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SEPTEMBER 8, 1958

TEN CENTS

SPOT-LIGHT

School Integration Court Victories Point to New Stage in Rights Fight

Right to Travel Saved

The Eisenhower administration's attempt to get Congress to reverse the recent court decisions on the right to travel was turned back before adjournment. This was in line with Congress' refusal to pass most of the bills introduced in this session which were designed to reverse and curb the Supreme Court on vital civil liberties issues.

It has now been revealed that State Department Security Chief Roderic L. O'Connor testified before a closed session of the House Foreign Affairs Committee that his Department would be in a "hopeless dilemma" if it were required to disclose the source of information in denying passports to alleged Communists.

Unless Congress gave the State Department its former arbitrary powers in this matter, O'Connor stated, "by this fall a very considerable number of hardened members of the Communist Party or underground members affiliated with it will have a sudden urge to travel abroad."

Press stories do not indicate whether Mr. O'Connor attempted to inform the Committee as to just what harm would be done the American people if "hardened" (Turn to last page)

By GORDON HASKELL

The struggle for racial equality once more approaches a peak as the school year opens. Under the eyes of the whole world dramatic court battles are fought; state governors and other high officials openly announce and prepare to carry out defiance of federal court orders; public debate rages on the right of Negro children to get an equal education in desegregated schools. And in dozens of cities and towns throughout the land, children and their parents brace themselves.

They are not preparing for the normal strains and problems of resuming school after the summer vacation. They are preparing themselves to bear the brunt of insult and intimidation; to risk their very lives for their own future and that of the millions of Negro children and parents who stand behind them.

The national legal struggles are vital factors in determining the conditions under which these children and their parents will finally have to leave their homes and walk or ride to their new schools, and the conditions they will have to face inside them. But it is the steadfastness, the quiet courage of this handful of people and of their

close supporters which concretizes and symbolizes at the same time the inevitable triumph of the fight for equality in America.

Since the Supreme Court passed its historic integration decision in 1954, every September has been marked by dramatic struggles in one or more cities in which some move toward integration has been made. Last year the fight centered in Little Rock, Arkansas, where federal troops had to be used to prevent mobs inflamed and abetted by the governor of the state from preventing nine Negro children from going to school. This year the issue appears once again to center in Little Rock, and in Virginia, where court action remains in doubt pend-

ing further hearings before the Supreme Court on September 11.

However the court may finally rule, however, it is clear that there has been little gain during the past year in this historic struggle. The uncertainty of the situation, the complicated series of court decisions and reversals, the timing which makes it appear likely that at best a court decision enforcing desegregation at Central High School and in two cities in Virginia will be handed down at the very moment when the children have to start to school—all this is highly unfavorable to the cause of integration.

The legal case of the enemies of integration may be shaky. Their moral case is non-existent. The struggle between federal authority and local authority in this matter may be historically against them. But the tragedy is that although they may be forced to yield at this or that point, throughout the Deep South and in such states as Arkansas, Tennessee, North Carolina and Virginia, they have the preponderance of effective forces on the battlefield itself.

SURVEY

A survey of the progress of desegregation since 1954 indicates how important this is. Of nearly three million Negro pupils in 17 states and the District of Columbia which were segregated before 1954, fewer than 400,000 will have a chance to attend integrated schools this year. The only place in which desegregation has been completed is the District of Columbia. In West Virginia major progress has been made toward desegregation, and a good deal of progress has been made in Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri and Oklahoma. A small start has been made in Texas. In Arkansas, North Carolina and Tennessee there has been token integration in a few school districts, with the striking exception of Nashville. In the other states, not only has there been no integration whatever, but laws have been passed by state legislatures for the express purpose of blocking it from now until doomsday. Arkansas is the latest state to pass laws which, in effect, make it possible for the governor to terminate public education so as to avoid integration. Only one vote was cast in the legislature against these laws.

The struggle for school integration has been one of the big steps forward of American society during the past few decades. The fact that it has been slow can take nothing away from the significance of this struggle in the concrete achievement for the Negro children in those areas where substantial progress has been made, and in those where small concrete gains

Administration Foreign Policy Takes Us Back To the Brink of a Senseless War

By LARRY O'CONNOR

One month after the Middle East crisis reached its peak, the world is once again on the brink of war. Artillery barrages fall on Quemoy Island, the U.S. Seventh Fleet is reinforced and rushed to the area, jet squadrons fly from the American mainland to bolster the air force of Chiang Kai-shek's regime on Formosa. One abyss from which the world seemed to have drawn back three and a half years ago once more yawns at our feet.

The exact reason for the Chinese Stalinist government's decision to reactivate their military campaign against Chiang's forces is a matter of speculation. Whether they will launch major attacks on the offshore islands of Quemoy and Matsu in the face of insistent United States warnings that this may bring American armed forces into play is also unknown to anyone, including the American government. The Russian government has now issued solemn warnings that they will stand by their Chinese allies in the event of American intervention in any armed conflict which may break out in that area. Thus, the peoples of the world are left to guess and speculate, while their

fate is decided by a few men on each side who are distantly removed from popular control.

As was the case in 1955, the American government finds itself in a politically untenable position. It is not untenable only from the standpoint of world-wide political propaganda, but from the much more concrete and assessable standpoint of the support from America's allies which could be counted upon in the event that the military probing and demonstrations now going on should develop into full-scale war.

What can be done politically in the present situation? The difficulty was graphically presented in a brilliant Herblock cartoon showing Dulles and Eisenhower

crouching in a room strewn with pots and pans catching the rain pouring through gaping holes in a roof labelled "Quemoy-Matsu Policy—1955-1958." Dulles is explaining to Ike: "Ah, But We Can't Fix It Now—It's Raining Again." The questions and doubts raised from all sectors of the American political spectrum about this country's Far Eastern policy in 1955 and since were never driven to a politically effective conclusion. As long as the dogs of war in that area appeared to be asleep, the whole question was permitted to lie as a subject of desultory discussion rather than one for the crystallization of an effective political alternative.

TIME IS SHORT

And now, through the land will once more be heard the cry: "Stand by the president! However ill-advised we may think the government's policy; however rigid the determination not to recognize the Communist government's effective control of China; however untenable might be a decision to use American arms to defend Quemoy and Matsu—we have no alternative. Stand by the president! When a dis-

(Continued on page 6)

(Turn to last page)

UAW Bargaining Position Gains Strength As Ranks Fight Back at Company Tricks

By JACK WILSON

Detroit, September 1

All signs point to the conclusion that General Motors, Ford and Chrysler policies have boomeranged, and the Big Three are sitting on a keg of social dynamite. This is the significance of the flurry of wild-cat strikes and shutdowns that have increased recently in the auto industry.

Last week, the auto barons got the shock of their lives when, for the first time in twenty years, 400 office workers refused to walk through token picket lines set up at the Chrysler division plant here, and the office workers remained at home for five days until Local 7, of the United Auto Workers won an important skirmish with the corporation over seniority rights. The fact that the unrest in the auto industry has permeated even into the white-collar strata of the industry was not lost on either the UAW or the Big Three, even though no Michigan newspaper printed a line on the action of the office force.

Nor were the Big Three happy over the fact that anywhere UAW picket lines were established in this area, the Teamsters Union respected them, and this was something else the Big Three hadn't expected. At Chrysler, the Teamsters union refused even to drive out a load of special show jobs of the 1959 models. When big truck-trailers arrived at the plant with material, and then saw the picket lines the truck drivers turned away. This action followed a request of local UAW officials to Jimmy Hoffa's headquarters for cooperation.

WALKOUTS

Elsewhere, plants of General Motors and Ford went down in protest walk-outs over seniority rights, call-backs, working conditions, bargaining rights, and penalties against plant leaders who are fighting the corporations' anti-union drive on the shop level.

Pontiac's 7,000 workers shut down the production of new models; three Fisher Body plants closed; Buick hit the bricks for a day. Ford stamping and engine plants in the Cleveland area closed down. DeSoto plant, Newark Delaware Plymouth plant, Dodge Truck, and Twinsburgh, Ohio parts plant of Chrysler corporation had shutdowns.

Make no mistake about it. Contrary to the charges of Louis Seaton, GM vice president in charge of labor relations, these walk-outs were not only NOT ordered by the UAW, in many cases they took place against the advice of the international union representatives who met with local leaders to keep things under control and wait for higher strategy to develop.

All summer long the Big Three have been working over the local unions and plant bargainers since the UAW didn't have contracts. They chiseled on seniority, on bargaining time for committeemen and stewards; they reclassified jobs; they got tough with the rank and file in many plants. Efforts of local union leaders to hit back were softened by top UAW leaders who kept sticking to a "rock and roll" strategy which in practice meant the men and women in the shops were taking a beating. Only

one top leader of the UAW, Emil Mazey, was against the soft approach which the UAW followed.

NEW MODELS

UAW leaders kept things under control by arguing that the ranks be patient and wait until the start of the new models. When the new models started the UAW strategy was to postpone any action until production was rolling full blast. This is the idea that the ranks in many plants, and most secondary leaders, aren't buying. The companies show such a concern for new "show jobs" and to get started on regular production, that the ranks are taking things in their own hands.

One of the issues which stirs up the men

and women in the shops at the start of a model is the question of overtime. The companies insist they must work it to take the bugs out of cars. The ranks keep pressuring the plants leaders to stop all overtime until the unemployed are called back. "Let them bring more people back. Let everyone work forty hours before anyone works more." Six GM local union presidents in Flint came out against overtime under that kind of pressure. In Detroit, walk-outs against overtime took place at the Imperial plant, and at Chrysler.

Last week at one major auto plant, the entire local leadership tried to convince the ranks to allow "emergency" overtime, and were unanimously turned down by a hostile rank and file. This is increasingly the mood of the auto-workers.

Of course, the wildcat action of the ranks increases the power of the UAW negotiators. When the International Executive Board of the UAW meets to decide which of the Big Three to hit, the real question they face will be something different: how can they keep the other two from also closing down. No one is going to be able to stop the guerrilla warfare that is now taking place. As a matter of fact,

the signs on a plant level indicate that even if contracts are signed and the UAW does make a few gains above the offer of GM to re-sign the old contract, the auto industry is going to be plagued with wildcats throughout the 1959 models.

RANKS TAKE OVER

The ranks had been lulled to sleep for a long time under the idea that the "union" not themselves would take care of things. The gap between the leadership and the ranks grew under that philosophy, but the turning point came with the offensive of the Big Three against the crucial plant procedures, bargaining, and working condition standards that had been maintained under contracts. Now the ranks are aroused in many plants, and they want results.

The image of Walter Reuther pressing the ranks has faded, and many labor relations men on the shop level know what the top industry leaders pretend not to understand. The UAW hasn't summoned the ranks to fight. The ranks are taking things in their own hands.

McReynolds N. Y. Campaign Needs Help In Last Push For Ballot Signatures

The campaign to Get David McReynolds on the ballot as Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation candidate for Congress from the 19th District in New York City is entering its final stage as LABOR ACTION goes to press. The widespread response to his candidacy from people in such organizations as Americans for Democratic Action, the local committees of SANE, and from many unaffiliated independents indicates the positive reaction to the presentation of socialist ideas which it is possible to elicit today.

McReynolds' campaign has centered attention on American foreign policy, without neglecting vital questions in the domestic field. The chief piece of literature designed to acquaint prospective signers of petitions with his platform entitled "The Issue Is Survival" is reproduced elsewhere on this page of LABOR ACTION.

In addition to the support for McReynolds mentioned above, members of the Young Socialist League and Independent Socialist League have been active in gathering signatures for his nominating petitions.

However, the active campaign

to gather petitions was started late, and an enormous effort must be made over the September 6-7 weekend in order to be able to file the 3,000 signatures needed to get McReynolds on the ballot. Every reader of LABOR ACTION who can possibly make it should lend a hand. Here are the times and places at which help can be given:

To help in gathering signatures:

go to basement at 110 Christopher St. at 6:30 every evening, and in addition at 1:00 P.M. on Saturday and Sunday.

If you are unable to gather signatures for any reason, but can help with clerical work, especially on Monday, September 8 when the signatures have to be processed, call GRamercy 3-4286 and make arrangements to help.

THE ISSUE IS SURVIVAL!

Mankind lives in what General Omar Bradley has called "a thickening shadow of death." Unless we swiftly find alternatives to the military policies of the American and Soviet Blocs we shall face the judgment of the atom—that unknown day when strange and terrible clouds will blossom suddenly, destroying our cities in a flash of fire.

There is no defense against Nuclear War except peace. The struggle against war is literally the struggle of the human race for survival. We have the power today to abolish hunger, poverty and disease. We also have the power to destroy ourselves. Each of us has a voice in deciding which it will be.

The suspension of tests by the U.S. and Russia is dramatic proof that individuals working together can compel governments to change their policies. Now we must compel these governments to take the next steps. These include: (1) Stop producing and stockpiling nuclear weapons. (2) Place missile developments under U.N. control. (3) Withdraw Soviet and American troops from the European continent. (4) Stop the re-arming of Germany and Japan. (5) Seek universal controlled disarmament through the U.N.—which will require that the present government of China be seated in the U.N.

We must make it clear to the world that we believe in free elections on both sides of the Iron Curtain—in Spain and Algeria as well as in Hungary and Soviet Russia. We must support the Asians and Africans as they move from colonialism to independence. Such support should include a tremendous program of economic aid, given through the U.N., to help in the industrialization of under-developed nations.

We must give meaning to our stand against totalitarianism in the Soviet Bloc by fighting against it here at home—by ending loyalty oaths, subversive lists, passport restrictions, and the use of paid informers. Democracy in action would carry far more weight with the peoples of the world than the pious words of John Foster Dulles.

These are the issues which David McReynolds is bringing before the public in his campaign for Congress in the 19th District (lower Manhattan). Running on the Socialist Party ticket, he has already won wide support from liberals and independents. If you believe these issues should be on the ballot then no matter where you live in the New York area your help is desperately needed now—right now. Less than ten days are left in which to gather the 3,000 valid signatures necessary to put him on the ballot. If you care enough about these issues, won't you join with the others who are going out daily in teams, getting the necessary names on petitions?

ALL BOOKS REVIEWED

in

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Editor: GORDON HASKELL
Assoc. Editor: HERMAN BENSON
Business Manager: Mel Stiek

Editorial Board:

GORDON HASKELL
HERMAN BENSON
MAX MARTIN
SAM BOTTONE

Let's Be Human

By HARRY FLEISCHMAN

A cartoon in *The New Yorker* shows a wife complaining to her bearded artist-husband, "Why do you have to be a non-conformist like everybody else?"

Would that it were so. Unfortunately, non-conformity is still viewed, even by many union members, as a dangerous disease to be shunned like the plague. Last year, we quizzed local union leaders at a number of summer schools. True, they scored high on their devotion to equal treatment for all, regardless of race, religion or national origin. But they displayed considerably less enthusiasm for the traditional American principles of free speech.

For example, three out of five unionists would deny the right of an atheist to teach in a college. And almost half would keep a Socialist from teaching. Interestingly, the fear of such nonconformists as fellow union members was much less. Only one out of four would expel an atheist or Socialist from his local union.

As to Communists, four out of five local union leaders would expel them from the union, and three out of four would even strip them of their American citizenship, not realizing that this would be unconstitutional. Two out of three would also expel Ku Kluxers from the union, and half felt the same way about White Citizens Council members.

(At the same time, 94 per cent of the union leaders, including a good sprinkling of Southerners, insisted that unions must open their membership rolls and enforce equal opportunity for all, regardless of race or religion, in apprenticeship training and job promotions. Similarly, four out of five said children of every race should be allowed to attend the same schools.)

SCHOOL KIDS

Nor can we turn for defense of free speech to our temples of learning. Purdue University's poll of teen-age opinions showed that more than half of our high school kids believe that:

1. Wiretapping and the third degree should be legalized to help the police maintain obedience.
2. Police should be permitted to censor books, movies, radio and TV to shield us from improper thinking.

And two professors who polled a "random sample" of University of Wisconsin students found that the students "overwhelmingly rejected the principles of the Bill of Rights"—the right to freedom of press, assembly and worship!

As *Labor*, the paper of the railway brotherhoods, eloquently points out:

"Our forefathers fought a bloody seven-year revolution to insure these rights and bequeath them to their descendants. . . . What distinguished an American from the citizens of a Communist land or from the subjects of any other tyrant is not chiefly the American standard of living. It's that we are more nearly free men. And the Bill of Rights is what protects our freedom." Certainly, the Soviet-inspired execution of Imre Nagy and other Hungarian leaders by the Communists underscores that fact.

My daughter Martha recently read to me some of the ways in which children who learned the Lord's Prayer by rote have mangled it. One little boy was heard to pray, "Harold be Thy name." Another begged, "Give us this day our jelly bread." A New York child petitioned, "Lead us not into Penn Station." It begins to look as though many Americans—college and high school students and local union leaders among them—have "learned" our Bill of Rights "by rote" and mumble it without thought. Obviously, they don't mean to endorse tyranny. They just don't know any better.

National Labor Service

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Can McDonald Weather the Storm of Opposition? Steel Union Faces Basic Contract Fight

By EMIL MODIC

Pittsburgh, August 21

As the biennial convention of the United Steelworkers rolls around, there are numerous lightning flashes which indicate that the convention may be even more stormy than the last one two years ago. It was at that convention that McDonald bureaucratically rammed through a two dollar dues increase and set off an opposition Dues Protest Committee which was as much outraged at the manner of the increase as they were over the money.

Following the Los Angeles convention of two years ago, an unknown grievance committeeman named Don Rarick ran against McDonald. The truth is that if the ballots had been honestly counted, McDonald might have been defeated. As it was, the administration conceded that Rarick got a third of the vote.

THE KEY

The key to the coming convention lies in the behavior of the powerful district directors who make up the executive board. At least a sizeable minority are known to oppose McDonald. In 1955 they unsuccessfully opposed McDonald's friend Howard Hague for the vice-presidency. It is common knowledge around Pittsburgh that the Dues Protest Committee expected Bill Hart, regional director of the Allegheny Valley, to oppose McDonald for president two years ago. It was only after Hart backed out that Rarick made the race. Apparently the district directors were not willing to fight McDonald on the dues increase, which they wanted and which the rest of the staff wanted.

The fortunes of the Rarick forces have risen and fallen. Rarick made a good showing in the referendum against McDonald and, in elections in the local unions earlier this year, Rarick candidates captured a number of local unions, including a number of the bigger ones. However, this was

apparently a vote against McDonald rather than one for the Rarick forces. Rarick is a primitive and has remained so. His movement has an ambivalent character: in part it is a healthy protest against McDonald's bureaucratism and arrogance; but there are also anti-union elements about it. Some of the votes Rarick gets are votes against the union. He himself has been dabbling with Republican politics and was conned into endorsing a Pennsylvania Right-to-Work law, an endorsement he hastily withdrew the next day when some one explained it all to him. With the steel industry at less than fifty per cent of capacity and with many company supplemental unemployment benefit funds exhausted, Rarick's program of cutting back the dues, cutting McDonald's salary and electing international representatives is pathetically inadequate for the problems steelworkers face. A good many steelworker militants have become convinced that Rarick would be much worse than McDonald, and now support McDonald as the lesser of two evils. Needless to say, staff people are afraid of him and use their influence against him.

Fortune magazine has predicted that the executive board will move against McDonald at the convention. Actually, he cannot be removed as officers are elected not at Steelworker conventions but in referendums, and McDonald's term still has two years to go. Presumably he could be pressured into resigning. This correspondent does not pretend to know if there is now an executive board ma-

majority against McDonald; there may be; but the question is whether they can agree on another candidate among themselves. If they do, Secretary-Treasurer I. W. Abel is a likely candidate, as is Jim Griffin of Youngstown. This correspondent does know several of the people the *Fortune* reporter talked to in preparing the article; much of the material came from a well-known local "labor priest" who is critical of McDonald because of his divorce and remarriage, as well as for sound trade union reasons.

READER'S DIGEST

Reader's Digest has also joined the speculation on how long McDonald can last. Its article is also an anti-union piece (what else in the *Reader's Digest*?) but McDonald provides it with plenty of ammunition. Among its tidbits are: how his official biography falsifies his early career in the union; his expensive house in the expensive suburb of Mount Lebanon; his \$122 a day hotel suites at Miami Beach; his night-clubbing at expensive New York spots. It is a highly polished, high-power anti-union article, calculated to give small-town folks the general notion that McDonald is not much better than Hoffa.

The *Fortune* piece is instructive, too. It indicates some of the ways the steel corporations have taken McDonald into camp in the past and expresses the tender solicitude of the industry for McDonald. "The union situation poses a problem for the industry," writes *Fortune*. "It wants to see a strong leader at the helm in order to keep down the numerous wildcat strikes that have plagued steel. A strong leader, too, can keep down a factionalism that often encourages demagogic economic demands. Thus the possible downfall of Dave McDonald becomes an industry problem, too."

It is possible that the *Fortune* article—which was reported widely in steel area newspapers—has spurred McDonald to move against opposition. The standard resolutions of support have started to roll in from administration dominated locals, and the executive board of the international has passed a motion of support.

PROGRAM

Actually it is entirely possible that McDonald will weather any storm that develops at Atlantic City. The man has learned a good deal from his experiences. He no longer trades on being "the CIO leader who is against Reuther," a gambit he used when first in office. He has been noticeably more humble and retiring since the Dues Protest Committee appeared. As a matter of fact, his public utterances for the last year have sounded very much like Reuther's.

The test will be how he conducts himself at this convention and what program he puts forward in preparation for the crucial contract negotiations next year, when contracts with basic steel are up for renewal. As a matter of fact, the coming negotiations may be one reason why serious opposition to McDonald may not appear—next year's negotiations are going to be very tough indeed for whoever conducts them. On the other hand, if McDonald indicates by his convention behavior that he will not be able to bring intelligent and imaginative leadership to next year's negotiations, the executive board may have to take drastic measures.

UAW Review Board Reverses Suspension Of Members Who Sued Officers for Libel

The Public Review Board of the United Auto Workers (AFL-CIO) has ordered the reinstatement of two union members who were suspended for taking the first steps toward suing the president of their local union for libel. The union had held that the two men violated a clause of the union constitution requiring them to exhaust their rights of appeal within the union before going to a civil court.

This was the first hearing conducted before the Review Board, which was established, in part, to give union members an opportunity to appeal union disciplinary action against them to an outside Board. The ACLU had held the establishment of such a board desirable as a guarantee of the member's due process treatment by the union.

Benjamin Szymczak and Donald Dewey, the two members of Buffalo Local 897 of the UAW, had asked for a show cause order to enable them to determine the authorship of a handbill circulated during the campaign of Daniel Slesinski for the presidency of the local. They said that the information was necessary for a libel suit, based on the handbill. The two men were suspended when they went ahead with their plan to have Slesinski examined by a civil court after being informed that such an action was in conflict with the union constitution. The appeal to the Public Review Board followed.

In its decision, the Board said that the men were justified in going before a civil court, since no similar relief for their alleged injuries was available through the union. It distinguished between their rights as members of society to seek compensation through a civil court and their rights as members of a union to seek to have another union member punished by the union for viola-

tion of union regulations. "The wrong involved is not a wrong committed by the Union or any member thereof acting in an official capacity; it is rather the wrong of an individual committed against another individual under the laws of society," it said.

As further grounds for reinstatement, the Board cited the "ambiguity" of the clause under which the men were suspended. "Restriction of the fundamental right to resort to the civil courts for redress of civil wrongs should not be founded in an ambiguity," the decision read. The ambiguity lay in a clause the key word of which was "appeal." The Board said that in order to uphold the suspension it would have to give an interpretation to the word "appeal" in this clause that it did not have in 42 other occasions when it occurred in that article of the constitution.

The members of the Board who heard the case were Rabbi Morris Adler, Magistrate J. A. Hanrahan, Monsignor George G. Higgins and Judge Wade H. McCreel.

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BOOKS ABOUT LABOR

A History of the Carpenters' Union

By H. W. BENSON

It was two years ago that this book was first published but it has become a part of current events. The carpenters union is now under investigation by the AFL-CIO Ethical Practices Committee. Its president, Maurice Hutcheson, is suspect in a land-selling scandal in Indiana. One of his aides is Maxwell Raddock, a shadowy figure who recently appeared before the McClellan Committee where it was reported that he had received \$310,000 for composing an adulatory biography of William Hutcheson, father; with a more restrained supplement on Maurice, son. Author Christie was called to testify too. He contended that the Raddock book had been pieced together with "a pair of scissors and a pot of paste." Among the many works which had been plagiarized, he mentioned his own "Empire of Wood."

Dr. Christie taught at Cornell and is now on the staff of Governor Leader of Pennsylvania. His own father and grandfather were journeymen carpenters and he himself worked at the trade but never became a journeyman. He has written a serious, scholarly and illuminating book. It is no "official" history; as he explains, the Carpenters Union flatly refused to open its voluminous files on the past. If his account runs only to 1941, one reason is that official union reports from then on reveal little of the union's real life.

PETER MCGUIRE

Every Labor Day, homage is paid to the memory of Peter McGuire as its "founder." But Christie reminds us of what is always ignored. McGuire built the Carpenters Union. "It was McGuire's hope for a reorganized society which powered the new union through its first years." He was one of the founders too of the Socialist Labor Party and he remained a socialist until he died. "He dreaded, as did so many old Socialists," writes Christie, "that trade unionism would become an end in itself; that it would be absorbed by and become an adjunct to capitalism if its machinery became too complex, if it became an accepted institution. He saw trade unions as a funnel through which workers were passed on their journey to socialism."

The Carpenters Union became the largest of the building trades; dominating them thoroughly; and stamped everything with its own crude, crass ultra-conservatism. Christie traces the inexorable process by which this union, originally under the influence of socialism fell under the sway of crooked business agents who became the basis of a brutal and bureaucratic machine whose main aim was the protection and expansion of its jurisdiction at the expense of organized and unorganized workers. Under Hutcheson, the union claimed an ever-widening jurisdiction, not in order to organize workers but in order to police them and ensure that no one else did. He received jurisdiction over lumber, but never raised a finger to organize it.

The author is at his best when he describes what happened. But one wonders, why. Here was the union nurtured in socialism that ended in corruption. Was there something in the very nature of unionism that corrodes and destroys its

EMPIRE IN WOOD, a History of the Carpenters Union by Robert A. Christie, Cornell University 356 pp. \$5.50.

own initial idealism? Were the deep-going economic and historic forces that molded the union permanently fixed in our society or are they perhaps becoming outlived? It would be instructive to survey the history of the Carpenters from such a vantage point.

FORMULA

But Christie gets trapped in a popular, but hollow formula. It was long customary among academicians to explain the American labor movement as the triumph of realism over Utopianism. In this conception, pure and simple trade unionism, preoccupied with narrow job problems was the natural form of the labor movement, while socialism was an artificial graft upon it, doomed to wither. (It is here that the author seeks his explanation for the Carpenters Union.) Labor history is thus written as the conflict between realism and Utopia.

But much has happened and much is now known that cannot fit the theory. In the Carpenters Union, anti-socialists finally turned against McGuire and drove him out of his union. And with the triumph of "realism," "Union racketeering came to pass," we read, "in all of the largest cities during the mid-1890's." And the line of corruption persists up to our own day, disturbed but never broken. Christie describes it all without mercy—for this is no apology—Here developed unions graft-ridden, autocratic and narrow-minded. Whatever it was, was it "realism"?

To overthrow their domination, a new labor movement had to be created. The CIO brought with it a renewal of idealism, a feeling for justice, a striving for democracy. Without such a new spirit, the forward surge of labor would have been impossible. Which is "Utopian," the grand idealism of the days of forward march or the stagnation in these days of false practicality? The new labor movement borrowed only a fragment from the great fund of socialist tradition. As socialism revives in our time, more of its idealism will permeate the labor movement, an idealism that will prove to be its only effective realism.

A Crude Smear Job on Walter Reuther

WALTER REUTHER: THE AUTOCRAT OF THE BARGAINING TABLE by Eldorous L. Dayton. Devin-Adair Co., 280 pp. \$4.50.

Somebody asked Mr. Dayton to do a job on Walter Reuther and he strained himself to comply. He has written a dozen TV dramas, says the bookjacket, and that experience doubtless supplied imaginative and inventive detail. Just to be sure, he added two appendices: one documents the story of Reuther's draft deferment just to point up that he never donned a uniform; the other reprints a letter to Victor Riesel by Leslie Avery, assistant vice president of the National Association of Manufacturers who sounds the alarm, "Aren't you afraid that some American labor leaders, notably Walter Reuther, the son and grandson of Ger-

man Social Democrats, would like to get a Marxist armlock on the American economy."

Here, then, is 250 pages of agitation on behalf of Mr. Avery's considered hysteria. It is an odd weaving together of random facts about Reuther's career especially his early days in the socialist movement, plus notebook jottings of police spies at socialist meetings in the thirties, plus grotesque pieces of a fabricated history of Marxism, plus murky references to Communist activities in the underground, the government and e.v.e.r.y.w.h.e.r.e. . . plus spectacular tales, stories and gossip invented originally perhaps for TV but never used and conveniently added here as fact.

Here is one little tale, not the most spectacular but one which this reviewer knows by heart. It is a classical case of how biographical detail is created. This

is from page 79:

"There is a story that Walter Reuther once was telling a writer all the things he had to consider during the ebb and flow of battle across Flint. Reuther went into great detail concerning how UAW men had taken over a particular plant, how they had thrown up barricades to halt police, and how they collected missiles and connected a fire hose to drive off attackers. 'What if the city had shut off the water?' the friend asked. 'They couldn't have done that,' Reuther is said to have protested vehemently. 'That would have been against the law.'"

It's a great little story, copied word for word from page 64 of THE UAW AND

WALTER REUTHER by Howe and Widick published nine years ago. Except for one thing: the original and accurate version has nothing to do with Walter Reuther nothing. I happen, by chance, to be the one who told it. The man who suggested that fire hose was not Reuther but a rank and file worker. He worked not in Flint but at the Chrysler-Jefferson plant in Detroit and he told me about it around 1945 when we both worked as machinists at the Detroit plant of the U.S. Rubber Co.

But, it would have been far better had it been Reuther! Then so be it! That is how Mr. Dayton improves upon facts. But then, all great literature is the application of creative imagination to real life.

Book On Trade Unions and Democracy

TRADE UNIONS AND DEMOCRACY—A Comparative Study of U.S., French, Italian, and West German Unions, by James B. Carey, Clinton S. Golden, Marion H. Hedges, Eric Peterson, and Arnold S. Zander. National Planning Association 90pp. \$1.75.

This factual survey of the position of labor unions in four countries concludes: "Most West European workers believe that capitalism as they have experienced it, and political democracy are not necessarily interrelated. Many feel, indeed,

that the profit-motive system prevents the development of a true democracy. . . .

In the United States, it is generally assumed that free enterprise and political democracy are not only compatible but interdependent and that broad social advances must be obtained within the framework of this system."

True. Who, however, is likely to change their opinions? The prospect that European workers will regain faith in capitalism is remote. In the United States, labor accepts capitalism but it will not reconcile itself to anything that appears to be the rule of the capitalist class!

CROSSCURRENTS

DeHaan Blasts UI-SC For Lack of Democracy

Richard DeHaan, until recently chairman of the Young Socialist Alliance (the youth group oriented to the Socialist Workers Party) has announced his resignation from the State Campaign Committee of the United Independent-Socialist ticket.

DeHaan's statement of resignation boils down to the charge that he and other independents on the State Campaign Committee were completely excluded from any policy-making functions, and that all decisions were made by an inner core of the Socialist Workers Party and former American Labor Party leaders. In practice, this meant that decisions such as to leave the SWP unrepresented on the slate of candidates, and final approval of the program were left in the hands of Murray Weiss for the SWP and Goldin for the old ALP people.

STATEMENT

DeHaan's statement concludes: "The Young Socialist Alliance, which is one of the major constituents of this campaign, recently memorialized this committee on the issue of candidacies. This resolution, endorsed unanimously by the YSA and the Young Socialist Editorial Board, barely received a polite reading from the committee. Where do independent socialists get into this 'minimal agreement' which excludes the only viable sections of the party? Why cannot democracy and majority rule replace negotiation and bloc politics, and the self-appointed negotiators be reduced to their proper role of a single vote? Our 'minimal agreement' was expressed on this and many other issues; why was it ignored by a committee which avowedly has as its sole basis of policy the concept of 'minimal agreement'?"

"Finally, an independent socialist cannot give his full support to a party which lacks an independent political character, and specifically one which does not take a clear stand on democracy everywhere. The SWP, which originally called for such a stand, has now collapsed, leaving the field to the discredited disciples of international 'know-nothingism.' The platform and ideological character of the I-SP do not differ materially from those of the CP and ALP in years past. The platform carries not the least word suggesting anything but elation over the barbarous Stalinist policies of past and present. It cannot go even as far as the stand taken by the Daily Worker and the National Guardian on the Hungarian Revolution and its aftermath.

"Socialists, who cherish democracy,

are being asked to support a party which fosters democracy neither internally nor as policy. I have no choice but to withdraw from active participation in the I-SP, to vote for its candidates solely as a protest vote, and advise other independent socialists to do likewise."

SWP STRIFE

DeHaan's statement comes at a time when there is evidence of increasing factional strife in the SWP. (DeHaan is not and never has been identified with the SWP.) It is reported that one group, led by Murry Weiss is for the policy of systematic adaptation to the Stalinoids which is most clearly evident in the current alliance in New York. The other group, led by M. Stein, former organization secretary of the SWP, charges that this is a sell-out of the politics of the SWP, and represents a turning of the back of the party on the radical workers in the country while seeking to create for itself a milieu among the petty bourgeois radicals of the old ALP.

As is the tradition of the SWP, every effort is made to keep these differences from the interested radical public while presenting a face of smooth monolithic unanimity to the outside world. While such a delicate sense of privacy is no doubt laudable where private domestic squabbles are concerned, what possible justification can it have in the realm of disputation over political principles and ideas?

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YSL-YPSL Hold Unity Convention in New York

Consummation of Merger Delayed Pending SP-SDF Action to Admit ISL

By MEL STACK

The Young Peoples Socialist League and the Young Socialist League held a joint Convention in New York City this Labor Day weekend. While demonstrating the exciting possibilities for the creation of a broad, democratic socialist youth organization and making preparations to mobilize this potential, the Convention did not formalize the unity of the two organizations. Rather, it conditioned the proceedings upon the decisions to be made by the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation in terms of carrying out unity with the Independent Socialist League. As was stated at the Convention, youth unity was conceived in terms of adult unity and must be consummated after it. That will insure the smoothest unification with the least friction and difficulties.

But if the Convention did not completely fulfill the task of unifying democratic socialist youth, it was nevertheless a very successful and fruitful gathering.

Dominant Political Voice

Present at the Convention were student socialist leaders from the entire country: from the University of Washington, University of California, Temple, University of Chicago, Kenyon, Penn, Columbia, Yale, CCNY, Pittsburgh; etc. And others who could not meet the traveling costs were also represented. If the decisions of the Convention can be put into effect shortly, it will thus mean that the socialist youth movement will be more effectively heard on the campus than at any time in the past decade.

In fact, we can go so far as to say that with unity the socialist voice will be the dominant organized political voice on those campuses where it appears. This does not mean it will be a movement comparable in numbers to the dim past or the European movements of today—it will still be woefully weak—but relative to the political level on the campus, the democratic socialists do have this great opportunity.

Keynote speaker at the Convention was Norman Thomas. He urged the delegates to remain firm to the fundamental socialist values, values which do not change, and he challenged them to be equal to the task of meeting new situations and circumstances. The technological base of abundance has become so massive today, he told the delegates, that the socialist ideal is a very real possibility. But to achieve that ideal, the technology must be made subject to human needs, not be directed by the profit motive and advertising techniques of creating new and false needs.

Comrade Thomas emphasized to the Convention that he felt there was ample room in the socialist movement for disagreement on the past and that there is a real necessity, even urgency to unite in the present on a common democratic socialist basis.

Greetings were also presented to the Convention by Max Shachtman for the Independent Socialist League, and Ernst Papanek for the SP-SDF. All emphasized the necessity for building a broad democratic socialist youth movement in the United States.

Two Policy Statements

The Convention adopted two policy statements. The first is a basic programmatic statement, the "Aims and Tasks of Democratic Socialism" (programmatic statement of the Socialist International), and the second is entitled "The Socialist Alternative," relating to more specific and current political events, specially in the United States.

In adopting the "Aims and Tasks of Democratic Socialism," the Convention noted that it took this action in the same spirit as the SP-SDF and the other parties of the International. That is, adherence to the essential definition of socialism as democratic to the core, and that other specific questions raised in the statement were open to fraternal debate within this democratic socialist framework.

The reasons given by several speakers for adopting "Aims and Tasks" were as follows: First, it signifies the group's adherence to the international socialist movement, to the millions of socialists throughout the world. And second, it is the *type* of broad statement essential for the building of a broad movement in the United States, a movement in which people holding different ideas can fraternally live and build the movement together.

"The Socialist Alternative"

The second document adopted by the Convention was "The Socialist Alternative." This resolution gave a broad sketch of the world situation, of opposition to capitalism and Communism, and poses the socialist alternative as the means to avoid war, as the way to peace and freedom.

The resolution clearly condemns all imperialism, whether in Algeria or Hungary. It calls for a democratic offensive in the world and specifically for the end of American reliance upon dictators and military might to defeat Communism.

In the United States, the resolution states that the YPSL dedicates itself to helping to recreate a strong, idealistic student movement and hopes that the National Student Association can become the focus of such a movement. Further it wishes to cooperate closely on the campus with such groups as the NAACP, the ACLU, etc.

On more political questions, the resolution looks to the formation of a labor party as the means of breaking the conservative stranglehold now maintained by Republicans and Southern Democrats. And on the campus, it pledges to fight for full academic freedom and student rights.

Democratic Socialist Road

"The Socialist Alternative" concludes with a reiteration of non-dogmatism. It emphasizes the democratic debate that all views receive in the YPSL, the fact that the YPSL does not claim to have all the answers. But on one question it is certain: that the way to avoid war and destruction, the way to peace and freedom, is the democratic socialist road.

Other resolutions dealing with immediate problems were also adopted by the convention. On Algeria, calling for immediate self-determination; on the Middle East, calling for immediate removal of foreign troops; on civil rights, etc.

Perhaps the most encouraging sign of the Convention was the reports delegates made of their local situations. All were greatly optimistic. They felt that the campus freeze was easing considerably. Socialist speakers were being given the opportunity to present their case—some for the first time in decades—and many new students were listening. For example, at the University of California, a socialist speaker appeared on the campus for the first time in 17 years. At the University of Washing-

ton, the democratic socialist voice was already a major one on the campus and with unity, could be stronger than the Young Democrats and Young Republicans combined.

There was a consensus of feeling at the Convention that the students expressing interest in socialism were new, inexperienced in socialist theory, interested in basic but current ideas. They were specially concerned about the H-bomb, the danger of a nuclear holocaust, and this led to awakening interest in larger political questions. But then, the divided socialist movement finds difficulty in approaching these new people, for they can see only sectarian silliness in that division. Again, to effectively reach these new students, in order to have them listen seriously, a united movement is absolutely indispensable.

Chapters and Committees

Yet all the delegates were convinced that unity—an effective, lasting unity—will be consummated very shortly. When that occurs, the united YPSL will begin with the following chapters and organizing committees:

NEW YORK with strong campus groups at Brooklyn College, CCNY, and Columbia, and with good possibilities for immediate groups at NYU and Queens College. NEW HAVEN, a strong group at Yale University. BOSTON, a large group at Boston University, at Brandeis, Harvard, and possibly two other schools in the area. ALBANY, UTICA, BUFFALO, with a group on the campus. PHILADELPHIA, groups on two or three campuses. RUTGERS UNIVERSITY. PITTSBURGH with a small group at Pitt. CLEVELAND, friends at Oberlin, ANTIOCH. OHIO STATE. CHICAGO, a large group on the U of C campus and possibly at Roosevelt College. KENYON COLLEGE; DENVER; ALBUQUERQUE. LOS ANGELES, with a few friends at UCLA. BERKELEY, and a very active group at the University of California. SEATTLE, the University of Washington, of course. Many young friends in WESTCHESTER COUNTY, New York. And many other campuses where the YPSL will be able to have speakers—like Syracuse, Beria, etc.—and hopefully chapters in the near future.

This list of chapters and organizing committees, small in the absolute sense, is impressive when compared to the state of radicalism in the past period—certainly impressive when compared to other existing political youth organizations. The fact remains that a great opportunity lies before the socialist movement, or rather, the chance lies before us of recreating that movement.

We, for our part, sincerely hope that the opportunity is realized. We hope that those who have had doubts, hesitations, misgivings on the forthcoming unity will give it a chance. All of us must live together, work together, to build the movement. That is the *only* way the task will be accomplished.

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LABOR SCOPE

By H. W. BENSON

Good Enough for Canada

In Canada a new party is shaping up to take in the socialist Cooperative Commonwealth Federation and the organized labor movement.

Last April, the Canadian Labor Congress voted at its convention to invite the CCF and other popular groups: coops, farm organizations, to form "a new, broadly-based peoples political movement." CCF President David Lewis called the invitation, "the most significant political fact since the founding of the CCF." The sponsors are careful to point out that they are not proposing to form a "labor party" but a movement embracing all progressive groups. But, in practice it would mean a big strengthening of the worker base of the popular opposition to the Liberal and Conservative Parties, an opposition which depended up to now upon the CCF.

It was the Canadian District of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union which initiated the move, reported with enthusiasm in the union's paper *Union News*.

The July issue of the *United Rubber Worker* highlights a report of the convention of the *United Rubber Workers District 6 in Oshawa, Ontario* with the headline: "Delegates OK New Party Plan."

We have then this paradoxical situation: Canadian sections of important AFL-CIO unions are committed to the formation of a new party and not to rely upon their "friends" in the old parties. They have the obvious approval of their International organization, headquarters USA. But in the United States, the same unions will not budge outside the Democratic Party. They remain in a single united political organization with the Southern Slave Dealers because they don't want to offend a few New Dealers.

But, if it's good enough for Canada . . . ?

A Note on Changing Times

The Radio and Television Directors Guild is protesting the dismissal of one of its members, TV stage manager Joseph Papp who was fired in June by the Columbia Broadcasting System. Papp had refused to tell a subcommittee of the House Un-American Activities Committee whether he had ever belonged to the Communist Party.

The Guild was undecided. It submitted the question to a membership referendum asking for a vote on whether it should "recognize the invocation of his constitutional privilege by a witness before a Congressional investigating committee as constituting good and sufficient cause for discharge."

The members voted 234-149 to uphold the rights of witnesses and now the Guild is putting Mr. Papp's case to arbitration.

A Different Sort of Note

At the united Socialist youth convention on August 30, Norman Thomas related how in years gone by he was invited to speak at union rallies all over the country. "Usually when they were in trouble and needed help in a free speech fight," he said. "I've all kinds of honorary memberships in all kinds of unions for services. But I can't speak at these unions today. The dictate comes from high up that they don't want to appear socialistic."

Whither Joe Curran?

As a member of the Ethical Practices Committee, Joe Curran voted to kick the Teamsters out of the AFL-CIO. But things look quite different now. Curran, president of the National Maritime Union, has joined together with the Teamsters and the ILA in a national conference of transport unions under the chairmanship of Hoffa. Curran told reporters at a Meet the Press TV session that he thought the Teamsters should be taken back into the AFL-CIO. He was the only member of the AFL-CIO Executive Council to vote against its directive to all

affiliates to break off national ties with the Teamsters.

Curran apparently has embarked upon a membership drive, so to speak, of a peculiarly unrestrained type. The AFL-CIO International Brotherhood of Longshoremen is demanding that Curran be ousted from all AFL-CIO positions. The IBL claims that Curran sent workers through its picket lines during a tugboat strike on the St. Lawrence Seaway.

The Marine Engineers Beneficial Association has presented charges against Curran to George Meany. It charges too, that Curran directed NMU members to cross its picket lines and that he had announced the formation of a dual union for licensed officers during critical negotiations between the MEBA and ship owners on the East Coast in June.

Meanwhile, the *NMU Pilot* regularly prints letters to the editor calling upon Curran to stand up to the AFL-CIO and to get out of the Federation if necessary. Such little notes are not printed by accident.

Last month, the NMU announced the results of a membership referendum vote for union officers under the heading "Federoff Elected Sec'y Treasurer. Members Give Pres. Curran 19,000 Vote of Confidence." The headline, upon close reading of the results, seems a bit overexuberant. There were 24,111 votes cast. Curran received 19,000 votes; but he was unopposed. Steve Federoff got 10,265 votes for Secretary-Treasurer, fewer than a majority of the votes cast; his rival got 8,572. Of all those who were elect-

Papermakers on Oil

The July issue of *United Paper*, published by the United Papermakers and Paperworkers union, portrays John Foster Dulles staring in dismay at a checkerboard as he exclaims, "Good Heavens! How can I play without Kings?" In an accompanying editorial we read:

"... it is evident the actions of Britain and America in the Near East were dictated by the need of Western Europe for Middle East oil. . . . Consider for a moment yourself as a worker or peasant in that rich but wretched region. What would your reaction be to a ruler who sported around in jazzy limousines, squandering millions on the most frivolous luxuries, while you and your family lived in poverty and squalor, utterly without civil rights or political liberties with which you might hope to alter your plight? You'd want to revolt. The key to our foreign policy fumbles in the Near East and elsewhere has been a lack of sensitivity to this utterly human desire of wanting to win a better life under the sun. It is incredible that the United States of America, a nation born of revolution, whose people daily live within one of the most revolutionary frameworks ever devised by human intelligence, should be cast in the role of conservatism and reaction. . . . Yet we strain to prop up the tottering anti-democratic despots. We provide Soviet imperialists opportunity to assume the role of liberators to the oppressed."

Back to the Brink of War---

(Continued from page 1)

astrous policy leads to catastrophe, ours not to reason why, ours but to do and die!"

That was the stance struck, with honorable exceptions, by most liberals during the Middle East crisis. If the Chinese government decides to push their current offensive to a decisive military clash, one can expect a similar response again. But if the ultimate disaster of a full-scale war is once more avoided, and the Chinese and their Russian allies use this crisis not to conquer the islands but as a lever to extract recognition of the Chinese government at a summit meeting, there will once again be time in which to urge a political policy, which could transform the crisis in the Far East.

When the flare-up took place around Quemoy and Matsu early in 1955, *Labor Action* proposed a political program for the area. The only circumstance which has changed in the intervening years has been that the high level of development of Russian nuclear and missile weapons makes a full-scale war now much more dangerous to the United States and the human race than it was then.

PROGRAM

The three points of the program proposed then were these: 1) Let the people of Formosa hold a free election to determine their destiny: to become part of Stalinist China or to become an independent country. 2) Normalize relations with Communist China by recognizing the government. 3) Withdraw American forces from the area.

The idea of a plebiscite in Formosa was suggested by Clement Attlee for the British Labor Party in 1955. Both the Communist government and Chiang Kai-shek rejected the proposal out of hand. The Communists claim that Formosa is theirs, and they will

have no funny business about self-determination. Chiang has never permitted a free election in all the years of his rule, and has no intention of starting with such a daring experiment now. But the United States could insist, either directly or preferably through the United Nations that such a solution is the only one which can offer any hope of stabilizing the area.

The proposal for such a plebiscite would have real force only if the United States is prepared to recognize the Stalinist government of China and urge its admission to the United Nations as such.

If steps one and two were carried out, and the Chinese Stalinist government still threatened to take over Formosa by military means, the protection of that country's independence would be an obligation of the United Nations in the same way as the defense of any country threatened by aggression. In any event, the political circumstances would then be altered completely. Just as the first American bomb which lands on Chinese territory in the course of a possible defense of Quemoy and Matsu would brand the United States as an aggressor in the eyes of the world, or at the very least as a wager of "preventive war," so Chinese refusal to honor the wishes of the Formosan people, once they are expressed in a free election, would brand the Chinese government as an aggressor against a small and weak people.

ALTERNATIVE

This proposal does not pretend to deal with every detail of the problem, such as what would have to be done with Chiang's troops to permit a really free election; or what would have to be done with them if the Formosans opted for independence. It is put forth as a contribution to a further

crystallization of American opinion around a broad, concrete alternative to the administration's dangerous, impractical, and imperialist policy.

Unless large-scale fighting breaks out before there is any time for the mobilization and clarification of public opinion in this country, the chances of building up large-scale pressure on the government are far better than they were in 1955. Although no politically potent force has yet adopted a clear-cut alternative to the government's policy, there has been a noticeable amount of reconsideration and a decided shift in public opinion in the intervening years. Organizations like Americans for Democratic Action which at one time stood solidly for the policy of non-recognition of the government of China, have veered considerably from that point of view since. The labor movement which was one of the loudest popular voices behind the Acheson-Dulles policy toward China is at least much more divided in its opinion now.

BOOMING GUNS

But the booming of the guns off the coast of China should remind us that there is not an infinite amount of time in which the American people can re-think and re-shape the policy of their government. The foreign policy pursued by the American government since World War II has left the world strewn with unexploded political bombs which may seem harmless enough for long periods but which, like the Formosa strait, have the potential of exploding in the face of the world at any time. Only an active policy, based not on military alliances, but on support of democratic solutions for the problems of the peoples of the area can disarm these bombs. And even more important: convert them into political weapons as dangerous to all tyranny, including that of Stalinism, as they are to the American people and the peace of the world today.

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A DISCUSSION ARTICLE

Arab Nationalism and Nasserism — II

By SAM BOTTONE

What is unique about Arab nationalism in the Middle East is the important, if not decisive, political role of the Army. This need not be surprising, given both the level of social development in that area and the present international struggle taking place for control of the Arab lands. But not every Arab army has been the same, nor have they all tried to play a social role as distinct from the rule of a military dictatorship.

There are three main reasons for the importance of the Army as a distinct social force. First is that the Army is a relatively cohesive group in a society characterized by the relative weakness of the traditional economic classes—the bourgeoisie, the landowners, the workers and the peasantry. Second has been the discreditment of the old leadership of Arab nationalism which mainly represented the landowning classes and feudal dynasties. The defeat of the Arab armies in the 1948 war with Israel both weakened the old ruling classes and brought the Army forth as the repository of discontent and pentup feelings of the educated people and the masses. Third is the needs of the struggle against the continuation of imperialist control over the Arab peoples. As long as the drive toward complete independence and unification has to contend with foreign military intervention, and the Arabs themselves look toward a resumption of the war with Israel at some future and more favorable time, the Army will be an important factor.

The Role of the Army

But it is one thing for the officer corps to be an important or even decisive force in a social struggle, and quite another to view the Army as the embodiment and the only vehicle for social change. This latter position is held by many Arab nationalists. They view the Army or a military dictatorship as the necessary stage of "democratic" development for the Middle East. The Egyptian Revolution of 1952 and more recently the Iraqi Revolution have served to support the idea that the Army officer corps is the only social force with sufficient strength and cohesion capable of toppling the old landlord regimes. And where the officer corps did not do this, it was because the Army was neutralized periodically by a series of drastic purges which was the way Nuri Said preserved the monarchy in Iraq yesterday and King Hussein survives today in Jordan.

Waled Khalidi, formerly a lecturer in Arabic at Oxford, writing on "Political Trends in the Fertile Crescent" says: "As far as one can see, the future of each Arab country of the Fertile Crescent will depend to a large extent on the political outlook of its particular officer class, and on the degree of co-operation between the officer classes in the various Arab countries. . . . There is the inescapable fact that the Arab officer class has become the repository of self-conscious political power at a time when the traditional ruling class is bankrupt, the other growing forces and trends have not sufficiently crystallized and the general masses positively look to this class as a savior."

However, even if it is an "inescapable fact that the Arab officer class has become the repository of self-conscious political power," there is still the question of what it is going to do with it and in whose interest it will function. It is at this point that the great differences over Nasserism arise. Further there are two different areas in which Nasserism is to be discussed: first as a force or ideology in the Arab world in its conflict with Western imperialism; and second, as an internal force in the development of Egypt.

Nasser's internal regime in Egypt has come in for a great deal of criticism in the Western press primarily because of hostility to Nasser's militant Arab nationalist ideology. The U.S. maintains an entire stable of regimes even more dictatorial than Nasser's but scarcely a word about them appears. For example, the Nuri dictatorship in Iraq was far more backward and reactionary an operation but because of its pro-Western policies, it always received a favorable press in the West.

Part of the problem in considering Nasserism is the tendency to try to fit it into old familiar designations, for example Bonapartism. Even aside from the fact that it is so broad a term, the trouble is that it predisposes toward ignoring the specific features or accomplishments of the regime. For example if the regime is called merely a military dictatorship, the next step usually is to deal with the land reform and attempts at internal reform as so much bogus. It does not and cannot lead to an understanding of the regime, the type of support it has evoked and generally the problems of Arab nationalism.

Land Reform Laws

The land reform laws of 1952 enacted within a few months after the July revolution is a good starting point to look at Nasserism. The early date of the reform law indicates that it was an integral part of the thinking of the military Junta which took power. The intervention of the army in the fight against the established order is no specific Middle East occurrence. It has happened in South America (in the Mexican Revolution under Madero and Obregon) on a wide scale.

It was part of the thinking of "Free Officers" for two reasons: first as a means to destroy the social base of the old ruling class, and secondly as part of a program to meet the needs of the Egyptian economy. Even in terms of the stated purposes of the law to limit the size of land holdings to 300 acres, the effect on the Egyptian economy was not drastic. But the effect in Egypt was out of all proportions to the extent of reforms. The reason for this is that it was revolutionary in its political effects, since it was directed against the royal family and a small number of very wealthy landowners. The July revolution ousted the large landowning class from political power and the land reform destroyed its social base. The carrying out of this part of the land reform is enough to classify the Nasser Junta as revolutionary in the social sense.

The effect upon the life of the Egyptian fellahin was much less radical since the total amount of land affected by the law and theoretically available for redistribution was 10 per cent. It has been estimated that out of a total of 6 million acres under cultivation, the total available for redistribution was only about 500,000. By the middle of 1955 320,000 acres had been expropriated and by the end of that year only 250,000 acres had been distributed to 69,000 families. The effect was hardly revolutionary in a country where there are over 2,800,000 landholders of which 94 per cent have under 5 acres.³ From the point of view of the fellahin, the land tenure system under which he worked remained virtually the same.

Reduction of Rents

A greater effect was accomplished through a reduction of rents, and it is probably the most valuable achievement of the reform since it brought rent reductions to an estimated 4 million tenants.⁴ The other part of the land reform law—the raising of agricultural wages—has never really been operative. According to Dorren Warriner "these rates have not generally been enforceable."

But the problem of agricultural reform in Egypt could not even be attacked by land redistribution. The tremendous difficulty is an ever growing rural overpopulation. A really thorough-going redistribution of land would probably only exacerbate the problem, not solve it. The answer has to be the expansion of arable land through irrigation and industrialization to remove the surplus population from the land. The answer to this was the Aswan Dam. The Aswan project has often been portrayed as a big prestige showpiece unrelated to the real needs of the Egyptian economy. But nothing could be further from the truth. The dam is vitally needed to provide the water for reclaiming land and to provide the power for industry. And even with the dam, it has been estimated it would do no more than enable Egypt to keep up with its rapidly expanding population.

The failure of the Nasser regime to secure foreign capital for the dam has put a finish to efforts at domestic reform for an indefinite period. It also turned the regime toward a militant pan-Arab policy not only for ideological reasons but out of economic necessity. It must have become apparent that the oil revenues were the main source of capital necessary for economic development. The failure of the "Liberation" province is also traceable to the failure of the Aswan project, since there would be neither the water nor power available to make this desert community a reality.

Turning Outward

Of all the regimes in the Middle East, the Egyptian was the only one which made any efforts in the direction of effectuating a land reform, even a limited one. The turning outward, however, was not only a result of the stagnation of social reform at home, but in response to a more aggressive Western policy in the

Middle East via the Baghdad Pact policy.

The question was raised in the last issue of *Labor Action*: who does Nasser represent? Through a process of elimination it was concluded that the regime is only representative of the army and declassed intellectuals. True it represents them but it also proceeds in the direction of carrying out the historic aims of the bourgeois revolution — securing national independence, destroying the power of the big landowning class, attempting to lay the base for industrialization and creating the conditions for the development of an entrepreneurial bourgeoisie. The only question which is in doubt is whether the bourgeoisie will ever develop in roughly the analogous way that it did in Western Europe and the U.S. In the underdeveloped countries, the state has a much greater weight in industrial development than it did historically in the rise of capitalism. Whether the role of the state will be such in the Middle East as to prevent the bourgeoisie from developing remains to be seen. And if the state always keeps its present dominant and decisive role, then the military or dictatorial regimes begin to acquire the characteristics of non-Stalinist bureaucratic collectivist societies. But this is only a tendency at best at this time.

Fellahin Rebellions of '51

When the military Junta took power in 1952, it was not over a completely prostrate Egypt. True the Farouk regime and the Wafdist governments demonstrated their inability to rule, much less begin to solve the problems of the country. The political instability was indicated by the fact that in the previous six months there were five different governments. It was also a period of growing social upsurge in the villages. It has often been said that the Egyptian fellahin is a completely docile person who has never revolted or even protested against the poverty of his existence. However there were indications at the time that this might be coming to an end.

In 1951, for the first time in Egyptian history there occurred rebellions of fellahins against the landlords. Riots and demonstrations with demands for the sale of lands from giant estates took place, and the security forces were called out to suppress them.⁵ While the government suppressed them, it indicated that the social equilibrium of the regime was becoming unsettled. All it could promise were some minor land reforms, but none of the organized political parties came forth willing and able to fight for radical reforms. The role of the Army officers who themselves came from the ranks of the middle peasantry was that it was the only organized force interested in the necessary reforms (the breaking up of the large estates) which at the same time had the power to do something about them.

The land reform of the Junta, therefore, was in response to the fellahin unrest and sought to re-establish the equilibrium of the countryside. The limited character of the reform (only against the largest estates) was designed not to alienate the large number of middle landowners.

The policy of the Nasser regime quite explicitly has been to suppress the class struggle. This has been made perfectly clear by Nasser himself in his book *Egypt's Liberation: The Philosophy of the Revolution*. Some have chosen to read into the little book a megalomaniac intent to conquer first the Arab world, then the Moslem world extending to Maylaya and Indonesia and then to control all of Africa. Rather it is a statement of the technique whereby the military Junta will continue to rule as it pursues Egyptian national aims toward the unification of the Middle East.

Policy of Nasserism

It embodies a policy of trying to win true independence from all imperialist control and the development of the Egyptian economy by means of the rule of a military junta which suppresses internal differences. It is a policy of involving the masses of the people, but only insofar as they can be manipulated by the regime; and any independent action will be suppressed.

Some of those who support Arab national aspirations and the unification of the Middle East believe that it is through such regimes that this can be achieved. Democracy will be instituted later on. The trouble is that such regimes have a way of perpetuating themselves and retaining all essential power in their hands long beyond the time when they promised to relinquish it. All opposition to the undemocratic character of the Junta is viewed as the work of foreign imperialists and dealt with accordingly. Therefore the struggle for democracy and independence has to be conducted against the imperialist powers as well as the military Junta at home.

³"Middle East in Transition" edited by Walter Z. Laqueur. (New York, 1958), p. 123.
⁴"Land Reform and Development in the Middle East" by Doreen Warriner (London, 1957), p. 35-6.
⁵Ibid. p. 24.
⁶Ibid. p. 39.
⁷For a brief account see "Egyptian Attitudes Towards Land Reform" by Gabriel Baer appearing in "Middle East in Transition," p. 97.

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School Integration Fight — —

(Continued from page 1)

are actually the beginnings of a process which is bound to spread. The legal principles enunciated; the indelible way in which the issue has been written on the national consciousness; the elevation of the question of school integration from the "private concern" of the Negro people and the ardent supporters of racial equality to a prime national social and political problem—all of that is an enormous achievement. Primary, if not sole credit for this achievement must go to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, its legal staff and its courageous adherents in all parts of the country.

LIMITATIONS

That the legal struggle must and shall continue, there can be no doubt. One after another, the legal gimmicks devised by the enemies of integration at the local and state level must be picked apart and destroyed. Yet the past four years, and specially the past school year, have indicated the limitations as well as the strengths of this strategy in the war for equality.

If the battle were to unfold along the lines of strict legal logic we could finally expect a decisive confrontation between the federal law and the organized resistance to it in the South. There is no possible legal reconciliation between the Supreme Court decision on desegregation and the laws and constitutional amendments passed by Southern states in an effort to thwart it. As Attorney General William P. Rogers pointed out in a speech before the American Bar Association in which he discussed the question of compliance with the Supreme Court decision:

"The crux of the matter then is one of intention. The problems are difficult at best but they become hazardous if the underlying intent of those who are opposed to the decision of the court—particularly those in official positions who are opposed to the decision—is one of defiance. For the reasons I have mentioned, time and understanding are necessary ingredients to any long term solution. But time to work out constructive measures in an honest effort to comply is one thing; time used as a cloak to achieve complete defiance of the law of the land is quite another."

But the fact is that in the Deep South governors and legislators have not used time as a "cloak." They have proclaimed their defiance openly, and before the whole world they have argued for and passed state laws whose avowed purpose was to defy or to circumvent, which is the same thing, the court order. If legal logic were the prime factor involved, indictments for conspiracy to violate the law or to commit contempt of court should and would have been brought against the top public figures in at least half a dozen states long before this.

POLITICAL SOLIDARITY

Can the reluctance to join the issue in its ultimate terms of federal versus state, national versus local authority, be overcome by a whole series of further court decisions? Though such decisions continue to apply pressure to the officers of the Federal government, it appears doubtful that they can be relied on as a chief instrument to resolve the problem, specially in the Solid South. For what is clear about that area is not only the relative solidity of official white opinion on the matter of desegregation, but the relative political solidity of the area on this issue.

It is clear that the overwhelming vote for Governor Faubus in the Democratic primary in Arkansas was an indication of the popular support his action has mustered among the people of that state who are permitted to vote. As Harry S. Ashmore, executive

editor of the *Arkansas Gazette* pointed out after the election:

"Beyond the immediate issue of segregation, Mr. Faubus' landslide victory will have a profound effect on the politics of the South and the nation.

"The moderate position formerly espoused by many Southern political leaders, and by this newspaper as a matter of principle, has been rejected by the mass of voters in this upper-Southern state and is now clearly untenable for any man in public life anywhere in the region."

Put in other terms, this means that in the South demagogues who are willing to drive the Jim Crow train with open throttle have an enormous advantage in any election. Supreme Court decision, federal troops, or even a firm stand by the president cannot do much to affect this situation. Legal pressure can still achieve certain limited gains, but they are now on a plane of diminishing returns. The next big break-through must be on the political front, and there are two ways in which the day of this break-through can be hastened.

RIGHT TO VOTE

One, of course, is the direct struggle for the right to vote in the South. Side-by-side with its court fights on school integration, the NAACP has been waging a bitter struggle for the right of Negroes to register and vote in the South. Roy Wilkins, NAACP executive secretary pointed out in an address to the National Bar Association in Chicago recently that the denial of the right to vote makes it "easy to understand why 196 special laws could have been enacted in Southern state legislatures designed specifically to circumvent or nullify the 1954 decision of the Supreme Court. Some of these laws also aim at the destruction of the NAACP. Among them are provisions which would hamper, if not prevent completely, the practice of civil rights law by Negro or white attorneys."

The extent to which Negroes can exercise the right to vote in the South vitally affects the political alignments in the area. Just as the conviction that the present effective electorate supports extreme

anti-integration measures strengthens the hands of the most rabid white chauvinist politicians, so a growing Negro vote would tend to support and encourage "moderates" and opponents of Jim Crow. Politicians have many other concerns beside keeping the South completely segregated. They need votes for funds for various projects; they need votes so that they can secure patronage; they need continuity in office so that they can enjoy their disproportionate power and privilege which the seniority system in both houses of Congress secures to them on a national level; they need votes in their struggles among themselves.

Thus a major drive in the struggle for the ballot could add a new dimension to the school integration struggle which appears to be heading toward an almost deadlocked condition. And although the difficulties which lie before this struggle are manifest, there is one aspect of it which gives grounds for the most optimistic feelings about its prospects.

BROADER STRATUM

That is the fact that this struggle offers itself for the active participation of a much broader stratum of the Negro people themselves than could be involved in the school struggle. Here it would not, of necessity, be a matter of a few courageous children and their parents taking the brunt of the fight and its risks. Here is a fight in which every adult man and woman can participate directly and actively, and take their own risks, so to speak.

The other front for this struggle lies not in the South, but rather in the rest of the country.

It is not too hard to understand why most sectors of effective political opinion in this country draw back from the ultimate legal implications of a direct clash between the powers of the federal government and the powers of the state governments. But there are a thousand ways in which indirect, but massively effective pressure can be brought on the political machines of the Southern states from outside that area.

The responsibility for the failure to bring this pressure to bear up till now rests ultimately on the shoulders

of the liberal leaders of political opinion in the rest of the country who have come to regard the unity of the Democratic Party as more important than any issue of social progress to which they are also committed. Every effort to seriously penalize the Southern Democrats for their Jim Crow policies shatters on this dogma of the need for Democratic unity. Political leaders who are willing to proclaim their own undying determination to see full racial equality in every sphere established in this country act in practice to assure Southern Democrats leading positions in the national government. Since Democratic unity dictates a policy of political accommodation, that, and not an uncompromising struggle against the flouters of both legality and human decency becomes the mode of political life.

ALL CAN HELP

While it is quite true that significant progress in obtaining the vote for Negroes in the South would go a long way to put some bone of "principle" into the supple spines of Democratic politicians of all varieties in the rest of the country, this is one area in which the brunt of the struggle need not, by circumstances, be born by the embattled Negroes of the South. Every person in the country who takes the struggle for racial equality seriously is in a position to make a contribution to this aspect of the struggle.

The complicated legal battles now have the center of the stage in this historic drama. In a couple of weeks, the spotlight will be on the children courageously beating their way forward in the jungle of obstruction and emotion, opening the path and then the road for educational equality for all of us. It will also turn on the president and the executive departments of the government and what they are willing to do to give at least a minimum of protection to these brave pioneers of the spirit of human progress.

When the dust of this particular battle has settled, it will become clearer just how much and how fast progress will be possible along the present main line of strategy of the struggle for educational equality. While this battle is raging, every resource of economic and moral support should be mobilized to back the NAACP and to bring the maximum possible pressure to bear on all parts of the federal government to uphold the rights which the Negro people have won at law, and which have always been theirs in the opinion of the overwhelming majority of mankind.

SPOTLIGHT

(Continued from page 1)
members of the Communist Party" or others were to yield to the urge to broaden themselves by travel. Reports also do not disclose that O'Connor evinced any concern whatever with the civil liberties of American citizens, with the dictates of due process, or with any other aspects of the problem except "security." But he did make it perfectly clear that the State Department's restrictive policies could not be operated in an open and above-board manner:

"As a practical matter," O'Connor told the Congressmen, "since almost without exception cases in the Communist area involve confidential information and sources, the requirement of full disclosure would result in the issuance of passports to most if not all of the persons against whom the bill is directed."

"The government has a legitimate interest in maintaining investigative sources and methods, as well as security and intelligence relations."

How about the government's "legitimate interest" in democracy?

Teamster's Monitors

According to a report emanating from a responsible source, the Board of Monitors, set up by Judge F. Dickinson Letts to supervise the Teamsters' Union has set out, under Chairman Martin O'Don-

oghue, to try to do a real job. Despite opposition from the Monitor Wells, the union member of the Board, O'Donoghue has set up a staff which is able to conduct independent investigations of any condition in the union which may be brought to its attention, without relying on the International officers or the machinery of the union for such purposes.

For instance, complaining members of locals may appear before the board to state their grievances. Further, the Board has arranged to review every appeal filed with the Teamsters Executive Board.

The Board has found that fully half the Teamster locals lack constitutions or by-laws! It has recommended that members convicted of felonies should be barred from holding office until their civil rights have been restored by the civil authorities.

Of course, it goes against every good unionist's grain to see a union being "monitored" under court supervision. The precedent is dangerous. Even with the best of will, and with the most intelligent procedures, it would be folly to think that the Board of Monitors could really clean up and democratize the Teamsters Union. But under the conditions which prevail, as the lawyers like to say, the Board might just be able to give the membership enough democratic elbow-room in which to get started doing the job which only they can actually do.

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