for an end to Communist Party "influence" in the labor movement, echoing belatedly what militants in the CIO have demanded for many years, even when Stalinists went arm-in-arm with Murray himself. However, we witness now not merely an offensive against the ideas and influence of the Communist Party but a bureaucratically manipulated split through expulsions. It is clear: the CIO will expel Stalinist-led unions whose views conflict with majority policy. The CP splits because under no conditions will it desert Kremlin foreign policy.

The methods employed by Murray and Reuther, in this instance, undermine not only Stalinist influence but union democracy as well. That is why we speak out against the new principle of undemocratic super-centralization—we oppose expulsions of international unions which deviate from official CIO policy, including those controlled at the moment by the CP—just as we have always opposed the expulsion of union men (including Stalinists) merely because their political views conflict with the majority, and have resisted bureaucratic constitutional facts which deny the right of minorities (including Stalinists) to run for office. We take this position, not to defend Stalinism or its reactionary program, but to defend democracy in the unions.

The acute problem in the CIO is the question of Stalinism, but there is today a long-term tendency in the labor movement, as in the nation as a whole, leading away from democracy. Within all unions, the most progressive as well as the most conservative, disturbing signs of the solidification of bureaucratism and the stifling of criticism are evident. Murray's and Reuther's convention methods can only strengthen these tendencies.

Bureaucratic methods of fighting Stalinism spill over into the labor movement as a whole. The new principles of super-centralization will make it difficult for militant unions like the UAW to initiate new tactics and a new political line. The new rulings would close the door to the United Mine Workers, which pursues its own policies. Within the CIO anti-democratic moves are encouraged. . . . the NLU prepares to expel outspoken oppositionists. . . . local CIO councils will adopt only censored resolutions prepared by officials. . . . local unions and local officers will be taught unquestioning obedience and conformity.

### Union Democracy Can Beat Back Stalinists!

Democratic procedures in the unions can do more than shove Stalinism out of office. They can eradicate every trace of Stalinist influence and allow the labor movement to move forward to class-struggle policies. Organize factions and caucuses in the Stalinist unions; shine the light of free discussion on all questions; arouse the membership—these are the methods that drove Stalinism out of its UAW stronghold.

But such methods of struggle, relying on the rank and file, are foreign to Murray's deep-dyed bureaucratic conceptions. If victorious in open democratic struggle against a bureaucratic Stalinist apparatus, rank-and-file factions would not submit so readily to the conservative, Murray bureaucracy.

The split has come bureaucratically, but nevertheless it has come. We repeat what we have always said: Stalinism would turn the union movement into a simple tool of Russian imperialism; it is a tendency inside the labor movement but has nothing in common with the interests of the working class. The CIO, led by conservatives like Murray, supports the imperialist policy of the U. S. and collaborates with capitalist politicians. Nevertheless, in its own way it fights against the capitalist class, comes into conflict with its own government, and tries to squeeze out concessions for the workers. Faced by this split, every union militant must choose the CIO and fight to remain within it; but at the same time he must reject the anti-democratic methods of the CIO officialdom.

## Sidelights on the CIO Convention

CLEVELAND, Oct. 31—In obvious fear of a major Stalinist demonstration in the galleries, the CIO officials had a very large number of sergeants-at-arms, mainly Steel Union secondary leaders, who kept all visitors out unless they had a guest badge, and to get a guest badge was pretty tough the first day. This, to our knowledge, the first time the CIO convention has had such a procedure. After more badges arrived, they were distributed whenever an individual had an OK sign from a non-CP leader.

The meetings of the Constitutional Committee are going to be public and a debate is expected there on various amendments, no doubt so that no time will be spent on the convention floor with lengthy speeches on the issues.

UE anti-CP forces are reported fighting among themselves, and President Murray finally appointed James B. Carey, CIO secretary-treasurer, as spokesman for those forces on the convention floor. A hint of days to come!

There seem to be almost as many reporters and journalists covering this convention as there are delegates. And having exhausted themselves with exciting speculative stories, the reporters find a sense of let-down in just reporting the routine unfolding of the convention.

New definition of free enterprise: Uncle Sam buys out a half dozen other enterprises and hands them free to Western Union.

the convention itself. Most of the United Electrical Workers' leaders, Harry Bridges and others do not show up. But everyone wonders at what point they will make a stand and fight openly on some issue.

There seems to be little discussion off the convention floor, to say nothing of the little there is on it, about the difficulties ahead in the fight against the Stalinists. It is one thing to get tough on a convention floor, with a nice big majority behind you, and another thing to get up at 5 a.m. to circulate leaflets at plants and face Stalinists in an attempt to win the workers over to the CIO. We think the CIO leaders are underestimating this problem terribly. Maybe the UAW can tell them how tough it was in the FE fight.

During his report to the convention Murray said: "But with this combination of interests at work, as they have been until recently, to undermine the steel workers in their strike, like they did the mine workers in 1928, these interests, the big interests, big money interests and the Communist Party joined hands in 1928 to destroy the United Mine Workers of America, and they have attempted just recently to carry out the same program in 1948."

This is a real clue to the thinking of Murray and the kind of CIO he has in mind. For few struggles in the history of the American labor movement are as tragic and as black a mark in labor history as the fight of John L. Lewis, with Philip Mur-

CLEVELAND, Nov. 1—After a sharp but perfunctory debate on the issue, the CIO convention today by overwhelming vote adopted an amendment to its constitution barring any Communist Party member from serving either as an officer or member of the executive board.

The amendment reads: "No individual shall be eligible to serve either as an officer or as a member of the executive board who is a member of the Communist Party, any fascist organization or other totalitarian movement, or who insistently pursues policies and activities directed toward the achievement of the program or the purposes of the Communist Party, any fascist organization or other totalitarian movement, rather than the objectives and policies set forth in the constitution of the CIO."

The Stalinist leadership of the United Electrical Workers (UE) virtually walked out in advance, with an announcement that they were withholding per-capita tax payments to the CIO in accordance with their convention ultimatum.

By WALTER JASON

CLEVELAND, Oct. 31—In marked contrast to the big headlines and stories about the 11th convention of the CIO which began here today, events are proceeding in a cut-and-dried fashion with all major issues settled in advance. This convention is simply ratifying what has already been decided.

When CIO President Philip Murray brusquely turned down a plea by the Stalinist bloc for any kind of compromise at a special conference they held yesterday, the sharpest issue at this gathering was decided. The Stalinists are going to be "cleansed." The only real enthusiasm generated today by the 567 delegates was at Murray's announcement of this fact. Before this appears in print the constitutional amendments, and appropriate resolutions virtually expelling the Stalinist-dominated unions and barring "communists and fascists" from office in the CIO should be a matter of convention record and approval.

[See editorial on this page for comment on Murray's anti-CP policy.—Ed.]

Late Monday afternoon, the first "discussion" took place on the con-

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ray as his chief lieutenant, to keep control of the coal miners' union from a progressive coalition that included such diverse figures as John Brophy, Powers Haggood and other stalwarts—in those days with the active support of the THEN progressive and revolutionary Communist Party, which has nothing in common with the outfit of today except its name.

The key statement in the political action resolution states:

"The legislative representatives of the CIO must encourage and support the creation of a working liberal coalition among the elected representatives in both major parties to carry out the liberal program and to defeat the coalition of reactionary Democrats and Republicans which is committed to the service of privilege and monopoly against the welfare of the American people."

Same old answer for the key task of the day. And what that task is, in the words of the resolution itself, is to be found among the many where-ases:

"The basic political task before us is to develop a strong liberal working consolidation of farm, labor and all liberal forces in a genuine progressive, democratic political-action program which rejects the totalitarianism of communism on the left and the reckless anti-social policies of Wall Street monopolies on the right." No doubt this language is supposed to be a concession to the UAW leadership.

One Line Lacking on the Ballot—A Labor Party!

GOP Offers a Red Herring to Philly Voters

By KARL CRAIG PHILADELPHIA, Oct. 26—The red herring has been tossed into the Philadelphia election campaign.

tend not to be aware of. The posts to be filled in this election are for the row offices. These are city treasurer, controller, magistrates and some city councilmen.

competence and misbehavior in all city departments. The tragedy of this situation is that 300,000 workers in the Philadelphia area could have hauled their forces to run, at the very least, their own independent labor slate, pending the formation of a permanent labor-party organization.

the part of the GOP was demonstrated when Meade accused Harry Norwitch of contributing money to the late Kazmier Miller, who was long associated with the Socialist Party and trade-union movement, to spread "socialist propaganda and slime."

employers Association when it sued the International Typographical Union (Local 2) for conspiracy to violate the Taft-Hartley Law. The association sought \$380,000 in this suit.

KKK, Out in Open in Florida, Fakes Appeal to "Good" Jews and Negroes

By STETSON KENNEDY A "state of emergency" has been declared to exist throughout the Invisible Empire of the Southern and Northern Ku Klux Klans, according to an edict of the Imperial Wizard appearing in the current issue of The Klansman, published in Jacksonville, Fla.

gives a postoffice box number as the address of the Jacksonville Klavern. Copies have been sent through the mails to city officials, attorneys and others.

State Vet Bonus in Pennsylvania To be Voted On

PHILADELPHIA, Oct. 31—In the November 8 election, Philadelphia voters will be asked to vote on the proposed \$500,000,000 bonus for veterans of World War II.

While disavowing all hatred of minority groups, The Klansman attacks the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith as a "Jewish gang," brands Cardinal Spellman as "arrogant," asserts that Negroes are intolerable, but that "—ms are hard to beat," and concludes that minority groups are being "trained in the techniques of revolution, terrorism and Gestapo methods."

Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor...

Danger—Hack at Work!

To the Editor: With some anticipation, we looked forward to the review of The UAW and Walter Reuther to be published by the Socialist Workers Party paper, The Militant.

mark about certain failures of radical groups should be construed as a blanket condemnation of their role in the unions—particularly when the book says the exact opposite?

among the military. The difficulty is not inherent in the material. It lies, rather, in an inadequate acquaintance with the field in comparison with others where we are more at home.

fiddle with the concept of an atomic blitz is unquestionably true. The current formal position of the air corps, however, largely is identical with that of the army.

tain of evidence to support the opposite one: that the army chiefs are planning on a mass army highly technically equipped. Hence, as has been indicated elsewhere, the initial steps taken to abolish Jim Crow in the services. It is no secret that the United States has its eyes on French, German and Spanish manpower—not to speak of Japanese manpower as well.

Cripps on Devaluation

In his pamphlet, "The Choice for Britain," written before the war, Sir Stafford Cripps had the following to say about such measures as devaluation of the pound:

"... as in the case of physical war, the workers were the pawns of the capitalists. Wage levels and social services were everywhere sacrificed in this intense economic competition."

Starting November 8—The 1949 Labor Action School Presents—Five Classes by Outstanding Socialist Teachers—Marxist Study Courses on Major Political Theoretical and Historical Problems—LABOR ACTION SCHOOL TUESDAY EVENINGS FRIDAY EVENINGS



