

# LABOR ACTION

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## President Hits Inflation Bill BUT— His Man DiSalle Gives Price and Profit Boosts

By SAM FELIKS

The United Labor Policy Committee and the entire labor movement has suffered a setback with President Truman's signing of the new Defense Production Act. Congress wrote and Truman signed a bill that is going to hit hard at the living standards of every worker and low-income family in the country.

The price-control features of the new law have been denounced by labor leaders, liberals and President Truman as paving the way to almost unrestricted increases in prices due to the inclusion of the Capehart amendment which guarantees to manufacturers, wholesalers and retailers their "customary percentage margin of profits over cost of materials." This is the built-in inflationary mechanism of the law and one that nullifies whatever else was included about price roll-backs.

At the time Truman signed the bill, he wrote a strong message denouncing the control features of the bill as almost non-existent and as guaranteed to raise prices. Here Truman was making a bid for popular support, when prices begin to rise again, as the leader in the fight against a higher cost of living. But we would suggest that the labor leaders and the liberals take a look at the action of Truman's Price Stabilizer Michael DiSalle. Through DiSalle, the Fair Deal has been trying to work both sides of the street—one as the champion of price controls and

the other as patron of profit incentives for big business.

The Truman administration and the liberals have raised such a shout about the reactionary role of the Dixiecrats and the Republicans that the price-raising activities of DiSalle have escaped relatively unnoticed. On the day that Truman signed the Defense Production Act and wrote the message attacking the price raising features of the bill, the OPS issued regulations that raised the prices on hundreds of manufactured articles and some consumer goods. There were some rollbacks, but the overwhelming majority of prices were upped.

### FAIR DEAL TOO

Several days prior to the signing of the bill on July 31, DiSalle had issued another order, this time allowing increases in pork prices ranging from 3 to 9 cents. While the ULPC and the Truman administration itself were calling for tighter meat controls and denouncing the meat trust, behind the scenes DiSalle was raising their prices so as to allow "fair and equitable" profit margins.

In a letter to Senator Maybanks, chairman of the Senate Banking Committee, DiSalle wrote in defense of a price regulation for machine tools: "It assures all machine toolmakers of realizing profits at least up to the point where they would be required to pay excess-profits taxes." Then the head of the OPS added that "The regulation does

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## UAW Leaders Crack Down on Wildcat Strikes But Speedup Crisis in Detroit Still Unsolved

By WALTER JASON

DETROIT, July 29—The crisis on the speedup issue continued this past week with more wildcat strikes at major Chrysler plants, the placement of an administrator over DeSoto Local 227, and the complete shutdown of Hudson. At nearby Monroe, Mich., a wildcat strike closed a vital Ford parts plant which may affect all Ford production.

The huge Dodge plant of the Chrysler corporation, which employs over 26,000, was closed three days last week when the trim departments walked out in protest over the discharge of two men previously disciplined for being part of a slowdown against speedup.

Pickets were put around the plant by the trim workers who were backed by the shop committee and its chairman, Jimmy Solomon, although the local union president, Art Grudzen denounced the walkout as a wildcat. Grudzen was backed by the international union. In the midst of

this public squabble, Dodge fired Solomon.

On Saturday the local union had a meeting at which a motion was carried to hold a secret strike vote next week, meanwhile everyone going back to work on Monday. This action was proposed by

Dick Gosser, UAW vice president, who supported local union officers against the wildcat strikers. The motion carried after a heated debate in which Gosser was repeatedly and vociferously booed. Since Dodge had hinted that they might take Solomon back if the wildcat strike was over Monday, part of the leadership in the shop retreated during the debate, and the major policy motion carried.

Two second shift shutdowns closed operations at the Chrysler Kercheval and Jefferson plants last week in a manpower dispute. Although these were condemned as wildcat, the company did increase manpower on the jobs involved, and the speedup issue resolved.

### DE SOTO LOCAL SLAPPED

At the DeSoto local, the UAW international union executive board cracked down because un-

authorized strikes had closed the DeSoto Wyoming and Warren plants 80 times since January. These two plants employ around 7,000.

The public announcement named Ed Cote, regional director of the West Side of Detroit, as administrator, with the power to fire stewards and suspend members, an action which can be taken normally only after a trial board hearing and verdict.

Norman Mathews, director of the UAW Chrysler department, said that the stoppages have been caused by a "handful of people in key departments." These small groups of people have walked out over production increases.

"The international union was compelled to act to safeguard the interests of the vast majority of DeSoto workers whose jobs were

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# TRUMAN AND THE 'POLL OF FEAR'

## Why Are the People Afraid of Petitions? Is It 'McCarthyism' or the FBI Witchhunt?

By MARY BELL

"Out of 112 persons interviewed at Madison's Fourth of July celebrations Wednesday, only one man had the courage to sign a 'petition' which consisted exclusively of sections from the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights."—Madison CAPITAL-TIMES, the newspaper which conducted the survey.

"There is a growingly inclusive and pervasive social atmosphere of fear and intolerance stifling the good old American habits of speaking one's mind, joining the organizations one believes in, and observing the principles of fair hearing and of holding a man innocent until he is proved guilty. Guilty by accusation, or—worse—by innuendo, is abroad in the land."—"Security and Freedom—the Great Challenge," annual report of the American Civil Liberties Union.

The story of the July Fourth poll in Madison, Wisconsin was used by President Truman in his recent Detroit speech to score a point against Senator McCarthy, the scourge of hysterical reaction from that same state which, as Truman mentioned was known as the home state of two of America's famous progressive senators.

It is not a story that will bear beaming over the Voice of America. It shows rather that America's voice is stifled, fearful, terrorized, cowed—and ignorant. The signs are ample, and we are convinced that the social atmosphere

pointed to in the ACLU report is well-nigh universal in America, that a comparable poll in any comparable city would produce the same results.

One woman polled read aloud the section of the preamble of the Declaration of Independence which says "that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundations on such principles and organizing its powers in such forms, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness." The Capital-Times gives her response.

"That may be the Russian Declaration of Independence, but you can't tell me that it is ours."

### WHO'S GUILTY?

The petition excerpting the Declaration of Independence was confused by many with a Stalinist "peace" petition distributed the same day, and dismissed as "Communist stuff" by some. Others expressed their fear of losing their jobs, civil service and

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Weeps  
Crocodile Tears  
Over Plight of  
Democracy



# Civil Liberties Union Report for the Year Sums Up Devastating Picture of Witchhunt

By RICHARD TROY

Buried on the far inside pages of a few of our more enlightened papers there appeared last week a small item announcing that the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) had issued its annual report on the state of civil liberties in the country. Few are likely to see the devastating picture which the ACLU report presents.

The ACLU is a genuinely non-partisan organization, a fact of which it is extremely proud, and it fights most of its battles within the courts and by means of letters of protest rather than in the realm of political action. Consequently its report lacks, of course, any kind of political analysis of the events which it so courageously describes. But yet this "watch-dog" report has great impact, and although readers of LABOR ACTION are familiar with most of the cases of encroachment upon civil liberties which the pamphlet brings into focus, a reading of the full report is still advised.

For in this small document almost all of the cases involving the infringement of civil liberties over the past two years are brought together; and when they are piled up one against another, their profound scope and their significance are unmistakable.

The report handles such matters as the McCarran Act, the Smith Act, the House Un-American Activities Committee, the many state investigations of "subversives," the federal security program, various state and local security programs and private industry security programs. It lists the various movements toward the suppression of suspected books, magazines, writers. It reports on the large number of cases in which student rights have been abridged; it points out infringements by labor unions, radio companies, the attorney general's office, members of Congress. It attacks wire-tapping, guilt by association, dismissal without hearing, smear campaigns, imprisonment on the basis of alleged beliefs, etc.

## TOTAL IMPACT

We watch scientists being spied upon and checked, three million government employees run through the security mill, dozens submitted to the shame of the McCarthy (and similarly inspired) charges, loyalty oaths being impressed upon countless city officials, oaths being made a prerequisite for such varied things as collecting unemployment insurance, teaching, acting, etc., CP rallies banned, students being tossed out of schools for criticizing American policy in Korea, actors being fired for alleged relations with subversive organizations, books being withdrawn from libraries under pressure. . . .

The story is endless; the cases innumerable. Scarsdale, N. Y. . . . Newark, N. J. . . . St. Louis Mo. . . . Brookline, Mass. . . . Bartlesville, Oklahoma — the fondest dreams of Martin Dies finally come true!

These things add up: the total impact is terrific. What a picture they present when one reads them within the confines of one 70-page pamphlet! As we mention, no conclusions are drawn and no blame is assigned, but nonetheless

But the very record which the ACLU presents defies its own analysis, demonstrates that the question is no longer simply a constitutional one, no longer simply a question of "security" against the fifth column. Social classes and forces are involved whose vision is above and beyond the Constitution and philosophizing about the relation between security and freedom.

"There is a growingly inclusive and pervasive social atmosphere of fear and intolerance," the ACLU reports, "stifling the good old American habit of speaking one's mind, joining organizations one believes in. . . . What organizations—the NAM? The Chamber of Commerce? The American Legion? Of course not. Only those organizations in any measure critical of the American 'way of life,' what Fortune magazine more pompously describes as the 'American idea,' in other words the capitalist private-profit system.

## BETWEEN THE LINES

To illustrate the irrelevance of constitutional issues we might take a glance at the Supreme Court—supposedly the repository for the highest legal wisdom in the country—which, with a few notable exceptions, has provided little break upon the progress of the present drive against civil liberties. All the evidence is in the ACLU report. In many cases the Supreme Court has declared constitutional steps which the ACLU, in no uncertain or wavering terms, has denounced as unconstitutional; in many other cases the court has refused to review important cases and has thus, in effect, upheld the judgment of the lower courts.

The ACLU is, of course, a non-partisan organization, and could not suggest, even hint, that the Supreme Court has, at a number of points, become a bit hysterical itself, that its powers of reasoning have been subordinated to the requirements of the new garrison state in the making. One needs to read between the lines to feel some of these things.

## THE ISSUE IS LARGER

We find the same pattern followed throughout the pamphlet. Abraham Lincoln is quoted as having asked: "Must a government of necessity, be too strong for the liberties of its own people, or too weak to maintain its own existence?" The abstract question of "security vs. freedom" is discussed but they do not ask: Who gains most from the vast suppression of free thought and expression? In stead they seek to convince their readers, in calm and rationalistic argument, that we needn't sacrifice all our freedoms in order to obtain security.

It is still not uncommon to hear it said among liberals that: Well, yes, the hysteria is pretty serious; it is reaching out and ruining the lives and careers of a host of innocent people; there is a tendency toward the establishment of an officially accepted state line of thought from which deviation may mean loss of job and status . . . but, after all, America has gone through this type of thing before, back in the days of the Palmer raids in the early '20s; and we survived, didn't we?

In fact, it may be pointed out, it was in that era that the ACLU itself was founded, precisely in order to combat the post-First War hysteria. And we recovered. Battles were fought in the courts and after a few unfortunate years the country returned to normalcy, rights and privileges were restored to the critics of society. Yes, we've gone through this before, they reiterate, and yet we pulled through, without too much damage. And the ACLU is still with us, still fighting.

## LIKE THE '20s?

However, as readers of LABOR ACTION know well by now, the analogy is far from accurate. The great hysteria of the early '20s only disappeared when it became apparent to the American ruling class that the world revolution, which they thought they saw everywhere they looked, was not actually coming at that time. Russian Bolshevism seemed to be consolidating itself; most of the European uprisings had been put down; and western capitalism was reestablishing itself. The danger of a radical overturn was no longer immediately present and the pressure could be relieved.

Such is not the situation today. There exists no possibility whatever that world capitalism—which cannot consolidate itself anywhere, much less return to normalcy—can survive the present profound world crisis. The cataclysmic events which are now taking place are no passing fancy, no accidental flurry of insanity;

nor is Stalinism a freak of nature, a conspiracy turned mad. And to think of the present crisis in these terms—as the ACLU implicitly suggests—is illusory. For so far as the American ruling classes are concerned the struggle against Stalinism and the struggle to save capitalism—in other words the never-ceasing fight against the working classes—are closely interwoven.

The decay of civil liberties, then, is part and parcel of the decay of world capitalism, its terrified reaction to a growing realization that it is increasingly threatened by the forces of Stalinism, on the one hand, and of the socialist strivings of the peoples of the world, on the other. And unless one sees a solid and progressive future for capitalism—After it has defeated both Stalinism and the genuinely revolutionary and anti-imperialist forces pitted against it—it is absurd to speak of the present hysteria in the same terms as the Palmer raids and similar phenomena of a different age.

One of the most impressive aspects of the entire ACLU report is the impression it creates, to show in spite of itself the all-inclusiveness the extensiveness of the present drive. Nothing is left unmentioned; it begins to infiltrate itself into every aspect of social life. To label this totalitarianism now would be absurd and incorrect. But to say that, in every field of our life, the first embryonic patterns of totalitarianism have been established would not be very far from the truth. The efforts indicates this vividly. Whereas the Palmer-raid suppression was characterized by a helter-skelter execution, the current drive is moving slowly, more cautiously, but it is doing a much more thorough job, such that only the most radical realignment in forces can restore what he have lost.

We can only be grateful that the ACLU—in the very best traditions of American liberalism—has so painstakingly gathered the great amount of data which it presents in its current report.

# LABOR SCOPE

## A CIO UNION TAKES DEMOCRATIC STAND ON SMITH ACT

By BEN HALL

Most of our unions join the claque applauding the arrest and conviction of Stalinist leaders and sanctions imposed upon the CP because of what it says, teaches and propagandizes. A few unions remain somewhat less enthusiastic, uneasily suspecting that perhaps this outlawing of ideas can undermine democracy. But they maintain a diplomatic silence, evading the vital questions of principle posed by police measures against ideas, in this case Stalinist ideas.

All the more welcome is the July 13 issue of the *Packinghouse Worker* (official publication of the United Packinghouse Workers of America, CIO), which takes a clear and forthright stand in opposition to the decision of the Supreme Court upholding the conviction of the 11 CP leaders.

Before speaking out his mind, the editor reprints with approval an editorial from the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* which reads in part: "Chief Justice Vinson, with the concurrence of Justices Reed, Frankfurter, Jackson, Burton, and Minton, leads the gravest departure from the guarantees of freedom of speech in our history. These six justices say that the

Communists by organizing to teach and advocate the overthrow of the government of the United States by force and violence' created a 'clear and present danger' of an attempt to overthrow the government by force and violence. They cite no overt acts of force. They present no record of violence. They find danger both clear and present through advocacy and teaching alone. Never before has such a restriction been placed on the right to hold opinions and to express them in the United States of America."

## PART OF PATTERN

The editor of the *Packinghouse Worker* comments: "The warning of the *Post-Dispatch* and the warning words of Justices Black and Douglas in their dissenting opinions in this case should be read carefully by every American—particularly by union members."

And he points out that the rights of everyone are endangered: "Workingmen and women and members of labor unions in particular have special reason to be concerned. . . . It is not just the civil liberties of these eleven Communist leaders which are at stake; or even just the civil liberties of the 75,000 or more poten-

tial victims. . . . It may well be the civil liberties of all of us."

The government's action against the Stalinists, he points out, are not an isolated accident but form part of a developing anti-democratic pattern: ". . . as the Supreme Court has cut down on constitutional protection of free speech generally (culminating in this most recent decision) so, hand in hand has gone the process of cutting down the constitutional protection of labor's right to picket."

And he concludes with this warning: "It is our national tradition that no man or woman, however unpopular his or her cause, shall be imprisoned for thoughts and speeches alone. We in the labor movement have special reason for preserving that tradition. We too have thoughts and make speeches that are not always popular with the powers that be."

The Packinghouse Workers is not one of the giant unions of the CIO and so its voice will not sound out loudly enough. Among the most powerful is the UAW, to which militants look for leadership on all the important questions. They have the right to ask it to speak out just as unambiguously as the Packinghouse Union.

# Moscow in New Grab Of Polish Territory

By A. RUDZIENSKI

As has been reported in the world press, there has been an exchange of territory between Poland and Russia. At the end of May, the puppet parliament in Warsaw confirmed the agreement with "unanimity and enthusiasm," and the agreement was signed in Moscow by its Vice-Premier Zawadzki.

In this exchange, Russia gets the area south of Hrubieszow and east of Tomaszow Lubelski. From the county of Hrubieszow it gets the villages of Krystynopol, Belz and Chorobrow, also partially the villages of Warez and Dolhobyczow; from the district of Tomaszow, the villages of Uhnov and partially Tarnoszyn. The area thus annexed to Moscow comprises 480 square kilometers and 20,000 people.

Poland obtains in return the territory of the district of Ustrzyki Dolne. This belonged to Poland in 1939, as did the area of Belz and Hrubieszow.

Zawadzki, speaking in the Warsaw parliament on behalf of the regime, argued that the swap is very advantageous to Poland because the district of Ustrzyki contains oil beds. But this is not true: all the known oil deposits of Drohobycz, Boryslaw and Nadworna have already been annexed by Russia, and Ustrzyki does not have any oil. On the contrary, included in the territory now going to Russia is the area of Sokalska Grzeda, which has iron.

## WAR MOTIVE

But the decisive motive for the new annexation has to do with two railroad lines which connect Wlodzimierz Wolynski with Lwow, one through Kamionka and the other through Belz and Uhnov. By the post-war partition of Poland, these railroad lines had to pass through territory of the mutilated Polish republic on their way into Russia. The war preparation of the Kremlin evidently require absolute secrecy of military movements, and so it has engineered the "exchange" of territory in order to put the railroad lines completely under its own control. It does not wish to have to trust its Polish puppet in this field, in spite of all reliance on Rokossovsky.

Therefore the vice-premier of the puppet Poland was "invited" to Moscow and had to underwrite the new agreement whereby the "happy Polish people" are given the "magnanimous gift" of their own territory by the "magnanimous Stalin."

Such is the magic spell of the "popular democracy," which makes people happy. Perhaps that goes also for the U. S. State Department which has had nothing to say about it so far, as the "guarantor of Polish democracy and independence." The Polish people will always remember the British and America "guarantors" and the consequences of their warranty.

This traffic in Polish soil is the best evidence of what Russia means by respect for national liberty and self-government, under the "theoretician of the national question," Stalin.

## MAIN OUTPOST

And so the most important significance of this cynical trade is its import for the war, which is also confirmed by the Warsaw congress of the Russians and their satellites "against war." The importance of Poland in Russia's war plans is indicated by the selection of Warsaw for this "demonstration for peace," rather than Prague, Berlin or any other satellite capital, and by the presence of Molotov, Zhukov, Rokossovsky as well as of the delegates of the puppet regimes. It would seem that not Eastern Germany but Poland has been selected as the center of Russian war preparations and as the main outpost of the Russian army.

Perhaps this explains the "retreat" of the Polish regime in its war against the Polish peasants. The Kremlin seems to give very great significance to the "Russo-Polish alliance" against imperialism and it will chain the Polish people to the "triumphal chariot" of "Russo-Polish fraternity."

The question of Poland's western border is the biggest argument in cementing this policy, because all the Poles know that the U. S.-British bloc will return the "recovered" territories to Germany, without giving Poland back its lost territory in the East. The whip of Stalin's propaganda in Poland is the danger of a new partition of Poland by the Western allies.

The mass resistance of the Polish people—strikes, peasant riots, etc.—indicates that the Warsaw regime has committed very great mistakes in policy; or rather, it would be more accurate to speak of the mistakes of the Kremlin in Poland. But the Polish workers and peasants are fighting back in spontaneous struggle against the terror.

By J. M. FENWICK

For Japan the signing of a peace treaty with the leading Western capitalist powers marks another stage in the close of an epoch which began with the Meiji Restoration in 1868.

In the years following this decisive political event Japan laid down the economic and political foundations of a capitalist state. The disturbing effects of this development were not seriously felt elsewhere until the period of depression into which world capitalism universally, if unevenly, sank in the years following World War I. The lack of generalized modern industrial techniques, natural resources, and markets, the late entry on the capitalist scene, and a pervasive Asiatic feudal heritage led to Japan's support of the Axis allies—the "have-not" powers—in the war which was the long-expected outcome of the previous decades of economic instability.

These same factors almost inevitably guaranteed her defeat, the magnitude and character of which were precisely symbolized by the destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki by atomic bombs. Japan emerged from the war with all pretensions to an independent world role in the present epoch ground underfoot, and, like England, France, and West Germany, she currently finds herself a manipulated secondary nation in the power contest of the two giants, Russia and the United States.

## JAPAN AS BASTION

For the United States the defeat of Japan meant the elimination of an embarrassing commercial competitor in the Orient. This was not an unmixed blessing, however, for the loss of markets and access to raw materials, the destruction of Japanese shipping, and the deterioration of the Japanese economy meant that the United States had to ensure the economic and hence political stability of the islands by something more than sheer military occupation. This took the form of grants totaling two billion dollars, which, given even better conditions, could have had only limited effects.

Despite the urgings of MacArthur and others for the signing of a peace treaty, United States policy muddled along with only a vague long-term plan. The quickening tempo of Stalinist successes

in the Far East, capped by the assault on South Korea, not only provoked a forced evolution of policy in regard to Stalinism, particularly in the Far East, but it gave concreteness and immediacy to the United States perspective. Japan was to be made a United States bulwark against Stalinism in the Far East. To enlist her support a treaty was to be concluded ending the war and restoring her nominal sovereignty. The completion of the preparations for the signing of the treaty has been the job of the Republican adviser to Dean Acheson, John Foster Dulles, over the past few months.

The signing of the treaty, which opens a new period of diplomacy, serves also as the death certificate for the whole political theory upon which World War II was fought by the capitalist allies, a theory which was subjected to the test of life following the end of the fighting in 1945. It survived for a bare six years.

## RUSSIA WILL USE IT

Unless unforeseen snags develop, the treaty is scheduled to be signed on September 4 at San Francisco, the somewhat ill-omened site, it would seem, of another conference held not so long ago from which so much was hoped in its time. Such celerity in signing is made possible by the simple device of actually, if not formally, inviting neither China nor Russia to the ceremonies. Since the government which is representative of China is in dispute between Britain and the United States, friction was avoided by providing that Japan should later choose which she should sign with. It is hardly one of the major triumphs of modern capitalist diplomacy.

Russia was not asked because, in essence, she would disagree anyway and because basically she contributed little to the defeat of Japan. These evasions, at variance both with explicit agreements and the logic of international developments, will be made a great deal of propagandistically by the Russians, it goes without saying.

The main points of the treaty are the following: • Japan is to renounce claim to Korea, Formosa, the Kurile Islands, South Sakhalin, and her former League of Nations mandates in the Pacific. The Ryukyus, including Okinawa, are to be administered by the United States under a United Nations mandate. • Occupation forces are to be withdrawn within ninety days after the treaty goes into effect. Japan will be permitted to rearm. Agreements permitting the stationing of United States forces in Japan are to be permissible. • Reparations claims are to be waived.

AND THE PEOPLE? The Japanese treaty, as well as the supplementary treaties by the United States with other Pacific countries, is a complement to the treaties and agreements being negotiated in the western hemisphere—notably those with West Germany, Yugoslavia, and Spain, all recently "enemy" countries and all of them possessing regimes ranging from conservative to totalitarian, whose integration into the Allied bloc had necessarily to take place later than such countries as England and France, for instance. From the point of view of the United States the signing of these treaties is an extremely important step in the consolidation of the world coalition against Stalinism. Its effect in precipitating the present Stalinist peace overtures was undoubtedly not insignificant.

Back-breaking problems still confront United States diplomacy in Japan, however. For example, it yet remains to be demonstrated that the Japanese people are in any more of a mood for another armaments program and war than are the German masses, whose lack of interest is notable.

More basic, however, is the problem of the Japanese economy. One-third to one-half of the Japanese industrial plant, excluding that destroyed during the war, is not operating. This is due to the lack of raw materials (cooking coal from China, for example), the disappearance of markets, the presence of trade restrictions, and the absence of a merchant fleet.

Without a stable economy disaffection of the masses, which can be siphoned off by Stalinism to its own benefit or which can assume chauvinist forms, is always a possibility. Continuing United States financial aid is mandatory over a long period. Recognition of this recently led Charles E. Wilson, the Defense Mobilization Director, to propose the creation of a Southeast Asia economic bloc tying in the Japanese industrial potential with the raw-material sources existing in other Pacific areas. These facts have led some commentators to speculate upon the generation of Chinese Titoist tendencies through the inability, or unwillingness, or both, of Russia to supply China's needs, and the ability (as was demonstrated in imperialist form prior to and during World War II) of Japan to do so.

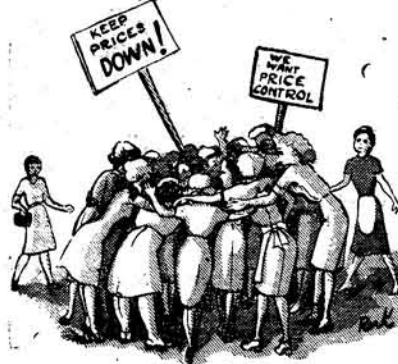
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This, if it is possible at all, however, is a development for the future. About the present, the signing of the Japanese peace treaty with all its vast ramifications, there need be no speculations: it is one more evidence of the profound, linked catastrophes which impends as a consequence of Russian and United States imperialist rivalry.

## Now It's 'Innocence by Association': AVC Sends Out Hint to Rejoin or Else

By GERRY McDERMOTT

In the increasing hysteria of witchhunts, purges, subversive lists and arrests in the nation, a new and alarming (if slightly ludicrous) principle has appeared. It is "innocence by association"—(or "guilt by dissociation"—take your choice.) One is surprised to find that it is the liberal American Veterans Committee which is peddling this notion. But peddling it they are.



Here's how the whole business came to light. The AVC, after its recent convention, is sending out literature aimed at getting former members to rejoin. Part of this literature is a series of quotes from various publications about the AVC convention. We quote the excerpt from the *Army Times*:

"During impressive 4-day convention in New York . . . reports were current that AVC membership now carries almost 100 per cent assurance of clean bill of health from FBI . . . whereas ex-AVCers are much suspect . . . on theory that while Communies ran for cover, true liberals stuck with organization." (Omissions and italics in original.)

The moral is pretty clear—if you don't rejoin AVC, it puts a question mark on your loyalty. So send along the five bucks.

Now the AVC itself did not write this disguised threat themselves—but they certainly gave it out to the *Army Times*. And what is more to the point, the AVC reprinted the paragraph in a letter sent to former members. By and large, the AVC has taken a good stand on the ques-

tion of civil liberties (with the notable exception of their expulsion of members of the Communist Party.) Because they do believe in civil liberties, it is all the more regrettable to see the AVC use—even in a round-about way—the fear engendered by the Truman-McCarthy witchhunt. The AVC will not recoup its membership losses through appeals like this.

The incident—aside from its interest to the AVC and its friends—is symptomatic of how deeply the loyalty-purge atmosphere has penetrated the fabric of American life. This arbitrary and bureaucratic invasion of civil rights has to be reckoned with by virtually every person in the professional, scientific, and academic world.

Since the AVC has such a high percentage of such people, it is not unnatural that they should be concerned with it. But they should be concerned enough about this, threat to their freedom not to give it left-handed support.

After all, brother AVCers, the American Legion is even more acceptable to the FBI—if you are going to look at things that way.

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# The 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 can only 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!

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## Youth Student Corner

### UNITED FRONTS WITH STALINISTS?

By DON HARRIS

In its activities on campus, the SYL comes into contact with numerous other political tendencies. While maintaining its separate identity and ideas, the SYL always seeks common action with other student groups wherever possible. Above all, we seek to cooperate with these groups on questions of civil liberties and democratic rights. In this attitude we are moved by the consideration that united action is always more effective in gaining a concrete objective than is the isolated, limited action of a single organization.

There is an important exception, however, to the general rule we have just stated, and it is this exception we want to discuss. Where the question arises as to the advisability of inviting Stalinist or Stalinoid organizations to participate in a united front, the SYL will generally oppose extending this invitation. Where Stalinists are already part of a united-front movement it is our general aim to isolate them politically and organizationally to the end of having them democratically ousted. Of course, this aim must be carried out with intelligence and good sense.

Not infrequently liberal, religious or non-political clubs insist on the inclusion of the Stalinist organizations as a condition for their own participation. They argue that the exclusion of the Stalinists is a violation of democracy or a "capitulation to reactionary pressure." Where this is the case it would be foolish for the SYL to refuse to participate, especially when the clubs and individuals are acting not out of political sympathy for Stalinism but out of a mistaken concept of democracy or lack of understanding of what Stalinism represents.

As long as the united front is not dominated by the CP or used to promote its specific ends, the SYL has the responsibility of participating in and advancing the objectives of the particular action. Indeed, our participation is frequently a precondition for preventing the Stalinists from gaining control and for educating the non-Stalinist elements.

Thus we do not take the position of some groups which refuse to enter a united front under any conditions where Stalinists are present. These groups merely isolate themselves, and forfeit the possibility of influencing the political education of non-Stalinist elements. However, it must remain our aim to eliminate the Stalinists from any positions of control or influence in the united front and ultimately to propose their ouster.

### They Can't Fight for Democracy

Against those who argue for the inclusion of the Stalinists, we advance two main arguments. The first is that most struggles—particularly those connected in any way with democratic rights, either at home or abroad—can be conducted more effectively without the presence of the Stalinists than with them.

The effectiveness of any struggle today is seriously impaired if the movement can be smeared with the Stalinist label. Our demands are contemptuously dismissed with the cry of "look who's talking." The vast majority of people, including students, understand the absolutely correct idea that Stalinists, whatever their protestations, are not believers in democracy—bourgeois, proletarian or any other kind. There is, therefore, an understandable tendency to dismiss the claims of any group fighting for reforms or democracy, unless it can demonstrate its sincerity of purpose. The presence of Stalinists makes this demonstration impossible.

Our second reason for opposing the inclusion of Stalinists in united-front actions flows from our conception of their program and ideology as totalitarianism. Some people are still fooled by the fact that Stalinists proclaim the words of Marx or mouth phrases from Lenin. What is decisive, however, is that the whole public activity of the Stalinist movement, on campus as elsewhere, is directed toward defending the interests of a totalitarian social order.

Any political victory, any organizational advance for the CP represents a defeat for the peoples enslaved by the Stalinist regime. It is fundamental consideration which determines at all times our hostility toward the Stalinist movement and our efforts to isolate and defeat it.

What generally unites different political and cultural campus organizations is a common belief in some democratic cause, backed by a general adherence to civil liberties. It is not difficult to prove that Stalinism in power abolishes all liberties. Sometimes Stalinists can even be led to admit that if they were in power they would favor imprisonment of critics of their regime. On this basis, then, we have a powerful argument for excluding Stalinists from any group working for a democratic aim.

### For living Marxism—read THE NEW INTERNATIONAL



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## READING from LEFT to RIGHT

### VIIET-NAM HAS A THIRD FORCE, by Sol Sanders.

—New Republic, July 30.

Sanders, recently returned from Southeast Asia, has three points to make: (1) The Viet-Minh forces nominally led by Ho are thoroughly Stalinized now, the Kremlin's agents control every important post in the movement, and Ho himself is now little more than a figurehead. (2) The French are still as intent as ever on maintaining the Bao Dai regime as a colonialist puppet, despite all propaganda to the contrary. (3) The third-force elements toward which he looks with hope are in the anti-Stalinist camp seeking to break the struggle against Ho away from French domination and make it a real national struggle.

Of the last, he writes: "Many of these 'nationalists,' as they are known even in Viet-Minh circles, live in constant physical danger. Viet-Minh victory in Indo-China would mean the firing squad; meanwhile there is always the danger of a Viet-Minh assassination. And the French have long considered them their second—if not their first—enemy. In the immediate post-war period, the French armed the Viet-Minh police in Hanoi who on several occasions

shot down anti-Stalinist nationalist demonstrators. . . ."

This "third force" which Sanders sees "draws from" a number of groups within the Bao Dai regime, but "to mention these organizations is to deceive the reader about conditions in Viet-Nam. . . . the French are quick to crush any organization in the region nominally controlled by Bao Dai's government which threatens to put an end to the farce of the present 'independence.' They recently purged the efficient government of North Viet-Nam for this reason." And he makes clear that "The anti-Stalinist force in Viet-Nam is largely based on individual rather than group organization."

And "Washington, so quick to jump to recognition of the Bao Dai regime under the French so-called transfer of sovereignty, is of no more help. At the time Bao Dai was trying to create a government of national unity earlier this year—jettisoning the notorious French puppet Premier Tran Van Huu—American Minister to Viet-Nam Donald Heath told a Washington television audience that the issue of colonialism was dead in Indo-China. At that moment De Lattre had gone to Dalat to present Bao Dai with an ultimatum as to who could and who could not be appointed to the new cabinet."

## WORLD POLITICS

### FROM GERMANY: MORE ON U. S. AND THE RUSSIAN EMIGRES

The following are excerpts from an article entitled "Will There Be a Russian Government in Exile?" by P. Siroka, from the German periodical DIE BRUCKE. It adds some points to LABOR ACTION's recent discussion of U. S. policy and the Russian emigres. As we mentioned last week, the comrades of the Ukrainian VPERED sent us the clipping.—Ed.

But this resurrection of monarchist activity did not last long. Their biggest problem was the clash between the old and the new emigration, that is those Russians who had experienced the Soviet regime and who are very strongly represented in the Russian emigration of today.

These emigrants rejected, in the main, any joint work with the monarchists. In this way the influence of the old monarchist organization remained small. Today the monarchists no longer have a unified organization. They have split up into a number of small groups which are often very hostile to each other. . . .

### THE "SBORN" GROUP

Most interesting is the behavior of the former Vlassov soldiers and the Eastern workers (Ostarbeiter), i.e., those new emigrants who have lived for almost thirty years under Soviet rule. Right after the war they did not develop much activity, as they became one of the victims of the policy of persecution followed by the Allies and especially by the Americans (the Vlassov soldiers were turned over to the Russians, especially from the camps at Plattling and Dachau). They did not develop any initiative of their own till the year 1947. Then the Youth League of Struggle (Kampf der Organisation der Jugend) appeared from this source.

Different attempts were made to form a center for the Vlassov movement, but all of them failed, as they rejected every collaboration with the monarchists and also, in part, with the NTS-Solidarists. The Youth League of Struggle transformed itself, in time, into a political organization called SBORN, with a strongly left democratic program.

Only a small portion of the new Russian emigration has gone over to support of the right-oriented currents of the Russian emigration. (These have formed a Committee of the United Vlassovists with General Turkul, journalist Muzytchenko and Gretscho at their head). The left wing of the former Vlassov movement publishes a weekly paper in Munich called "Golos Naroda." Further, a military organization was formed from among these people called SWOD. SWOD and SBORN support each other in all actions. . . .

### CHECK-WAVERS FAIL

No close cooperation took place among all these organizations, and this fact had a positive influence on the organic crystallization of the political thinking of the new Russian emigration. This situation was changed at the beginning of 1950, when certain American circles took the initiative in attempting to "organize" the Russian emigration.

A number of American politicians have come to Europe who attempted to unite the Russian emigration here. The first attempts had set as their goal the unity of all the Russian organizations, including the monarchists. This attempt failed completely. It only became clear to these American circles in 1951 that a unification with the monarchists was impossible. Between January 16 and 23 a conference was called in Fuessen which had set as its

goal the unification of the Russian organizations. . . .

The group of American politicians which sought to realize these plans is composed of the following personalities: Chamberlain, Williams, Isaac Don Levine. Behind these persons stands a whole school of American politicians in the State Department who are determined to bring about a rebirth of a new centralized Russia. This group has considerable sums of money at its disposal, and the American "Committee of Struggle for the Freedom of the Peoples of Russia" stands as patron of this action.

The Fuessen conference failed completely. The attempt to unite the right-nationalist NTS-Solidarists with the young democratic current SBORN failed despite the efforts of the Americans. Even a check for \$600,000 which was shown around failed to have any effect. The NTS people left the gathering, and no center came into existence.

### MENSHEVIKS SPLIT TOO

Further attempts are being made by the Americans to unite the semi-fascist NTS with SBORN. It is not possible to predict whether any success will be achieved. We know only one thing: that these attempts to unite the Russian emigration in a bureaucratic manner have only brought about the complete demoralization of Russian political life.

We will only point to one example: the Russian Menshevik organization, which had held together as a unit for years, has now split into three groups. One is around Abramovitch and Schwarz, another around Arosan and Dvinnov, and a third around Dailin and Nikolayevsky.

In SBORN too, a left-democratic organization which consists one hundred per cent of the new Russian emigration, misunderstandings have arisen. Disintegration and demoralization are the only "successes" achieved by the American specialists for Russian politics, or at least this is true for those who were sent to Europe to bring about this combination.

In closing, it should be mentioned that this "American" conception has been completely rejected by all the non-Russian peoples. As we know, neither the Ukrainians nor the Caucasians want under any circumstances to have anything whatever to do with the restoration of a new Russian empire. . . .

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THE PRINCIPLES AND PROGRAM OF INDEPENDENT SOCIALISM

May Day issue, 1951—

INDEPENDENT SOCIALISM AND THE WAR

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# Calif. SP Publishes Anti-War Stand

The Socialist Party's state organization in California, whose fight against the pro-war line of the national party leadership we have reported (July 16), has started issuing its own "official organ"—a small mimeographed folder entitled the SOCIALIST ADVOCATE. The first issue, dated July, carries the text of the resolution on war which this dissident section of the SP had adopted at its state convention. It is a clear and vigorous statement of a Third Camp position on the war.

We are glad to see it. To be sure, its formulations are a bit rough in spots and it by no means considers many of the problems which an anti-war position should take up, but this is of tertiary importance compared with the fact of the fundamental position taken.

We publish it below for the interest of our readers.—Ed.

The world of today stands at a dividing line. It is now obvious that "normalcy" has disappeared, never to return. The 20th century has seen a series of more and more frequent and more and more destructive wars. Each war is supposedly fought to win some high ideal. But each war, instead of bringing peace or freedom, only lays the groundwork for a new and even more destructive conflict.

Today we are faced with the prospect of yet another war—a world war fought with weapons so powerful that they may destroy civilization itself. This is the problem of our time—a problem which we cannot escape.

Will men abolish war, or will war abolish men?

In the world conflict which looms before us the two chief opponents are the United States and Russia. All other nations are subordinate to these two and are finding themselves forced toward war whether they like it or not.

To abolish war we must destroy its causes. Wherever there exists a form of society or economy that leads toward war, we must replace it by a more adequate form.

The United States is a capitalist society. Like all other capitalist societies, this one can no longer exist without war. Capitalist economies are by nature unstable. They constantly produce more than the people have the money to buy. But unless the surplus is got rid of in some way, profits will decline and a depression will result.

The way in which the surplus is got rid of in the United States is by spending on war. The government by means of a multi-billion dollar expenditure on war-preparations keeps the economy going.

With our tremendous productive power we could provide everyone in the United States with excellent food, clothing and shelter. But this is "unprofitable" to the businessman. So instead, we use our productive power to make instruments of destruction.

Capitalism is a declining form of society. At one time capitalism was dominant throughout the world, but today the United States is the only powerful survivor. Communism in its Russian form has greatly expanded at the expense of capitalism.

Communism has grown ever more powerful in recent times. If capitalism remains its only opponent it will eventually triumph, for Communism feeds on the inadequacies of capitalism. All over the world, except in the United States, the people have rejected capitalism because of its depressions and drive toward war. They turn to Com-

munist because it seems to offer them something better—land reforms, abolition of an exploiting ruling class, a planned and efficient economy. It is by means of high promises to the people that Communism has spread.

In reality, however, Communism—Stalinism—brings with it a new form of oppression. It places power in the hands of the government bureaucrats and the secret police. It does not free the people but enslaves them in the interest of a new ruling class. It extends its power through war.

Communism parades under the name of socialism. But it has nothing in common with socialism. Socialism seeks to extend democracy into all spheres of life, while Communism seeks to stamp it out. Socialists are the most bitter enemies of Communism.

The fact that both capitalism and Communism are reactionary—that neither meets the needs of the people, but rather hurts their most essential interests—is clearly brought out in the Korean war.

### AGAINST BOTH WAR CAMPS IN KOREA

Neither the United States, nor Russia, nor China is interested in the Korean people. Korea is merely a pawn in the struggle for the control of the world. The two great war camps prepare themselves and seek to better their strategic position over the corpses and rubble of a helpless Korea. Whichever side "wins," whatever peace terms are agreed upon, the Korean people will lose; indeed viewing the destruction already wrought in their land, they have lost already.

Korea offers us a picture of what the threatening World War III will be like if it comes. As in Korea, so throughout the world, the people will lose if war comes. War has become so destructive that it makes little or no difference which side "wins." Regardless of the victor, war carries in its wake poverty and the dictatorship bred of poverty.

We must stop asking which side should win this war. We must ask ourselves how wars can be stopped altogether. We must create a force for peace.

This force for peace can only be established by abolishing capitalism—which can survive only by war—and Communism—which aggressively seeks to spread its own brand of exploitation.

Socialism is this force. Socialism proposes a form of society in which democracy is total—where the people democratically plan the economy in their own interests, and where there is no "surplus," for production will be for use rather than for private profit.

A socialist United States could win the peoples of the world to its side by:

(1) offering a real program of massive economic aid to the ruined and backward areas of the world. This would show them that we really have their interests at heart.

(2) encouraging necessary reforms abroad as well as at home. A capitalist United States is committed to maintaining capitalism throughout the world. But the people are opposed to capitalism. Thus the United States has to support dictatorship and suppressive colonial imperialism. By encouraging the social transformation which is so necessary, a socialist United States would win to its side the real friends of democracy—the people.

We stand today at a dividing line. Either we must accept exploitation and war or we must go ahead to the establishment of a socialist society.

### SWP SQUIRMS ON CEASE-FIRE

# Well, What's Your Line, Comrades?

By HAL DRAPER

In our July 16 issue, under the provocative head of "Here's Your Line, Comrades!" we addressed ourselves to the members of the (Cannonite) Socialist Workers Party in order to tell them what their position should be on the Korean cease-fire, if it was to be consistent with the rest of their mythology on the Korean war. We discussed the line that their Militant was uneasily putting out, in its editorials and in a special article by M. Weiss.

We note that the aforesaid M. Weiss has been suitably provoked—but only to feeble squirming. The latter took place in the Militant's last issue, July 30.

Let us recall, first, what the Cannonite mythos is. They support the war of the Stalinist camp in Korea. They support it on the ground that it is a revolution for national liberation led by the North Koreans (and aided by the Chinese "revolution"—i.e., the Stalinist regime). It is furthermore an essential part of their story that Moscow, far from unleashing the North Korean attack, is concerned mainly with stopping the spread of such "revolutions" and that its role in the affair is to try to sell it out.

On the basis of this cracked-mirror version of history, we asked, what does the SWP attitude toward the cease-fire have to be?—especially when Stalin, who has been plotting all this time how to knife the North Korean revolution, comes out with a cease-fire plan over the heads of the Koreans and Chinese. We suggested it:

"Down with the cease-fire, North Korean revolutionary comrades! On with the war—we mean, the Revolution!"

And we gave the reasons why the Militant's own columns had left them no alternative but this, as we shall see again.

### BREAST-THUMPING AS USUAL

Weiss's attempt at a reply has only a single merit, if it can be called such: it clearly shows that the SWP leaders feel as much up in the air on the subject as they should. But there is no indication in it as to how they expect to get down.

The heart of his first point is: "it is utterly false to oppose a truce, armistice or any other temporary agreement between the working class or the colonial people and the imperialists—as a principle. There is no such principle in the program of revolutionary socialism."

As usual, the Cannonites, faced with one of their insoluble dilemmas, take refuge in all the greater breast-thumping over some unobjectionable but irrelevant "principle" without even trying to meet the point.

No question of "principle" had been raised. In fact, on the contrary he had been kindly enough to point out exactly how they might have solved their problem. "It would be a half-reasonable way out," we explained to them, if at least they claimed that the North Koreans should consider a cease-fire on the ground "that their North Korean revolution is in danger of losing, and truce is better than defeat."

In this case, a cease-fire would certainly be in order from a revolutionary point of view.

But the Militant itself had closed this way out for itself. Its editorial had said: "The Korean war can be ended temporarily in a truce because American imperialism finds this particular war to its disadvantage at the present time. The Korean and Chinese forces are surprisingly strong. . . ."

If this is true, then Weiss cannot talk vaguely about "concrete" circumstances which must be considered, etc. with the implication that the North Koreans are forced into a truce because of their military position. If Weiss wants to repudiate this Militant nonsense now, that's all right with us: we were simply wondering (demagogically of course) how the poor SWP members were supposed to know what to believe.

### NOW HE DOESN'T KNOW—

Weiss's second point—such is the feebleness of his squirming—if it means anything at all, also points to a repudiation of what he himself had written earlier. It consists of some general language about how a Kremlin sellout MAY take place but it "is not the only variant," there is a "possibility of a cleavage" between the Kremlin and the North Korean-Chinese revolutionaries, and "We don't know what the relations between the Kremlin and the Asian Communist parties are in these cease-fire negotiations," etc.

In the article we had previously discussed, however, Weiss "knew" a lot more than this. He had raised the explicit question of "the reason the North Koreans and Chinese have gone along with the terms of this armed truce." And he had been so unlucky as to give a reply. It was that the North Koreans were "caught between the enormous military might of world imperialism and the pressure of the Kremlin, with its power to withdraw the scant aid they have been getting. . . ."

It was not, one sees, a question of knowing "the relations" between Moscow and Peiping-Yongyan (a very dark area) but of "knowing" at any rate that the reason the "revolutionaries" were going along with the truce was because Moscow and the U. S. were twisting their arm.

In such case above all, it would be the duty of the Militant to speak out for continuing the "revolution" while the North Koreans were gagged by Moscow.

Now Weiss "doesn't know"—which, everyone will admit, is a vast step forward. Another step forward is the fact that he makes no reference at all to anything which the Militant had previously written, which had been the basis for our article.

We raised "an extremely serious question," Weiss admits, but he complains that we did so in a "frivolous" manner. A serious question for them it certainly is, when it is obvious that they are entirely at sea. Others may be pardoned if they refuse to take seriously the problem of how to draw consistently fantastic conclusions from the SWP's fantastic politics.

# "ONE WAY ONLY"

## The Bevan Group in the BLP Issues Its Program 'Manifesto'

By HAE DRAPER

The Aneurin Bevan left wing of the British Labor Party has presented its political program and ideas in the manifesto-pamphlet which it published on July 10, and there are few recent documents which so fully merit the eager interest and thorough understanding of socialists everywhere.

For there is not the slightest exaggeration in saying that the fate of our era may depend upon the socialist masses of Britain and what they do, and it is the Bevan movement which is right now a key to next steps by those socialist masses.

Even before seeing the text of the new pamphlet (entitled *One Way Only*) we were able to comment on the obvious venom which filled the dispatch reporting its publication sent to the *N. Y. Times* by its London correspondent Raymond Daniell. We referred (July 16) to his poisoned-dagger thrust that Bevan's views are so close to the Stalinists that "there is a distinction rather than a difference" between them. This was pure slander, reflecting, as we said, nothing but the dismay and fear of U. S. diplomatic circles at the effects of the Bevanites' stand on London's willingness to submit itself as U. S. Airstrip No. 1.

We can now ascertain that besides slander the *N. Y. Times'* eminent London correspondent added outright falsification.

On July 11 this citadel of journalism informed its readers that "As evidence that the Soviet Union had no aggressive intentions in Europe, the [Bevan] pamphlet cited the fact that the Soviet Union had not attacked Yugoslavia . . ." and the following Sunday Daniell reiterated that "Briefly stated, this policy [of Bevan] is to scale down rearmament on the theory that Russia's aggressive intentions have been exaggerated. . . ."

And again as late as July 29, even more brazenly: "Peiping and Moscow . . . according to Bevan's thesis, are not really aggressive but just frightened by the saber rattling in Washington."

### It's a Smear

Now, to be sure, this was not impossible to believe on the face of it because it is a fact that among the left-wing elements in the Labor Party there exist all kinds of illusions about the peace-loving intentions of the Kremlin. We are not talking about Stalinists and Stalinoids in the BLP either. Nor is it necessarily associated with similar illusions about Russian "democracy," the latter being virtually a hallmark of the Stalinoid.

For that matter, such illusions about Russia are far more widespread than these elements, or than organs like the *U. S. Nation* or the *British New Statesman and Nation*. The best case in point is such a thoroughly non-socialist group as the leadership of the United World Federalists in this country. The book by the UWF president, Cord Meyer, *Peace or Anarchy*, which is the most ambitious presentation of world federalism, is chock-full of such stuff.

The reason for the persistence of such illusions about the Kremlin by anti-Stalinists is very, very plain. They yearn for peace. Their social outlook does not permit them to look to any Third Camp against both imperialisms as the way out of the cold war. For them peace therefore becomes a matter of reconciling the two camps. If this is so, they must be reconcilable. It is not only possible, it is necessary for them to fall for the fraud of "peaceful co-existence"—otherwise there is no point to their own program.

But none of this appears in *One Way Only*—not a word.

Daniell is a falsifier: the pamphlet is very clear on the aggressive aims and aspirations of the Kremlin. The reference to Yugoslavia in it has to do with the argument that Russia is WEAKER than is supposed, not that it has less aggressive intentions than is charged to it.

We shall have to come back to this, the Bevanites' real views, but we must point out that the *N. Y. Times* was not the only eminent

organ to propagate the falsehood that the pamphlet based itself on illusions about the Kremlin's foreign policy. This was also done by the London *Economist* on July 14: "The Russians are not, Mr. Bevan has discovered, as bad as people suppose; they are weaker and less bellicose." (My italics.)

This is simply a smear. The trouble with the politics of the Bevanite pamphlet does not lie here. The real weakness of the pamphlet was shrewdly hit (from its own viewpoint, naturally) not by the *N. Y. Times* but by its namesake, the London *Times*—as we shall see.

For if the Bevanites have no illusions about Moscow's peacefulness, on what ground, then, DO they base their opposition to Attlee's foreign policy?

It is of the very nature of Bevanism that this cannot possibly be answered coherently, let alone correctly, without first understanding a few other things about the significance of *One Way Only*.

### Pushed from Below

The significance of this Bevanite manifesto lies in the following:

(1) In the very first place, the fact that it has been put out at all.

The point of this can be appreciated if one remembers the predictions, freely made after Bevan's resignation from the cabinet, that he was going to lie low, keep buttoned up, and merely wait for the Labor government to get into inextricable difficulties, when the masses would call him back to the stage. Above all, there were the predictions that he would not appeal to the Labor rank and file. We are not in any position to argue that such were not his intentions: who knows? We merely point to the fact, which the pamphlet signalizes, that—whatever the intentions—he and his group are being pushed to make an open fight.

An open fight it is, with the coming BLP conference at stake. No one has any doubts on that. In this connection it is of interest to point out a factual misstatement in the above-mentioned *N. Y. Times* account. The pamphlet was not issued in the name of Bevan and the other two resigned ministers, as their individual view (though even that would not change the fact that it is the statement of a tendency). Explicitly, the pamphlet is presented as the work of "a number of persons," that is, a group of Labor MPs, with the three ministers signing only the introduction. As the London *Times* explained:

"There were 22 Labor members at first associated with the former ministers in the preparation of this pamphlet, but the number of those who wished to be associated with it is said to have grown much larger. For this reason the names of the members of the group—other than those of the three ex-ministers—are not published."

We will see another reason to remember this fact later.

(2) The ideas put forward in *One Way Only* are less significant in themselves than they are

as a reflection of the pressure of the Labor Party's ranks.

Yes, we know that this formula about "mass pressure" can be overused and abused, but there was never a case where it was clearer. Look at the resolutions pouring in for the BLP conference: the London *Times* points out that the 37 local motions on rearmament submitted by sections of the party, all of them critical of the size of the program or of the method of carrying it out, were sent in after the Bevan resignation but before the publication of *One Way Only*.

Similarly for the 37 resolutions on foreign policy, "several of which, including one from the National Union of Railwaymen, resemble each other so closely as to suggest a common origin." (Then there are the 21 resolutions on the nationalized industries, many of them calling for greater workers' representation on the boards.)

Daniell's dispatches to the *N. Y. Times* of the last few days have been full of reports of the gathering strength in the party behind Bevan, and he has added: "This body of left-wing opinion . . . was not created by Bevan. It was there all along. What he has done is to harness his charisma to the discontent and anxiety that is troubling a vast segment of the electorate."

### Subordinate Foreign Policy

(3) It was this body of left-wing opinion which "was there all along" which brought about a significant change in Bevan's line from his resignation statement to the pamphlet.

The London *Times* was again eminently shrewd in pointing this out. Its editorial stressed that when Bevan resigned, his remarks on the rearmament program were that it was "physically unattainable without grave extravagance in its spending," and that "the figures in the budget on arms expenditures are based upon assumptions already invalidated." Nowhere then, it stresses, did Bevan indicate that he thought the scale of rearmament was "unnecessary."

The argument in the pamphlet now, however, is not that the armament program cannot be swung but that it should not be carried through. The former requires a technical argument, the latter a political position and program—this is the point.

(4) Now from the angle indicated above, it is important to understand that the center of interest of the pamphlet's writers is on the questions of DOMESTIC POLICY, the questions which affect the living conditions of the British workers. Their thinking starts from the needs of domestic policy, not foreign policy. Even when they are attacking the foreign policy, it is at the domestic policy which they are aiming. (Incidentally, this is exactly the reverse of the approach of Stalinism, which of course is interested in domestic questions only insofar as these provide a handle for mobilizing sentiment behind their foreign-policy—i.e., pro-Russian—line.)

We will explain why it is important to emphasize this. For one thing it accounts for the fact that, even under the general heading of foreign policy, it is not foreign policy as such which the Bevanites are interested in, but the rearmament budget. No coherent discussion of foreign policy at all emerges from the pamphlet because it is there mainly to buttress their argument against the rearmament program.

For the Bevanites are attacking the rearmament program not because of the foreign policy which it implements but because of its consequences on the social program at home. The driving force of their opposition to the rearmament program is the government's position that rearmament must come first and that the social program must be sacrificed to it.

### Their Starting Point

Therefore, also, what they attack about the rearmament program is its size, in the most limited way. This is not just a tactic for them, or a means toward mobilizing opposition to Attlee's foreign policy: it is the question for them, the heart of their thinking. The issue is

(Continued bottom of next page)

# Mapai Wins First Place in Israeli Election

By AL FINDLEY

Returns in the Israel election to the second Knesseth, held on July 30, gave the Mapai (the Labor Party led by Gen-Gurion) a smashing victory and upset the predictions of the commentators.

The tally stood as follows: Mapai 39 per cent; General Zionists 16.7; Mapam (the other labor party, heavily Stalinized) 12; Heirut 6.7; Hapoel Hamisrahi 6.5; Stalinists 4; Mapai Arab lists 4; Progressives 3.5; Poale Agudas Israel 2; Agudas Israel and Misrahi 1.5 each.

The Mapai was indeed expected to better its vote as compared with the November municipal elections, in which its strength dropped to about 30 per cent of the popular vote. National elections give greater weight to the agricultural collectives and cooperative settlements, as opposed to the cities; the latter in Israel are mainly commercial rather than industrial centers.

The new immigrants also played a greater role in the national election, and the Mapai was known to be strong among this group.

Mapai increased its popular vote to 39 per cent, a 4 per cent gain over its figure in the national election of January 1949. At that time the Mapai vote was discounted as a socialist vote on the ground that it was a sentimental vote for the first head of the new state, and it was expected that popular discontent with Israeli "austerity" would reduce its power.

The bulk of the new votes for Mapai came, of course, from the Yemenite and Oriental immigrants. In the cities, also, Mapai seems to have held its own and recouped its November losses. Its leftward shift of policy with relation to the religious bloc, wage increases for workers and a vigorous defense of controls seems to have regained for Mapai its hold on the urban workers.

### G.Z. SET BACK

The victory of the Mapai was won despite the "ice crisis." With the coming of hot weather in Israel (which hasn't as many refrigerators as the U. S., of course) it was discovered that little ice was being manufactured. Ammunition panic broke out and people mobbed the ice peddlers to get a slab of ice. The conservative parties used this as an example of the inefficiency of the labor economic policy and government. It was widely said that 1951's "ice shortage" would affect the election just as 1948's "meat shortage" influenced the U. S. vote in that year.

The General Zionists, the conservative bourgeois party which campaigned for free trade and against rationing and controls, will have 19 seats in the new parliament as against 7 in the old. This gain was expected, since they had won 2 per cent of the votes in the municipal elections. The fact that the General Zionists were held down to 16.7 per cent of the votes in the present balloting can only be interpreted as a defeat for their policy and the crushing of their dream of controlling the government in the near future.

The failure of the General Zionists to make the gains they expected is given added significance by the fact that the Revisionists, led by Meir Grossman, and the Stern group did not present any independent list. The Grossman Revisionists cast their vote for the General Zionists, as probably did many of the Stern group.

MAPAM LOSSES  
The other bourgeois groups—right-wing, liberal and religious—lost heavily. The General Zionists seem to have gained at the expense of Heirut and the Progressive Party. The representation of these two parties will be halved. This is a result of the splits and disintegration of these parties, as reported in LABOR ACTION previously. The small vote for the bourgeois religious groups shows that the Israeli middle class voted along class lines, placed its economic principles above its religious beliefs, and voted for the General Zionists' free trade rather than for religious education.

The religious groups seem to have done fairly well in the election given the fact that they did not present a united ticket. The Hapoel Hamisrahi has emerged as the dominant force in the religious camp. The vote for this religious labor party will probably strengthen its left wing, and lead to closer collaboration with the Mapai. Together with its allies, the Yemenite and Sephardic groups, the religious bloc will have about 12-14 seats as compared to 16 in the last Knesseth.

The Mapam will drop from second largest party to third place, and will have 13 instead of 19 seats in the Knesseth. The Mapam vote, as usual, was centered in its own collective settlements, which vote as a solid bloc. The greatest loss for Mapam was, of course, among the new immigrants. A real evaluation of the strength of Mapam will, however, have to await the district figures, to see how well or how poorly they did among the urban workers. With the elections behind them and the immediate need for internal unity removed, it is to be expected that

the pent-up factional struggle within Mapam will break out more openly.

These actions of the Truman administration have been precisely the thing that the labor movement has been denouncing when they were being sponsored by Congress. But there has not been a similar attack upon the Fair Deal for setting up the same profit-guaranteeing and price-raising scheme for the monopolies.

The fight for adequate price controls has been the main target of the labor movement for the past several months. Now that there has been this setback at the hands of a Congress dominated by the Republican-Dixiecrat majority and an apathetic Fair Deal minority, what is the ULPC going to propose in the way of a continued fight for stronger price controls?



### POLICIES UPHELD

Incidentally, there will be at least 7 Arabs in the new Knesseth as compared with 3 in the previous one.

In general, the results of the election will be interpreted as a mandate for the continuation of the government's current policies. A great deal depends, of course, on political deals.

On the religious question, that will probably mean a continuation of the policy of conciliating the religious groups but avoiding a capitulation to them. The rise

of the General Zionists will not force a new economic policy. The General Zionists' economic line was a greater threat before the election than it is now. If few concessions were made then, fewer will be made now. A worsening economic situation may change the picture, to be sure. In foreign affairs too, the election result reinforces the current policy. The losses of Heirut and Mapam and the vote for the CP may even accelerate the present government course toward closer ties with the U. S. war bloc.

# DiSalle Boosts — —

(Continued from page 1)

not control profits, but rather establishes a minimum profit position during the transition expansion period" and that later on the manufacturer could change to a different pricing formula when the present one was not as profitable.

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Is there just going to be another "write a letter to your congressman" campaign in the vain hope that they can change the vote of the congressmen who yesterday were voting for the special-interest lobbyists? Or is there going to be an organization of the local price-policing committees as the labor movement has said it would do? This would certainly be a step toward activating unionists and low-income families in the fight for an effective control law.

### SHAKY POSITION

#### THE ARGUMENT AGAINST ADVOCATING A VETO

The argument against advocating a veto was that there were more things in the bill than price control, such as allocation of raw materials, credit controls and defense plant contracting. By taking the position it did the ULPC announced a policy that can only lead to capitulation in their fight to protect living standards. It announced that they are ready to go along with a bill no matter how bad the price control part of it is, so long as it contains other sections that are important to the government's operation of the war economy. At the same time, it places itself in the position of supporting (but not advocating) a veto in spite of this.

A continuation of this policy would be a reversal of the basis on which the ULPC went back to the various government boards. At that time they raised demands as the basis for their participation, and now they have indicated they will participate even without getting a token of what they wanted. The ULPC has taken a dangerous step by refusing to come out with a vigorous demand for a veto of the act and thereby let everyone know that it is not going to give up its demands for a law that will protect the living standards of the workers.

When it became apparent to the United Labor Policy Committee that Congress was going to write the present reactionary law, the ULPC began toying with the idea of calling on Truman to veto the bill. One group led by George Meany, secretary-treasurer of the AFL, favored a veto while Walter Reuther and William Green opposed it. The result of the dispute was a compromise which, while it would not call for a veto, nevertheless would support Truman if he did veto the bill.

Truman has already made his bid for the continued support of

# "One Way Only": The Bevan Group's Program Manifesto — —

(Continued from page 6)

posed for them not by the policies of British imperialism or U. S. imperialism or the Atlantic Pact or a socialist line on the cold war: the issue is posed by the fact of conflict between the needs of rearmament and the needs of the social program, and by the fact that the social program is being crushed under the burden of guns.

This they will not accept. They do not have any rounded political view from which such non-acceptance would naturally flow. No, beginning from this refusal to accept the de-emphasis of the social program, they try to work out a political view which would justify their stand.

This mode of thinking and this evolution of the Bevanites does in fact reflect the way in which the masses of workers approach such questions. Workers in their mass move to the left and to revolution, it is well known, because they find their conditions of life unendurable—and pushed from this side, their eyes are opened to the larger political questions. The Bevanite pamphlet, in its very inadequacies and ambiguities, reflects this development. It is not the product of a socialist vanguard, even an inadequate one. It is the product of a group of "leaders" who are being pushed from behind, groping along

with the rest.

The Bevanites, seeking to find a political rationale for their firm conviction that the social program of the Labor Party cannot be dumped without committing suicide for the party, have to get into the dangerous waters of foreign policy, must even highlight it. But held back by their thoroughly reformist views, they remain full of ambiguities, self-contradictions and inconsistencies. It is only too easy to riddle *One Way Only* with searching questions, as the antagonistic press in England has with a certain amount of effectiveness—on the logical plane. But the significance of the pamphlet does not reside in its display of political thinking. Its significance is that of a political reflection of the actual discontent of the workers with things-as-they-are, and their determination to drive ahead on the road of a genuinely socialist program at home. What this encourages is not hope in Aneurin Bevan—that is another matter. What it encourages is hope and pride in the workers' masses behind Bevan.

All this has to be borne in mind in looking at the actual line of political argument presented in *One Way Only*.

(To be concluded next week)

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# Truman and the 'Poll of Fear' —

(Continued from page 1)

other, if they affixed their names to sections of the Declaration, six of the first ten amendments to the Constitution (the Bill of Rights) and the 15th amendment reproduced in the petition.

One lone signer out of 112 polled.

On the Fourth of July, the holiday devoted to singing the praises of the Declaration of Independence, the memorial to the revolt of colonial America against foreign tyranny.

But McCarthy, the Hearst press and the House Committee on Un-American Activities are not the only, if the most extreme, source of fear and imputation of "guilt by innuendo."

The Truman government itself is

a prime source of infection. It was the Truman administration which inaugurated the "security" and "loyalty" provisions which harry all government employees and civil servants.

Under Truman, his attorney general drew up the "subversive list" which has never been subject to any kind of hearing.

With the institution of the "list" it became a model for the schools, universities, business, industry and some labor unions.

Guilt by accusation, guilt by association, guilt by having one's name on a petition—these procedures became widespread during the Truman administration and provided a backdrop for McCarthy. McCarthy would never get a hearing or a response if the government had not already

created the atmosphere of witch-hunt.

That untouchable arm of government, the FBI, whose J. Edgar Hoover believes the study of anthropology grounds for suspicion, increased its wiretaps, raids and similar practices during the Truman era.

Truman's complaints against "these lies, smears and fear campaigns" and his use of the Madison poll form a case study in political duplicity and hypocrisy.

Truman used the incident to hold up to shame Senator McCarthy, which he may well do. Truman bristles at McCarthy's attacks because the brunt of them has been the Democratic administration and its supporters. Truman is reasonably stirred by the black reaction that paints the

State Department and his Secretary of State as "red."

## IT'S TRUMAN'S FBI

Backed by all the power of government, Acheson and his similars have come out pretty well. They have the power to fight back, and much of the mud-slinging is recognized as traditional political excesses by the outs against the ins. The McCarthy witchhunt, monstrous as it is, primarily attacked prominent figures who at least could talk back and defend themselves. It is the Truman-sponsored, FBI-executed witchhunt, which preceded and greased the way for McCarthy's "excesses" and which is still in full swing, which has intimidated the little man, the small government employee, the militant unionist—and the non-petition-signers of Madison, Wisconsin.

The government administration, its attorneys, prosecutors and courts, and the countless school administrations, industrial boards of directors and labor executives who follow the government lead have been grinding out their decisions against those without power to answer or fight back. All this has been done in the interests of "loyalty" and "security."

The right to "alter or abolish" the government in the way the people see fit? In such an atmosphere as exists today, this right may well seem "foreign" or "Commie trick" to some Americans.

Could Truman in good conscience sign his name to the sentiments expressed in the Declaration of Independence and Bill of Rights if they were to be deemed other than hallowed rhetorical flourishes? Could the attorney general? The FBI and its head? Could most of the Supreme Court, which validated the Smith Act?

Many of the 111 non-signers of the petition were ignorant. That ignorance was another function of the order which produces witchhunting, and an indispensable one. It goes to the root of a sick and embattled culture which can only use its heroic, revolutionary heritage for holiday speeches.

Many of the makers of that heritage, including signers of the Declaration of Independence, would be found "bad security risks" today and accumulate thick dossiers in the FBI files.

What of the one man out of 112, who was publicly quoted as believing that "we were never closer to losing the things they stand for than we are today?" We hope that his loyalty isn't questioned as a result of his signing, that he keeps his job and that J. Edgar's boys leave him in peace.

## But Please Don't Get Them Wrong: They're Not Outlawing the CP . . .

The Truman administration, once again resorting to police-state measures, has rounded up a group of West Coast "second string" Communist Party leaders. These latest West Coast arrests are to be followed, the newspapers assure us, by the arrest of other secondary Stalinist leaders in Illinois, Pennsylvania, and possibly other states.

Despite official protestations that it is not the intention of the government to outlaw the CP, these arrests cannot have any other purpose. The Truman administration may maintain its formal pretention to democracy by not outlawing the party, since outlawing of political parties is not considered democratic; instead it will merely destroy the CP by arresting its leadership.

The distinction is there, but the effect is the same. When the Los Angeles U. S. attorney made the arrests he permitted himself to be quoted that "This is the first move in a program to destroy the Communist Party in the West."

J. Edgar Hoover, chief of the FBI has made the point over the past few years that the CP is an underground party and therefore should not be treated like any other party. The present procedure of the Truman administration is guaranteed to make this a reality: arrest the entire leadership, force the CP really to go underground, and then smugly

proclaim that "we told you that the CP was an underground party all the time."

### POLICE "SOLUTION"

We oppose the arrest of the CP leaders and their prosecution under the Smith Act, not out of any notion that the CP is any sort of working-class party or progressive force. The real importance of these arrests is that they represent a greater danger to democracy than the open activity of the Stalinists does.

Never before have the Stalinists been so discredited in the eyes of the labor movement and the American public at large. The newspapers may carry headlines that there is a "plot" against the nation, but not even the judges-in-uniform would assert that. The government has even gone out of its way to state that there is no danger of its being overthrown by the CP or anyone else.

Here once again the police are being used to "solve" political problems. The Truman administration says in its overseas propaganda that the way to defeat the Stalinists is through bettering the living conditions of the people. But at home it shows everyone who cares to see that it has no effective means at hand but that of the policeman. It places our democracy under greater jeopardy by the use of its police state methods in arresting political opposition.

The responsibility of the present wave of arrests—and for the people's fear of signing their names to the revolutionary principles that founded the American republic—has to rest squarely on the doorstep of the Truman administration. The role of McCarthyism is a continuation of the policy of subversive lists and loyalty oaths initiated by Truman. It is not merely, as the liberal press has suggested that Truman has an overzealous attorney general named McGrath who rides roughshod over civil liberties, and that the solution would be for Truman

to "find an attorney general who shares his faith in freedom."

It is the job of the labor movement to meet the onslaught against our democracy by both the McCarthys and the Truman administration.

## UAW Wildcat Strikes —

(Continued from page 1)

constantly threatened by irresponsible action of a small minority," Mathews declared.

He added: "The policy of the union is to authorize strike action against unwarranted increases in production standards wherever such action is shown to be justified and the membership votes approval. That policy applies to the DeSoto plant as well as to any other, but the work stoppages at DeSoto have not been taken in compliance with the union constitution."

Unquestionably, at DeSoto there were many walkouts over minor issues which may have been settled by a better shop leadership. These caused much irritation and a frequent split in the local union. However, that local union lost some major grievances in procedure, when they did try to settle issues by negotiations last December, and this problem is given no adequate answer by the international union.

### "FILE A GRIEVANCE"

The big trouble at DeSoto started after several thousand employees from the Chrysler Kercheval plant were transferred to DeSoto when DeSoto production was shifted. In one major operation, for example, the trimming of bodies, the DeSoto management changed from using tacks to staplers, and then called the trimmers assemblers. They cut the rate ten cents an hour.

Naturally, the men went on strike. After a three-day walkout they were told by the international union to go back to work and file a grievance, which they did. What they weren't told was that such a grievance had been previously ruled upon by the umpire, and he had ruled against the union at Dodge.

A major strike over this would have occurred except that Chrysler at this point gave the 11-cent increase, the escalator clause and other concessions, and the particular problem was lost in the shuffle. The fact is that the trimmers have not forgotten this issue. Nor are the other men from the Kercheval plant satisfied to work on general conditions less favorable at DeSoto than those at the Kercheval plant. These are the kind of problems that an administrator can hardly solve.

The shop and local union leadership at DeSoto hasn't been of

much help in this situation, and complaints against it have been frequent in most Chrysler local unions. Again, this is a problem which putting an administrator over the local union only postpones.

At the Hudson plant, the UAW finally told the men to stay home completely, and charged the company with a lockout. The union suggested the men apply for unemployment compensation. Hudson, in return, put an announcement in the daily press, calling all its employees to report to work. This is to build up a case in the unemployment compensation hearings.

### RED-LABELING RIFE

Walter Reuther finally entered the Hudson picture with an announcement from Washington that Hudson would soon get defense work, but how this settles the speedup problem is anybody's guess.

In the midst of this turmoil, it is only natural that Carl Stellato was named new national chairman of the Forbes-Silver anti-Reuther caucus, with Coburn Walker also taking a new prominent part. Stellato replaces Forbes as leader.

This may irritate the Reuther leadership more, but an announcement from Washington today suggests another difficulty for the development of a national opposi-

### IS LA PASIONARIA ON THE CARPET?

La Pasionaria may be in trouble with her Kremlin masters. She may be recalled as the well-publicized Spanish Stalinist leader during the civil war and a prominent Spanish CP leader since then.

A year and a half ago she wrote in a Spanish Stalinist newspaper that the policy of taking part in the fascist (Falangist) trade unions was absurd and mistaken. The Cominform was evidently a long time in making up its mind on this matter, but in June its newspaper denounced her criticism, stating that the leaders of the working class must stay with their charges wherever they are led, even by the fascists.

Whether or not this is a harbinger of deeper disputes between the Stalinist bosses and La Pasionaria is not known.

tion to Reuther. The House Committee on Un-American Activities declared it had just heard a secret witness on the Communist Party doings in the auto industry now, and it will hold public hearings in Detroit in September.

This whole speedup issue may end up as just another "Communist plot" . . . Already in some local unions, whenever any walkout occurs, any political dissident around is immediately accused of "fomenting" it. On second thought, the reactionaries admit that maybe the company was responsible.

### REVERTING TO TYPE

In a summary of the findings of the eighth annual Race Relations Institute at Fisk University in Nashville, Tennessee, Dr. Charles S. Johnson, president of the University, warned that the American people are faced with "a climate of uncertainty and faltering progress" in minority group status.

He noted that with the first suggestion of a cease-fire in Korea, there were "signs of relaxation of the democratic concerns and imperatives, and preparation to return to temporarily deserted racial practices."

Dr. Johnson pointed out that none of the civil rights proposals had met congressional approval, and he noted that amendments designed to eliminate discrimination in education and housing had failed in Congress.

On the credit side, Dr. Johnson said, the institute's findings showed progress against discriminatory practices by state laws and city ordinances, especially in housing, schools and transportation. He cited the South as the area of greatest relative change and improvement in race relations.

The findings noted that in the South the number of Negro policemen had increased from 130 to 400 in six years; that Negro voting had increased more than 400 per cent and that there was no "responsible opposition" to Negro political participation; that the number of lynchings had declined strikingly; that Negroes now campaigned and were elected to office in Southern cities, and that Negro students were attending Southern graduate schools.

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