

LABOR ACTION

Independent Socialist Weekly

DECEMBER 6, 1954

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Challenge to The Army's Loyalty Oath

LABOR ACTION is in receipt of the following letter from a Thomas J. Barrett, a second lieutenant in the United States Army Reserve, from Seattle, requesting us to give publicity to his case, in which he raises a basic and vital question of civil liberties.

"Dear Sir," he writes, "Enclosed is a copy of a letter which I sent today to Headquarters Washington Military District. I hope that you will publicize the matter, which is of vital interest to all Americans. . . ."

We are glad to do so. Barrett, who also writes that he is a student at present, has also apparently sent his document to other papers, for we note that the Reading Labor Advocate (SP) has already published it.

As we read the document, Barrett is taking the stand that, although not a political dissident, he is refusing to sign the "loyalty oath" on principle as itself a totalitarian practise.

His document follows.

Letter of Conscience

SUBJECT: DD Form 98, Loyalty Certificate
FROM: Thomas J. Barrett, 2d Lt. Infantry USAR
TO: Headquarters Washington Military District, Fort Lawton, Washington

Reference is made to your letter of 29 October 1954 requesting that I return to you within ten days, executed, Department of Defense Form 98, Loyalty Certificate for Personnel of the Armed Forces. I am herewith returning this form to you unsigned.

I had understood that my service in Korea was in defense of the Constitution and the traditional American freedoms. The Constitution of this country explicitly provides for freedom of speech and secrecy of the ballot. Yet now I am asked by the U. S. Army to conform to a political test, an inquisitorial device opposition to which is axiomatic in the history of this country from the time of the Declaration of Independence. The arbitrary listing of organizations as "subversive" is a totalitarian practice better suited to our enemies in Korea than to the interests of a democracy.

Particularly obnoxious to freedom-loving individuals are the sections in DD Form 98 which prescribe "Standards of Conduct" and prohibit "membership in, association with, or sympathy towards" a vast number of organizations which have been proscribed without benefit of due process of law. Furthermore, the Loyalty Certificate form leaves any American citizen subject to prosecution for a number of undefined "offenses" when it states that "conduct . . . (and) associations which may be considered as establishing reasonable grounds for imposing appropriate penalties include but are not limited to . . ." etc.

Paragraph 4 of your letter informs me that I am subject to "involuntary separation" from the Army if I "decline or refuse" to complete this form. I volunteered for the Army, for Officers' Candidate School, for the Airborne Infantry and for the Reserve and have thus evi-

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Cry for Blockade of China Expresses The Insane Logic of U.S.'s Untenable Policy

By GORDON HASKELL

The Chinese Stalinists have sentenced eleven American airmen and two civilians to long prison sentences on the charge that they were spies. Once more a great outcry is raised in the American press for "stern measures" to teach these "barbarians" civilized standards of conduct. Senator Knowland has demanded that the United States blockade the Chinese coast until the sentenced men are released. As cautious, conservative and respectable a paper as the New York Times points to the Chinese Stalinists' action as further vindication of the American refusal to recognize the government of Stalinist China, or to admit it to the United Nations. The incident is referred to widely as demonstrating the "aggressive" attitude of the Chinese and the unabated temperature of the cold war, at least in the Orient.

What are the facts on the basis of which all these articles and editorials are written? On what evidence is this country asked to take the warlike measure of blockading China's coast?

It must be stated that none of the public and private manufacturers of public opinion have any evi-

dence whatever on which to base their claim that the Chinese government has acted in any extraordinarily brutal, "uncivilized" or what-have-you manner.

True, the American government denies that the sentenced men were engaged in espionage. This denial may be accepted or rejected by any intelligent observer on the basis of whatever other evidence he may think he has at his disposal. But in and of itself, the denial means nothing. It is standard operating procedure for all governments to deny their own spies when caught. It would indeed be most unusual, and would attract particular notice if any government were to admit that this or that person, apprehended by a foreign or enemy gov-

Getting Tough?



MAO TSE-TUNG

ernment on charges of espionage, was actually a spy.

The situation is exactly the same with regard to the Chinese claim that these men were engaged in espionage. Whether the Stalinists actually believe their own charge is really beside the point. Their laws and police procedures are such as to evoke "confessions" to any crime the authorities want to emphasize at the mo-

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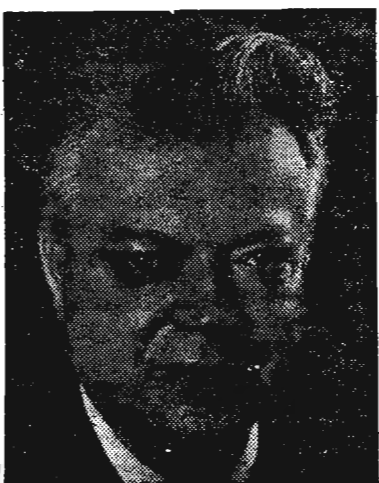
Liberal Party Leaders Spike Reports of Party Dissolution

By PETER WHITNEY

NEW YORK, Nov. 29—The Liberal Party of New York has finally indignantly repudiated the reports that it is planning to give up its existence, and it has announced a membership and organization drive to build the party, in a statement issued after a Policy Committee meeting on November 23.

This, says, the party office in a communication to its branches, "is

SIGNS HIS PARTY'S NEW LEASE ON LIFE.



DUBINSKY

the best answer and makes clear that the Liberal Party is much alive, is looking forward with confidence to the future, and is laying plans for the further building and strengthening of the Liberal Party. . . ."

Pointing to its "very significant role in the recent elections" and its plans, the party office comments again that "all of this constitutes the best answer to the rumors as well as to the very inaccurate, unfair and hostile story of Murray Kempton in the New York Post."

The statement of the Policy Committee and the insistence of the party office are very welcome to socialists who, in spite of the Liberal Party's substantial inactivity, would be discouraged to

see the passing of the labor-based political formation which offers a possibility of independence from the two old capitalist parties. Moreover, in recent years the Liberal Party has gotten good votes and made good electoral fights for some independent candidates of its own like George S. Counts and Rudolph Halley.

The Liberal communiqué, however, is somewhat less than frank in speaking as if the reports of imminent dissolution spring only from its "enemies." Thus it begins: "There have been many false stories and rumors circulated about the Liberal Party in various newspapers and by various columnists, stories without any foundation in fact. This is not the first time that enemies of the Liberal Party have tried to destroy or undermine or hurt our party." Then it refers to the Policy Committee decision.

AT A CROSSROADS

While this may be the expected sort of thing to say in the situation, the facts are not unimportant for friends of the Liberal Party who are indeed rooting for its continued existence and health on an even bigger scale. The "stories and rumors" stemmed in good part from the Liberal Party circles themselves, in the

(Continued on page 4)

The Racketeers' Fifth Column In the AFL and CIO

By BEN HALL

The International Longshoremen's Association, expelled from the AFL for racketeering, finally entrenched itself among the 30,000 New York dock workers when it signed a two-year contract with the port's shipping companies. The contract provides for a 17-cent wage increase, the abolition of the shape-up, and most important for the ILA, a union shop. AFL supporters must now join or rejoin the ILA in order to hold their jobs.

Meanwhile, rackets continue. Only last week, an ILA shop steward and dock boss in charge of checkers on a Hoboken pier, controlled by ILA Local 1261, was suspended by the Waterfront Commission on charges of extorting "initiation" fees as high as \$250 from workers and wage kickbacks up to \$100. When the commission subpoenaed the local's books, they were suddenly and mysteriously stolen, an incident so crude and crass that it prompted the union's own attorney, Seymour Waldman, to withdraw from the case.

Without noticing such incidents, William V. Bradley, ILA president, announces that the new contract now puts him "in a position to do some screening and investigating of rumors of corruption in the ILA." Apparently he spent the last two years resisting AFL demands for a clean-up so that he might better prepare to look into corruption: a novel, if ludicrous, interpretation of events.

AFL FIFTH COLUMN

An instructive chapter in the campaign against racketeering in the labor movement is now closed.

The fight began with the near-unanimous decision of an AFL convention to expel the ILA, and took the form of an AFL versus ILA struggle. But this form was an illusion.

The AFL was not only united against the ILA; it is now apparent that although AFL President George Meany had managed to get the convention and the ruling top bodies of the Federation to denounce the ILA, in practice the majority of the AFL forces actually on the scene were far from antagonistic to the ILA.

If the ILA could hold out against the expulsion and against pressure from governors, state commissions and national investigating bodies, it was because its ruling machine could count upon open defenders, allies, and friendly neutrals in the officialdom of virtually every section of the labor movement, including the AFL. We get a glimpse of how difficult and deep-going is the task of getting rid of entrenched corruption and how feeble are the mere resolutions and convention actions of well-meaning, honest labor leaders.

CURRAN IS A FRIEND

John L. Lewis wired his congratulations to Bradley when the new contract was signed. "Every honorable citizen," he wrote, "will rejoice that the unclean Dewey-Meany conspiracy has come to an inglorious end." If one man saved the ILA for the racketeers and gangsters, it was Lewis. On the eve of a critical NLRB election, he loaned it \$200,000 and the value of his own prestige.

At the same time, ILA delegates made emergency flights to the West Coast where they were welcomed by Harry Bridges' ILWU, receiving laudatory write-ups in the Bridges longshore press and financial donations from ILWU locals. Both Bridges and Lewis were quick to take narrow, petty factional advantage of the AFL-ILA fight.

The waterfront unions of the CIO were officially and publicly neutral during the fight but information now available leaves a different impression. If neutral, the National Maritime Union and the Marine Engineers Beneficial Association, both of the CIO, were benevolently neutral toward the ILA.

The NMU Pilot never took a strong stand; but it was careful to denounce the intervention of government bodies against the longshore rank and file, pseudonym for the ILA, without ever a mean word against the ILA racketeers.

Curran machine was accused of holding secret meetings with Bradley of the ILA and it never denied these accusations.

When the ILA announced last month that it was setting up a "United Independent Seamen's Union" for foreign seamen, the Pilot featured a friendly exchange between Bradley and Curran under the headline: "Bradley Denies ILA Plans Raiding Maritime Unions." Curran is a member of the CIO Committee for Ethical Practices, but this in no wise disrupts his amicable relations with the ILA.

AFL RECORD

On September 21, the National Executive Committee of the MEBA-CIO announced the signing of a mutual-aid pact with the ILA and voted to donate \$10,000 to it. "With respect to the attacks that have been made against the ILA," said the MEBA statement, "it should be recognized that the ILA has been chosen by the longshoremen in a free election as their union. It is not the business of anyone outside the ranks of the longshoremen to challenge this decision." In New York, Local 33 of the MEBA was reported to have donated \$20,000 to the ILA.

Walter Reuther spoke of investigating this situation but thus far no more has been heard.

But the AFL was supposed to be fighting the ILA. Its record is therefore strangest of all.

At the convention which expelled the ILA, the only opposing votes were cast by a maritime union: the Masters, Mates and Pilots. The near-unanimity of the delegates was, however, a deceptive façade.

In November 1953, after the ILA had been expelled, ten top city and state officials of the New York AFL went to Washington to plead with George Meany to take it back into the fold. On the committee to urge peace with the ILA were: Martin T. Lacey, president of the city's Central Trades and Labor Council; Thomas A. Murray, president of the State Federation of Labor; and Howard McSpedon, president of the Building and Construction Trades Council. Thus, while the national AFL was getting ready for a war to the end, the three top AFL

officials in New York were acting as ILA apologists.

CLEANING OUT THE CLEAN

Martin Lacey, who was interceding for the ILA, also headed the Teamsters Joint Council in New York City. But Dave Beck, president of the Teamsters Union, was an appointed trustee of the newly formed AFL longshore union charged with the task of ending ILA control.

The AFL Executive Council which had the responsibility of leading the fight on the ILA had to have organized help on the waterfront; what they could expect from official AFL local bodies is obvious; they relied on Beck and the Teamsters. But the ILA had plenty of friends among the Teamsters Union, and undoubtedly still does.

The AFL longshore union received active aid only from Local 807 of the Teamsters under Thomas Hickey, secretary treasurer, and John Strong, president. But other powerful local Teamster officials sided openly with the ILA, even speaking at its recruiting rallies. High among them was John O'Rourke, president of Local 282.

Last month, the top international officialdom of the Teamsters Union acted to remove Hickey as chairman of the New York-New Jersey committee of Teamster locals and replaced him by O'Rourke. In other words, the pro-ILA elements in the New York Teamster Union are in full control. In Hickey's own local, a campaign of unprecedented scope has begun to overturn his administration in the local's current elections.

In the drive to clean up the New York waterfront, good intentions were blunted against the AFL's own officialdom and local machine. The job of getting rid of racketeers and their friends is more complicated than it seemed two years ago.

Auto Workers

UAW Needs Retooling For Economic Struggles Ahead

By JACK WILSON

DETROIT, Nov. 20—The over-all impression made by the national wage conference and the subsequent Detroit regional leadership gathering of the United Auto Workers (CIO) is that the union needs an overhauling and revitalizing job to prepare it for the kind of historic struggle in 1955 that Walter Reuther is talking about.

Five years of secondary negotiations and relative peace in the Big Three, along with the impact of the recession, have left the UAW local unions and leaderships in a dual sort of position which does not remind one of the UAW of the early days.

Of course, the Guaranteed Annual Wage program of the UAW has not yet permeated the secondary leaders or the ranks as it is bound to by next summer. But many other considerations have risen to increase the complexity of the problems confronting the union.

A crucial illustration of this was the decision of the national wage conference to support a top leadership proposal to raise dues to \$7.50 a month until the \$9 million strike fund reaches \$25,000,000. This came as a surprise at the national conference, and it shocked the local union leaderships. As a matter of fact, many of the delegates seemed to develop a psychological block about this issue. They conveniently forgot to mention it in reports back to the local unions.

But when the news came out via a speech in Toledo by a regional director, and this was printed in the Detroit papers, it created somewhat of a stir in the shops. Why? Because, presented in the manner that it was, it gave the impression that the leadership was interested mainly in a dues increase. It was not tied up with any kind of great struggle for a guaranteed annual wage. This unquestionably is the intent of the Reuther leadership, and this was said at the regional conference; but a hangover of the old dues-question fight, and the fear of local union leaders of the rank-and-file reaction, has made this a potential hot potato for local union politicians, or so they think.

UNION RETOOLING NEEDED

Surely, if the UAW is taking on General Motors or Ford or both in May on

the GAW issue, the convention ought to authorize building a huge strike fund. And surely, if the secondary leaders were really convinced of the GAW and the seriousness of the struggle they would respond affirmatively. This is hardly the case now.

Nor will a unionism-as-usual approach convince the rank and file differently, in view of the dragging of feet by secondary leaders on this question. There is little suggestion that the UAW leadership won't obtain their constitutional changes at the next convention in March, by an overwhelming vote. What worries the secondary leaders is that this action may be unpopular in the shops, and they have local union elections coming up in May and June, and they fear defeat on this issue.

That this kind of thinking should dominate many local union leaders is an indication of the kind of retrogression that has occurred in the past five years, and a criticism of the top leadership for failing to build a solid union cadre during the past five years. Local union politicians have become too enamored of "lost time" unionism and practical deals for election victories to respond naturally and properly to calls for sacrifice and leadership and struggle.

In this sense, the attitude of the secondary leaders and ranks to the strike fund campaign assumes a different importance than the dues question of the previous convention. This is clearly a call to arms and struggle. But how effectively will it be met?

There is little argument but that Reuther grappled seriously with the problem of automation and the short work-week slogan—even he did not meet it to every critic's satisfaction, including ours; and he has convinced the conference that a two-year contract in 1955, wrapping up the guaranteed annual wage, is the indispensable preliminary to the next great struggle—a shorter work-week without loss of pay.

But there is little consciousness or understanding of the GAW plan. And there remains fears of automation.

In addition, the fact that the Detroit area has 117,000 unemployed, even with auto production at a new high of over 500,000 units a month, suggests that the GAW plan is not the full answer to this acute problem, and indeed nobody can claim that it is.

CHEERING FOR CORPORATION

Nor is there any suggestion that the GAW or any substitute is any kind of answer to the smaller companies and vendors. Detroit is haunted by facts like Hudson going from over 30,000 in recent years to 2,000 employees, and Murray Body from 7,000 to 50 employees, with a complete shutdown coming.

In the past year, the failure of the UAW leadership to give a truly understood social answer to the problem of unemployment and steady work has led to a new kind of thinking in UAW shops, which intensifies the problem of rallying the workers around a union program now and in the forthcoming period.

Far too many of the leadership and ranks of the UAW now accept as gospel truth that the only real answer to their problems is the success of the corporation at which they work. It was an inevitable result of the approach tolerated at Willys, Studebaker, Reo, and other smaller outfits where the union recommended wage cuts to help keep the firm in business. It has reached an amazingly effective high in the Detroit area, where everyone from local union presidents to local merchants and the ranks are cheering on the Chrysler Corporation's 1955 products, for Chrysler is the largest auto manufacturer in this area. Local unions vie in plugging the products of their plants. Car-consciousness replaces union-consciousness.

The intense interest and huge attendance of Chrysler employees at the family affairs and model shows is an example of this new kind of thinking that dominates in this area. Far too many workers think their future depends on the company and not on the role of the union.

It seems incredible that this new trend in the UAW should remain unchallenged by the leadership which must mobilize the ranks for a serious struggle in 1955. Before it is done, however, quite a shake-up in the habits, thinking, and activities of the whole structure of the UAW leadership from top to bottom is a obvious and glaring necessity.

LONDON LETTER

The Case of the Seven Rebels

By DAVID ALEXANDER

LONDON, Nov. 23 — Although most active members of the Labor Party are believed to oppose German rearmament for a variety of motives, the official policy both of the Labor Party and the Trade Union Congress is to support it. They would have been in a very difficult position otherwise to come out in fullscale opposition to a policy which the Labor government had initiated. On the other hand in the opinion of a not too enlightened time-server the purpose of an opposition is to oppose.

In a pointless compromise the Parliamentary Labor Party decided a fortnight ago to abstain on the vote of ratification of the London and Paris Treaties which were to herald German rearmament. Needless to say the ratification was carried, with the official Labor Party abstaining; but seven Labor members voted against.

This was contrary to the "advice" of Labor chief whip Whiteley, and represented an open challenge to the authority of the "shadow cabinet" and Labor Executive.

Of the seven Members of Parliament there were four opinions. One, typified by Sidney Silverman, was chauvinist "anti-Germanism." Silverman is a well-known Zionist, who believes that we cannot trust the German people.

Emrys Hughes, a militant of many years standing (married incidentally to the daughter of Keir Hardie, Labor pioneer) is a woolly-minded pacifist who still believes that the world can achieve peace by Churchill (or Attlee) being polite to Malenkov. Stephen Davies is what Americans might call a "Stalinoid" pure and simple.

The Member of Parliament who voted for German rearmament and is also considered a rebel is John McGovern. He said that he was voting with "Mr. Attlee's conscience." If the Labor Party were now in power it would be supporting German rearmament which it had initiated, so it would be politically dishonest to disown it now, he said.

It is interesting to note that McGovern was once a militant of the Independent Labor Party. During the war, James Maxton and he were leaders of His Majesty's Opposition to the coalition government of Churchill and Attlee.

PARTY TRIAL

As a result of their openly flouting the leadership, the seven members were summoned to a meeting of the Parliamentary Labor Party after a two-hour meeting of the "shadow cabinet." Morrison, Gaitskell and Whiteley were gunning for the rebels, because the party leadership would have to resign if they were not disciplined.

At the meeting each rebel spoke for 10 minutes. They were heard sympathetically and quietly, but when it came to a vote, the Parliamentary party decided by 131 votes to 93 to withdraw the Whip from them. This means that they will no longer be members of the Parliamentary Labor Party; they will be designated "Independent Labor."

The large vote against this move made it very unlikely that the National Executive of the Labor Party would expel them, which it did not, in fact, at its meeting today. It is likely that they will be reinstated within a couple of years if they toe the party line meanwhile.

There are two comments I would make on the ratification of the 9-Power Conference Treaties. There is no doubt that most of the sentiment of the Labor Party is against German rearmament. They feel, however, that—as a Labor MP told me recently—they have either got to let Germany rearm within a Western pact, or it will rearm with American aid, unmodified by the views of other Western European powers. Nevertheless, the Labor Party did make attempts both in the Commons and the Lords to delay the 600,000 German army for 6 years instead of two.

The other point of comment is that the Bevanites were conspicuous by their absence both in the debate and in the proceedings of the Parliamentary Party on discipline. This needs no elaboration.

Apparently the National Executive has won a Pyrrhic victory in its battle against the rebels. In a reply to the provocative editorial of Miss Jennie Lee,

Messrs. Foot and Mallalieu, it despatched another letter today to them. In this it says that the *Tribune* editorial has missed the point, and condemns the weekly again for its attack on Deakin and the Transport and General Workers leadership.

It warns them that disciplinary action will have to be taken if such attacks recur. Finally, it points to the likelihood of an election soon, and stresses the necessity to close up the ranks to ensure victory.

This letter is in much milder terms than might have been expected and its last paragraph is almost a capitulation. As we pointed out recently, the Labor Party could not risk losing most of its constitu-

ency support by condemning the Bevanite *Tribune*. All but one of the local Labor Party members on the National Executive are Bevanites and have been so for some years.

It is only fair to say that the *Tribune* controversy is but a side-plot in the antechamber of politics. The recent West Derby election, in which the Tories were returned with a 3 per cent increase in support on a smaller poll, shows that the Labor Party will have to offer some new and dramatic moves to the British electorate, if it wants to be returned.

It may or may not be significant that the Labor leadership took special care to avoid having any Bevanites campaigning for them at West Derby.

STORM CENTER IN BLP AGAIN



BEVAN

LABOR'S SCOPE

Fortune Magazine Ponders the 'Security' Mess in Sperry Case

By BERNARD CRAMER

The spread of "loyalty purge" methods to private industry, as well as in government, has never been as well known as the "security" problem in the government departments themselves.

The situation was highlighted a few weeks ago with the peculiar case of Charles Christie, who was fired from Republic Aviation in Long Island because his war-service record informed ignorant and stupid company security officials that he had neurodermatitis, a skin disease, which they interpreted to mean a psychological disorder. Christie was reinstated after five months and the case made the newspapers with a happy ending. Some editors cluck-clucked at such "silly season" antics, as if the whole thing were only a humorous escapade. The whole point was covered up.

The point was, of course, that the system was such that these things could happen.

Last month *Fortune* magazine (for October) gave the system a closer look, underlining the problem with a couple of cases, without coming to any conclusion except that the whole thing is a mess. At least that much of a conclusion is to be inferred, perhaps, from the title, "Security Brambles."

"Should a worker who is declared a security risk by the federal government be discharged from his job in a defense plant?" it asks.

SPERRY CASE

"A major case involving fifteen employees of Sperry Gyroscope at Lake Success, New York, is before arbitrator Joseph Rosenfarb, and the decision is expected in November. It is anxiously awaited, for it may provide the beginnings of a 'case law' to guide companies and unions along what has been a dark and tortuous path." (The decision has not been made yet, as far as we know.)

"In the Sperry case," says the *Fortune* article, "management's prerogative will be tested still further" (after the Arma and Liquid Carbonic cases). "Unlike the Arma engineer, the Sperry employees were let out after tentative denial of access to classified work had been issued by the government." (A footnote here informs the reader that more than half of all those denied tentative access are ultimately cleared.)

"Local 450 of the CIO Electrical Workers, without necessarily underwriting the politics of any of the men, is asking that they be given non-sensitive jobs, pointing out that this is customary practice in industry. Sperry is arguing, with some reason, that it is not physically possible at the Lake Success plant to compartmentalize the classified work. The Defense Department, as always, stands aloof."

CP NOT INVOLVED

The "some reason" which the Sperry company has is simply that such a solution would cost it too much money. And *Fortune's* comment that the Defense Department "stands aloof" has to be understood in a peculiar sense: the government "stands aloof" with a bat in its hand ready to swat the company (or the union) if the arbitrarily labeled "subversives" are not properly witchhunted. "The Sperry case," continues *Fortune*,

"may serve as a sort of introduction to the brambled world of industrial security. The Lake Success plant, with 17,000-odd employees, has a chronic security problem by virtue of the fact that it was for years a stronghold of the Communist-led United Electrical Workers. The opposition IUE, now firmly in power, has among its active members a number of Trotskyites—whose legal status, under the security program, is similar to the Communists."

This paragraph is not a model of journalistic clarity, as our readers may appreciate with a second glance. The plant may once have been overrun with Stalinists or not, but the present problem (as the article later mentions) does not stem from remnants of CP control or influence. The *Fortune* article will mention later that the problem is "non-Communists, such as Trotskyites."

"Early this year," we read on, "the government issued tentative denials to fifteen men. There is some disagreement as to whether their jobs . . . involved access to classified information. . . ."

"Sperry admits that individuals working on confidential but not secret matter receive perfunctory checks and clearances that give them access to the plant. . . . Sperry claimed that mere access to the plant gives access to classified parts or data. . . ."

"This is the nub of the arbitration issue. For if Sperry is forced to rehire the men it faces considerable expense in closing off defense work, which accounts, it says, for 95 per cent of its production."

"In its counterattack the IUE has insisted that classified and unclassified work could, in fact, be segregated successfully at Sperry. Furthermore, the union argued that Sperry was committed to close off all classified areas, and that if it was unable to do this it should not have signed the Defense Department agreement to do it. . . . The union argued further: if entry into the plant automatically gives access to classified information, what about the thousands of Sperry workers—the large majority—who have never had more than the most perfunctory security check."

"Sperry has not debated this question openly with the IUE. It points out that the union will not press security grievances for Communists, and takes this as agreement with its contention that even non-confidential work, since it provides access to the plant, involves danger. However, what of the non-Communists, such as Trotskyites, who are labeled security risks? None of the 14 discharged are Communists. In this instance, says Sperry, the union's quarrel is with the government criteria, not the company. In a move to protect itself, Sperry recently requested the Navy Department to classify the entire plant as a restricted area. Whether security would really be improved by reclassifying the entire plant is debatable. The company itself admits it cannot, beyond a perfunctory check, investigate thousands of employees. The government will, as it has investigate

only if derogatory information turns up. . . ."

The *Fortune* article ends with a sad comment about this "unwanted imbroglion."

POLICE-STATE LOGIC

The ridiculous "neurodermatitis" case may have been more amusing, but the Sperry case is far more enlightening about the dynamics of "security" in private industry.

In the first place, it is doubly clear that the government does not "stand aloof." On the contrary, the reader may have already noticed that by the time the *Fortune* account of the case was over, it was compelled to note that according to the company it is the government and not the company which is creating the trouble and insisting on purging the plant.

But more important is the nature of the government insistence.

Presumably the government's stand is based on the need to protect the secrecy of whatever "parts or data" are lying around.

This is in a plant where virtually any Tom, Dick or Harry—or even any Ivan—can get a job and have complete run of the plant. This emerges from the very terms of the case being made by the company!

Therefore, because any Tom, Dick or Ivan can get a job here without any meaningful check,—because of this, the government insists that "non-Communist" radicals "such as Trotskyites" must be fired. . . .

The logic of this is enough to make the head spin.

If there is really anything at the Sperry plant worthy of the attention of Russian spies (amateur or professional), then the situation is simply incredible from the point of view of ordinary, garden-variety government security, let alone the hysterical atmosphere of 1954. But whether there is or is not, the Sperry cases in fact involve individuals who by political definition are not and cannot be "Russian spies."

What then is the rationale of this case?

It stems from the fact that the government's "subversive list," while presumably justified by the needs of "security," lists not only the Stalinist organizations, but also non-conformist radicals and anti-capitalist socialists, groups like the "Trotskyites" (by which might be meant the Socialist Workers Party), like the ISL, like the IWW.

And even as far as the Stalinists themselves are concerned, in a plant as wide-open as Sperry is described to be, what sense does it make to push industrial sanctions against CP workers? It is precisely the Stalinist workers, activists in the UE perhaps, who are least likely to be employed as "Russian spies." But, then, it has been pointed out many times that the espionage apparatus which the Russians might use is by no means to be identified with the Stalinist political movement.

From the point of view of "security," the Sperry case shows the government bans are a farce and an absurdity. They make sense only as a police-state measure against the class of capitalists, not friends of Russia.

YOU and SCIENCE

U. S. LAGS BEHIND RUSSIA IN FIELD OF SCIENCE

By CARL DARTON

In the competitive and war-making industrial society of today the availability and utilization of scientific and technical manpower becomes of ever-greater economic, political and military significance. As the arms race between the United States and Russia proceeds at a feverish pace the antagonists realize not only that knowledge is power but that an increasing reservoir of scientific manpower is necessary to win in modern world politics. Let us look at recent developments in this area.

While the United States continues its government science policy in a manner which many scientists consider inimical to scientific growth, Russia appears to be correcting its ways by creating a more favorable atmosphere for scientific advancement. We will not consider, for the moment, the argument either for or against the viewpoint that since science is increasingly being applied to destructive purposes we should cheer any government stupidity which tends to retard science. We will merely report the developments in the politics of science as they are.

In Russia part of the "new look" appears to be the liquidation of Lysenkoism in biology. This has occurred in a very un-Stalin-like manner in that Lysenko himself was not liquidated while his opponents are encouraged to criticize his theories.

Also Russia appears to be changing its policy in the movements of its scientists abroad and their contact with foreign science. Its boycott of UNESCO has just ended with the attendance of a number of its scientists at a general meeting of UNESCO in Uruguay. Likewise two Russian scholars (in physiology and archaeology) were recently permitted to attend a Columbia University celebration in New York.

New Russia is making an effort to set up its own technical foreign aid program throughout the world. With the United States withdrawing most of its aid one wonders whether Moscow is not outmaneuvering Washington in its bid for the favor of underdeveloped countries.

CROSS-TRENDS

While Russia, on the surface at least, is adopting a more enlightened policy in matters technical and scientific, the United States has done little to placate its alienated scientists. With its security and loyalty program the United States government has brought its scientists' morale to a very low ebb.

The Oppenheimer trial and Fort Monmouth suspensions of the past year were typical of its failure to understand the scientific mind. Aside from the appointment of the scientist Von Neumann to the Atomic Energy Commission and the reinstatement of some of the Fort Monmouth technicians, Washington has not changed its policy of continually-antagonizing American science.

Further on the debit side for American science is the threatening change in the balance of scientific and technical manpower between the United States and Russia. American chauvinists have always held up the superiority of U. S. industrial and technical resources in the arms race. This position is being threatened in the long-range struggle by the

Russian program for the increased training of scientists and engineers.

RUSSIA CATCHING UP

The decision in this military and industrial race may be some time in coming, and here lies some hope for a breathing-spell before an all-out war. It is of course difficult to enjoy this "peace" when we know that it only exists during the preparation for an unbelievably devastating and horrible world-wide holocaust.

The impact of the scientific manpower situation in the war effort was emphasized in the recent *New York Times* (Nov. 7) front-page headlines. These read as follows: "Moscow is Overtaking U. S. in Training of Technicians. Russians Speed Instructions of Engineers and Scientists while West Lags in Race." Written by Benjamin Fine the survey compares the relative strength of the two powers in their scientific and technical manpower. This was done in much the same manner as any military analyst balances out fighting divisions, tanks, planes, warships and atomic bombs. The premise of the article is that the relative strength of scientific and technical manpower in training today will determine the industrial and military balance of power of tomorrow.

The *Times* survey shows that in the United States the college graduation of engineers and technicians reached its peak in 1950 with 50,000 graduates, receding to a low of 20,000 last June. On the other hand in Russia the number has steadily increased from 11,000 engineers in 1928 to 28,000 in 1950, 40,000 in 1953, and 54,000 this year. At the same time students now in universities taking technical studies number 300,000 in Russia compared with half that amount in the United States. With short courses, two-year technical schools, the odds in favor of Russia are much greater—1,600,000 against 50,000 in the United States.

SCIENCE—FOR WHAT?

At the top-flight scientific level of advanced degrees the trend in favor of Russia also exists. Along with this is the upsurge of science and technology in the Allied countries of Russia, including China.

Even currently Russia is not far behind America in scientific and technical manpower resources. According to Fine, the United States has about 500,000 engineers and 200,000 other scientists, while Russia has 400,000 engineers and 150,000 scientists. With their rate of training they will soon meet and probably outstrip United States resources.

Furthermore the United States can no longer, as was once fashionable, sneer at the quality of Russian scientific and technical efforts. According to leading American authorities their professional training is equal in most fields to that available here.

We do not wish to appear in this column to lament the growth of scientific and technical manpower anywhere. For a still poverty-stricken world this should be encouraging.

Such rich human resources, however, should be applied to constructive purposes rather than to destructive war preparations. The battlecry of scientists, class-conscious workers and the governments of countries still outside of the orbits of the two massive powers should be: "Science for Peace, not War." To change government's policies relative to the utilization of technical and scientific manpower is one of the many urgent political tasks of the day.

Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor

On BLP Bureaucracy

To the Editor:

Although the controversy in your columns about the British Labor Party's banning of the *Socialist Outlook* [LA for Oct. 18] will be some issues past when this reaches you, I hope I may be permitted a few words on the larger questions involved.

My organization, Common Wealth, after doing a major share of preparing the way for Labor's 1945 victory, was proscribed by the Labor Party soon after it came to power. This is inconvenient in some ways but as we are convinced that the Labor Party cannot in any conceivable future be a real instrument of political progress we are content to work independently for industrial democracy, the Third Camp, decentralized vital political democracy, colonial freedom and the other things we believe constitute a forward march. The ideals of the rank and file and the lip-service of some "Mr. Two-Ways" do not alter the bureaucratic, militaristic state-socialist character of the LP, which hardens as it becomes more and more the preserve of professional graduate "politicians." We believe that unless progressives in America appreciate this fundamental fact of British life they will cripple their own progress.

At the same time George Stone [editor of the ILP's *Socialist Leader*—Ed.] seems to be treading dangerous ground when he suggests we ignore the totali-

tarian structure within the Labor Party. We want to see a new liberal-socialist movement here but whilst the LP holds the loyalty of the mass of the trade unions, cooperative organizations and the local parties we must bring every pressure to assist those who fight for freedom of discussion in its ranks.

If this sounds a little paradoxical, appreciate that the Labor Party is a great blundering courseless whale which has swallowed and muffled some of our best men. We have to kill the whale but we want the men out fit for further voyages.

Fraternally,

Douglas STUCKEY
National Committee,
Common Wealth

London, Nov. 9.

We quite agree that it is not paradoxical for British left socialists who are outside the Labor Party to sympathize with and assist efforts for freedom of discussion inside the party.

As for the place of such left socialists: we can quite assure our correspondent that we at least have no illusions about the Labor Party's bureaucratic pressures (bureaucratic, not "totalitarian," incidentally). But we believe their place is inside the Labor Party "whilst the LP holds the loyalty of the mass of the trade unions, cooperative organizations and the local parties."—Ed.

Liberal Party — —

(Continued from page 1)

first place from a public speech made by David Dubinsky, chief of the International Ladies Garment Workers and a power in the Liberal Party.

And while the *Post* is pro-Democratic Party and liberal with a small "l", it cannot really be fairly described as an "enemy" of the Liberal Party, to which it gives a good deal of publicity and coverage as well as some electoral support now and then.

The rumors started coming thickly after a speech by Dubinsky on May 26 at the party's 10th anniversary dinner at the Hotel Commodore (see LA for June 14). In it he made it clear, for one thing, that in his eyes the party was at a real crossroads and that some drastic decision would have to be taken soon; that in the future he expected the party to pay its own expenses without continued heavy subsidy from the union.

The "big question for me," he said, is: "Is there enough financial and moral support in New York to support a party of quality and not of quantity? The answer lies with the liberal community. In this answer lies the future of our party."

Other remarks indicated that the Liberal Party leader seemed to recognize in unclear fashion that the party could not go on in the old way—that is, mainly endorsing "good" Democrats or Republicans and seeking to act as a "balance of power" and pressure force. There was an appreciable push from the membership within toward more independent candidacies, and the logic of the party's existence pushed it in this direction too. At the same time the Liberal Party, isolated in New York, is surrounded by a national ocean of politics in no way resembling the New York situation. "No third party movement has arisen" in the nation, Dubinsky complained in the same speech, and no doubt this played an important part in his thinking.

"FRIENDLY" PRESSURE

Thus he, and perhaps a whole portion of the leadership, were torn in two directions; hence the ambiguous but portentous tones of this speech, which attracted a fitting amount of attention.

At this time too, a "friend" of the Liberal Party jumped in to say her piece: the publisher of the *New York Post*, Dorothy Schiff. In a column in her paper, Mrs. Schiff kindly recommended that the Liberal Party dissolve and follow her own example of working within the Democratic Party. She hopefully wrote that "last week the Liberal Party celebrated its tenth and possibly last birthday. . ."

All of this was followed by widespread rumors—emanating not from outside "enemies" but from Liberal Party circles—that the leaders were indeed uneasily pondering the party's existence. The fact that there was fire behind this smoke is now indirectly verified, rather than refuted, by the present Policy Committee announcement and the accompanying rumors that only

now has the party office come out with blasts against the "rumors."

It was not perhaps accidental, therefore, that on the very day the Policy Committee met, the *N. Y. Post* (which has its own ax to grind, as we have seen) came out with the column by Kempton which announced that the Liberal Party was already given up and wrote an obituary for it. Kempton's obituary had many true things to say about the Liberal Party's in-between political existence, and it did not point to the Democratic Party as the alternative, to be sure; but it could scarcely have been expected to help the Liberals make a decision for life rather than suicide. It is understandable that the Liberal leaders, as shown by their communication quoted, were considerably nettled by it. If only from the purely journalistic point of view, Kempton's bland assumption that the Liberal Party had already resigned itself to dissolution (on the eve of the meeting when the decision was to be made) was false news.

BIG ADMISSION

The Policy Committee meeting offered no indication of any policy reorientation on their part, though of course that was not to be expected. Its statement sought first of all to justify its course in the last election, that is, of mainly offering the voters a second line on which to vote for Democrats. And it promised: "To prepare itself for this crucial 1956 campaign, the Policy Committee of the Liberal Party, by unanimous vote, has appointed a special committee, authorized to proceed with concrete plans to strengthen the party organization, to draw in additional trade-union and liberal forces, to extend up-state activity, and to encourage new blood in all party committees."

However, although the party office's communication on the subject also defended the past electoral policy with vigor, one passage struck a peculiarly plaintive note which is quite interesting and revealing.

Speaking of the 1954 election, it said: "We were confronted with the difficulties of a coalition ticket, and the 'junior partner' goes into such campaigns well knowing that much of its campaign efforts redounds to the benefit of the 'senior partner' and this is especially so when we convince the major party to nominate a good ticket. We get a bigger vote against a Cashmore, but we get better results for the people and the state when we effect and insure the nomination and election of a Harriman."

If one presses the analysis, in this touching passage one can read all of the dilemma of the Liberal Party, all of the frustration of its policy, all of its uneasiness and unworkability, all of its inner doubts and confusion.

The usual electoral policy of the Liberal Party's such as to make it the ally of the Democratic ticket, and the passage

(Continued on page 7)



LABOR ACTION

December 6, 1954 Vol. 18, No. 49

Published weekly by Labor Action Publishing Company, 114 West 14 Street, New York 11, N. Y.—Telephone: WAtkins 4-4222—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.—Subscriptions: \$2 a year; \$1 for 6 months (\$2.25 and \$1.15 for Canadian and Foreign).—Opinions and policies expressed in signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent the views of Labor Action, which are given in editorial statements.

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The Secret-Police Chief as Educator: J. Edgar Hoover Lays Down the Line

By SAM TAYLOR

It is certainly one of the signs of a reactionary and dangerous development when the head of a national police force steps forth as an authority on political philosophy and as a partisan political participant. It is even more portentous when this police force has been developing more and more into the secret-police type of organization found in authoritarian and totalitarian states where politics and the political thoughts of the people become a matter of police concern.

Such has been the case of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the director of the FBI, J. Edgar Hoover. The head of the FBI has achieved the status nearest to that of a sacrosanct political figure in this country, while at the same time he openly and loudly proclaims himself to be unpolitical.

The unpolitical or non-partisan halo over the head of J. Edgar Hoover was set slightly ajar a year ago during the Harry Dexter White affair. At that time Attorney General Herbert Brownell, after the defeat of a number of Republican candidates in off-year elections, tried to divert attention through a charge that ex-President Harry Truman promoted a known Stalinist spy, Harry Dexter White. (This case seemed to be the harbinger of the McCarthy charges only a few months later that the army promoted a known Stalinist, Dr. Irving Peress.)

NO BABE-IN-THE-WOODS

In order to substantiate the Brownell accusation, J. Edgar Hoover went to the witness stand before a congressional committee and testified that he had not approved Truman's decision to promote Harry Dexter White. This from the man who claims that the FBI does not evalu-

ate, does not approve or disapprove, any course of action—it's just an information-gathering agency.

But John Edgar Hoover has been a participant in national politics for a longer time than this. In the third part of the diaries of Harold Ickes, former secretary of the interior under Franklin D. Roosevelt, it is stated that in 1940 Wendell Willkie, the Republican presidential nominee, offered Hoover the vice-presidential position on his ticket. An offer of that kind is not made to a non-political babe-in-the-woods.

But if you take J. Edgar Hoover at his word—that the FBI is merely an information-gathering, non-evaluating agency—then it would be interesting to see what is the criteria that the head man uses in a field that constitutes a major arena for FBI activity, investigation of Stalinists.

THE COP TALKS

Who are the Communists? the Communist followers? Who are the "debauchers" of the American mind? What are the ideas they seek to spread which supposedly undermine the freedom and security of the United States? And what are the ideas which are supposedly corrupting American education? If we have a glimmering of the answer Hoover gives to these questions, then we have a little

better idea of the type of political police activity Hoover directs.

J. Edgar Hoover presented his ideas on "Communism and Schools" in a speech at Catholic University on November 13, on the occasion of receiving the Cardinal Gibbons award from the Catholic University alumni.

The problem facing the academic world is that "the spirit of free inquiry . . . has come under violent attack." That is, it is under "violent attack" by "atheistic Communism." And this sets the tone of the Hoover speech.

But the FBI chief is not a brazen and bald-faced reactionary since he criticizes the idea that national security is incompatible with personal freedom. This he claims is an "ostrich-like attitude" for "security and freedom are the essential ingredients interwoven in the ever-growing process which created and which maintains a democratic society."

These liberalistic-sounding words do not establish the policeman as a liberal, a defender of free inquiry, the protector of personal freedom or the champion of academic freedom. Instead they show that he is of the non-Neanderthal variety of reactionary who uses the terminology of liberalism. This automatically places him on common ground with many other opponents of academic freedom who are popularly known as liberals.

POLICE CRITERIA

Continuing on in this political liberalism, Hoover discusses the topic at hand, "Communism and Education."

"The colleges and universities of this nation have a great obligation—to keep alive the spirit of free inquiry. But there is a vast difference between free inquiry and academic license. We should be ever alert that the mentalities of our youth



J. EDGAR HOOVER

shall not be warped and conditioned for the godless way of life which the Communist teaches and follows. All too often academic license has contributed to the spread of Communism and in case after case has won converts for the Communist cause."

Well, the question now is: how shall we know this "academic license" which contributes to the spread of Communism and win converts to the Communist cause?

Hoover then proceeds to the identification:

"Some professors have aided the Communist cause by tearing down respect for agencies of government; belittling tradition and moral custom and by creating doubts in the validity of the American way of life.

"Such professors cease to devote themselves to the truth and become advocates of the corruption of the spirit; the destruction of the government and the debasement of its civilization. The brazenness of those who are corrupting free inquiry is evident in the subtleness and persistency of their efforts to preach atheism by undermining faith in God. These enemies of our institutions realize the value of youth and recruit them for their purpose."

This idea of "free inquiry" and "devotion to truth" is becoming all too familiar in the world today. Everyone except the dyed-in-the-wool reactionaries is for freedom, liberty and truth-seeking, except that for the authoritarian-minded, this only means the freedom to arrive at conclusions that they agree with. It is quite simple: everyone has complete freedom of inquiry to demonstrate respect for government agencies (above all, the FBI), to glorify tradition and moral custom, and to sanctify "the American way of life," the so-called free-enterprise system.

The policeman turned political theorist almost spells this out:

"The forces which menace our security flourish because too many Americans have failed to utilize the opportunities of a free land. Free inquiry, the pursuit of truth, the constant interplay of ideas have been disregarded or scorned by many."

DOUBLE THINK

"Academic freedom is not academic license, as a subtle and persistent Communist propaganda campaign would have us believe. Academic freedom makes possible free inquiry and free inquiry demands that youth be acquainted with both sides of the question."

This bit of "doublethink" or doubletalk allows every American the right to agree with the American Party Line. The "pursuit of the truth" is at an end and the "constant interplay of ideas"

ACADEMIC FREEDOM ON THE HOME FRONT

The action by the United States Military Academy and the Naval Academy in forbidding participation by the cadets and midshipmen in a college debate on whether the United States should recognize the Chinese Stalinist regime is interesting from a number of points of view.

First, is the fact that a discussion of United States policy toward the Chinese Stalinist regime is rapidly becoming more dangerous. That is, unless you speak from a reactionary point of view. In the latter case, you can rant and rave in full knowledge that while some may disagree with you at least you will be

immune to any attacks on your patriotism. Or it will be considered a demonstration of your patriotism.

Second, here is the reason for the gag rule as stated by West Point: "It is Department of Army policy not to have the USMA cadets involved in a debate on such a controversial subject, on which in any event national policy has already been established." West Point then suggests that the cadets would be permitted to debate the merits of agricultural subsidies.

If our memory is correct, it seems that "national policy has already been established" on agricultural subsidies, and that in recent months the discussion over fixed versus flexible support prices became quite "controversial." If this rule were taken literally, then the cadets and midshipmen would not be able to debate on any political question except possibly the merits of economic aid to Outer Tasmania.

Third, there is the role in this affair played by President Eisenhower, who is also commander-in-chief of the armed forces. After the announcement of the ban, President Eisenhower, when questioned at a news conference, stated he believed that the military and naval academies should be permitted to debate the question. This seeming defense of the right of free speech and intellectual freedom even inside of the military academies was nothing of the sort. Eisenhower, as commander-in-chief, did not countermand the restrictive rulings, because it is reported that it is not one developed by the military academies themselves, but by the State Department, and therefore it is Executive branch policy.

President Eisenhower therefore preserves for himself the aura of a defender of free speech. His only problem is to

be that even though president, he cannot get his subordinates in civil and military office to listen to him. Following the example of Wild Bill Hickok he will never shoot someone in the back; but there are always henchmen about who will do the job.

Home of the Free

In these witchhunting days a university cannot be too careful about the books it orders for its bookstore, especially if these are to be sent through the mails.

According to a dispatch in the New York Post of November 19, Brown University in Providence, Rhode Island, has run afoul of the United States Post Office because it failed to observe just this precaution.

It appears that the school ordered 75 copies of Lenin's *State and Revolution* from a Moscow publishing house, for study purposes. The Post Office notified the school that it had held up delivery of the parcel because it contained "subversive literature." Such material, the Post Office explained, is non-mailable from a foreign country unless addressed to a foreign agent, or to members of the diplomatic or consular corps.

But it will turn out all right, the Post informs us. For exceptions have been made in certain cases in which the recipients have been universities "which undertake to study such propaganda and, of course, in no way promote its dissemination." The school has given such assurances.

But then, we wonder, what if some advanced witchhunter in the Post Office decides that encouraging students to study the pamphlet is promoting its dissemination?

The YSL's Aim

The Young Socialist League is a democratic socialist organization striving to aid in the basic transformation of this society into one where the means of production and distribution shall be collectively owned and democratically managed. The YSL attempts to make the young workers and students, who form its arena of activity, conscious of the need for organization directed against capitalism and Stalinism.

The YSL rejects the concept that state ownership without democratic controls represents socialism; or that socialism can be achieved without political democracy, or through undemocratic means, or in short in any way other than the conscious active participation of the people themselves in the building of the new social order. The YSL orients toward the working class, as the class which is capable of leading society to the establishment of socialism.

[From the Constitution of the YSL]

THE FACE OF THE CROWD AT THE McCARTHY RALLY

By HAL DRAPER

We went to Madison Square Garden on Monday, November 29 in order to be present at the first mass rally in the country of an organized McCarthyite movement.

That's what it was. The "Ten Million Americans Mobilizing for Justice" is the first organized crystallization of McCarthyism. It had announced three mass rallies, in Chicago and Los Angeles in addition to New York. Judging by what happened, they were discreet in calling the other two off. This one was a flop.

If the New York rally of mass-McCarthyism at Madison Square Garden turns out to be an historic moment, then it will not differ from many another historic moment in this respect: it was insufferably dull.

If the organizers of this hapless rally turn out (against all indication) to be burgeoning "fascist fuhrers," as some claim to fear, then we have had the pleasure of seeing them before they realized their vocation.

If the scene is to be translated into German at all, then there was no Hitler or even Göring to be seen on the platform, but only a hassel of Hindenburgs, Von Schleichers and Hugenbergs (plus just a suggestion of a Goebbels).

As a matter of fact, anyone who wanted to look over the rally with an eye to visible fascist tendencies would have done better not to look at the platform but keep his eye on the audience.

This was, potentially at least, the most interesting part of the meeting. Who was drawn out of New York's millions to make up the 13,000 in the Garden?

The question is more important than may immediately appear; for if and when and in case any permanent McCarthy-type group comes into existence, and stays in existence, it will be shaped not only by the people who give it life, but also by the people whom it attracts to its banner.

This was only a one-shot rally and yet it too, already, was given an unplanned flavor by the highly selected "masses" who filled the seats and who at times were visibly trying to get out of hand.

Who Was There?

Of course, any generalization about who was there in the audience suffers from the risks of guessing-games; there is no way to know. A New York Post reporter, who paid some attention to the question, spotted Gerald L. K. Smith and a couple of other known racist rabble-rousers among the spectators; but one can say, so what?

And in the lobby of the Garden (until the cops shoed him in) stood a lone remnant of the old America First phalanx, carrying a banner: "Sen. Joe McCarthy for President of our great Christian nation in 1956. Keep It Christian—in the interests of America First. XXX" We could not get close enough to him, for the crush of reporters, to ask him why the symbol for poison appeared at the end of this delicately anti-Semitic electoral platform. But in any case he was a solo operator, just lending Joe a helping hand strictly on his own; no connection with any other store of the same name.

Was it the same human flotsam that had turned out before the war for the rally of the German-American Bund at the Garden? Doesn't it stand to reason that in this city of millions, every one—or every other one—of the once vocal minority that followed the anti-Semites and racists and Yorkville would-be fuhrers and Christian Crusaders, and such, would turn out at least as fellow travelers and sympathizers?

Certainly there are more than 13,000 McCarthyites in the city! Wasn't this self-selected audience weighted with more than garden-variety McCarthyites?

Maybe or maybe not; there's really no way of knowing—except by getting the "feel" of the audience as they reacted to the meeting.

The trouble was that the platform was so far from sharing the feel of the audience that the speakers rarely gave them what they wanted, what they were waiting for, what they were waiting to roar for.

Except at well-separated moments, it was a listless audience. A mention of Senator Flanders could get a big boo; a mention of Knowland or McCarthy could get a big hand-clap; but careful observation showed that a minority of the audience was usually making the noise.

One exception came when blood was scented. A girl photographer for *Time* magazine, working around on the floor, apparently irritated a couple of 100 per cent Americans whose picture she was snapping; they decided, and announced aloud, while ex-Gov. Edison was talking, that she was a Communist. First nearby, and then spreading throughout the lower floor, people rose and shouted louder and louder, "Throw her out!" or even "Throw him out!"—since the precise victim was not the important thing—with the roar of a lynch mob. No one knew what it was about, or needed to know, for the simple reason that nothing had really happened; it was just a demand for action, do something. The talk-talk-talk from the platform was as boring as the talk-talk-talk in the Senate which the speakers jeered at in their own-talk-talk-talk.

They Wanted a Leader

The other moment when the audience seemed to react with some unanimous passion was at the entrance of Mrs. McCarthy, toward the end. Perhaps they figured that if she came, could Joe be far behind? Or perhaps she was a suitable surrogate for her husband. It can be assumed, at any rate, that although at one point in the speeches McCarthy was implicitly compared with God, his wife was not mistaken for the Virgin Mary. Why the special fervor of the ovation? Cynics could argue the necessity of relief from boredom, since Admiral Crommelin was at that moment hacking and boring his way through a speech like a cabinetmaker rather than a sailor. But that would be inadequate.

The background fact is that all through the evening, one of the steady (no doubt, planned) refrains of the speakers had fallen on unenthusiastic ears. Speaker after speaker made the point that it is not McCarthy the individual, McCarthy the man, whose fate was at stake, he was unimportant, or secondary, what happened to him didn't matter, but come ye Americans and defend free speech, or the constitution, or God, or something.

Every repeated reference to the relative unimportance of McCarthy fell on this audience in stony silence. But some (by no means all) of the speakers paid personal tributes to McCarthy: then the audience came closest to what reporters could call a modest ovation, even considering the aforementioned relative apathy of the audience.

This selected 13,000 wanted a Leader. The group on the platform had no Leader. (Some of them came perilously close to—well, almost—disavowing the leadership of Joe McCarthy in some of those offhand remarks about the unimportance of Joe McCarthy.) The audience would have liked to go wild at the sight of McCarthy himself, the unimportant symbol, who probably didn't show up because the rally was a prestige bust; but Mrs. McCarthy was a partial substitute for the Leader.

Roy Stops the Show

There was a third time when the audience ran away with the meeting, in spite of its general listlessness. This was when someone trained a floodlight on Roy Cohn sitting modestly in a box. Here was someone who had worked with Him, even touched Him, rubbed elbows, so to speak. The show stopped until His best apostle had come to the platform, waving his hand at the audience like a marionette on wires, shaking hands with the platform notables like a marionette, bobbing and bowing like a marionette, with jerky movements.

What did this audience react to? Again the main reason it is hard to say is that there was no one on the platform who sought to find out, by plucking on their strings. Gerald Smith must have been professionally disgusted at the sight, simply as a technician. There was no rabble-rouser up there. The nearest thing to it was something of a surprise. The chairman had announced Godfrey Schmidt (of Fordham, we believe) as a professor of constitutional law, who was going to enlighten the audience on the constitutional fundamentals of the censure question. It sounded as if the evening was going to hit a deadly low. But this Professor Schmidt may or may not know anything about constitutional law—it was one of the subjects he didn't mention—but he has clearly been getting some training in other talents, like arm-waving of the windmill type.

The audience reacted to any mention of magic names with boos or cheers. But what ideas did they react too?

Down with Ike

It was exceedingly interesting that they reacted every time to anything that could be interpreted as an attack on—Eisenhower.



McCarthy

Admiral Standley, whose speech was transmitted from San Diego, took a crack at the terrible things that were happening as power was concentrated in the Executive "no matter whether a Republican or Democratic administration is in power." All around this listener came approving murmurs.

John Francis Neylan, a Republican wheel from California, also transmitted, reminded the audience that the Legislature is given great power in the constitution, that "it even has power to remove the president." (Applause at the hint.)

The professor of constitutional law waved his arms in a 180-degree arc, denounced Truman for something, and then added firmly the words "and even Eisenhower"—and a big hand broke out, louder even than the boos that next greeted the mention of the *New York Times*.

The keynote speaker, for some reason also called the master of ceremonies, the former speed pilot Major Al Williams, waved his finger at "the people who reach the high places and forget where they came from—I mean that to go to the top of the country . . ." and an impatient fellow in the audience yelled delightedly "Don't spare the rod!"

Williams, maybe encouraged, later remarked, "God knows, if we had the guts at the top of this land, China would be blockaded . . ." and the crowd squealed approval of both the crack at the "top of the land" and for this (and any other) call for the bare fist against China or any other warmongering appeal.

This crowd was virulently anti-Democratic, anti-Fair Deal, and anti-Eisenhower. It sounded sympathetic with that section of the McCarthyite coalition of forces which looks to a right-wing third party.

Very Religious Fellows All

A more delicate question is the relationship of this crowd to the anti-Semitic and racist core of the New York right-wing fringe. The latter was not vocal or in control of the mass mood. A general disclaimer of racism from the platform got a hand. This should be said first in view of the reports, which no doubt have substance, that other pro-McCarthy rallies in some parts of the country have had broad anti-Semitic overtones and that even some symptoms of a move toward Jewish boycott have been glimpsed in connection with the "Ten Million Americans" movement.

It was obvious, as a matter of fact, that religion was a touchy question. When Past President Brousseau of the DAR, an experienced reactionary, said, "Especially do I wish to commend the members of the Catholic Church who have been so enthusiastic and who have worked so hard" for the McCarthy petition, heavy applause interrupted her as soon as she said Catholic Church, as a matter of fact even before the crowd was told what to commend in the Catholic Church. Perhaps it was because of this incident that Roy Cohn, getting the platform after his triumphant ovation, gave one of his first accolades to the great benefits which America-god-bless-her had conferred on "people of my faith." There was applause. At the end of the shindig, during a harangue which was called the "benediction," a Jewish rabbi from Los Angeles was giving the pitch: nearly the first thing he came up with was a tribute to "my co-religionist, Roy Cohn."

Now everybody knows, of course, both how tasteless and how unusual this promiscuous calling-attention to religion was. (The rabbi was himself introduced by a type who announced that he was a Protestant minister, in about the same tones as the chairman had announced that the petition was going to make the ten million mark. He was thereupon applauded too.) The psychology of Roy Cohn and the McCarthyite rabbi from the coast is not far to seek; it is not different from that of the card-carrying McCarthyite Rabbi Schultz; all of these, within the framework of their no-doubt sincere reactionary opinions, are also convinced that they are striking giant blows against anti-Semitism; for aren't they proving that Jews can be witchhunting red-hunters and deep-dyed scoundrels like Gentiles? Aren't they immunizing the McCarthyite masses against anti-Semitic pressures by presenting a picture of religious solidarity?

This part of the script was played out in Germany in its time and probably has few new scenes to offer anywhere.

There were slips. General Del Valle wound himself up with one of those things about "Valley Forge, the

The Mob Wanted Blood and the Brass Were Bores . . .

darkest hour of our history—until this day," but averred that Christian faith pulled Washington through and "ours will do it too." This is relatively harmless, of course, though not considered good taste at such affairs, and worth mentioning perhaps only because General del Valle is the retired Marine general who urged delegates to the 1952 Republican convention to consider seriously the program of Robert H. Williams, one of the country's virulent anti-Semitic pamphleteers. The general was undoubtedly trying to be on his good behavior, but habits will tell.

From the Cockpit

There were only about a half dozen Negroes in the entire audience, plus a Negro entertainer on the platform—a tribute to the political level, or perhaps intuition, of the Negro population.

If individual religions were touchy matters, God was not. A poorly informed extra-terrestrial alien might well have concluded that the Senate was planning to censure this latter personage rather than the individual named McCarthy.

Major Al Williams, who had previously informed the audience that he was going to talk only "the concise clipped language of the cockpit" since he was only a rough soldier unused to messing around with speeches, made a lyrical and unclipped appeal against censuring the Deity, in terms probably rare in cockpits. To this end he appealed to the Declaration of Independence, a section of which he quoted in spite of its notoriously revolutionary character. "All men are created equal," he pointed out. What does this mean in the first place? It means in the first place that all men are created! Thus our forefathers anchored individual liberty solidly in God.

Thus "we can stand and say 'My rights came to me from God, not from you or you or you,'" and this was somehow relevant, as anyone can see, to McCarthy's right to defy the authority of the government in asking for spies to report to him on government operations. For if McCarthy's individual liberty, solidly anchored moreover, comes directly from God, it ill behooves any left-winger in the Senate to stand up and ask that he be censured for exercising it. . . .

This is a somewhat more clipped and concise account of the thought than the major was able to convey himself, but one no less worthy of the cockpit.

(While we find ourselves on this intellectual level, a footnote about the American Revolution of 1776 may be in order. In the middle of the audience, an acolyte was holding up a sign: "When McCarthy Goes Out, the Reds and Redcoats Come In." This did not seem to be a delegate from the Chicago Tribune, but rather a representative of the New Jersey contingent, some of whom have perhaps not yet called off the battle of Trenton. One of the speakers, a colonel who ran the American radio station in Berlin during the blockade (they said), wowed them with a joint attack on King George and Senator Flanders: "Speaking of Vermont,"

he said, "the Green Mountain Boys under Ethan Allen were able to recognize anything red. . . ." General del Valle, the same who had shed tears over Valley Forge, boasted that "the signers of the Declaration of Independence let the world know they would no longer stand for the tyranny of the British King" and urged that we stand up as firmly against the Reds. The only war which was mentioned oftener than George Washington's was the one which is yet to take place against godless China. The past president of the Daughters of the American Revolution, who spoke, concentrated on the modern side.)

But it would be irrelevant to make much of a point about the vapidness of the speeches, even from the McCarthyite point of view. More important than what was said was: who said it.

This was the rally of military men in politics. The rally was run by brass from beginning to end.

Military Putsch

The military composition of the "Ten Million Americans" committee leadership has been well-publicized. The rally reflected it to an almost caricatured extent. Political inexperience, naiveté and probably plain stupidity deterred the organizers from covering this military character up to any degree whatsoever. Perhaps the meeting taught them a lesson, if they have any brains. Without any exception, from special names like Roy Cohn to comparative unknowns like the professor of constitutional law, the civilians got the most enthusiastic applause, with the possible exception of the literary colonel from the Berlin radio. The reason was no special prejudice against the military but mainly the fact that the brass were bumbling bores.

The first seven voices to come before the rally, straight through, were military: Major Jordan who did most of the actual charring; Major Alexander de Seversky who introduced Williams; Major Williams; a lowly captain (name unclear) who introduced the message from General Stratemeyer; General del Valle; and then Admiral Standley. Then came a civilian interlude, followed by the literary colonel, and the wind-up speaker was an admiral, Admiral John Crommelin.

Crommelin's speech, theoretically the climax of the evening, even contained a curious defense of this massive military intervention into politics.

All my life (he explained) has been spent in the United States navy; the navy has treated me well; I love it. . . . (This was followed by tributes to the army, the air force and the marines, with no recognition given to the Coast Guard, the Ground Observer Corps, CD wardens or the Junior G-Men.)

. . . Because of the tradition of military abstention from politics (he went on), the armed forces have been unarmed before the threat of subversion from within. Military men have been forced to keep quiet, or else pay the penalty exacted from General MacArthur. . . . I'm a military man and not a politician; I too believe the military should stay out of politics—but—

—But there is one exception: "when the vital interests of the people of the United States make an exception imperative." (This was really PINPOINTING the exception.)

—We are trained (Crommelin continued): to resist attack from without but we are not trained to resist attack from within and we are disabled from protecting the country against danger within. (Was there a wistful note?) I am not a politician (he repeated), politics is not my business. I was trained for war. . . .

And so this procession of military men whose business was not politics but who are trained for war, ran this rally to bulldoze the Senate into backing down—and incidentally to scream for war measures, in accordance with the training of which they boasted.

Right-Wing ADA

It would be too lengthy to recite everybody's impassioned calls for war blows against the Chinese, in the name of rescuing the alleged American spies, since this was the cause célèbre at the moment. The invocation at the beginning of the meeting was intoned in accents of godless hatred by a Catholic bishop who (they said) had been imprisoned by the Chinese for two years.

Schmidt, the agile professor of law, openly advocated hurling the H-bomb first: "There is one thing worse than nuclear warfare today, and that is to be defeated in it. And the one who strikes back second may not live to do so. . . ."

So thick was the military club atmosphere around the platform that insensibly the brass began to talk shop even while speechifying. General Stratemeyer slipped into "Senator McArthur" instead of Senator McCarthy. Major Williams, as we have already noted, poked at Eisenhower when he bitterly referred to "the people who reach the high places and forget where they came from." Where had Eisenhower come from? The major did not mean Kansas. Are you with us or not? he is asking the general in the White House.

No, it was no conspiracy of "fascists" on that side of the platform. Needless to say, these second-class Hindenbergs can well be the military cadres of a future movement if one does arise; but at this stage the reactionary movement they represent has different tasks, though it is quite likely that not all the participants have conscious goals at all of any distance from the present.

Insofar as a common denominator can be guessed at, it may well be this, in this writer's personal view: a coalition of those who look upon themselves as having the same semi-independent relation to the Republican Party right-wing as ADA has to the Democratic Party on the so-called left. This framework also leaves room for the right-wing "third party" elements who infiltrate the coalition.

But this is only a snapshot of a movement still in the process of change and development and arrival at self-consciousness, and it undoubtedly has all the interpretative limitations of a snapshot as against a film.

Liberal Party Leaders Spike Reports — —

(Continued from page 4)

frankly calls the party the "junior partner" of the Democrats. To be sure, that does not sound quite so bad as tail to a kite.

But it admits that such a "junior partner" campaign does not serve particularly to build the party. This is a very important admission. There was a time when the leadership brashly insisted that this policy was the only way to build the party.

Not to argue the past now, this much is certainly true from everybody's point of view: Whatever party-building benefits were ever to be gained from tail-ending the Democrats, HAVE BEEN gained; that stage is finished. Now the party has to be built not by "a coalition ticket" with all of its "difficulties," not by joining in Democratic campaigns as a "junior partner" to get votes for the "senior partner," but by independently coming before the people.

This extremely important admission from the top that the pro-Democratic policy stands in the way of building the party is underlined by the continued rationalization for the policy. It is good for "the people and the state" even if (apparently) it is not good for the Liberal Party. For isn't it "better results for the people and the state" if a Harriman is nominated and elected? So they argue.

CONSEQUENCES OF A POLICY

It is a sophism, and one that is not too opaque to many Liberal Party members today.

(1) If the Liberal Party cannot go on this way—"forcing" the Democratic Party to put up "good" candidates so that the Liberal Party need not—then it will not be long before the rumors are fact. Is it a service to "the people and state" to give the old Democratic Party a good front for so long a time as it is needed to

dispose of the Liberal threat? and after the demise of the Liberal Party as a futile "pressure" outfit, how long will the Democratic Party continue to be "good"?

There is an inherent internal contradiction here in the basic view of the Liberal leadership of the reason for their existence. On the basis of such a tactic, the more "successes" they register, the less reason for existence. The oftener they "win" by getting "good" Democratic candidates, the more reason they create for going out of existence.

AN IDEALIST CONFESSES

Curiously enough, after the above section of this article had already been written, we find exactly this last point made by an unexpected source, a Liberal Party spokesman. As we write, the Post has appeared (Nov. 30) with ad-space taken by the ILGWU for a reply to Murray Kempton's column by the union's political director, Gus Tyler. And here is how the Liberal Party spokesman makes the point under the impression that he is refuting Kempton. It is a document worth preserving as a weird example of the intellectual contortions necessary for a labor politico in a blind alley. The emphasis is in the original:

"As one 'idealist' to another, however, I would like to let you in on a secret: the Liberal Party vote is very often smallest when it comes nearest to realizing a major purpose. The Liberal Party uses its position to get the major parties to name candidates of quality: a Javits for Congress, a Newbold Morris for Mayor, a Lehman for senator, a Harriman for governor. When the Liberal Party is successful in getting the Democratic Party, as in this year's election, to name a highly acceptable ticket, the Liberal Party must pay a price—a smaller vote on the Liberal Party line. When the Liberal

Party is not successful in getting the Democratic Party to name an acceptable ticket, as in 1952 when they named Cashmore for senate, the Liberal Party can roll up a handsome protest vote for an independent candidate like George Counts. Now the secret: the Liberal Party prefers to elect good men to public office in a coalition KNOWING FULL WELL THAT THIS MEANS A DIMINISHED LIBERAL PARTY VOTE rather than see bad men elected to office with the Liberal Party rolling up a big protest vote. You will agree that such a political party, more interested in public policy than party patronage, is not acting in the tradition of 'old entrenched parties.'"

"The Liberal Party must pay the price" when it is "successful": he actually puts it that way. Naturally, the thought is somewhat wrapped up for public consumption, but it is there. What is the "price"? A lower vote—that is, less support—that is, a weaker Liberal Party.

When the party is too "successful," it gets too weak. If the party were to reach some pinnacle of "success," it would never be able to survive all these "victories."

Wonderful theory! Practical politicians! Realistic labor statesmen! O ye "idealists"—who are so unselfishly ready to sacrifice the Liberal Party to the interests of a capitalist party; but let some "visionary" radical suggest that the Liberal Party leaders do some sacrificing in order to build a labor party in America, and what shall he hear? He shall hear our "idealists" explain kindly how they were socialists in their youth too, as David Dubinsky did at one Liberal meeting . . . in their youth when they were, somehow, unselfish and idealistic not about the interests of the old capitalist parties but about the future of LABOR's political life.

It is a course of self-admitted suicide-by-victory.

Even this course of suicide-by-victory would make sense if the "successes" that are "won" had any permanence. But of course no one has any illusions about this.

A TRUISM OBTUDES

(2) All the above assumes the truth of the Liberal leadership's claim that the difference between a Harriman and an Ives is so tremendous as to justify the Liberal Party in cutting its own party-builders' throats by engaging in a sort of campaign which largely "redounds" to the benefit of the "senior partner." Actually there is not likely to be a soul even in the Liberal Party who is willing to make extravagant claims for the Harriman-Ives differential.

(3) Lastly, it is only a small mind which can even seek to solve the problem of life-or-death for the Liberal Party by such consolations as the relative edge of Harriman's brand of liberal capitalism over Ives'. There is not a single problem of domestic or foreign policy today which can even begin to be solved without a drastic realignment of political forces—a political realignment of labor and liberal power on one side organized in its own third party, and on the other side, the two old parties representing the same social forces.

The Liberal Party's dilemma is a cruel one for its leaders because its solution calls for bold, farther-seeing, vanguard leadership. Pardon the cliché, please, but even Dubinsky has obviously been pondering the truism that the Liberal Party, must either drive forward boldly or else slip back and crash.

Does the Policy Committee statement mean, on the other hand, that the Liberal Party merely proposes to mark time? That may be its main difficulty.

Cry for Blockade — —

(Continued from page 1)

ment. Whether the higher government authorities believe these confessions or not is unimportant. The point is that nothing whatever can be established about the true guilt or innocence of these men of the international "crime" of espionage from the Stalinist charge and conviction.

CAN'T TRUST THEM

No one can get anywhere by allowing either side to whip him up with its propaganda slogans and cries of "Foul!" A while back, the Chinese Stalinist charges of "germ warfare" were such howls poisoning the atmosphere. Now the U. S. yells blue murder over the alleged spies. But Washington's indignation is all the less worthy of immediate credence in view of its sorry role in the recent plane-shooting incident, when an American photo-reconnaissance plane was shot down by the Russians north of Japan.

At first the newspapers echoed, as one, the government cry that the barbaric Russians had wantonly attacked a U. S. plane that was minding its own business as far away as 15 miles from the nearest Russian installation. This was already a give-away, but it did not sound so bad to the ignorant. It was a giveaway because a claim of 15 miles distance for a modern high-speed photo-reconnaissance plane amounts to next to nothing, a couple of extra minutes in flight time; and modern photographic equipment can get excellent results from quite a distance. One need only think of the outcry in the U. S. if a Russian plane were to get as near as 15 miles from a U. S. military installation on the California coast! But then, indeed, after the Rus-

sians reacted with the softness called for by their present spree as coexistentialists-in-sheep's-clothing, the U. S. actually confessed publicly that the plane had been 20 miles further than its claimed position, over Russian-held (though disputed) islands.

But then, in matters such as this, is there no way in which honest men may establish the truth and cry out against injustice if it is found to exist?

Unfortunately, there is none. All that one can do is to withhold judgment and at the most, to demand mercy for men who, whether guilty of espionage or not, are simply the pawns in a struggle over the conduct of which they have no control. For the simple fact stands out that in the kind of "border war" which is being waged on the periphery of Asia it is impossible for the citizen, even the "expert," to obtain the facts which can irrefutably establish the guilt of either side in any particular incident.

But that in no way prevents us from understanding the general nature of the conflict in which these incidents become inevitable. It also makes it possible for people who are not blinded by chauvinistic prejudice to understand the use to which such incidents will be put by those politicians and publicists who would plunge the United States into an Asian adventure. And from their point of view, the least thing which counts is the validity of the particular charge with which they may be seeking to inflame public opinion.

AT STAKE

The conflict in Eastern Asia revolves around the rearmament of Japan, the stalemate in Korea, and above all, the American backing for Chiang Kai-shek

and his band on Formosa as the "real" government of China. On one side, the Chinese Stalinists are determined to take over Formosa for several reasons. If they can drive Chiang Kai-shek completely out of Asia, they will have eliminated the last possibility of a capitalist counter-revolution for which he might be the rallying point. But far more important, they will have demonstrated to the whole of Asia their ability to destroy both capitalism and foreign imperialism as it relates to their own territory, once and for all. Of secondary though great importance: they will have eliminated from their flank a possible base of American operations in the event of all-out war.

The United States has far less at stake in Formosa, and that is why this has become a source of friction and dissension inside the government, and particularly inside the Republican Party.

There is absolutely no point to hanging on to Formosa unless the United States actually plans to use it in the manner the Stalinists fear. But the American government has not even decided that it wants to wage World War III in Asia, let alone that its aim is to launch an early attack on the mainland from Formosa.

But unless this is regarded as an early perspective, what point is there to hanging on to the island and to Chiang Kai-shek who rules over it, even from the standpoint of American imperialism?

WHY HANG ON TO FORMOSA?

The American government does not need Formosa as a bomber base; it has Okinawa and Japan. The Stalinist conquest of Formosa becomes a blow to American prestige only if this country's government has staked its prestige on hanging on to it. Actually Chiang and his aging army are a liability which eats up heavy military and financial subsidies without presenting any prospect at all of a regime which has a chance of establishing its own economic and political stability.

Thus, in a certain sense, Senator Knowland has the better of the debate, as far as logic is concerned. His approach is: if we have decided to back up Chiang Kai-shek on Formosa, the only possible sense this can make is if we plan to hit the Chinese with heavy measures, up to and including troops and nuclear weapons if they refuse to yield to American demands. If we don't plan to do that, why hang on to Formosa at all?

This may well be the logic of insanity, but it is a sort of logic; whereas the White House policy is simply fumbling.

The rest of the administration, from Truman in past years to the bewildered Eisenhower of today, have no answer to Knowland's question. They have just decided to stop the Stalinists where they stand (if they can) and the Seventh Fleet can stop them short of Formosa. So they are stuck with it.

UNTENABLE POSITION

Actually, Knowland's demand for war with China now has no realistic logic behind it. But neither does the determination to hang on to Formosa. Yet in the atmosphere created by that determination, one incident after another is bound to take place. And these incidents play into the hands of the Knowlands and other "quick war" lunatics, while the more responsible men in the administration are compelled to look very stern, demand this or that from the Chinese, but never to get themselves into a position from which they cannot beat some kind of a dignified retreat.

Given the present political alignment in the United States, these incidents can stimulate a lot of talk, but they are not likely to bring us into a shooting war of world scope.

They remain, nevertheless, a dangerous distraction of the minds of the people from the government's failures, and their retention in a state of more or less chronic excitation and hatred toward the Chinese Stalinists.

The Democrats and Republicans may be forced into the untenable position of backing Chiang Kai-shek's gang because they are committed to supporting capitalism all over the world. But the American labor movement, which claims that it is devoted to democracy rather than merely to capitalism, has no obligation whatever to tie its hands with this catastrophic policy. As against Knowland's screams for blockade and war now, and the Truman-Eisenhower policy of belligerent stalemate, the labor movement should demand an end to support of Chiang Kai-shek. At this point in history that is the only policy which makes any sense whatever, as the beginning of a realistic approach.

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 worldwide 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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Challenge to the Army —

(Continued from page 1)

denced my desire to do my patriotic duty. However, duty to the Constitution, the principles for which this country stand and to the individual's conscience must take precedence in the belief of any American over transient hysteria. Thus, if I am forced to choose between the continuing freedom of this nation and conformity to unconstitutional "loyalty oaths," I shall be proud to choose the freedom of my country.

In closing, may I say that I could with clear conscience answer in the negative all of the questions put to me by this "loyalty oath," if I were so inclined. The interests of loyalty, however, seem to

me to be better served through its defense than through abject obedience to a few demagogues who would destroy not only loyalty to America, but freedom in America.

This loyalty oath obligates one to reveal political affiliations, prescribes what may or may not be said, and dictates what organizations may and may not be belonged to, associated with or sympathized in. I shall never lend my support to any scheme which attempts to enforce these things on me or any other American.

Very truly yours,
THOMAS J. BARRETT, 01 934 994
2d Lt. Infantry, USAR

Secret-Police Chief — —

(Continued from page 5)

ceases at the moment when you create doubts "in the validity of the American way of life," etc. At this mathematically determined point, "academic license" sets in, which "contributes to the spread of Communism" and "wins converts to the Communist cause." The FBI enters to investigate the "subversive" professors who with "subtleness and persistency" are "adulterating" the American way with "foreign ideologies and crack pot theories." This is hereafter called preserving "the spirit of free inquiry."

What then is the purpose of education?

"The true meaning of academic freedom lies in the close association of education with the great moral concepts of freedom, justice and tolerance. . . ."

"Real security in the final analysis rests within the hearts and minds of all our people. It must be directed toward the common goal: the general welfare of all the people. Real security must start in the home where parents teach the fundamental lessons of common decency—the virtues of thrift, temperance, tolerance, the dignity of hard work, respect for the rights of others and above all, the fundamental of all life: God has created, God rules and God can destroy. These are the fundamentals of good citizenship and good citizenship means security."

DANGER TO DEMOCRACY

Any rejection of what the policeman sets up as the "fine traditions of Americans (is) a menace to the sound structure of our educational system"—and worse.

Now I do not know whether J. Edgar Hoover has ever sent out or even contemplated sending out a directive enumerating what constitutes the menace to Americans as he defines it. But these ideas certainly cannot help but influence what the FBI agent looks for in determining what constitutes a "security risk," a "subversive" or the disseminator of "foreign ideologies and crackpot theories," all of which are dutifully placed in the carefully compiled FBI dossiers.

We know that the FBI does evaluate and pass judgments on the political information it gathers. We also know that the opinion of the FBI on these matters is regarded almost as gospel in the United States today. And when we see the political ideas of the director as to what constitutes a danger to the security of this country, then we better realize the danger to democracy and free inquiry that J. Edgar Hoover and the FBI represent.

Labor Action FORUM New York

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 9
8:30 p.m.

Michael Harrington

on

LITERATURE AND MARXISM

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