

LABOR ACTION

Independent Socialist Weekly

OCTOBER 1, 1951

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Halley Opens New York Campaign

Can Crime Busting Build Liberal Party?

By WILLIAM BARTON

Crime, corruption, and political terrors in New York City hit the headlines with full smack again this week, as righteous small towners, some of whose communities were shown by the Kefauver investigations to be one-industry gambling enclaves, alternately titter and gloat at the wickedness of the big town.

Brooklyn District Attorney Miles MacDonald's year long case against 18 cops went smash as king bookmaker Harry Gross, amid rumors of a payoff, refused to name them in open court. Under the constitutional principle of "double jeopardy," the men can never be tried again on the same charges. The district attorney of New York's least populous borough, Richmond, was, on the other hand, described as an associate of leading bookmaker Michael Dalessio by a former maid in the Dalessio household. And, beginning his campaign for president of the City Council in the same vein as he conducted the Kefauver hearings in New York, Rudolph Halley, nominee of the Liberal Party and two other small groups, was again shouting about the liaison between former Mayor O'Dwyer and Frank Costello.

Strangely enough, the last event is the most disturbing. Not that showing the collaboration of the former chief executive of the city and current ambassador to Mexico with the "Crown Prince" of American racketeering is not a proper and valid part of an election campaign. It is the fact that the Liberal Party, which means more to those of us desiring a new political alignment than the success of its standard bearer, is not going to thrive by kicking the same dead horse all over the place.

FOR GLORIOUS SUCCESS

In fact, the efforts and intent of the campaign managers thus far seem to express a desire no greater than heretofore to make the Liberal Party a permanent and growing force, as a party, throughout the city and state. If they were actually bent on fighting Tammany for keeps, the place to begin and concentrate is on the precinct and district level, where the basis for a lasting organization can be built. But, with their horizon limited to the chances of a "glorious" success for the new crime buster, and the possibility of better bargaining power, and possible patronage that would follow, the Liberal Party leaders and their campaign associates are banking on Halley's continued TV and radio appeal to stir voters. (Incidentally, without the dramatic trappings of a Senate investigation, Halley seems a fairly inept television performer).

In Halley's gettaway radiocast

and telecast, accompanied by actor Ralph Bellamy, the emphasis was all Costello, as it may be from here in ad nauseam. But he did get in a few licks in other areas that could make for a more meaningful campaign, if followed up. He attacked Democratic Candidate Joseph Sharkey for his support of the recent one cent increase in sales tax in the City Council. He spoke of the need for city planning, but only after "corruption" had been cleared up. He did point out how graft was not merely a matter of ethics but might lose money that could be used for increased salaries for municipal employees and for civic improvements. He made what seemed an apparent allegation to the activities of Robert Moses, Pooh Bah of both reform and Tammany administrations, who, without any graft involved, helped the mammoth Metropolitan Life Insurance Com-

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BLP Seeks New Mandate In Sudden Election Move



ATLEE

The unexpected declaration by Prime Minister Attlee announcing general elections in Great Britain for October 25th, will give the British people a new opportunity to express a choice between the Labour Party which has governed the country since 1945 and the Tory Party which was so ignominiously turned out of office at the end of the war.

The elections will unquestionably be one of this year's most important political events, not only for Britain but also for the rest of the world. Conservatism and reaction everywhere are hoping and praying for a return to power of the Tories. Socialists and progressives, on the other hand, wish with all their hearts for a Labour Party victory at the polls, far more decisive than in the general elections a year and a half ago and no less resounding than the victory which first put the Attlee government in office in 1945.

The Labor Party is asking the people to vote, in the words of Attlee's broadcast, "for a renewal of confidence in the government, and to give it adequate Parliamentary support in order to deal with important issues with which the country is faced at home and abroad." It is going to the people at a time when it faces enormous handicaps, many of them of its own creation.

Every observer, friendly as well as hostile, has recorded the fact that the immense popular enthusiasm for the Labour Party both before and for a good while after its 1945 victory, has been drastically reduced in the past six years. Some of this decline was inevitable, for not even the best and wisest of socialist governments in Britain could by itself overcome the great difficulties for which it is not responsible but which face it nonetheless. Most of the decline, however, is the direct result of the failure of the right wing which controls the party and the government, to pursue a consistent socialist and internationalist policy.

The British workers have shown a remarkable capacity for making sacrifices and enduring heavy burdens in order to maintain a workers' government in power. They have not been seriously affected by the low demagoguery of the Tories and other anti-socialists who have exploited the difficulties and blunders of the Labor government. But their expectations that their government would be truly theirs in every respect, that it would go all the way in making the working class of Britain real masters of the country, that it would pursue a policy in world affairs that would make a Labor England the champion of independence from the imperialism and reaction of the two big war camps—these have been disappointed.

PREDICTIONS BORN OUT

Fortunately, this disappointment has not taken the form of wishing for a return of Tory rule or indifference toward such a gloomy prospect. The British workers, in their vast majority, not only retain their hostility to Tory reaction and an attachment to their own party, but the conviction that it has not exhausted its socialist possibilities. The most encouraging proof of this has been the exceptionally strong support they have been giving to the Aneurin Bevan left wing in its campaign for a more outspoken, consistent and aggressive socialist policy in the Labour Party. This support, already so clearly manifested at the recent Trades Union Congress, is not likely to diminish in view of the fact that the predictions made by the Bevan group about the eco-

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"Where Are They Going to Go?"

At the recent conference of the North Atlantic Council at Ottawa the representatives of all European governments insisted that the United States would have to assume a larger share of the economic burden of rearmament. They maintained that neither the economic nor political structures of their countries could stand the weight of the financial burdens which the scale of rearmament envisaged will impose on them.

A *New York Times* dispatch of September 18 reported that Secretary of the Treasury John W. Snyder rejected the views of his European colleagues on this question. He insisted that the American government also has its problems, and that the Europeans would simply have to reconcile themselves to the level of aid approved by Congress.

When American participants at the conference who are concerned more with foreign policy questions than with financial matters suggested that European leaders might not follow United States leadership if the Treasury head persisted in his "hold-the-line" policy, Snyder is reported to have replied: "Where are they going to go?"

WHERE ARE THEY GOING TO GO? This question, with all its realism, with all its brutal cynicism, could well be blazoned on the top of the whole edifice of the foreign policy of American imperialism.

The standard of living in most of Europe is abysmally low for the workers. The American drive for rapid and colossal rearmament will drive it lower. The workers protest so loudly that even the politicians tremble at the consequences. They look at the high standard of living, the vast wealth of this country, and plead for a more equitable sharing of the burdens. Congress draws the line, and Snyder puts a dot at the end of it. WHERE ARE THEY GOING TO GO?

The European capitalist politicians and the social class they represent know all too well that even if there is nowhere they can go, no other source of economic or political support they can seek, the same is not true for the workers. The powerful Stalinist movements in France and Italy are constant reminders of this fact for them. Capitalism as such has no lure for the workers of Europe, and American capitalism is tolerable only in so far as it offers them some immediate alleviation of economic distress.

In this context it is next to futile to point out to them that to embrace Stalinism is to choose at least as great a potential evil as the one they seek to escape. Stalin demands of the workers under his own heel that they sacrifice food for armament; he does not demand it of workers of Western Europe. To them he offers a radical change

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"THE SCANDAL OF COOK COUNTY"

Victims of Cicero Jim Crow Mob Indicted; Labor, NAACP, Liberals Rally to Defense

By A. TAFT

The Shame of Cicero—the anti-Negro riots of July 10-12 in that western suburb of Chicago which successfully prevented Harvey E. Clark, Jr. and his family from moving into the apartment they had every legal right to occupy — was followed last week by what ought to be called "The Scandal of Cook County," the indictment by the grand jury not of the rioters but of Clark's defense attorney, the present and former owners of the building in which Clark's apartment is located, and the real estate agent who arranged for the rental.

This action has loosed an avalanche of protests from many quarters, among them the CIO whose Chicago regional director, Mike Mann, wired President Truman asking a federal inquiry into the whole shocking affair. Under the leadership of the NAACP, a nationwide committee composed of delegates of labor and liberal organizations is being formed to fight the case to a successful conclusion, not simply in behalf of Clark but in defense of Negro rights everywhere.

The charge against those indicted was conspiracy to damage property and lower real estate values. Between the lines of this "Alice in Wonderland" accusation the grand jury was really saying that when a landlord rents living space to a Negro, and a lawyer defends his right to occupy it, there is a plot to lower property values. Putting aside the lie that building values go down when Negroes move into white neighborhoods (the opposite effect is the usual one), it can be said that for these twenty-three grand jurors (among whom there was not one Negro, needless to say) the legal rights of Negroes, let alone their rights simply as humans who need a roof over their heads, mean nothing as against the brutal determination of Cicero officialdom to keep the city Jim Crow.

AND A RED HERRING

The grand jury returned two other indictments, one against a man named Silverman, the other against the Cicero police chief. At first blush, the indictment of Chief Konovsky looks as though the jurors were trying to do the decent thing after all. Because he and his police did nothing to restrain the rioters, he is charged with failure to fulfill his sworn duties to enforce the law. In the light of the other indictments and the grand jury's refusal to name a single one of the 100 rioters arrested, it becomes obvious that the jury itself, a little abashed by the flagrancy of its action, thought it had better do something to give its work the appearance of impartiality. This device threw a couple of liberal editors off-balance but nobody else was fooled in the slightest.

The indictment of Silverman is just part of the ritual so familiar

to observers of the class struggle in America. Norman Silverman was arrested and jailed in Cicero on August 7, almost a month after the riots, for handing out allegedly Communist leaflets. A witness at the grand jury hearings who had been strangely unable to recall the presence at the rioting of a one-armed man who had played a prominent and vociferous role during the attack on Clark's apartment, found his memory sharp and clear when identifying the obscure Silverman as a prime instigator of the violence. It's the old red herring.

The Cicero events were not the undirected expression of race hatred among the ignorant and prejudice-ridden people of Cicero and Chicago. Evidence points to official sponsorship of the sordid

affair. It was the Cicero police and not free-lance hoodlums who first prevented Clark from taking possession of his flat on June 8, more than a month before the riots.

WHO GATHERED MOB?

At the preliminary hearing in Federal Court on Clark's suit against the city of Cicero on June 26 there were 500 Cicero people and others present in the courtroom to provide an intimidating atmosphere for the plaintiff. Only a couple of Cicero officials had been served with notice to appear.

Who gathered the mob? Prior notice of Clark's second attempt to occupy the apartment at 11 a.m. on July 10 was given by Clark's lawyer only to the Cicero city-attorney and chief of police.

How, then, did the crowd of 200 gathered at the apartment building at 10:30 a.m. on the tenth get wind of Clark's intentions?

And how was it that all eighteen of the tenants of the building, many of them after long occupancy and all of them in the face of the housing shortage, in organized fashion moved out on July 11, expressing identical fear of a bombing attack the following day? With the hindsight provided by the indictments, one might guess that the tenants were pawns in a city hall scheme to punish the landlord for renting to Clark.

While it cannot be said that officials of Cook County were actively involved in the attack on Clark, they have not distinguished themselves as defenders of the rights of citizens who happen to

be Negroes. Sheriff Babb, when the Cicero trouble first began, has been quoted as saying that he was "neutral" in the affair. When the chief law enforcement officer of the county claims neutrality in a situation demanding vigorous action on the side of justice, whether he likes it or not, he is taking the side of the violators of the peace and the destroyers of property.

State's attorney (county prosecutor) Boyle said he was flabbergasted by the grand jury's action. Yet it was Boyle's office that prepared the evidence for the grand jury and it was Boyle himself who signed, as the law requires, the indictments themselves. His shocked surprise under the circumstances is a little hard to accept at face value.

Strength of Stalinist-Controlled Unions Shows Up Wrong Tactics in Fighting CP

By L. G. SMITH

Two years have passed since the Stalinist-controlled unions were expelled from the CIO. During these two years the Stalinist movement in this country has been under the most powerful and concerted attack to which any political organization has been subjected in American history. Yet the Stalinist-controlled unions still exist, and the most important of them show no signs of early collapse.

At the time of the expulsions, CIO leaders predicted that the Stalinist unions would be destroyed in short order. They boasted that they would be able to win over the bulk of the membership and win collective bargaining elections for CIO unions in the fields in which the Stalinist controlled unions claim jurisdiction.

But the fact must be recorded that serious inroads have been made only in the case of two types of Stalinist-controlled unions: those in which there had already grown up a powerful, democratic opposition to the Stalinists prior to expulsion, and those which were already weak, faltering organizations which had failed to establish an important base in the fields they were trying to organize.

WRONG ON TWO COUNTS.

At the time of the expulsions LABOR ACTION took a clear cut, positive stand on how Stalinism should be combatted in the labor movement. We stated that to try to solve the problem of Stalinism in the labor movement with political machine methods was wrong on two counts:

(1) It struck a blow at democracy in the labor movement, and established the precedent of dealing with opposition movements in a bureaucratic manner.

(2) It prevented the growth of healthy, militant, democratic anti-Stalinist movements in the CP-controlled unions. In those unions where such movements already existed, their effectiveness against the CP was reduced by the tendency for individual locals or groups of locals in which the anti-Stalinists had a majority to pull out and thus leave the Stalinists in complete control. Where such movements were just beginning to grow, the expulsions from the CIO gave the Stalinists a handy weapon with which to expel anti-Stalinist opponents on grounds of disloyalty to their own organization, and generally with

which to intimidate and silence such oppositions.

Once the expulsions were accomplished, LABOR ACTION pointed out that the CIO would be able to decisively defeat the Stalinists only if it offered the workers a more militant, democratic form of union organization. We insisted that success in the inter-union

United World Federalists in Decline As Cold War Makes Hash of Program

The United World Federalists are suffering the decline foreseen by socialists ever since this organization was founded. The extent of this decline was revealed in the annual report of a "rival" organization, the Atlantic Union Committee, made public last week. According to this report, the membership of the United World Federalists has dropped from 40,000 last year to 27,000, and they face an \$18,000 deficit "despite a greatly reduced budget."

Leaders of the UWF have replied that the low membership figure merely reflects a progress report on renewals, and that they expect to regain the former figure by the end of the year. They also state that the deficit represents a reduction from a much higher figure, and indicates that the organization has been trimming its budget to meet its income.

Whichever figure is accepted as more accurately representing the condition of this organization, it is clear that the UWF is at best stagnating badly, and at worst is in a process of rapid disintegration.

At the end of the last war, the UWF movement experienced tremendous growth. It represented the strong desire of millions of Americans for a quick and easy way out of the cycle of wars and crises which has become characteristic of our era of declining world capitalism. Its leaders and members ranged from conservative business executives and politicians through all shades of liberalism to many people of "socialistic" convictions. Its chief slogan was for world government, and its most striking operational concept was the idea that success toward this goal could be achieved by ignoring or soft-pedalling all the fundamental disagreements on political and economic questions which divided its members.

struggle which had been made inevitable by the split could not be won just by screaming "Communist" at the Stalinists, or by hooking up the union campaigns with the general red-baiting, witch-hunting campaign, which was being carried on in the country. To the extent that this was done, we predicted that either the CIO unions

would lose out to the entrenched Stalinist machines, or in the cases in which victory was achieved, the result would be unions with little life, militancy or democracy in them.

Recent events demonstrate the correctness of our position. There is not a single Stalinist-controlled (Continued on page 7)

Its answer to the realities of the cold war was the whimsical idea that the antagonism between American capitalism and Stalinism had not been really demonstrated because the United States had never proposed federal union to Russia, and that only after the rejection of such a proposal could we be certain that the cold war has deeper causes than unwarranted suspicions and misunderstandings on both sides.

SUPERFICIAL PROGRAM

No movement based on such a superficial program and embracing such wide disagreements among its members could really hope to endure. The standard UWF answer to those who pointed out this was that "there is no time" to develop other political answers to the danger of war, and that only on the basis of the kind of ideological compromises they were willing to make could a movement be built large enough and powerful enough to unite the world and prevent war. As long as the UWF was growing rapidly, had large-scale funds at its disposal, and got verbal support from numbers of congressmen, senators and high government officials, this argument retained some weight among the well in-

tioned but naive followers of the movement.

But the realities of the cold war seem to be too much for these people. The Atlantic Union Committee, on the other hand, which advocates a federal union only of the "Atlantic" powers claims to be growing. And there is good reason for this growth. Whatever the idealistic reasons many members may have for supporting it, its program falls in very well with the powerful economic and political forces which are operating to consolidate the capitalist powers in the face of Stalinism. It is capable of giving an idealistic rationalization for the naked military alliance of the Western capitalist powers.

It is inevitable that when a movement based on idealistic considerations begins to disintegrate, many of its members become disillusioned and drop out of politics altogether. Yet for others, who are still determined to struggle for peace and for a world organized on rational lines, such a disintegration can have a healthy effect. In casting about for a more serious, realistic approach to politics, they may find their way to the scientific approach of independent socialism, and to the Independent Socialist League which is its organized expression.

How to Defeat the Stalinists — That is the Question

Convention of the IUE-CIO

By JOHN WILLIAMS

BUFFALO, N. Y., September 21—The third annual convention of the International Union of Electrical Workers (IUE-CIO) closed today without solving some of the basic problems which faced it. While it took steps to mobilize the union's forces against the powerful General Electric and Westinghouse chains, with which it is now in negotiations, it failed to deal adequately with the problem of the Stalinists and the United Electrical Workers (UE) which is controlled by them. It has decided to bull its way through, relying essentially on its "Americanism" campaign to beat the Stalinist UE at GE Schenectady, Westinghouse, and other UE strongholds.

The convention again demonstrated, as it did last year, that the union is in no one's hip pocket. It forced International President James Carey to order a roll call vote, after he had attempted to pull a fast one by denying this right to about 40 per cent of the delegates who had asked for it on the dues question. (15 per cent can request such a vote according to the constitution.)

Running through the convention from beginning to end was the stinging GE Schenectady defeat where the UE got 11,542 votes to 4,851 for the IUE. Everyone realized that this defeat meant that General Electric at Erie, another big plant still under UE control, would most probably also fall to the UE. And the delegates also realized that with these two plants in UE's book, the present IUE negotiations with General Electric would find their union in a weaker position. The company has been relying on the cowardly Stalinist UE to split the GE workers, as the UE sits on its hands and leaves the anti-company struggle to the IUE alone.

What was even more distressing was the fact that IUE had lost votes from its last year's total, while the UE had gained several thousand votes, many of which most likely came from new workers hired recently.

Little Analysis of GE Defeat

Little discussion or analysis of the defeat came from GE delegates. Any serious discussion had to originate with them, since non-GE delegates did not feel disposed to criticize their disappointed GE brothers. The few GE delegates who did speak said that they had won only one steward over to the IUE from the entire steward body, and that they would not give up now. But no one left the impression that they really knew how to lick the UE.

Maurice Tobin, secretary of labor, in a rabble rousing speech which tore the house down, offered his brand of "Americanism" as an aid to fight the UE at Schenectady. To a minority of delegates, however, it was apparent that this kind of "aid" is what brought on the past two defeats, and will insure future ones.

The IUE at Schenectady had conducted a vicious red baiting campaign. On the eve of the September 14 election, Mattes and Emspak, UE Stalinist leaders, were brought up for perjury by the government. Every kind of similar attack was brought against the UE and its supporters. The ACTU also added its particular kind of reactionary note to the campaign when it accused UE supporters as "nun killers."

Small wonder that almost no UE stewards were won over to the IUE! They were simply outraged by the vicious IUE attack on them, and were chased into the arms of the Stalinists.

On top of this, the GE workers were besieged by speeches of top CIO men like James Carey and Mike Quill, and not enough attention was paid to rank and file contact work. The result was the inevitable disaster which followed. What made the whole affair particularly maddening was the fact that the IUE had a marvelous trade union issue. They were the ones who had struck GE last year and won wage increases, an escalator clause, and other benefits. They had forced the 9-cent cost of living increase. They were bargaining at present with GE, and had already got concessions amounting to about 10 cents an hour.

Through all this UE had either scabbed, as they did in the strike last year, or had tail-ended behind the IUE in cowardly fashion. All this capital (which had been used by IUE organizers) was wasted by the inundating red-baiting campaign. Foreign workers, Italians, old workers with socialist traditions, all were repelled by the "100 per cent Americans" and were literally stamped into the arms of the Communist Party.

Stamped into CP's Arms

Many delegates who have to live with the problem of defeating the UE left the convention with the feeling that they had not received anything which would help them in their task.

The convention took a militant stand in support of the present negotiations with GE. Carey and the official leadership attacked the GE corporation as "trying to do a job on IUE."

John Callahan, GE Conference Board chairman, reported that following the Schenectady defeat the union did not act meekly in negotiations. He attacked the UE for discriminating against women.

Carey lit into the GE corporation and UE treachery with a blistering attack. He accused the company of aiding UE, and the latter for giving up its cost of living clause in the contract. The UE lost \$59 millions for its workers by giving up profit sharing, while millions were given back to GE executives in the form of salary increases. He accused UE of "splitting the GE chain," and stated that the UE and the company had signed an agreement on discrimination against women which was simply a statement of good intentions. The company, on the basis of this UE agreement, had said to the IUE that "discrimination against women is not for the grievance procedure." The IUE was opposed to this sellout of the women workers.

Militant Position Wins Support

Today, because of UE treachery, women make 40 cents an hour less than men. Women now constitute 31 per cent of the working force in General Electric.

He wound up his attack by declaring that the IUE would not take a bad agreement from GE to win an election. The company had aided the UE by spreading propaganda that if the IUE should win, the workers would be pushed into a strike.

This kind of militant position taken by Carey won the solid support of all the delegates, and helps to explain the fact that there is little real, organized opposition to him.

The convention also took a militant stand against the Westinghouse Corporation, which has locked out its Bowling Green workers. Bowling Green is a new Westinghouse plant in Kentucky, and the corporation has refused to apply the national agreement to the workers there, and as a result of the struggle had locked them out. Carey pledged "half of the union treasury" if need be to back up the Westinghouse workers at Bowling Green. Dick Lynch from Bloomfield, New Jersey, who was assisting in Bowling Green, delivered an attack against Westinghouse, and declared that all Westinghouse workers are not safe if the company can get away with this kind of action.

Dues, and Local Autonomy

Although this was defeated at the Milwaukee convention last year on a close vote, the Constitutional Committee brought in a "unanimous" decision to raise the minimum dues from \$1.50 to \$2.00.

Delegates arose to oppose it, not from the point of view that two dollars is too much, but on grounds of local autonomy. All locals were paying 75 cents per capita tax, and most locals had voted for total dues of \$2.00 or more. If the

convention passed the \$2.00 minimum it would have the effect of ramming the \$2.00 down the throats of locals who, for one reason or another, had special problems which did not allow them to increase dues. Since two thirds of the locals must ratify the majority decision of the convention, it was important for the delegates opposing the \$2.00 to convince more than one third of the delegates to oppose this, not only at the convention but back home in the locals.

After a discussion, a vote was taken. The hand vote was close. Carey declared a majority for the Constitutional Committee. A roll call vote was demanded. Carey, in flagrant disregard of the fact that about 40 per cent of the delegates had stood up for a roll call, declared that less than 15 per cent had voted for it. This caused delegates from the floor to rise up in protest. Carey tried to quell them. After the noon recess, Carey was forced to recognize a roll call vote. The result was: For \$2.00 dues, 114,208, against, 77,892. Although many delegates who supported the minority felt a little uneasy, nevertheless many of them felt that they had created a condition whereby free discussion could take place.

Later on, Carey himself in a jovial mood declared that he was more responsible for the size of the minority vote than the minority itself! This was not too far from the truth.

Organizational Problem Smolders

An organizational problem which never did break out into the open smoldered throughout the convention. It concerned itself with District 10, where A. Wishart, a Minnesota IUE district leader and General Executive Board member, had attempted to blackmail Carey on a purely opportunistic basis. Carey who had originally made a deal with Wishart was determined to smoke him and his supporters out into the open, and remove this opportunist once and for all. Wishart was threatening to go AFL if Carey did not throw some plums his way. Involved also was a Dick Carter, whom Carey had sent into the district to straighten things out.

Nothing of the sort happened. Instead, murderous relations developed between all concerned. The net result of this whole affair was that the Wishart supporters capitulated to Carey, even to the point of reversing their previous vote against the \$2.00 dues increase. Although Carey had previously declared his intention of discussing this affair openly, he finally decided to accept the capitulation of Wishart and company. Nobody, really believes that Wishart is cured.

Although most union conventions have outside speakers, this one was literally besieged by "notables," including such "friends of labor" as Averell Harriman, Eric Johnson and Allan Kline, the fellow who "organized the steers" to strike for higher meat prices, as Carey put it.

Phil Murray, CIO president, answered the AFL "fossils" who had declared war on the CIO. He was not going to hand over the CIO treasury and its staff to be cut up by the craft unionists, he said. He attacked the AFL for having broken up the United Labor Policy Committee, without even bothering to first discuss the break-up with the CIO. This attack was favorably received by the delegates.

Wave of Resolutions

As so often happens at union conventions, a wave of resolutions was passed in the waning moments when many delegates had left or were already preparing to leave. Of particular note was a resolution on international affairs, which while supporting United States foreign policy, demanded that no support be given to the fascist Franco, or Chiang Kai-shek, and that the government base itself on the aspirations of the people of the world. The union movement on the whole has been awfully quiet on the support of Franco by Washington.

Another resolution was on civil liberties. It attacked the hysteria of the McCarthys and McCarrans, but said nothing of the responsibility of Truman's Department of Justice in initiating the loyalty campaign.

Marxism in the United States
By LEON TROTSKY
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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!

BOOKS and Ideas Labor Intellectuals Blow Their Own Horn

By BEN HALL

THE HOUSE OF LABOR: INTERNAL OPERATIONS OF AMERICAN UNIONS. Prentice Hall, 1951. 555 pp.

Forty-nine contributors collaborate in this attempt to present a comprehensive picture of the workings of the American labor movement portrayed in a collection of separate articles on the various phases of its atrocities. The writers are labor officials, academicians, professionals in the employ of unions, and men who have served on various government commissions dealing with labor problems.

The authors' biographical sketches that precede this volume cloak them all in political anonymity but it is obvious that they share a common adherence to a New Dealish liberalism, with the exception of a few who lean more to the left. What is not so obvious is the fact that many of them also share a common past in the radical and socialist movement. Entirely apart from its subject matter therefore, this book is of interest as documentary evidence tracing the political evolution of a group of former socialists, recording the form in which the remnants of their discarded socialism has been incorporated into their present social outlook.

Most of the book is devoted to laborious descriptions of the commonplace aspects of union activity often in tedious detail. We learn of the complexity of union administration, of health and pension plans, of education plans and curricula, of publicity and how to set up a union broadcasting station, of how a big union is administered by its officials including sample blanks for taking strike votes. Few active unionists will be impelled to consult this volume. But it will undoubtedly become required reading for all university students seeking a career on one side or another of management-labor-government relations, being admirably suited to portray the labor movement in a properly respectable, social-engineering light tinged with a mildly non-conforming flavor.

While this is its overall tone it is not its main significance. The House of Labor is basically the book of those who are called the "labor intellectuals," the men and women who have worked as professionals for the unions: editors, publicity men, educational direc-

tors, research workers, most of whom have been associated in one degree or another with the radical movements of the past. Their outlook is most clearly presented in the concluding section "The Union staff-function and aim," and to a lesser degree in the opening section "The American Labor Movement."

FORCE FOR PROGRESS

They are convinced that the labor movement is the most powerful force for social progress but they are not quite satisfied with the narrowness of its social outlook. They would impart a more far-reaching quality to its policies and program; but what such a reinvigorated policy would look like they do not know.

(Robert Lynd and C. Wright Mills contribute short selections. The former sees the necessity of a socialist program. The latter utilizes materials that have already appeared in his excellent "New Men of Power." But they are exceptions. Moreover, as sympathetic "outsiders" they belong to a different category from the union staff member.)

The labor intellectuals see the labor movement as the main bulwark of democracy yet they are disturbed by its unmistakable signs of internal bureaucracy. They meet the labor bureaucracy directly in the form of the union official who stands over them as a boss; and they feel treated like mere hired hands whose advice and training is not utilized in the formation of basic union policy. They face a dilemma: shall they continue to function as errand boys and intellectual filing clerks who select ideas and deliver schemes upon demand to serve the immediate aim of some union official. Or shall they insist upon a more equal voice in determining union policy, a co-partnership with the union official, and if so, how are they, without power, without contact with the rank and file, to defend their niche in the unions from the official who can shrug them off whenever his mood so urges?

We can sympathize with their plight. More than that, we must pity them. For here are men who once sought to refurbish the labor movement by infusing it with socialist ideals and to join it in a struggle for a new society. Now they are reduced to pleading for a status and position somewhat more lofty than that of a paid employee punching a time clock.

For living Marxism—read

THE NEW INTERNATIONAL



LABOR ACTION

Independent Socialist Weekly

Vol. 15, No. 40

October 1, 1951

Published weekly by the Labor Action Publishing Company, 114 West 14 Street, New York City 11, N. Y. Send all communications to general editorial and business offices of LABOR ACTION at that address. Telephone: WAtkins 4-4222.

Subscription rate: \$2.00 a year; \$1.00 for six months. (\$2.25 and \$1.15 for Canada and Foreign.) Re-entered as second-class matter May 24, 1940, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1874.

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Opinions and policies expressed in the course of signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent the views of Labor Action, which are given in editorial statements.

EXCERPTS FROM THE ICTU INDICTMENT

Stalin's Slave Camps

The following selection is taken from the pamphlet "Stalin's Slave Camps" issued by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, 24 rue du Lombard, Brussels, Belgium. The pamphlet is a widely documented account of Stalinist slave labor, containing some historical material and an analysis of the social and economic background for this unique modern exploitation. The excerpts printed here deal with recent evidence concerning the use of slave labor in the race for uranium in Eastern Germany and Czechoslovakia.—Ed.

THE URANIUM SLAVES

Forced labor in East Germany is not based upon political prisoners and concentration camps alone. In their mad scramble for German uranium the communists have resorted to another kind of mass forced labor, reviving a system of forced and fraudulent recruiting, similar to that used by the Nazis in recruiting foreign workers during World War II. Anxious to get uranium at any cost, they rapidly extended operations in 1947; by the summer of 1950 they "employed" 403,000 East Germans as miners.

East German uranium mining is exclusively administered by a Soviet Corporation, Wismuth-A. G. (The Bismuth Co.). Its administrative staff of 15,000 are directly responsible to the Soviet military authorities. It is in fact a state within a state, with its own laws and quite cut off from the German authorities of the East Zone. For example, the medical services and social security systems are controlled by the Wismuth-A. G. which runs its own hospitals and social security—both of which are quite inadequate in this highly dangerous occupation.

The whole uranium mining area of 500 square miles is fenced off and heavily guarded by 5,000 armed Soviet MDV troops, aided by special corps of German Mining Police. No one can enter or leave without a special "Wismuth Pass." Employees caught outside without permission are carried back, often handcuffed and punished like escaped slaves. It is within this area and this industry that Soviet labor standards are most nearly approximated in East Germany, and where the term "slave labor camp" can be applied without exaggeration.

The Wismuth Co. has its own police and does not accept court summons. The courts are powerless to proceed against it to enforce claims for pay, injuries, etc. The company, however, has the power to punish its workers for absenteeism, malingering and failure to honor their work contracts. For repeated absence, workers are fined or sent to penal labor camps where they are paid very little and where conditions are still worse.

FORCED AND FRAUDULENT RECRUITING

Although wage rates in the mines are higher than elsewhere in East Germany, it is not easy to recruit or hold workers under these conditions. In spite of all precautions, there are large numbers of deserters and fugitives to the West. Word gets around, so that outside workers resist being assigned to the mines.

Nevertheless the employment offices of the Labor Exchange are required to provide certain quotas of workers. In order to get the necessary "volunteers" the Labor Exchanges have to resort to all manner of tricks. For example, unemployment benefits and ration cards are taken away from people so as to force them into the mines. Threats of imprisonment and even kidnapping by the police are used. Unemployment is systematically and artificially created in factories in order to force the workers into mining jobs. Workers are sometimes given six-month con-

tracts for skilled jobs above ground, only to be forced to work in the mines as unskilled workers; after the six months they may find that their contracts have been arbitrarily extended.

Here is a reproduction complete with names and dates of a work order issued by the Labor Office of Teltow-Mahlow in the Soviet Zone of Germany which requires the wife of a fugitive from a forced labor uranium mining camp to report for work in her husband's stead:

Arbeitsamt Teltow-Mahlow
Branch Office Zossen
Zossen, 21 March 1949
B/N

Madame Frieda Heyer
Rangsdorf, Kr. Teltow,
Kleine Standallee 863
Concerning your assignment to work in Aue.

The medical examination has revealed your capacity for the contemplated assignment from here to Aue for work. You are therefore requested to present



yourself at the Arbeitsamt (Labor Office) in Aue with the installation card (Einweisungsbescheid) and to begin working in Aue in place of your husband who has made his own employment there impossible by fleeing with your knowledge and your help.

Note that the wife is ordered by this Labor Office to report for work in the mines on the strength of the medical report, and that nowhere in the order does it appear that she has had the benefit of judicial process to determine whether she is actually guilty of the charge made against her. That, of course, fits in perfectly with the provisions of the Soviet code. Thus wives and other members of the family are being sent

to the uranium mines if husbands or brothers escaped from their slavery.

Party and youth organizations are also required to furnish volunteers. Recruitments are generally facilitated by the fact that living standards, job conditions and pay are very poor in East Germany. Although open force is not generally used to recruit labor for the mines, these harsh and dishonest methods are common. More legitimate means, such as propaganda, relatively high pay and relatively good food are also used. In one way or another, a mine labor force of 400,000 was assembled in a few years' time. (Operations were somewhat reduced during 1950. In May 1951 the West German government reported officially that 300,000 people were still mining uranium in 250 shafts in Saxony.)

Beside the "voluntary" workers, there are camps for criminals sentenced to hard labor in the uranium mines. These include ordinary criminals, as well as those guilty of "economic crimes,"

Youth and Student Corner

Public Schools Suffer Under Concerted Reactionary Attack

By MAX MARTIN

The witch-hunt and loyalty-oath hysteria prevalent in the country today has had a tremendous impact on the college campus. Many inroads into academic freedom have been made in this not-unimportant sector of society, and important struggles in defense of civil liberties have been waged by students. The Regents imposed loyalty oath on the University of California faculty and the fight of the students and faculty against it, as well as the struggle between the students and the Gideon administration at Brooklyn College over the latter's suspension of the student newspaper Vanguard come to mind immediately as cases in point.

The witch-hunt atmosphere also affects the teachers and students of the nation's elementary and secondary schools. Municipal Boards of Education have suspended and fired Stalinist teachers and conducted star-chamber investigations of political unorthodoxy among those suspected of deviating from accepted political thought or activity. Prominent among these instances is the suspension of a number of leaders of the Stalinist-run Teachers Union by the New York superintendent of schools.

Not well publicized, and therefore not well known, however, is the fact that the content and techniques of elementary and secondary school education, as well as public education itself, are today under attack in many communities in the country. These attacks, led by rabidly reactionary groups, are waged against progressive education in the elementary schools, against teachers and textbooks which are to the left of the most right-wing sections of the Republican Party, and against any attempts to obtain increased spending for the construction of new schools to relieve the overcrowding and congestion existing in the school system.

Under Savage Attack

The situation first came to light with the revelation of the events which occurred in Pasadena, California, over the appointment of Willard Goslin, an educator of national repute as superintendent of schools, and the two and a half year storm over the schools which culminated in his resignation. In addition to Pasadena there are five other cities which were named by Richard B. Kennan, executive secretary of the National Education Association's Commission for the Defense of Democracy Through Education as areas where public education is today under savage attack.

These are Port Washington, New York; Englewood, New Jersey; Denver, Colorado; Eugene, Oregon; and Palo Alto, California. The Saturday Review of Literature for September 8 has reports from these communities dealing with these situations. The picture presented is indeed an alarming one. Having a hand in all of these places was the National Council for American Education (not to be confused with the N.E.A. mentioned above). This group is headed by one Allan A. Zoll who is reported by the Saturday Review to be a former associate of such fascists as Father Coughlin, Gerald L. K. Smith and Merwin Hart.

Another reactionary group that has been active in these attacks on the public schools is a magazine called the Educational Reviewer. The Reviewer has made a specialty of attacking all textbooks which have the slightest favorable word for trade unions, cooperatives and social security as "communistic." The editor, one Lucille Cardin Crain, has appeared in many of these cities at the height of the campaigns.

The Port Washington Case

The case of Port Washington, New York, presents the reactionary anti-public education campaign in its most developed state. This is a rather small community whose population until recently consisted mostly of people who belonged to the "Junior Executive, \$20,000 a year, suburban resident and commuter to New York via the Long Island Railroad" type. Since the war there has been a large increase in population, consisting mainly of people in the lower income brackets rather than those coming from the economic group which had been the original mainstay of the city. As a result, the overcrowding in the schools has been scandalous.

To remedy this situation the School Board proposed floating a bond issue of \$3,750,000 for the construction of one high school and three elementary schools. At this point a wealthy resident, one Fred Johnson, who was later discovered to be a lieutenant of Allan Zoll, stepped into the picture. He organized a group which campaigned for the defeat of the project in the referendum and attacked it by talking about higher taxation. Progressive education, he said, leads to juvenile delinquency (this despite the fact that the curriculum in Port Washington's schools has not been changed in over twenty years) and Stalinism in the schools. As a result of the campaign, the project passed by only sixty-three votes. Shortly afterwards the reactionary

forces succeeded in defeating the two members of the School Board who had been most active in the fight for school-building construction in their bid for re-election.

Tactics of the Campaign

The campaign included the following tactics:

1. A law-suit to prevent the bond-issue, claiming alleged irregularities.
2. A smear campaign against those favoring school construction to the effect that they were Stalinists. Not even the most wealthy business men nor the most rock-ribbed Republicans in the pro-public education camp were safe from the smears.
3. Public meetings at which Zoll and Crain spoke on such topics as "our pink-tinged textbooks" and "How Red is the Little Red School House?"
4. A column to the same effect by Hearst columnist Lewis Hanes who is a resident of Port Washington.
5. The setting up of a "subversive textbook" list which included such standard American texts as Muzey's "American History" and MacGruder's "American Government," and the intimidation of the school board into removing these books.

6. A campaign to reopen the question of the construction project on the grounds that with the advent of the Korean War construction costs have gone up, and therefore the whole project should be set aside.

The dispute has by no means been settled and will undoubtedly flare up to new heights this fall. Whatever the final outcome, tremendous damage has already been done. The construction of vitally needed schools has been delayed, the children of Port Washington continue to attend the inadequate schools now in existence, and the teachers of the community feel most reluctant to mention a controversial issue in the classroom or to say anything which may sound suspicious.

A Clear Pattern Repeats Itself

The pattern in all of these communities is clear. In each case a committee is formed consisting of wealthy businessmen, the so-called "respected leaders" in the community (and whose children are not affected since they go either to private schools or to the better and less crowded public schools in the wealthier residential neighborhoods), reactionary Catholic groups (whose children are frequently not affected because of their attendance at parochial schools), extreme reactionaries who have at one time or another been associated with semi-fascist and racist organizations, and various cranks who are against all the changes introduced into the curriculum since McGuffey's reader went out of use.

In most of the cases Zoll and his National Council for American Education, and Crain and her Educational Reviewer appear on the scene through prior connection with some of the local reactionaries, by invitation from the local group which has heard of them, or through unsolicited intervention.

Many of these things are not new to the American scene, of course. Attacks on progressive education have been a constant factor in the educational world since the first changes in curriculum and pedagogical technique were introduced. The primitive cry for the reintroduction of the techniques of the "good old days" when only the "three R's"—Reading, Riting and Rithmetic—were taught by stern disciplinarians has never quite died out. And the reluctance of business men to be taxed for the establishment of adequate school facilities is well-known. The relationship of the scandalous school shortage to the needs of the war economy existing since 1940 is also quite obvious. Not to mention the low teacher salaries.

What is new, however, is the linking up of these things with the cold war and the witch-hunt hysteria. The "pall of fear" created by the anti-democratic drive is so intimidating that even people whose economic interests are not those of the real estate owners who are worried about paying a few more dollars in taxes will vote to deprive their children of decent schools. The recent wave of these anti-public education campaigns and the successes they have had is clearly a product of the fear and hysteria attendant upon the war drive.

A counterattack by parent organizations, teacher organizations and the labor movement is sorely needed.

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"Button, Button, Who's Got the Button" -- or Passing the Buck on the Witch-Hunt

President Truman's "Little List"

By ALBERT GATES

As some day it may happen that a victim must be found, I've got a little list—I've got a little list Of society offenders who might well be underground, And who never would be missed—who never would be missed!

Such as What d'ye call him—Thing 'em-bob, and likewise—Never-mind, And 'St-'st and What's-his-name and also You-know-who— The task of filling up the blanks I'd rather leave to you, But it really doesn't matter whom you put upon the list...

a list of "subversive organizations." As we have already said, membership in any organization listed by Clark would disqualify a person from working for any governmental body. A person charged with membership in or association with a listed organization would, however, be given a hearing by the several loyalty boards in order that he might defend himself against any charges. Moreover, such a person was presumed to be innocent until proved guilty. Fair, you say? Well, let us see what happened and how it happened.

In compliance with the executive order, the attorney general produced a list. How was this list drawn? Behind the closed doors of the Department of Justice—justice, mind you—building. About 150 organizations were listed. It did not matter that some of the organizations had long ceased to exist, that some went back to the Russo-Japanese War, that they were a conglomeration of conflicting and contradictory categories. The president had asked for a



WHO GOES ON THAT LIST?

list and the attorney general, calling upon his professional experts produced a list.

Were any hearings held? None. Were any charges presented to any of the organizations listed? None.

Were any organizations notified that they were being examined? None.

Were any organizations given an opportunity to examine or answer charges made against them? None.

Were any organizations notified that they were so listed? None. All learned of the fact from a list made public by the attorney general.

Protests to the attorney general were unavailing. Requests for a public hearing—nay, any kind of hearing—were denied. Why?

List Cannot Be Challenged

Because Mr. Truman's Executive Order 9835 did not provide for any hearings, public or otherwise. Can the evidence be examined? No, the evidence is secret. And the charges? Charges? Why there are no charges. Well, then, upon what grounds was an organization listed? That cannot be divulged, but in the belief of the attorney general, he was justified in his action and was certain he had a prima facie case which he was ready to defend in court.

How did he reach that belief? On the basis of opinions and reports (was it the FBI?), information and "evidence" supplied from "official and unofficial informants." Imagine, in the belief of the attorney general he had a prima facie case he would be ready to defend in court! Good. What legal steps then can be taken to challenge the listing? None! This was not provided for by the president's executive order.

Let us think the above the musings of this writer, let me disabuse you. This is the gist of the position taken by the representatives of the attorney general in an

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"informal hearing"—pardon me, a discussion—with representatives of the Independent Socialist League and the secretary of the Workers Defense League.

We should like to provide an additional picture of the atmosphere created by the president's action. The ISL protested vigorously to the attorney general that in the listing of "Communist," together with all of the Stalinist organizations. His representatives were asked why this was done, since, if they had made any examination of the ISL, they could not help but know that it was the most consistent, principled, indefatigable, anti-Stalinist revolutionary socialist organization in the country and so known and regarded by the political and labor movement of the working class.

The Genus "Communist"

The representative of the attorney general smiled and then "explained" to the ISL that there was a "generic" meaning to the term communist; it did not necessarily mean that the ISL was a Stalinist organization. But he readily acknowledged that such a generic distinction would hardly mean much, given the state of affairs in the country and that the ISL might be confused with the Stalinist party. In that case, asked the WDL representative, if the attorney general proceeded to list organizations according to the generic meaning of the term, why were dozens of Christian sects not listed, since they qualify under such a generic listing. Again the representative of the attorney general smiled and granted that that might be true.

Readers of LABOR ACTION know that the attorney general's office committed itself to a reexamination of the listing of the ISL as long ago as January 25, 1951. Months passed by and no word came from the attorney general. One letter from the ISL requesting information on what that office had done about such a reexamination produced no reply whatever. A second letter sent last August, brought a reply to the effect that such a reexamination had been made, but that in view of the Supreme Court decision (in two Stalinist cases) the department was reconsidering its procedures and therefore a reply on its findings would be "premature"!!!

In the meantime, the ISL and the SYL remain victimized by a bureaucratic, anti-democratic administrative act that originated in the Office of the President of the United States!

Is it any wonder then that with the president's order for the establishment of a national index for government employment that such an index should spread far beyond the confines of government?

The FBI Swarms In

The very request for such a list required an exertion of efforts on the part of J. Edgar Hoover's agents throughout the country. Though ostensibly under the control of the attorney general and the Department of Justice, the FBI enjoys complete freedom of movement and action to do practically as it pleases in completing a national survey of the population. Its agents and informants swarm the country, gathering information and misinformation on radicals and non-conformists. It collects its dossiers in devious ways and makes use of its materials as a police agency of the government. Since it operates in the shadows of life, it is impossible to confront its agents, informants or its evidence in the light of day. To challenge these, to cross examine its agents and evidence, is impossible, for then the whole police and spy set-up would collapse. At least, so Mr. Hoover insists. And yet this is a body that is supposed to defend the democratic traditions and the democratic rights of the nation! It is actually a sacrosanct organization, difficult, if not impossible, to subject to criticism or judicial control.

That is not all. Not long ago, when Truman elevated Tom Clark to the bench of the Supreme Court, the nation held its nose, but felt that an improvement in the attorney general's office could not be followed. For the president had picked the national chairman of his party, Mr. Howard McGrath, as his new attorney general. McGrath is now covering the national circuit lamenting the fact that the Constitution prevents him from "properly" protecting the nation against "subversives."

How would the attorney general meet the president's problem of maintaining the basic democratic rights of the nation and reconciling them with "our security measures"? He would amend the Constitution! Amend it how? By destroying the rights of an accused and relieving himself of the burden of proving guilt.

Further, under the pressures of the reactionary politicians of his own party and the Republicans in the Senate and House, especially under the pressures of Senators McCarran and McCarthy, with able assists from Nixon, Mundt, et al, the government's loyalty program has adopted a new principle: any individual charged with disloyalty must prove his innocence, the burden of proof no longer falling upon the government and its agents! A charge of "disloyalty" becomes now tantamount to guilt, since the average individual cannot possibly hope to meet on an equal plane the wealth, power and resources of the government and its several departments and thousands of agents.

When the president called upon the people to report

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When the president called upon the people to report

When the president called upon the people to report

(Continued bottom of next page)

Not in the Headlines

Army Burns Sad Sack As "Socialistic"

Half a million comic books, designed to spur reenlistments in the army, have been burned after the books were denounced as "socialistic" by Senator Homer E. Capehart, Republican of Indiana.

The comic books were drawn by cartoonist George Baker and showed "Sad Sack," his famous cartoon character, as so disillusioned with civilian life that he returns to the army. After encountering all kinds of difficulties in getting a job, Sad Sack finally lands one. He works hard, but also becomes disillusioned when he finds that after all kinds of deductions his paycheck amounts to only five cents which turns out to be counterfeit at that.

The books, which had cost the army \$17,500 of the taxpayers' money, were withdrawn from world-wide circulation and burned after Senator Capehart had uncovered this plot to undermine the American Way of Life. Capehart said: "This alleged comic book looks to me like socialistic propaganda, aimed at discrediting American industry."

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President Truman's "Little List"

(Continued from page 6)

the activities, thoughts and expressions of their neighbors and friends, what else was he doing but suggesting that every individual become a stool-pigeon? The request that the fruits of such "stoolpigeon" work should be forwarded to the FBI for action does not in any way mitigate the fact that the president, and J. Edgar Hoover, who reiterated his remarks, has contributed much to the atmosphere of hysteria and witchhunt which now afflicts the nation.

It is a fact that the president's list of "subversive organizations" has not been, and never was intended to be, as a matter of fact, confined to the narrow premises of the government. The Department of Defense has issued a questionnaire following the pattern of the attorney general's list. It asks draftees to report what organizations they have belonged to in their lives, what socialists they have attended, what literature they have distributed, what ideas they have held!!!

Private industry, commercial and entertainment organizations, civil defense organizations, state and local governments, fraternal organizations and even labor unions, have adopted the attorney general's list as their model too. Only the courts have refused to grant the list any legal standing. Some courts, that is, for the country is dotted with judges to whom the attorney general's list is on a par with the ten commandments.

Politics on its Lowest Plane

The fight between the president and his opponents is not that he is doing nothing but that he is not doing enough. The source of the conflict is of course politics on its lowest plane. Given the nature of Stalinism, it was to be expected—to expect otherwise would have been the height of stupidity—that they would seek to infiltrate the government. And it is not surprising that here and there an individual did make his way to carry out his functions in behalf of the Kremlin dictatorship. But it is stupid to believe that the government is ridden with Stalinist agents and that half of the administration are secret Stalinist sympathizers, as the unprincipled and ignorant Joe McCarthy would have the country believe.

The president's fumbling on the question of the "loyalty program," and his capitulation to the demands of his congressional tormentors thrusts a considerable responsibility upon him for the current witchhunt. He did not placate the lunatic fringe of the right; on the contrary, he provided them with precisely the kind of material they needed and wanted. For, having begun the loyalty program in the first place, he laid himself open to the charge of not doing enough, not taking it seriously and sabotaging his own professed program.

The issue of "reds" is currently a profitable one in politics. It is not important whether Joe McCarthy believes what he says; or that he is a moral coward who is afraid to repeat his irresponsible charges outside of the safe walls of the Senate. We don't know whether McCarthy gives a damn about what he says or believes, and we don't care. This Wisconsin windbag could have and should have been retired by the people of his state so that he could return to his profession of shyster. But he was able to ride the hysteria of the cold war, make a

Union Tactics and CP

(Continued from page 2)

international which was healthy at the time of expulsion which has disappeared from the scene today. Of all these unions, the United Electrical Workers has received the most devastating blows since the expulsion. This union, however, had within it a powerful, organized opposition before the expulsion. Yet even the UE is far from dead, and its recent overwhelming victory at the Schenectady plant of General Electric shows that it is still capable of delivering major blows to its CIO rival.

MINE, MILL AND SMELTER

The other union which was most torn by division before the expulsions was the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers. It has also lost heavily, but most of these losses had either occurred before the expulsion from the CIO, or were in process when this took place. Nevertheless, its success in tying up most of the copper-producing industry of the country in a major strike shows that it still has plenty of life in it. This despite the fact that Phil Murray's own steel workers have been pouring money and organizers into the field against it.

The other three major Stalinist controlled unions are still doing business at the old stand, and against them the CIO has made little if any progress. The Farm Equipment union amalgamated with the United Electrical Workers, and no longer exists as an independent international. Nevertheless, it maintains jurisdiction over its major locals, despite a long and costly drive by the United

Automobile Workers, CIO, against it. The West Coast Marine Cooks and Stewards union has not been defeated, and the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union is quite as powerful as it ever was.

To be sure, it seems that a major attack against these two unions is being prepared, but not by the CIO. The National Maritime Union (CIO) has been trying to raid the MC&S, with little success. But in a press dispatch from San Francisco dated September 21, Harry Lundeberg, head of the Sailors' Union of the Pacific (AFL) announced an all-out drive to rid Pacific Coast waterfronts of "Communist-led" unions. Lundeberg stated that he has made a deal with Dave Beck of the Teamsters, and Joe Ryan of the International Longshoremen's Association for a joint raid on the MC&S and ILWU. He is to take over the cooks, the teamsters are to attack the warehouse locals of the ILWU, while the ILA will go after the longshore locals.

The ability of the Stalinists to hold on to so many important groups of organized workers is much less due to the attractive power of their ideology or even to their organizational capacity than it is a result of the wrong and bungling policies of the labor leadership of this country. These gentlemen simply have not been able to learn that workers can be appealed to more successfully on the basis of militancy and in the name of democracy than they can be scared by charges of "communism" and stamped in the interests of "one hundred per cent Americanism."

UNHOLY ALLIANCE

Whether or not Lundeberg will succeed in his project remains to be seen. His union, once noted for its high degree of militancy and class solidarity has become one of the most notorious raiding outfits in the labor movement, and has not hesitated to scab on sister unions in its efforts to win jurisdiction over their contracts. Dave Beck is of an even worse stripe. His teamsters occupy such a strategic position in the warehouse field, and his goon tactics are so famous that if he is serious in this matter a major fratricidal

battle on the West Coast can be expected. As to Ryan's ILA, it is so rightfully hated and despised by the longshoremen that only a major catastrophe (such as the breaking of the back of the union by governmental action) could make its victory possible.

If the hold of the Stalinists on these unions is to be broken by this unholy alliance, the workers will suffer much more than they will benefit by it. In any event, such a development would certainly not aid the CIO, and would make an utter mockery of Philip Murray's boast that the workers in the Stalinist controlled unions would soon flock to the fold of his organization.

The ability of the Stalinists to hold on to so many important groups of organized workers is much less due to the attractive power of their ideology or even to their organizational capacity than it is a result of the wrong and bungling policies of the labor leadership of this country. These gentlemen simply have not been able to learn that workers can be appealed to more successfully on the basis of militancy and in the name of democracy than they can be scared by charges of "communism" and stamped in the interests of "one hundred per cent Americanism."

RED BAITING FLOPS

No one questions the fact that some workers can be scared or appealed to on such grounds. But the more advanced, the more union conscious workers are, the more intelligent must be the approach to them. Employers have been yelling "communist" at every militant for so long that it is an

old story to them. And, as Murray Kempton pointed out recently in the New York Post, when a United States senator has been accusing the secretary of state and secretary of defense with pro-Stalinist leanings, the charge begins to lose its effect on workers in the shops.

In a union struggle of this type, it is the best workers who must be won over first. Where CIO unions have sought to defeat the Stalinists by correct tactics, by explaining the anti-labor, anti-democratic character of Stalinism on the one hand, and by offering the workers a more militant, effective, democratic program of union demands and union organization, they have succeeded in winning over the shop militants, the stewards and committeemen first. These men support the Stalinists because they peddle a radical, militant program. Once they are helped to see through the sham militancy of the Stalinists and are won over to a genuinely progressive union program, half the battle is won. The rest of the workers rightly look to their own militants for leadership.

An article on the recent convention of the International Union of Electrical Workers which appears elsewhere in this issue of LABOR ACTION drives the point home. The Stalinists have long outlived their natural life-span in the labor movement. But as long as they are fought with what are essentially reactionary weapons, and not with the weapons which actually correspond much more closely to the best traditions of the labor movement, they will continue to live on time borrowed from the top labor leadership.

cratic traditions of the country, are a wholly secondary interest, if it exists at all, to the men of the law. They become unduly concerned with the rights of the individual when such an individual's "business" rights are seemingly questioned or threatened.

This explains briefly why the profession of the law and the men who make up the profession are found on the side of the hysterics. That explains why lawyers who would dare to defend an accused radical (we are not talking about the Stalinist lawyers, though it applies to them as well) think twice about it because they know in advance that to do so would not only endanger their reputations and income, but would result in a direct threat to their professional status. The state bar associations make this threat real when they discuss what punitive measures to take against lawyers who dare to defend people accused under the terms stipulated in the president's executive order which is now applied more or less universally in the country.

Else how explain the president's plea to the American Bar Association? He is a busy man. He has no time for idle correspondence. His letter was written because he knows that accused people are finding it well nigh impossible to employ legal assistance. Yet the same lawyers would not hesitate a moment to defend the vilest criminals and the most degenerate anti-social elements—for a good fee, of course. Lawyers, never greatly noted for their moral courage, just refuse to handle such cases precisely because it would damage their professional status and hurt their business.

Now, however, the whole business has even made its way into the Senate. Joe McCarthy has challenged the right of Senator Thomas C. Hennings of Missouri to sit on a committee considering Benton's resolution for McCarthy's expulsion from the Senate. The ground for McCarthy's demand? Merely that a member of Hennings' law firm is defending a convicted communist on constitutional grounds before the Supreme Court. No wonder the president is additionally alarmed at what is happening.

But one must never forget that Mr. Truman opened the great show himself when he ordered his little list. Now, he can't even stop it. The real headlines have taken over the stage and have turned it into a marathon.

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Halley New York Campaign — —

(Continued from page 1)
pany get perpetual possession and complete control of valuable downtown property for high cost housing projects.

But corruption is still the major theme, and there is no sign of any change. The cops who accept bookie payoffs are slammed over and over again, but nothing has thus far been said about Police Commissioner Monaghan who has violently denied cops the right to join a union. Are Halley and the Liberal Party for that right? Till this moment we do not know. That sort of position may not appear to them to be necessary for this particular election. This is a period of exposures everywhere. Just denounce the racketeers and their politicians and you may readily win votes.

WILL NOT LAST

But it won't last for more than one election, and it won't suffice to build a party. On a municipal level, a new real political force has got to give the citizenry some image of the type of city they want, something that will be re-

ACLU Petition Drive Against Smith Act

ACLU's Massachusetts affiliate had rounded up 26 signers—among them educators, publishers, clergymen and lawyers—for a statement calling for the repeal of the Smith Act. Speaking as "patriotic Americans," the 26 agree with Mr. Justice Douglas that the effect of the Supreme Court's recent decision on the act "is to make freedom of speech turn not on what is said, but on the intent with which it said. Once we start down that road we enter territory dangerous to the liberties of every citizen."

The group said it was "deeply concerned that the Bill of Rights continues to be our bulwark against totalitarianism of all kinds."

From ACLU's Weekly Bulletin, Sept. 24.

Next —

A Labor Party!

by Jack Ranger

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British Elections — —

(Continued from page 1)

conomic and social consequences of the Attlee-Gaitskell policy of bowing to the demands and program of American imperialism, are being corroborated anew every week.

As was to be expected, the Bevan group has announced, that it would support the Labour Party in the coming elections. To what extent, however, it will couple this party solidarity with a continuation of its fight within the party for a more socialist policy at home and abroad, remains to be seen. There is a good deal of speculation that one of the reasons for Attlee's announcement of general elections for October 25th, was to take the wind out of the sails of the left wing at the Labour Party Congress scheduled in Scarborough for the

first week in October. If this is really the case, and if the left wingers allow their voice to be silenced or even muted in the alleged interests of "unity in face of the Tories," the congress would be a calamity.

The cause of the Labour Party can only be strengthened among the people—not only the workers but also the middle class elements in the country—by a more vigorous and clear-cut socialist program in domestic and international affairs. Even if a fight for such a program did not receive a majority of the votes at the Congress and thereby become the party's election program, it would stimulate a greater enthusiasm among the workers, the kind of enthusiasm for a socialist future which swept the party into power in 1945. From this standpoint, the Scarborough

congress will be the real curtain raiser upon the general elections to follow.

While the Labour Party's handicaps to an electoral victory are many and severe, their proportions are reduced by the fact that the only program the Tory opposition has to offer is to intensify everything that is wrong with the Labour government and to annul every advance it has introduced. The first announcement made by the Tories—that they will repeal the nationalization of steel and iron and part of the transportation industry, and introduce "intra-competition" in the nationalized coal industry, a first step to returning it to the private ownership that wrecked it, will certainly arouse enthusiasm among the wealthy classes, but not among the workers.

Where Are They Going? — —

(Continued from page 1)

from the evils which they can see and feel every day in the week.

It is reported that the European politicians were all but stunned by Snyder's attitude which they had good reason to believe expresses the approach of the most powerful political groupings in the United States. For those of them who represent conservative capitalist parties, Snyder's report pretty well closed the door. They have no place to go. Their system is wallowing in its death throes, and they know that they are completely dependent on American support for its survival.

Other Political Forces

But there are other political forces, both in Europe and America. These represent the organized workers of both continents. Except for the Stalinists, their leaders have also been following in the wake of the American colossus, and have accepted the main lines of State Department policy as their guide. They have also regarded the military and economic might of the United States as their only sure bulwark and support against Stalinism.

But the political force they represent, the workers, are not irrevocably bound to capitalism. Their social and economic survival does not depend on the continued existence of this dying system of exploitation. THEY DO HAVE SOMEWHERE TO GO!

And we are not speaking of Stalinism. For us that is no choice. The reason it has been chosen by so many workers in Europe and Asia is precisely that no other, progressive alternative has been offered them by the existing trade-union and social-democratic leadership. But as it becomes clear that to continue to string along with an American Congress and administration with the attitude expressed by Snyder is to doom the workers of Europe to increased misery, it can be hoped that even the short-sighted leadership of Europe's workers will give second thought to their policy. And even should they fail to do this now, the economic prospects are such that we can confidently expect new groups of leaders to appear on the political scene who will look to a new orientation.

Already in Britain, the Bevan group in the Labour Party is looking for "somewhere else" to go. In Germany, even the Schumacher leadership of the Social Democratic Party shows determination to beat a path of its own distinct from that marked out for its country by the State Department. The Socialist Party of India is emphatic in its rejection of both American and Russian leadership, or domination.

Democratic politicians to support one of them for borough president of Queens, also open because of the death of the former incumbent. With support now gained from Republican Newbold Morris, can Democrat Rudolph Halley be expected to fry any "radical" approaches in his appeal? It is not likely, unless his most important backing force, the trade unions that are the heart of the Liberal Party demand it.

Back in the 1890s, a millionaire in Cleveland named Tom Johnson read economist Henry George, became converted, and decided to run for office on a platform of lower traction fares and utility rates. He was elected, carried out his program, and made Rockefeller's man Mark Hanna tear his hair out.

WHAT AID FLOW

Johnson carried out his campaign, according to eye witnesses, like a series of combination tent meetings and economic seminars. Setting up his temporary headquarters in different parts of the city, he patiently explained what he would do for his city and how he would do it. He always remained in the Democratic Party, however. That, and the looseness of his ideas, allowed most of his followers, led by the later Secre-

tary of War Newton Baker, to become absorbed into the typical modes of American politics. The Social-Democratic Mayors of Milwaukee—Seidel, Hoan and Zeidler, with whose politics there can be much disagreement, have made their city the generally recognized best governed city in the country. The Liberal Party can initiate the movement toward the same type of political organization in New York. It has powerful trade unions to start with, and an anxious public as audience. But, it will not do it if its hopes are based upon the presumed success of the latest in the long series of gang busting orgies.

A Force in America Too

We stated above that in America there also exists a political force which is not tied to the apron strings of the Treasury Department by necessity. More precisely put, this force is a potential. We speak, of course, of the American labor movement.

And here too, Snyder's cynical phrase has its application. The giant of American labor has not yet broken with the political parties of American capital. In election after election, the labor unions marshal their members and their money in support of this or that Democrat or Republican. With the monotonous regularity of the seasons, these "friends of labor," once they have been safely elected, turn their backs on their labor supporters. Between elections they break strikes, pass legislation which damages the workers and benefits the rich, and in general behave as if the political debt they owe the unions had as little value as an expired railroad ticket.

And they are perfectly right! For when election-time rolls around again, and the labor leaders bring up the legislative record for review, the politicians can smile comfortably and say: "Where are you going to go?" As a matter of fact, they not only can, they do!

Here again, the road is open for the American workers. Nothing prevents them from taking it except a lack of political determination. It has been blazed for them by the workers of every other major country in the world who have formed their own political party or parties, who need not depend on the good will and the short memories of capitalist politicians for favors.

New Turn for U. S. Labor

Mr. Snyder's cynical phrase can well be a prelude to a new turn for American labor. Even though the Treasury may plan to load much of the rearmament burden on the backs of the workers of Europe, the American workers will carry an increasingly heavy portion of it. As the going gets tougher economically, the political vise will tighten also. And if they continue to follow the road of political dependence on the parties of American imperialism, they will be forced to pay the same kind of price for their dependence as is being imposed on the workers of Europe for theirs.

The two problems are connected by much more than the literary device of Snyder's phrase. They are of the same nature, and will lead to the same consequences. The fate of the workers of Western Europe and of the United States is linked much more closely than most Americans imagine. Yet interdependent as they are, the American labor movement is the key to the situation.

For American capitalism is so powerful that its demands and wishes tend to have a paralyzing effect on the workers of the rest of the world. This paralysis could easily be broken if the powerful American working class were to break loose from its self-imposed dependence on and subservience to the ruling class here, and were to fight for a new foreign policy which has as its object not the support of capitalism throughout the world, but rather the support of the workers and peasants in their struggle for emancipation from both capitalism and Stalinism.