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Report Shows Violence Increasing in the South

Strike Forces N.Y. Hospitals to Deal with Union

By Harry Ring

NEW YORK, June 23 — An enthusiastic meeting of hospital workers yesterday cast a near-unanimous vote to accept an agreement ending a hard-fought 46-day strike for union recognition at voluntary hospitals here. Acceptance of the settlement came after its terms were soberly presented to the meeting as a "partial victory" for the striking union, Local 1199, Retail Drug Employes, AFL-CIO. Characterizing the agreement as "back door" recognition, union president Leon J. Davis evoked a roar of agreement as he added, "But we'll soon be in the front door with a union shop."

The strike began at six hospitals May 8 after the 81-member New York Hospital Association arrogantly declared it would never recognize the union. The walkout was extended to a seventh hospital June 5. The 4,000 strikers, 85% of them Negroes and Puerto Ricans, were determined to eliminate wage levels as low as $32 a week.

The strike settlement, worked out by a "public" panel appointed by Mayor Wagner, is incorporated in a binding "statement of policy" by the hospitals to remain in effect for two years unless canceled by either side.

Virtual recognition of the union is included in a three-step grievance procedure. After a worker takes a grievance first to his immediate superior and then to a representative of management he then "may be represented by any one he may designate" to process the grievance. After yesterday's general meeting, the workers from each hospital met separately and elected shop stewards whose duties will include the handling of grievances.

No worker is to suffer discrimination for membership in the union or for using the grievance machinery. All strikers are to be rehired except those found guilty, after arbitration, of "committing violence."

$1-AN-HOUR MINIMUM

Wages will be raised to a minimum of $1 an hour with time-and-a-half after 40 hours. Those earning above the minimum will get a $2 raise. Wages and conditions will be reviewed annually by six hospital representatives and six "representatives of the public" to be selected by a state judge. The union will have the right to present its views to the committee. No recommendations will be considered a majority report unless the majority includes at least three public members.

Taken by itself, the settlement is obviously far short of a model union agreement. But considering what the union was up against, it represents a definite gain for the workers. Most of the 81 voluntary hospitals are expected to ratify the pact and this will facilitate the union's organizing drive.

A majority in eleven additional hospitals have already joined the union and these hospitals are expected to accept the agreement shortly. Together with the seven already signed and two previously under contract, the union will now have a functioning organization in 20 of the 81 voluntary hospitals.

MILITANT STRIKE

This is certainly a creditable achievement for a small union that took on a gang of hospital trustees dominated by powerful financiers and industrialists, who were determined that the seemingly defenseless hospital workers should work gratis in their "philanthropic" institutions.

But the hospital workers fought back with amazing courage. They defied injunctions, arrests and beatings, vilification by the daily press and shabby maneuvers by Mayor Wagner to get them back empty handed. Their militancy and solidarity inspired the New York labor movement into extending a greater amount of support than any group of striking workers have enjoyed in this city since the 1930's.

"We fought and we suffered, but it was worth it," said an elderly nurse's aid as yesterday's rally ended. "Before we had no one to speak for us and now we do. This should have happened a long time ago."

"We had our ups and downs, but it was worth it," another nurse's aid agreed. "We had nothing — low pay, no unemployment compensation, no old age pension, nothing. It it had lasted three months, it would have been worth it. I'm satisfied with the settlement. I feel good."

See Faubus Conceding On Schools

The many Southern whites who favor operating the public schools even if this means token integration — rather than having the schools closed so as to uphold total Jim Crow — made some headway last week.

In Little Rock, Governor Faubus of Arkansas has "conceded," said the New York Times, that it looked as if he had lost his power to keep the schools closed. Last month a school-board recall election defeated three Faubus supporters while retaining three "moderate" segregationists. These, plus the new members who have been named to replace the three Faubusites, favor reopening the schools next fall to 3,700 pupils that were locked out all last year.

Since the Little Rock school board is under federal court order to desegregate, the board members have stated they were prepared to accept some integration so that the schools can reopen. Governor Faubus ordered the city's high schools closed last September in order to frustrate the court order.

On June 18, a three-judge federal court unanimously voided a Faubus-sponsored law which had permitted him to shut the schools. A companion law, diverting public funds from closed schools to "private," segregated schools was also invalidated.

The court held that the two laws violated the due process and equal protection clauses of the Fourteenth Amendment of the federal Constitution.

Meanwhile, in Charlottesville, Virginia, the local school board assigned eleven Negro students to two white schools last week under the city's pupil assignment plan adopted last February. The plan was approved by Federal Judge John Paul.

The Charlottesville board was under court order to integrate nine of the eleven Negro pupils. The other two are the first Negro students in Virginia that a school board has voluntarily assigned to a white school.

However, in a further effort to block even token integration, the state's Pupil Placement Board is challenging the authority of the Charlottesville board to plan student placement locally.

Last September Virginia's Governor Almond closed several schools throughout the state to prevent integration. He was compelled, however, to reopen them last February.

Police Club African Women

Racist police in Durban, South Africa, swing clubs as they seek to disperse demonstrating African women. The demonstration was touched off when police, in the latest of a long series of brutally oppressive measures, raided home-made stills in the Cato Manor ghetto. The aroused women responded by demonstrating outside municipal beer halls. When the club-wielding police had finished, four persons were dead, many were injured, and property damage was estimated at $700,000.

Facts Show Steel Wage Rates Lag Far Behind Price Boosts

By Lynn Marcus

Throughout the current steel negotiations, corporation spokesmen have intoned one refrain: wage increases force them to raise prices and thus cause inflation. Their chant, however, is badly out of tune with the facts about the steel industry.

In trying to put the onus for rising steel prices on wage increases, the steel barons have sung loud and clear about how the average annual wage in the industry rose for full-time workers from about $3,000 in 1947 to about $5,000 in 1958—an increase of 67%. But they started humming when it came to steel prices — which nearly doubled during the same period.

Furthermore, because of technological improvements in the industry, labor costs per ton went up only 50%. How a 50% increase in labor costs "produced" a 100% rise in prices is something the steel barons passed over in total silence.

Because of technological improvements and of their ability to hike prices well above wage increases, "stronger steelmakers had succeeded in lowering their break-even points from an average 70% after World War II to about 40% today," says the Jan. 1, 1959 Forbes magazine. (This means that the major steel corporations now need operate at only slightly more than 40% instead of 70% of capacity throughout the year in order to begin showing a profit.) Despite the biggest steel slump since 1949, not one of the eight major steelmakers suffered a deficit in any quarter of 1958.

If, as the steel barons claim, they had increased the price of steel because they needed to cover wage increases, they would not have been able to lower their break-even point to such a marked extent (if at all) or to amass such high volumes of profit.

It is true that the steel companies have usually timed a price increase so that it follows a wage increase. And this has given the false appearance that the wage increase occasioned the price hike. In reality, rising prices originated in conditions that are independent of wage increases, and wages have been lagging behind prices.

The inflationary trend has been stimulated by the high rate of government expenditures—especially for armaments —and by the manipulation of credit by the big-banker and government team. For instance, during the 1958 recession, wage rates remained nearly stationary, total wages paid declined sharply with the drop in employment, but the price level mounted alarmingly. This was due to the government's monetary policy. As the May Survey of Current Business explains, "An increase in the volume of liquid assets was facilitated by Federal Reserve operations as the recession deepened in 1958 . . . These actions provided the basis for a record peacetime expansion in the money supply."

Because of these and other inflationary actions by the government and bankers since the end of World War II, the steel corporations—acting in concert —were able to raise their prices exorbitantly. They introduced technological changes so as to extract even more profits. Then, because of militant strikes, the corporations were forced to pass on a small share of their superprofits to the steel workers in the form of wage increases. It is this "sharing" (and not the profitable price hikes) that they now seek to stop, raising—among other means of fighting the steel workers — a clamor about wage increases causing inflation.

Survey by Three Groups Documents 530 Acts Of Racist Terrorism

By George Lavan

The wave of white-supremacist violence that has engulfed the South since the U.S. Supreme Court's decision against school segregation has just been documented by a report issued jointly by three major organizations. The survey lists 530 specific cases of violence, intimidation and reprisal against Negroes and Southern whites favorable to integration in the period between Jan. 1, 1955 and Jan. 1, 1959.

The report is the work of the American Friends Service Committee, the Southern Regional Council and the Racial and Cultural Relations branch of the National Council of Churches of Christ. It does not deal with the everyday instances of racist violence against Negroes, running from murder and rape to police brutality, which is the age-old pattern of the American Way of Life in the South; it deals only with cases of violence used to counter desegregation efforts. Moreover, the agencies limited themselves to those cases of violence reported in the newspapers. The researchers ignored all purely verbal reports no matter how credible their sources were.

Even on this restricted basis, the three-organization report lists six Negroes killed; 29 individuals shot and wounded; 44 beaten; five stabbed; one Negro castrated; 30 houses bombed; 15 homes struck by gunfire and seven stoned; schools bombed in Jacksonville, Nashville, Chattanooga and Clinton, Tenn.; seven churches bombed; a church in Memphis burned; Jewish synagogues or centers bombed in Miami, Nashville, Jacksonville and Atlanta; bombing attempts on Jewish buildings in Gastonia, Charlotte, N.C. and Birmingham, and on a YWCA in Chattanooga and an auditorium in Knoxville; two schools burned.

WHITES ALSO SUFFERED

Overwhelmingly, Negroes were the victims of the racist violence. But a number of whites, courageous enough to favor integration or suspected of doing so, also suffered. Thus of the 29 individuals shot and wounded 11 were whites. As an example of the intimidation of both whites and Negroes the report cited the public burning of two effigies in Montgomery, Alabama. One, black-faced, was labeled "NAACP"; the other, white-faced, was labeled "I talked for integration."

Another case cited was that of Koinonia Farms, an interracial, religious farming cooperative, outside of Americus, Ga. After the cooperative's leader, Rev. Clarence Jordan, offered to endorse entrance applications of two Negroes who wanted to go to the lily-white state university, the farm was subjected to a long reign of terror which included bombing, arson, gunfire, cross-burnings and economic boycott.

In a gem of understatement, the report notes: "Although the political leaders of the Southern states have declared their opposition to lawlessness, one may fairly ask whether legislative and executive policies of evasion and defiance of decisions of the federal courts have not set an example whose contagion is uncontrollable."

The report establishes what every Negro in the South knows —the racist reign of terror is increasing. This fact gives all the more pertinence to the issue which the suspension of Robert F. Williams of Monroe, N.C. puts before the approaching convention of the NAACP: should Negroes, where the law does not protect them from racist violence, organize to defend themselves, meeting violence with violence when necessary?

Four Whites Get Life Terms for Florida Attack

Four whites convicted June 14 of having raped a Tallahassee Negro college coed were sentenced June 22 to life imprisonment. The all-white, all-male jury had recommended "mercy." Otherwise, under Florida law, the death sentence would have been mandatory. No whites have ever been sentenced to death for rape, whereas 37 Negroes have been executed for it since 1925.

When the jury recommended mercy for the Tallahassee whites, the Negro community demanded that five Florida Negroes facing execution for rape be likewise accorded mercy. In one of these five cases, the judge subsequently gave a life-imprisonment sentence to a 16-year-old boy.

Equal Time in Danger!

An Editorial

The erosion of democratic rights in America is now touching the law requiring radio and TV networks to give contending candidates equal amounts of free time.

Under this law a station or network is not compelled to give any free time to candidates if it does not wish to. But if time is donated to one candidate, then equal opportunity must be given his opponents to present their views.

A drive, backed by Eisenhower, has now been mounted in Congress to kill this democratic provision.

The excuse is that the Federal Communications Commission ruled in favor of Lar Daly, America First candidate for mayor in Chicago, who claimed that newscasts on a Chicago TV station didn't give him equal time with the Democratic and Republican candidates. The ruling according to Eisenhower was "ridiculous." And the stand of the FCC in this case has been parlayed into an attack against the law itself.

The real reason for the drive is to exclude third party candidates, particularly socialists, from getting any of the free time granted to Republicans and Democrats. Proof? Read the following from Donald I. Rogers' column "Wall Street, U.S.A." in the June 21 New York Herald Tribune:

"In New York's last gubernatorial campaign, Gov. Averill Harriman and aspirant Nelson Rockefeller were forced to share half-hour programs with Socialist candidates who monopolized the time and who, the resulting vote showed, made about as much relative impression as fleas on a walrus hide.

"This may have been fair to the Socialist candidates, but was it fair to the TV viewers? Isn't this, after all, the main point? Since I was casting my vote for Rockefeller, I wanted to hear what he had to say and what his chief opponent had to say.

"I was not interested in the views of candidates who stood no chance of representing me in Albany."

There you have it. Both Rockefeller and Harriman represented big business. They actually took more than one-half of the free time. The opposition, represented by John T. McManus and Eric Hass, got one-half. Both Rockefeller and Harriman, of course, had all kinds of paid time that could not possibly be matched by socialist candidates. Rogers wants to listen only to the big business side. Therefore he proposes to prevent everybody else, too, from hearing the opposition.

We can appreciate the difficulties that capitalist candidates face in trying to meet socialist arguments in public debate; but that is no excuse for imitating one-party systems and gagging the opposition.

The issue concerns every political tendency, for if the socialists are victimized now, others will be next.

Let's unite in defense of equal time!

What the Fight in British Labor Party Is About

By Alex Harte

A struggle in the British Labor Party over the democratic right of the rank and file to advocate opinions at variance with those of the top leadership may seem somewhat remote to American workers still faced with the problem of creating a labor party of their own.

The issue involved, however, is not a narrow one of concern only to members of the Labor Party. It happens to be under active discussion in the radical movement in America. It faces every trade unionist who sees what organized labor could gain by breaking from the Democrats and Republicans and taking the road of independent political action. It will strike a sympathetic response in every militant bucking dictatorial bureaucratic practices in the American trade-union movement.

The issue is the relation between democracy and socialism.

The British Labor Party presumably stands for socialism. Many of its members, however, have become convinced that the current leadership has given up the struggle for socialism and that this collapse weakens the appeal of the party. In fact, it can lead to the defeat of the party in the coming election.

A militant current, which had formed around the weekly Newsletter edited by Peter Fryer, sought to bring this viewpoint forward for consideration by the membership. To facilitate this, they organized the "Socialist Labor League" last February.

This was no violation of British Labor Party statutes. Groupings representing other viewpoints, such as the Fabian Society, Victory for Socialism, and Socialist Union, are accepted as part of the democratic internal life of the British Labor Party.

The Socialist Labor League advocates a five-point program:

(1) In opposition to layoffs, the Labor Party and the Trades Union Congress ought to open up a struggle to spread available work among all workers.

(2) Basic industries should be nationalized without compensation to former owners.

(3) Shop stewards under attack from the bosses should receive maximum support.

(4) To win the next election, and put the Tories out of business once and for all, the Labor Party should campaign for an end to capitalism.

(5) To advance the struggle for peace, British troops should be withdrawn from colonies and semi-colonies, manufacture of nuclear weapons and construction of rocket bases should be ended, and the next Labor government should make an international appeal to the working class to "end production of H-bombs everywhere and go forward to world socialism."

The last point in the program seems to have particularly crossed the policies of the top bureaucrats of the Labor Party, for the desire to block a nuclear war is very strong among British working people, while the Labor Party heads are quite anxious to demonstrate to Washington that they will do nothing to upset the preparations for such a war.

This, coupled with the astonishingly rapid growth of the League and its influence, appears to have alarmed the right-wing leaders of the Labor Party, who dominate the National Executive Board, to such an extent that they decided in March to crack down. That this violated the democratic tenets of the party was, of course, of small concern to them — if they could get away with it.

They ruled that membership in the Socialist Labor League or support of the Newsletter were grounds for expulsion. Thus they began a witch-hunt in the Labor Party.

They calculated, perhaps, that a swift purge would behead the revolutionary-socialist current and at the same time isolate it. Under threat of massive retaliation, what section of the Labor Party would dare come to the defense of the victims designated for punishment at the stake?

The calculation, however, appears to have misjudged the temper of the rank and file. Militants throughout the ranks resented the dictatorial decree proscribing members for holding socialist views unpleasing to the top bureaucrats. Local organizations, who knew followers of the Newsletter to be among the most devoted and hard-working members, indignantly refused to expel them.

The strength of this feeling of solidarity can be gauged from the latest issue of the Tribune to reach New York. The Tribune, an independent voice of opinion, enjoys wide circulation among Labor Party ranks. The weekly has opened its columns to letters on the witch-hunt, and the June 12 issue contains almost a page, including correspondence from some of the victims.

Doreen T. Jarkowska writes to the editor: "I have studied the correspondence on the expulsions within the Leeds, Midlothian and Birmingham Labor Parties with very uneasy interest.

"It may be that justice has been done but no one but the blindest man could claim that it has been seen to be done. In short, the situation stinks."

J.F.R. asked a sharp question: "Last night I was reading Isaac Deutscher's biography of Trotsky. Is this a proscribed activity, and will the party expel me for it?"

Lance Lake, denouncing the witch-hunt at Leeds, says: "Councillor Dennis Matthews asserts that the Right-wing majority in the Leeds Labor Party believe in democratic Socialism. . . . Now it only needs Councillor Matthews to explain how the action of the Leeds Labor Party executive in expelling nine members without a hearing or without notification of the charges was either Socialist or democratic. It was only after legal proceedings had actually commenced that the decision was rescinded. . . .

"The Right-wing are whipped up to attend party meetings. They shout and clap and stamp their feet. They enthusiastically support bans, proscriptions and expulsions. All in the name of preserving official party policy from any kind of taint.

"When there is the need to attend public meetings — to go out on the streets — to knock on doors to propagate that same policy, a strange lethargy overcomes them; they become so shy, so coy. . . ."

David R. Smith declares: "It is typical of the group that dominates Midlothian constituency Labor Party that every challenge to answer the basic points is evaded by a fresh outburst of

(Continued on Page 3)

Should Progressives Work in the Democratic Party?

(The following is a transcript of a debate, sponsored by the Friday Night Socialist Forum and held May 8, 1959, at Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward, Detroit.

Speaking in the affirmative was Carl Haessler, former managing editor, Federated Press. For the negative was George Breitman, former editor, The Militant.

The moderator was Dr. Henry Herrmann, Associate Professor, Philosophy of Education, Wayne State University.— Editor.)

Carl Haessler: Affirmative

I wonder why I was asked to participate in this debate. Knowing the gang that the first speaker, the affirmative speaker, would be up against, I suppose the manager of the forum decided it would take a brave man to come up here and present that point of view. I tried it about a year ago at the Central Methodist Church, where I was the unaffiliated speaker, and three other third party speakers had the floor, and I got a pretty good drubbing, but it didn't bother me, especially as one middle-aged bourgeois member of the audience came up and said, "I thank you very much. You have the same persuasive character of presenting the subject as Dr. Henry Hitt Crane." And I don't know if he thought that was complimentary or not, but I have been compared to preachers before this, although that is not exactly my line.

However, I am serious in taking this side of the case, and not from inexperience. Almost 50 years ago, I debated on this general subject, except it was capitalist parties vs. Socialist Party, at the University of Wisconsin. One of my opponents, white-haired like myself, took one of the opposing views, and I imagine he'll take the floor in the general discussion tonight. I was a Socialist Party member, very active in Milwaukee after I was fired from the University of Illinois. I reached the glory of being a member of the City Central Committee of the Socialist Party there, and also of the five-man State Executive Committee of the Socialist Party. Later on I was active in campaigning for Senator La Follette when he ran for President in 1924, which was supposed to be the extension to the country as a whole of the third party—the Progressive Party—that had been founded in the state of Wisconsin.

And when Henry Wallace, ex-Republican, ran for President in 1948, also using the name of the Progressive Party, I was somewhat active in that campaign. In fact, I remember a debate here, in which a lawyer for the Republican Party, a professor for the Democratic Party, and yours truly for the Progressive Party, discussed the platforms. Well, let's get down to the subject, "Should progressives work in the Democratic Party?"

I take that to mean, should progressives, who are interested in organized political action, work in the Democratic Party. If you are a progressive along general, vague social lines, and don't spend much time on political parties, I should say don't work in any political party. Why work in a party if you're not politically organizationally interested? So I wonder if my adversary will accept that restriction of the subject.

Michigan Court Ruling

I hope he does, because he has plenty of ammunition besides that, because a year ago, the Democratic Party was much cleaner looking than it is today. Since the November victory, the sweeping November victory of the Democrats in the national election, great things were expected of that party by the labor people who supported it, supported them with money, with speeches, and most of all, with work in the precincts. So far, there has not been very much visible fruit on the national scale, for labor or for progressives, of this victory of the Democratic Party.

In the state of Michigan, of course, there has been some fruit. I should say, for instance, the victory of the Democratic Party in the last elections, not only in '58, but in '56, '54, '50, '48—that those victories have paved the way, for instance, for the Democratic control of the State Supreme Court for the first time in the history of that body. Democrats were tied once before with the Republicans, but this is the first time that the Democrats have a 5-3 edge in the state Supreme Court. And it was due solely to the fact that Governor Williams, elected by original Democrats and by labor Democrats over and over again, had the opportunity to fill vacancies by appointment on the Supreme Court, and those appointees, in almost all cases, excepting for Justice Clark Adams, were elected when the time came for them to face the voters.

And as you know, the greatest fruit of the State Supreme Court Democratic control was the decision in the Ford strike unemployment benefit case. They reversed the previous Republican decision that strikers in one plant of the Ford company would make all members thrown out of work—all employes thrown out of work at the Ford Motor Co. — ineligible for unemployment benefits. The Republicans, representing General Motors and Ford, thought this was sound doctrine. The Democrats, this year, representing labor and Democrats generally, thought the other interpretation was sound.

Well, that's the most outstanding Supreme Court labor victory that has been achieved, I think, anywhere in the United States. And it has been achieved in a state where labor—organized labor—has for all practical purposes captured the Democratic Party.

The Democratic Party, without labor, in this state had been nothing, except a Governor once in a while who couldn't get anywhere with a Republican legislature. Now with the appointive power in Democratic hands for the courts for these many years—for the circuit courts, the probate courts, the common pleas, here and throughout the state—the judicial temper of a corporation-minded reactionary court in an industrial state has been decisively altered; and I ask you whether this could have been done by any other political means than the means that were actually employed.

For instance, to make it personal, because that's what brings it down to cases, could the Socialist Workers Party with its 4,000 votes in the spring election in the state of Michigan have done anything even approaching that? Could the Socialist Labor Party with a few thousand more votes throughout the state have done anything in that line? I don't have to ask you if the Republican Party could have done it. They could have, but they wouldn't have. The Democratic Party got in a position to do something on the Supreme Court and they did it.

Of course one of the justices on the Supreme Court is a socialist, a man who spent 30 days in jail in the good old militant days of '37, for defying a Republican judge's anti-labor injunction, Justice George Edwards of the Supreme Court; and of course the state chairman of the Democratic Party several times ran for office as a socialist, in and around Ann Arbor; and the man who controls the money bags of the Democratic Party, Walter Reuther, was a socialist within my own experience.

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International Socialist Review

116 University Place New York 3, N. Y.

Lyndon B. Johnson, Texas machine politician assigned to ride herd on the Democratic majority in the Senate, takes it easy under the frescoed ceiling of nymphs and dryads in his sumptuous office. He is reputed to have his charges so well trained that it takes little more than finger-waggling to get them to roll over and play dead. (See editorial page 3.)

In fact in 1938, when I was functioning to some degree as his brain truster—I founded his local union paper and edited it for a number of years—Reuther consulted me as to whether he should continue paying dues to the Socialist Party. I said no. And we discussed it, and I said if you want to rise in the UAW and reach an important position, and if you'll then want to spread your activities beyond that, don't get tangled up with a small group that's getting nowhere, even faster than Norman Thomas is growing older, but get out from under. Don't have these entangling little alliances sticking to you. Free yourself. And he did.

And he freed himself to such a great degree that a few weeks ago, when Jimmy Hoffa, who used to be his friend in West Side strikes, accused Reuther of being a socialist, Reuther said he hadn't ever been in the Socialist Party except one year, during the depression. I know myself he had been a Socialist Party member for five years, and his father had been for 30 or 40 years before that, but he's entitled to a change of opinion and he's entitled to change his memory of the facts too. If there are other people with better memories than he has, well, that's their hard luck, because he'll deny it, and everybody will believe him and nobody will believe those who have counter-evidence.

Well, you see, with three former socialists at the controls of the Democratic Party in this state, things are beginning to be done. But you still have a die-hard Republican Senate, as a result of that overbalanced legislature created by an amendment to the constitution, but even that will crumble. Some Senators are fearing for their seats, some Republican Senators; some of them, while they're not exactly afraid for their seats, are ready to make deals with the majority party in the Senate and even more so in the House, and so I think Michigan is a very good example of progressives working for organized political action in the majority party, the Democratic Party, of this state.

Now, there are similar achievements, not quite so great, in other states. There is the state of West Virginia. I was sitting in the United Mine Workers office in Washington, talking to Denny Lewis, the brother of John L., and he was criticizing Reuther, saying he was wasting a lot of money on labor political action, "and we don't go in for that." And I said, "No, you don't, except in West Virginia." And he said, "Right, Carl." In West Virginia, the United Mine Workers control the Democratic Party, and they've elected two U.S. Senators, ousting the Republicans in the last election, and they control the Governor, most of the legislature.

West Virginia has very good mining legislation, and considering that it's a hill-billy state, up in the mountains, not much doing industrially, West Virginia has a pretty fair record, legislatively, as far as states go. That legislative record was established by the Democratic Party, which is owned by the United Mine Workers of America.

A Start for Infiltration

Now let's take the state of Minnesota where the Democratic Party is so thoroughly controlled by the old Farmers Non-Partisan League, the radical farmers in the state, and by the unions, that it really isn't even called the Democratic Party. It's called the Farmer-Labor Democratic Party. And in Minnesota, they've done pretty well, too. They elected a Senator, Eugene McCarthy, to supplant the old Republican die-hard, Senator Thye; they've elected a good number of liberal Congressmen, they've got a Democratic Governor, and things in that state are coming along too. Of course, they've got judicial drags, and there are legislative drags, the press is not Democratic, to say nothing of being pro-labor, but there's a state on the move too.

You take those three states—Michigan, Minnesota and West Virginia—and you have a start for a pretty fair infiltration by progressive labor, meaning those people who are interested in organized political action, toward the beginning of a labor party under the Democratic name.

Then if you consider that California went whole-hog against the Republicans in November, and the Democrats control not only all the state offices, except one I believe, but both houses of the legislature, and that good legislation is going through, there's another state—a state of course of crackpots, especially around Los Angeles—but crackpots often make good organizers and good advance guards for the progressives in the party.

And then, north of California, the longshoremen (Bridges' union), the lumber men, and the building trades have had for many years a tight legislative conference which put the fear of labor, if not the fear of God, into the legislators, and lo and behold, in 1958, two of the remaining Republican Congressmen—the state has four Congressmen—were defeated, one Republican is left, three are now Democrats in Congress, and both Oregon Senators are Democrats, where for years and years, no Democrat was ever sent east.

The Governor had been Democrat. A liberal Republican defeated him this year, but the legislature keeps track of him, and Oregon is doing pretty well. The legislature, just a few weeks ago, adopted a resolution urging Eisenhower to relax the controls on trade with China. Of course, they did it for business reasons, but there you are, with one more state. North of Oregon is Washington, with a similar record, not quite so advanced, but getting there.

Then you take the state of New York in the East. Of course, the needle trades union sabotaged the promising third party movement when they split the American Labor Party to form a liberal wing. The American Labor Party has since become defunct, the Liberal Party has not yet been buried, but maybe it will revive, or maybe something else will take its place. The defeat of the Democrats in New York City, New York State, because the party there listened to the Tammany gangsters instead of to organized labor, is something that will be remembered, and there's a much better chance than for any of the splinter parties, the little parties, to work.

Now I'd like to make it plain again that I'm not opposed to small parties, to small parties as such; they keep the torch burning and are the vanguard of political thinking, and political feeling, which is even more important than thinking. But they don't accomplish anything in this country in an organized political way. It's the major parties, one or the other, that should be infiltrated, and then captured. And the Democratic Party, which is falling apart in two sections—has been for a number of generations—is the most promising, and the results I've cited should encourage us to go on with that.

The other Democratic states of an industrial character, where the unions are strong, like Connecticut with its big sweep of Congress in the '58 election; Massachusetts, where the Democrats finally got control of the State Senate (they already had the lower house); and New Jersey, where a Republican was retired for a Democratic U.S. Senator; and Ohio—I know Ohio is regarded by the Militant and other groups as a shining example of what happens when you use the Democratic Party instead of smaller parties for your work—but Ohio is just in the beginning of the Democratic capture, the Democratic infiltration by labor, and you'll see results there too.

Now what is the objection to this point of view? I've heard it before, and I'm not going to take away George's thunder by outlining it to you. All I want to say is that anything you can say against the Democratic Party you can say—and much more—against the Republican Party. I would like my opponent in this discussion to take up the points that I have presented, of considering the practicality of organized political action by taking over an already established party, instead of going through the agony of trying to set up one of your own.

The members of the Socialist Workers Party, who are very strong pluggers for third party action, who work day and night, especially in campaign time, tirelessly too through the rest of the year, certainly excite my admiration. If their purpose is to keep alive a certain doctrine, presented to any who'll listen, I will say that's fine. But if their purpose is to capture political control of the community, of the state, or of the nation, then I think they are taking the road that is long, tortuous, full of detours, obstacles, costly, and in the end, barring a revolution, unsuccessful. And why?

Well, I think the Socialist Workers Party members know the difficulties, for instance, of merely getting on the ballot in industrial states. The fatigue, the disappointment, the cheating against petition circulators that those in control of political action exercise, if they fear they might lose some precinct or some ward or some district because a third party is in the picture.

And then, also, the inability to attract followers, in that the American voter is swayed not by reason but by emotion, and the emotion of enjoying a defeat is not widespread enough to make a good third party feasible. There should be some prospect of winning once in a while, in order to attract the mass American voter. I don't see it in any of the third parties that have emerged so far.

I have one more point. The organization of a party, of a third party, is a terrific job, and a very disappointing job, and if you have a party shell already set up for you why not take it over? It's a good Wall Street game, like the American Car and Foundry Company being taken over by lawyers and financiers, to become A. C. F. Wrigley's—Wrigley's Super Markets. The corporate set-up is all there. And so with the Democrats, the political set-up is all there. And if you think you can't sneak up and capture it, you have less imagination and power of adaptive action than I give you credit for.

You've captured three key states—Minnesota, West Virginia, Michigan—then you capture another state, and then for a while there's a set-back because the glowing prospects that were held out by the party speakers don't come true all at once. The take-over has to be postponed a little bit. There are obstacles, but at least you're on the right road. Now, George, you knock that down!

George Breitman: Negative

I shall begin by defining what I have in mind by the terms "progressive," "work in" and "Democratic Party."

By "progressive" I mean two things: First, the great social forces that have the power to decide the future—the working class and its allies, the working farmers, the Negro people and the youth. Second, I have in mind the smaller, radical groups and individuals who are repelled by the capitalist system, its anarchy, militarism, depressions, regimentation, inequality and debasement of human and cultural values, and who favor the replacement of this system by one based on cooperation, planning, brotherhood and promotion of the interests of the majority. In short, I use the term "progressive" for those who are pro-labor or anti-capitalist, who are anti-war, anti-facist, anti-Jim Crow, pro-socialist.

By "work in" I mean belong to, become a member of, vote for, support or endorse.

Now, about the nature of the Democratic Party.

Socialists say that political parties represent, express, reflect class interests. This doesn't mean that parties necessarily say they represent class interests; nor that all their members think they do; nor even that all their members come from the same class. (The truth of this proposition doesn't depend on what socialists say, or what anti-socialists say. It can be tested by facts, the evidence of history, objective analysis.)

When socialists say the Democratic Party is a capitalist party, they don't mean that most of its members are capitalists. Obviously not. If the capitalists had to depend on their own numbers, they couldn't elect a justice of the peace, for they are a tiny part of the population. Actually, most supporters of the Democratic Party are workers, farmers and members of the middle classes. But they aren't the ones who decide the real aims of the party.

Nationally, the Democratic Party is a coalition—of capitalists and union leaders, of Southern white supremacists and Northern Negroes, of corrupt machines in the cities and unorganized or loosely organized farmers on the land, of conservatives and liberals, etc.

This coalition explains why the Democratic Party says the things it says, why it writes the platforms it writes—for it appeals to conflicting interests and tries to hold them together. It also explains why the Democratic Party sometimes says different things than the other capitalist party, the Republican Party, for the Republican Party has a somewhat different composition and following, making its major appeal for support to the middle classes and non-unionized sections of the working class.

But it doesn't determine which interest controls, dominates, runs and uses the Democratic Party. We say it is dominated, as the Republican Party is dominated, by a minority of its members—by a small group of monopoly capitalists who also control the economy, the government, the means of communication and the educational system.

It doesn't matter what the Democratic platform says—the chief function of this party, as of the Republican Party, is to protect the interests of the monopoly capitalists at home and abroad. It doesn't matter what the candidates of this party say during election campaigns (they usually say what they think will win votes, not what they think)—what counts is what its officeholders do about the important issues of the day. Only a few examples are possible now:

The overwhelming majority of the people of this country, and of the members of both capitalist parties, want peace, the relaxation of international tensions, a ban on nuclear explosions, and so on. But what do they get? Wars, war crises, preparation for war, militarization, the draft, a permanent arms economy and crushing taxes to maintain it, the continuation of the cold war and cold war propaganda. And the Democratic Party's chief complaint against the Republicans is that they don't appropriate and spend enough for these purposes! On this issue the Democratic Party surely serves the interests of the ruling class faithfully and consistently.

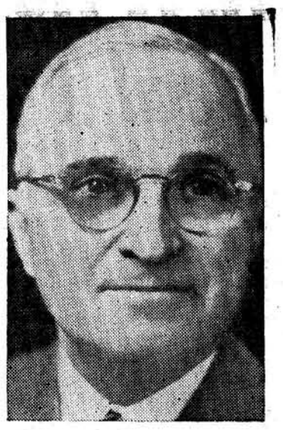
The Democrats differ from the Republicans occasionally on what to do about unemployment, because the Democrats usually have greater support among the unemployed and want to retain that support. But their differences are minor, sometimes insignificant. They agree on the basic things: That the present economic system must not be reorganized to abolish unemployment. That when workers are laid off through no fault of their own, they should suffer cuts in their living standards, rather then the employers. That jobless compensation should not be paid for the duration of unemployment. That the work week should not be shortened. These are things the capitalist class thinks too.

The Jim Crow system in the U.S. is the scandal of the world. Nevertheless the American ruling class shows no intention of abolishing it within the time of anyone now living. In the South, the Democratic Party is a one-party dictatorship dedicated to maintaining white supremacy. In Congress, it provides the bulk of the votes against meaningful civil rights legislation. Northern Democrats have to make some gestures to keep the Negro vote, but their liberalism is rarely more than skin deep on this question.

If you elect liberals like Hart and McNamara, who swear undying devotion to the civil rights cause, the first thing they do when they get to Washington is vote to elect the Southern Democratic enemies of the Negro people to the key Congressional posts, which are used to block civil rights and all other progressive legislation.

Liberals like Governor Williams will make impassioned speeches about injustice to Negroes in the South, but no one has ever heard him utter a single word about the most Jim Crow city in the North—right on his own doorstep, Dearborn, whose mayor boasts that no Negro can live there. So it would be putting it mildly to say that the Democratic Party's policy on civil rights is in accord with that of the ruling class, which always benefits from hatred and discord among the workers.

My final example is civil liberties. We are still suffering from the effects of the witch hunt launched to silence all opposition to the cold war. The record shows that the Democratic Party served the capitalist class just as zealously in this witch hunt as the Republicans. The Democrats passed and enforced the Smith Act to gag political dissent. Democratic presidents transformed the FBI into a political police force. The Democrats started the misnamed government "loyalty" program. A Democratic president initiated the "subversive" blacklist.



Former President Harry Truman (left) and his Attorney-General Tom Clark started government loyalty program, Smith-Act prosecutions of the Communist Party and other features of the witch hunt. Truman then appointed Clark to the Supreme Court where he has sided consistently against civil liberties.

First Principle of Unionism

Democrats spearheaded the passage of the Internal Security Act of 1950. Liberal Democrats took the lead in passing the Humphrey-Butler "Communist Control" Act in 1954. We tend to think of this as the era of McCarthyism, but the Democrats, liberal as well as conservative, were in there doing their fair share of gnawing away at the Bill of Rights.

And not only in Washington, but in Lansing too. The Trucks Law of 1952 was the worst and most repressive law ever passed in Michigan. All the Democrats in the legislature voted for it. Williams, begged by the civil libertarians to veto this bill to turn Michigan into a police state, said he could see no reason not to sign it, and sign it he did. For the next four years he ignored all appeals that called for its repeal. It would still be on the books if it had been left up to him, rather than the U.S. Supreme Court, which finally struck it down.

Having given an analysis of the Democratic Party, for better or worse, I want to indicate now why it is wrong from just about every conceivable angle for progressives to work in it. I'll take up the labor movement first, the radical groups second.

Unions are created in the first place because there is a fundamental clash of interest between workers and capitalists. A necessary condition for the effective functioning of unions is that they be independent of the capitalist; as we all know, a company union, an organization dominated by the employers, does not and cannot defend the workers' interests.

I believe it can be stated as a law—the more independent a union is of capitalists, of individual capitalists and of the capitalist class as a whole, the better able it is to defend the workers' interests. Or if you don't care for the word "law," let me put it this way: Independence of the labor movement is a first principle, recognized and expounded by the best union leaders like Debs and Haywood.

This has always been true, but it is especially true today, when the monopoly stage of capitalism expands the role of the state and gives all struggles, including labor struggles, an openly political character. What labor in our country needs above everything else is a party of its own, which can fight for the needs and aspirations of the workers on the political field as unions can on the economic field. (The present steel negotiations show how inseparable these two fields are becoming.)

But instead of having a party of its own, the labor movement is dependent, in the political sphere, on a party controlled by the capitalists and promoting the interests of the capitalists. It is a tail to the Democratic kite, as one union leader put it.

This must be designated as a violation of the principle of independence on the basis of which the union movement was created.

It is not only wrong in principle, however. It is also harmful in practice, and the cause of most of the ills besetting the labor movement today.

It was reported not long ago that the unions spent more money on the last congressional election than the Democratic campaign committees did. What have they gotten in return? UAW secretary-treasurer Emil Mazey said about a month ago: "We won an election last November but until now we have not

(Continued on Page 3)

Urge U.S. Labor Study British Experience

(The following are excerpts from a pamphlet, "Letter to America," by Harold Davies, M.P., and Sydney Hyam of the Victory for Socialism group in the British Labor Party. Davies and Hyam visited the United States last year. — Editor.)

"There can be no denying that both the Republican and Democratic Parties are based on the capitalist concept of society, which cannot provide a solution to the problems facing both your country and ours in an era pregnant with the possibilities of automation and the dangers of nuclear war . . .

"In this connection, it is worth recalling that during the greater part of the 19th Century organized labor in Britain played off the two great traditional parties, namely, Liberal and Tory, against each other, in order to win concessions from the State on the floor of the British House of Commons. So it was that by 1900 . . . the Trade Union movement felt itself strong and secure enough in British Society to consider the formation of its own political party, which would have as its primary interest the destiny and standards of living of the workers . . .

"By 1945 Labor had won an overwhelming and dramatic majority in the House of Commons and was embarking on some of the most progressive and far-reaching legislation that has ever been put democratically on the Statute Book of any country in the world."

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Flimsy Alibi

Last November the AFL-CIO bureaucrats hailed the election to Congress of the biggest Democratic majority since 1936. The defeat of the Republicans, they declared, meant that the American people could now count on favorable legislation. They pointed with pride to their own support of the Democrats as a significant factor in the landslide.

What happened? Congress moved ahead with further restrictive measures against the trade unions. The Democratic leadership did nothing whatsoever to help the unemployed. The most they would concede in response to a national jobless conference sponsored by the AFL-CIO was "study" of the problem. On the civil rights and civil liberties front they threatened "to curb" the Supreme Court for handing down decisions that trimmed the excesses of the witch-hunt.

This bleak record has now given the AFL-CIO bureaucrats an unpleasant problem. How can they continue to picture Democratic candidates as "friends of labor" when they are so indistinguishable from the Republicans?

Let it not be said that these statesmen are totally unresponsive to this situation.

The June 13 AFL-CIO News gives a perfect alibi: "With the Democrats shy of the two-thirds majority needed to override a veto despite lopsided control of both House and Senate, the leadership has to prune back social legislation sufficiently to make it more palatable to the White House."

How do the labor leaders know Eisenhower would veto "social" legislation? They don't say where they got the information. How do they know the Democrats couldn't rally a two-thirds majority if he did pull a veto? They don't explain that either.

The truth is that with a majority as powerful as the one at their command the Democrats could get just about any kind of legislation they wanted. If they proposed genuine social measures such as turning down Eisenhower's budget for war preparations and utilizing the billions for useful public works, the entire country would put such fierce heat on every so-called "liberal" that no veto would stick.

The fact is that they see just about eye to eye with the Republicans on the kind of legislation they want — all in favor of big business.

The Democrats are embarrassed by their "lopsided" majority. It makes them exceptionally vulnerable to exposure as a political machine operating in the interests of the giant corporations.

Interestingly enough, the AFL-CIO labor statesmen did not think up their alibi for their Democratic pals. It was suggested to them by no one less than Senator Lyndon Johnson of Texas.

Johnson recently held a press conference in his sumptuous gold-leafed suite to explain his "policy of accommodation" with President Eisenhower. Leaning back in his chair under the ceiling frescoes of nymphs and dryads, Johnson said, "in so many words," according to Richard L. Strout of the Christian Science Monitor, "that it's no use batting his head against a stone wall. The President has the veto, the Democrats don't have the two-thirds to override it, and the people want him to be cooperative and constructive."

This was the alibi gratefully picked up by Meany and Reuther — all the more gratefully because the moral of it is that a Democrat should be put in the White House.

What a picture! A row of dominoes reaching from Reuther, Meany, Proxmire, Humphrey, to Johnson, McClellan and the Republican congressmen. Look how vulnerable they are. All Eisenhower has to do is flip a Republican and the whole row goes down. To prevent Eisenhower from dealing that flip they can do nothing but what Eisenhower wants.

Do they really think that rank-and-file trade unionists will be taken in by an alibi as flimsy as that?

...Fight Against Labor Party Witch-Hunt

(Continued from Page 1)

erratic vituperation against the expelled members. It would be simple to reply to Mr. Tweedie's completely false account by a series of counter-charges, but that would be to deviate from the main issue, i.e., elementary, let alone Socialist, democracy."

Smith then sets the record straight, detailing the dictatorial procedure used against the witch-hunt victims. Following his presentation of the facts, he says: "Members of the executive committee have been challenged to meet Moffat and me on a public platform, but they have chosen to conduct their operations from behind the scenes, indulging in character assassination and deliberate falsification. . . .

"Yet these people and this conduct are upheld by the National Executive. A leadership which will not tolerate democracy within its own ranks cannot be expected to guarantee ordinary civil rights when it gains political power."

Vivienne Mendelson, appealing for financial support in organizing and defending the witch-hunt victims, reported how the National Executive had suspended the entire membership of the Norwood Labor Party "because we had refused to expel from our party members who are alleged to be members of the Socialist Labor League, or to be associated with the Newsletter.

"An emergency meeting of the Norwood General Management Committee on June 4 decided by 26 votes to nil to fight against the reorganization and to continue as the Norwood Labor Party.

"We are now beginning a campaign amongst the 2,000 members of the Norwood party to win their support.

"We are also proposing to circularise the rest of the constituency Labor parties asking them to protest to the NEC at the 'reorganization' and to contribute to the fund which we have set up to help us carry on the fight."

LEAGUE'S VIEWPOINT

The Socialist Labor League itself seems to have thrived under this heavy fire from the reactionary right-wing bureaucrats. The grouping has not budged from its five-point program and has done remarkably well in bringing the attention of the party membership to the basic issue in dispute — the democratic right to advocate socialist views in the Labor Party.

In the June 13 Newsletter, Brian Behan reports the latest developments in the internal struggle and what the Socialist Labor League thinks about them.

"The decision of the Labor Party national executive to reorganize the Streatham and Norwood Labor Parties," he begins, "is a blow against every member of the Labor movement who wants to fight for socialist policies in the Labor Party.

"But the decision of the Norwood general management committee to reject the reorganization of the local party is no less powerful a blow against the Right, and a foretaste of the new and formidable Left-wing movement that can emerge in the Labor Party.

"The NEC is trying to destroy two active local Labor Parties because they have struggled consistently for socialist policies.

"It has selected the Socialist Labor League as its principal target because the League has been foremost in the fight against the Right-wing policies that are shackling the Labor Party."

Basically, says Behan, the Labor Party is composed of rank-and-file trade unionists, who want to organize for socialism, and a bureaucracy that in its upper reaches wants to preserve capitalism. The middle-class careerists and reactionary trade-union leaders belong to various factions and write for the capitalist press.

"The Labor leaders' real objection to the Socialist Labor League and the Newsletter is not that the League is a separate organization, but that it does its best to organize the fight for socialism within the party and challenge the grip of the Right.

"The Right wing dare not allow the Left to become as well organized as the Right, and will use any methods to retain its grip."

In the past, Behan continues, the Right wing has succeeded in similar situations. It did this in two ways:

(1) It has forced the Left to go outside the party. This happened with the Communist Party and the Independent Labor Party. These organizations correctly fought for their rights but went wrong when they turned their backs on the Labor Party in sectarian fashion.

(2) The Right wing has bought off the Left with offers of prominent posts.

"The Socialist Labor League,' Behan declares, "is determined to avoid both these traps. We have not the slightest intention of abandoning our right to be in the Labor Party. Our policy has more in common with the views and aspirations of the ordinary Labor Party member than Gaitskell's policy has."

ELECTION DANGER

The author cites the League's five-point program as evidence and turns to the problem of the coming election:

"Unless there is a radical change in policy, the danger exists that the Tories will go back into power at the next election.

"We are absolutely opposed to the working class repeating the experience of the hungry thirties. To prevent this the Socialist Labor League intends to continue and intensify its campaign for a socialist alternative.

"There are people who say we should keep our moufhs shut about these embarrassing questions until after the election. We are not going to take this advice."

The current election platform of the Labor Party, this spokesman of the Socialist Labor League insists, cannot solve the growing problems facing the British workers. It is the duty of socialists to say this. It is their duty to seek organization of a Left wing in the Labor Party dedicated to the advancement of the socialist solution.

In the National Executive Committee, pseudo-lefts like Bevan have made common cause with rightists like Gaitskell against the socialist wing. "Bevan says he wants to defend nationalization. But he unites with Gaitskell to throw out of the party members of an organization which has the extension of nationalization as one of its main aims."

Behan voices a strong appeal for solidarity against the witch-hunters:

"We appeal to the whole of the Left to fight against this alliance of Right-wing careerists and pseudo-Lefts at the top of the Labor Party.

"We appeal to the Left to fight against the reorganization of local parties, and for their maintenance as Left-wing parties campaigning for socialist policies.

"In some areas this will mean a fight against rump organizations set up by the Right. This is a fight against leaders who have no scruples about splitting the movement.

"To give way to these leaders for the sake of 'unity' means abandoning the party to the Right wing.

"Unlike other Left-wing movements in the Labor Party, the Left we now must build will have a Marxist leadership.

"It is being born, not out of the defeat of the working class, but at a time of rising working-class militancy, when there is a real basis for challenging the Right wing's domination."

"STAY IN AND FIGHT"

Behan closes his article by urging any who feel like turning from the Labor Party in disgust to "stay in and fight."

"Unlike the Communist Party, the Socialist Labor League does not seek to pull the Left out of the Labor Party into a small sectarian organization. We answer the reformists' attacks by remaining inside the party and carrying forward the fight against the reformists and for a socialist program.

"The Socialist Labor League is able to unite with the Left in the Labor Party because it has no separate interests from the Left. Around our program can be forged the widest possible unity.

"The first serious resistance to Right-wing policy is being waged. Every trade unionist and Labor Party member who joins the Socialist Labor League can make an immense contribution in his local Labor Party towards the adoption of a fighting socialist policy."

All for One, One for All

At merger convention of AFL-CIO in 1955, Meany and Reuther strike up a "Three Musketeers" pose with Adlai Stevenson, titular head of the Democratic Party. The top union bureaucracy invested a lot to help "friend of labor" Democrats finally get the biggest majority in Congress since 1936. As reward they have received repeated kicks in the center of their smiles such as the McClellan investigation of union "racketeering" and the threat of new union-busting legislation.

...Should Progressives Work in the Democratic Party?

(Continued from Page 2)

received a single thing from this victory." This is true after **every** election.

The present Congress, controlled by the Democrats the unions helped to elect, has refused to end the filibuster. It has refused to extend jobless compensation for a year. It has refused to enact a federal standard for jobless compensation. It is on the verge of passing the Kennedy-Ervin bill to further restrict the independence of the unions by subjecting them to government control, a bill which becomes worse and worse every time Congress takes it up. And at the recent conference on unemployment in Washington, all the AFL-CIO could get from the leaders of the Democratic Party was a promise to study the question.

No wonder Jack Crellin of the Detroit Times commented after the jobless conference that the AFL-CIO seems to be getting a "mighty poor return on its investment." And he added, ironically, "At least Jimmy Hoffa gets six per cent on his."

Hoffa is not our idea of a model labor leader, any more than Reuther is. But sometimes they tell the truth too. I think Hoffa did that in a recent interview with the Detroit Free Press. Asked to comment on the alliance between the UAW and the Michigan Democratic Party, he said: "The UAW has less power that way. If I got you, I don't have to worry about you. The Democrats control the UAW in Michigan. Reuther has got himself into a trap and doesn't know how to get out." Reuther knows how to get out all right, but except for that, I think Hoffa's statement comes close to the truth, which I would put this way: **That, thanks to this alliance, the Democrats have much more influence in the labor movement than the labor movement has in the Democratic Party.**

The Democrats can take the unions for granted, because they feel they have them in their pocket; because the unions, having sworn not to create their own party, have nowhere else to go. Who can deny this? Dixiecrats get more concessions from the Democrats than the union leaders do because they threaten to bolt and form their own party. The union leaders not only have become dependent on the Democratic Party, they have become its captives. And this is one of the reasons why the Democratic Party has been moving steadily to the right year after year. So labor's support of the Democrats is wrong in all respects—from the standpoint of principle, from the pragmatic standpoint of results.

What the labor movement and its allies need is to make a clean break with both capitalist parties, and form an independent labor party dedicated to winning control of the government and putting into effect a program that will meet the needs of the majority of the people.

For radicals and socialists, the situation is even more clear-cut. Our goal—the creation of a new society through working class political action—requires that we help the labor movement to break away from capitalist parties and capitalist politics; and to expand the influence and organization of radical and revolutionary groups and parties fit to provide leadership to the workers in a fight for a better society.

Neither of these objectives can be served by working in the Democratic Party. Again, it is wrong in principle and wrong in every other way that can be measured. The highways are littered with the political corpses of radicals and socialists who entered the Democratic Party with the idea of making it radical, and who ended up by becoming mere liberals or even conservatives themselves.

The main function of the radical movement today is educational and propagandistic, pending the time—not as distant as some radicals think—when it once again can lead the people in great actions and struggles. To educate means first of all to say what is, to tell the people the truth. What good is a radical, what right has he to any hearing, if he doesn't meet this minimum condition?

But you can't be in the Democratic Party and tell the truth to the people. The first thing demanded of you in the Democratic Party is that you support its candidates, that is, help spread the propaganda that the election of Democrats is in the interests of the people. If you do this, you have to lie, you have to cover up the fact that the Democratic Party stands for the cold war, more armaments, little or no help to the unemployed, racial oppression, restrictions on the Bill of Rights, retention of the Taft-Hartley Act, maintenance of the status quo generally.

In short, the condition for working in the Democratic Party is that you must abdicate the primary function of the radical. If everyone did it, it would mean the death of all organized radical opposition to capitalism.

The final test of a policy is in its results. The policy we are debating tonight is not a new one, and it has been tested for a long time. The labor movement has been working in and supporting the Democratic Party for the last 25 years: Isn't it true, Brother Haessler, that the Democratic Party today stands to the right of where it stood 25 years ago, and not to the left? The main sections of the radical movement have been supporting the Democratic Party, directly or indirectly, with only a few lapses for over 20 years: Can you claim, Brother Haessler, that radical influence in the Democratic Party is greater than it was 20 years ago? Can you claim that radical influence in the country is generally greater today than it was in the days when the radical parties considered it their duty to oppose the Democratic Party at the polls?

Supporting the Democratic Party is at best an exercise in futility for radicals, and one of the causes contributing to their decline. At worst, it is a betrayal of anti-capitalist principles that are at the heart of radicalism, and without which it must decay and die.

It is also a repudiation of the whole past of American radicalism. If it's right to support the Democrats today, if it's wrong to oppose them at the polls and to work in every other way to expose their reactionary character, then everything the old socialist movement did in its best days was also wrong and should be renounced rather than pointed to as an inspiration for the future.

If it's right to support the Democrats today, then Debs was wrong in helping to organize the Socialist Party, in running those magnificent election campaigns, in teaching that it is unprincipled for socialists to support capitalist candidates; then Debs was just a hopeless sectarian, whose example has little to offer us today. (Which, incidentally, is what William Z. Foster and the Communist Party now are saying.)

Speaking of Debs reminds me of the question that people sometimes ask: What happened to the old idealism of the socialist movement, the self-sacrificing spirit of solidarity and militancy that the American radical movement used to know? What happened to it was that the leaders of the movement, lacking or losing confidence in the capacity of the workers to change society and govern themselves, began to find all kinds of pretexts and rationalizations for deserting the policies of class struggle and embracing the policies of collaboration.

One of the manifestations of this change was the change from the old principle that it's the duty of socialists to oppose capitalist party candidates, run independent candidates and use election campaigns to expose the nature of capitalism and present the truth about socialism—a change from this tradition to arguments that independent campaigns achieve nothing, that you must not let yourself get "isolated," that you must adjust yourself to the politics of the labor bureaucrats rather than fight them.

You can't create idealism, you can't maintain militancy and devotion to the great goals of the socialist future through such maneuvers. Take the workers into the Democratic swamp of opportunism, horse trades and dirty machine politics, where any piece of filthy work is justified if it helps win the next election, and you can't expect anything but that it will sap the workers' militancy, devotion to principle and class-consciousness—if they remain there and don't drop out of politics altogether demoralized.

The future lies with the youth—the young people just beginning to recover from a decade of cold war conformism. They've heard enough lies to last them for a lifetime. What they need is the truth, simple and direct.

Only if they get it will they respond with those reserves of militancy and bravery that are especially characteristic of the young, that seem to be the prerequisite of every genuine revolution, and that can revitalize American radicalism as an effective fighting force. You'll get nowhere telling the youth white lies or half truths about the Democratic Party. You'll be shirking your duty to them and to the future if you tell them to go work in the Democratic Party.

Therefore the policy dictated to progressives is to oppose the Democratic Party, not to work in it or get others to support it. Those of us who are workers should strive in our unions to bring about a break with capitalist politics and the formation of an independent labor party. Those of us who are radicals and socialists should do everything we can to fight the two-party system, utilize election campaigns to spread socialist ideas and influence, and run socialist slates for office, if possible along the general lines of the Independent-Socialist ticket in New York in 1958.

That ticket, bringing together independent radicals, former Progressive Party members and Socialist Workers Party members in a united socialist campaign against both capitalist parties, was an encouraging progressive alternative to the compromising, demoralizing, self-defeating policy of working in the Democratic Party.

The Socialist Workers Party advocated similar united left-wing tickets here in Michigan in the 1957 and 1958 election campaigns. The other radical groups in the state rejected its proposals in those years. We hope they will respond differently to proposals for a united ticket of radicals, socialists and progressives in the 1960 campaign, nationally and locally.

If they don't, we promise we will still try to act as socialists should, by placing a socialist ticket on the ballot in Michigan and running a campaign that will help promote independent working class political action by openly telling the truth about capitalism and socialism.

Carl Haessler: Rebuttal

Let me say first, that many of the things that Brother Breitman said about the Democratic Party as a whole are true enough. And I had no thought of denying that when I presented the case. What I was arguing was effective political action as against propaganda action, and I notice that one of the most significant things that Brother Breitman said was that for some time to come radical third party action would have to be of a propagandistic nature.

The Democratic Party is regarded by my opponent as one of the few things in the world that doesn't change. Everything else is changing, even the Republican Party, some of the Republicans are liberal, vote in the Senate on the liberal side. But the Democratic Party does not change. It's a stinking mess of corruption and reaction. Just summarizing in three words what we've heard for the last 30 minutes. Now that is obviously an exaggeration. It's permissible in partisan debate, and I won't try to knock it down. I notice that nothing was said by Brother Breitman with regard to my opening point. Which was the capture of the Michigan Supreme Court by the labor-backed and labor-financed Democratic Party.

Certainly Governor Williams signed the Trucks Act. The Republican Supreme Court upheld the Trucks Act and then it went to the U.S. Supreme Court and the U.S. Supreme Court knocked it out. Did one person go to jail in the meantime under the Trucks Act? Was one person fined in the meantime? Very effective debating, Brother Breitman, but let's have all the facts. And so we can take up other things that were mentioned.

Certainly in the U.S. government President Truman started the loyalty program for government employees. But why did he do it? I don't know if he should have done it even in view of the whole facts, but the reason he did it was because McCarthy and his gang, both Democrat and Republican in the Senate, were starting a witch hunt, and Truman, mistakenly or not, thought that this loyalty program was one way to stop it.

It wasn't that Truman's heart was in the red-baiting campaign but you know McCarthy's heart was there, and Truman, as well as those who advised him, thought that this was one way to put a brake on the witch hunt movement. Of course, people suffered, they would have suffered even more if this hadn't been put up. But it was not, as Brother Breitman says, one of the worst smells of the Democratic Party in Washington. It was an attempt to keep a bad thing in check.

So I think we would proceed more fruitfully in this matter if we came down to cases in our own state, where things are getting along pretty well. Of course you say that the Democrats rule labor in this state. Nobody thinks so except the speaker and a few of those who agreed with him beforehand. The whole complaint in this state, in the press, in private party councils of the Republicans and of the old-line Democrats themselves, is not that the Democrats have captured the UAW and its sister unions, but the other way around.

Who is the national committeeman from Michigan? Is he a labor man, or a pro-labor man, or is he an old-line Democrat? Who got the biggest vote of all the candidates in the spring election for public office? Was it an old-line Democrat or was it Brother Woodcock, vice-president and crown prince of the UAW, a man who used to be on the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party? Those are the kind of Democrats that own the party in this state.

And my program to you is that there are other states emerging into a similar situation, where organized labor is strong enough, where it has the money to put up, which talks in political campaigns, as our splinter parties know only too well (they could talk a lot louder if they had a lot more money). Those are the things that are promising and those are the things that the youth of our country, if they are interested, organizationally, politically, and not just as a pure sect of propagandists, if they're interested in getting things done politically, helping to guide their course, that's the kind of direction that the youth, interested in organized political action, should take.

Now I've heard, and I used to spout it myself, and I believed it for many, many years, that what Brother Breitman has proposed tonight is the true course. I no longer think so. We have to recognize conditions in this country, that it's the two-party system, very hard to overthrow, that you start working politically effectively by getting into that party, and you realize that the national party doesn't mean anything except once in four years. **It's a coalition of state machines, and when you begin to get your hand in the state machine, you're getting to be one of the little levers, and then you and your friends reach out and get hold of bigger levers, and finally you control the whole thing.**

As I said a year ago, you get into that Democratic car, and when the time comes, you grab the wheel and then you run it. You run it the way you and your other labor members want it run, and then the Michigan car, the New Jersey car, and the Minnesota car, and the California car, and the Pennsylvania car, and the West Virginia car and all the others, then you get together, you'll have a national fleet of cars. Not run by old-line Democrats.

In fact, enlightened Northern Democrats have begun to realize that the party doesn't need the Dixiecrats in order to win nationally. They're telling them to go to hell. And the Dixiecrats aren't doing it. You watch 1960, the Dixiecrats know they can no longer run the Democratic Party but they know that by the seniority system, which Brother Breitman thinks is so terrible, the Dixiecrats can still hang on to certain committee chairmanships.

They now have both the speaker of the House and the majority leader in the Senate. But what did those two men do just a few months ago? They formally severed their connection with the Dixiecrat caucus, the Southern group, and affiliated with the Western caucus. Both Speaker Rayburn and Senate majority leader Johnson.

Now Brother Breitman may think they did this with the fell intent of running the Western states. My opinion is that they climbed on a bandwagon. On a growing bandwagon. And in time, Rayburn, who is way up in his seventies, will retire on a fat pension, or he'll die. Other Southerners will die too, some

(Continued on Page 4)

THE MILITANT

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Notes in the News

SAFE AS CAN BE — Two hydrogen bombs exploding high over the Pacific Ocean last summer partially blinded rabbits more than 300 miles away.

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"THE FAMILY FALLOUT SHELTER" — That's the title of a pamphlet published in a five million edition by the Office of Defense and Civilian Mobilization. It's a do-it-yourself manual for building a hole to crawl into in the event nuclear bombs are dropped on the U.S. Designed for mass appeal, the lowest price shelter can be built in your cellar for $150. Basement "apartment" dwellers might consider the idea as a rent-saving device.

* * *

FALLOUT AND CHILDREN'S THYROIDS — Nuclear-test fallout has at least doubled the dose of radiation that the thyroid glands of American children and infants receive in a year. This finding is based on a study of the amount of radio-iodine in cow's milk made in five metropolitan milksheds. Eyaluating this new information, E. B. Lewis, a California Institute of Technology biologist, explained that radio-iodine concentrates in milk and tends to concentrate in the thyroid glands which, in young people, are sensitive to cancer-breeding radiation.

* * *

KENNEDY GETS RACIST ENDORSEMENT — Alabama Governor John Patterson has announced his support to Senator John Kennedy of Massachusetts for the Democratic presidential nomination. According to a June 19 report by columnist Doris Fleeson, Patterson upset the Kennedy forces by the timing of his announcement. The plan, she said, had been for him to hold off until next year and then ascribe his choice to "grass roots" sentiment.

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GI BEATS POTATO RAP — An army private at Fort Myer, Va., was cleared by a court-martial of charges of wilfully destroying government property. The GI's captain and mess sergeant accused him of slicing off the eyes instead of digging them out.

* * *

FIVE FLORIDA NEGROES WIN ENTRY TO UNIVERSITY — Five Negro school teachers will take summer courses at the University of Florida. Four will be attending for the first time. The fifth, George Starke Jr., has just completed the first year of a law course at the university after winning a federal court order of admission to the previously all-white state-supported college.

* * *

COMMUNIST PARTY EMPLOYE WINS JOBLESS PAY — The New York Appellate Court ruled June 17 that unemployment insurance was due William Albertson who had accrued benefits as an employe of the Communist Party. At the same time the court gratuitously advised that if it wished the state could bar the Communist Party from performing "certain functions of existence" such as renting offices, hiring employes and using the mails. But, it added, since unemployment insurance taxes were accepted from the party, claims based on such payments must be paid. When Albertson's claim was denied in 1956 the state insurance office also suspended the CP as a contributor to the insurance fund.

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KOHLER STRIKE JAILING — John Gunaca, a former official of the United Auto Workers, was sentenced to prison June 15 for a term of up to three years. He was convicted on charges arising out of a beating of two scabs at the struck Kohler plant in Sheboygan, Wisc. The Kohler strike has been going on since April 5, 1954. The scabs were allegedly beaten in July of that year. In sentencing Gunaca, a circuit court judge overrode a recommendation by the district attorney for a light, suspended sentence.

* * *

TEXAS NEGRO WINS SECOND VINDICATION — A Dallas, Texas, jury cleared Ferlow Williams, a 34-year-old Negro, of a charge of attempted burglary after 20 minutes deliberation June 4. Williams testified he confessed to the crime only after being beaten and stomped by a detective. Last March he was also tried for burglary under the same circumstances and a jury freed him then too. "It was a case of weak juries and weak cases, probably a little bit of both," commented the district attorney. "But it's nothing to get excited about."

* * *

NEW YORK TUG WORKERS WIN REHIRING — United action by 3,000 New York tugboat crewmen won the rehiring June 19 of 125 oilers summarily fired by ten railroads that move freight by water in the Port of New York. The companies claimed the oilers weren't needed on new diesel tugs. The oilers, members of the Transport Workers Union, began picketing and the rest of the crewmen, members of other unions, refused to cross their lines, tying up rail freight coming into New York. After four days a federal district judge ruled the men had been discharged in violation of collective bargaining procedures and ordered them reinstated immediately.

* * *

CAN'T STAY OUT OF THE ACT — New York Park Commissioner Robert Moses who suffered a court reversal of his attempted ban on free Shakespeare performances in Central Park has now decided he is all for the Bard. Joseph Papp, Shakespeare Festival producer and the man who outfought Moses, announced June 20 that the park commissioner had requested the City Board of Estimate to put up $20,000 to provide facilities for the production. Now it's up to Mayor Wagner who, at the height of the fight, indicated he was for Shakespeare but not as much as he was for Moses.

* * *

SENATORS OVER A BARREL? — Some New Yorkers have wondered why the State Senate has not acted to remove George P. Monaghan as state harness racing commissioner. According to a state investigating committee, the former New York police commissioner, who was assigned to "clean up" graft at the tracks, has accepted thousands of dollars in free food, liquor and other favors from the track operators. According to the New York Post, the Senate doesn't care to act against Monaghan because he reportedly has the names of some 30 senators who have also been free-loading at the tracks. Monaghan said he would not resort to such tactics as collecting files on the misdeeds of other politicians.

Mrs. Helen Sobell (above) has campaigned energetically for nine years to win justice for her husband, Morton Sobell (right), who was framed-up, together with Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, as a "spy."

Trend Indicates Victory, Helen Sobell Tells Rally

By Lillian Kiezel

"We will win!" Thus Helen Sobell expressed the spirit that prevailed among 1,000 people at a rally for Morton Sobell's freedom held June 19 at Webster Hall in New York. "We are coming in on a tide of support but we need help."

The meeting called for an end to Sobell's nine years of imprisonment. Sentenced to 30 years in 1951 on a trumped-up charge of "conspiracy to commit espionage," Sobell was tried and convicted together with Julius and Ethel Rosenberg. June 19 marked the sixth anniversary of the Rosenbergs' execution.

EDUCATORS SPEAK

Three noted educators, who addressed the meeting represented the growing support the Sobell case is receiving in ever widening circles. The three are Professor Thomas Emerson of the Yale Law School; Dr. Horace Kallen, research professor of philosophy at the New School for Social Research and a member of Mayor Wagner's City Planning Committee; and Murray Branch, professor of religion at Morehouse College, Atlanta, Ga. In addition, Mrs. Rose Sobell, in a moving introduction of Helen Sobell, expressed her determination to see Morton and Helen Sobell reunited.

Professor Emerson chaired the meeting. He stated that in his opinion the whole history of the Sobell-Rosenberg case proves that their conviction was a "tainted one."

Dr. Kallen said he favored the stand taken on the Sobell case by Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr of the Union Theological Seminary and Professor Edmond Cahn of the New York University Law School. **They, along with other prominent theologians and law professors, have recommended to President Eisenhower that Sobell's sentence be commuted on the ground that the case against him was "vague in content and slender in proof." Dr. Kallen said his was a statement of conscience as an American who wanted to achieve "equal justice for all people regardless of their association."**

Professor Branch stated that a fair trial for Morton Sobell and for Julius and Ethel Rosenberg in March 1951 was "unlikely" due to "the hysteria which then afflicted this nation under the stimulus of the late Senator McCarthy." The sentences were excessive, he declared, "even had the trial been fair and guilt established beyond a shadow of doubt."

"What has happened and is continuing to happen to Morton Sobell appears to be another manifestation of tyranny over the spirit of man," he concluded.

Those who believe that the Rosenbergs and Sobell received justice because their judge and prosecutors were of the same ethno-religious origin (Jewish) fail to recognize a "characteristic of minority group behavior," said Branch.

"Minority problems and minority group behavior have been areas of concern to me for at least a quarter century. As a Negro in a New Jersey high school which purported to be integrated and at the beginning of the great depression, I could not avoid coming face to face with minority group problems. Since that time I have quite naturally followed, not professionally but in amateur fashion, the life and fortune not only of the Negro but of other minority groups as well.

"Consequently, when the case of the Rosenbergs and Morton Sobell dominated the headlines and the somewhat unique Jewish factor became known, I was disappointed in the way matters developed, but not particularly surprised. After all, even an amateur knows that members of a minority group, when sitting in judgment upon their own kind, are likely to lean over backward trying to convince the public that they are not given to favoritism. It would be far from the first such case were it to be established that in the trial of the Rosenbergs and Sobell the judge and prosecutors in particular, fearful of being charged with partiality, allowed super-patriotism to parade as justice.

NAACP ANALOGY

"A recent but far less tragic instance of a reflex-like action by one part of a minority group in dissociating itself from another part of that group in the face of a danger-laden issue is the case of the national officers of the NAACP and the president of a North Carolina branch of the Association. Now in order that there be no misunderstanding, let me declare quite categorically that I do not believe the Negro's problems can be solved by meeting violence with violence . . . There seems to be some ambiguity, moreover, as to precisely what the branch president in North Carolina recommended; so he may have been misrepresented.

"Whatever he may have said it would be appropriate for the National Office to reiterate its own position. But even if the man did recommend to Negroes that they meet violence with violence, it appears to me that the speedy action of suspension taken by the NAACP executive and later confirmed by the directors was called forth more by an eagerness to exonerate the reputation of the NAACP and the Negro as a distinct segment of American society than by any careful weighing of the merits of the question . . . To this procedure I take exception . . ."

The audience responded to the speakers with a resounding collection of $1,890 to further the work of the Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell.

"Know You a Greater Grief"

(The following are excerpts from a letter sent to Mrs. Morton Sobell July 7, by Vincenzina Vanzetti, sister of Bartolomeo Vanzetti of the Sacco-Vanzetti Case, from Villafalletto, Italy.—Editor.)

Dear Mrs. Morton Sobell:

. . . I know from my own personal experience how deep a pain you are suffering on account of the terrible fate meted out to your husband and your family and your outcry which has already been uttered by the great mother of the anarchist of Judea, "Know you a greater grief than mine" as a true touch of the human . . .

If my meager voice had the power to move the hearts of the impervious and make them just and serene in their inexorable verdict, I would cry out with my last breath, "Be kind, be compassionate! Don't let yourself be ruled by human passions, by hate, by interests, fears or vain pride! Let your actions be such that justice span itself like a blue and gentle sky unclouded so that humanity may still retain faith in itself. See to it that the word JUSTICE should not carry with it a tint of irony to any human ears but that it bring peace to all men."

Mine has been for years a voice crying in the wilderness but we must not give up in weariness. It is a mission we must fulfill to the last for our dear ones, for those who are suffering now and those who have already suffered and are seeking this ultimate prize, the clearing of their name. Let us remain strong and loyal. Let us battle on even beyond the fading of the last hope. I press close to my heart your children, poor mother and you to whom I am linked by ties of great anguish and by a single great hope, Freedom for your husband and honor to my brother, and his friend Nicola Sacco . . .

These few words will bring to the American people an understanding of the thirst of justice that sears my soul. May America, the rich and powerful give an example of magnanimity and justice, which is the privilege of the strong.

...Should Progressives Work in the Democratic Party?

(Continued from Page 3)

will get defeated by younger men, the chairmanships will go around, and you take a freshman Senator like Hart, coming up to Washington and asking for his committee appointments, and he's apt to be in the Senate for a long time.

I know he married a millionairess — the daughter of a sweatshop manufacturer of the worst odor in Detroit, the late Mr. Briggs, who used to pay his women 10c an hour and cheat them on overtime. Well, Briggs isn't in control and I doubt whether Miss Briggs, now Mrs. Hart, controls Hart himself. I know that Hart has wrong things about him, I know that in the last campaign he bragged he was one of those who red-baited against the Communist Party. Of course, all sorts of people have red-baited against the Communist Party; Norman Thomas has done it as effectively as Walter Reuther has done it. But that's political opportunism and not conviction. Because one of the grievances that the Socialist Party in my opinion has against the reds, against the Communists, is that the Communists have made a going concern of a number of countries and the Socialists never have.

But that's just family bickering, apart from the main course tonight: What should a progressive who is interested in organized political action do? Should he work in the Democratic Party? Yes, that's what I repeat for George's rebuttal.

When Brother Haessler says that the Democratic Party can become a labor-dominated party, he puts me in the position of trying to prove a negative, which is a difficult thing to do. On the bus the other day I overheard two teenagers: One asked if the other believed in ghosts. The second said, "No, there are

George Breitman: Rebuttal

no such things." The first said, "How can you say that when you can't prove it? Go ahead, prove that there are no ghosts." All the second could do was mutter that you can't prove the moon isn't made of green cheese either.

It's hard to prove a negative to the satisfaction of all. I've tried to show how the unions and many radicals have been working for a long time to move the Democratic Party to the left, and all that's happened is that it's moved to the right. I say it's your job to disprove that. Or to show why efforts to reform the Democratic Party will have any different results now than they had in the past. It's not enough to merely assert that the Democratic Party can be changed from an instrument of the capitalist class into an instrument of the working class — you have to demonstrate this possibility by current developments and trends, by logic, by the lessons of experience, which I've tried to use.

But Brother Haessler makes my job easier when he claims that the Democratic Party already has changed, and already has "for all practical purposes" been captured by labor in Michigan, among other states. This is a question of fact which all of you can test for yourselves. Let me cite a few of the many examples you will find showing that the labor movement, far from controlling the Democratic Party in this or any other state, is a captive of the Democratic Party; is a prisoner of the Williamses and the Staeblers; is the tail, not the dog.

Just four months ago the Michigan AFL-CIO decided to conduct a fight for a state law to pay unemployment compensation for the duration of unemployment. This was a big step forward for the labor movement. They showed they were serious when they got the Democratic minority leader in Lansing and other Democrats in the House to agree to sponsor and introduce the bill.

Then Williams stepped in. He didn't attack the bill directly, just said that it was different from what he favored, and he would have to study it. But that did it. The democrats in Lansing backed away on the double. Not one of them would introduce the bill after that.

The AFL-CIO helped to elect 67 Democrats now in Lansing, but not one of them will even introduce this bill. However, that's not the worst part — the most miserable thing of all is that the AFL-CIO then dropped the proposal too—its own proposal. They don't advocate in May what they said was necessary in January. Three days ago the AFL-CIO held a conference in Lansing on unemployment, and failed to even mention this bill that they said was necessary in January — even mention it as one of their long-range objectives. **Labor supplies the money and the votes to elect the Democrats, but the Democrats have a greater voice in determining labor's program than labor has in determining the Democrats'.**

Another example of who's captured who: We in Michigan pay among the highest consumer taxes in the country. The Democratic platform of 1948, 1950, 1952, 1954, pledged opposition to additional consumer taxes. In January, 1955, the Republicans introduced a road construction program involving an increase of 2c a gallon in the consumers tax paid on gasoline. The CIO denounced this plan. So did Williams. He called it a "political plunderbund" and said "it almost made me gag." Almost — but not quite. Because less than a month later, he accepted a so-called compromise in which the added consumers tax was set at 1½c rather than 2c.

The CIO then dropped its opposition to added consumers taxes. And its members in the legislature voted for the increase. Of course if a Republican Governor had violated his platform in such a fashion, the CIO would have denounced him from hell to breakfast as a man whose promises were worthless, whose platform wasn't worth the paper it was printed on. But that's not the point I'm trying to make now. The point is, this is another example of how the labor movement's own program becomes conservatized as a result of its alliance with the Democrats; another example showing who is the master in this alliance.

You are urged to be practical, but I really can't think of anything more utopian than the idea of trying to capture the Democratic Party away from its bosses. It's not a democratic organization controlled by its members. It is a highly bureaucratic structure dominated from the top. You can't take it away from its bosses. If you did in this or that isolated case, you'd either be expelled, or the anti-labor elements would walk out and get the recognition of the national party. And you would end up having "captured" only yourselves.

The second thing to understand about this is that the union leaders don't want to capture the Democratic Party. They're just as much against capturing the Democratic Party as they are against forming a labor party, because they don't want labor to have its own party, no matter how it originates.

Labor Party Goal More Realistic

Until 1952, the CIO delegates at the Michigan State Democratic Convention used to meet in a caucus to discuss what they, the CIO delegates, were going to do. But at the spring convention in 1952, some of them talked incautiously about "taking over." Well, they were quickly squelched by Gus Scholle, who told them, "You won't capture anyone but yourselves."

Since 1952, the labor delegates at the Democratic convention no longer meet as a caucus, as a separate group. They have less intention of "taking over" than ever before. My point here is, you'll have just as big a fight on your hands trying to get the unions to capture the Democratic Party as you will in trying to get them to decide to form a labor party. The difference is, when you win the labor movement to a labor party, you'll have something, while if you finally succeed in getting the unions to try to take over the Democratic Party, you'll have accomplished little, because the Democratic Party won't let itself be captured. From a purely practical standpoint, which has been invoked here, it is far more realistic to keep fighting inside the unions for a labor party than to try to make the unions try to capture the Democratic Party.

Brother Haessler speaks about great accomplishments from labor infiltration of the Democratic Party in Michigan. He spoke on it at some length, but in the end he had only one concrete example of an accomplishment, and that was the decision of the Michigan Supreme Court on unemployment compensation. But this decision is not really as remarkable as he says. All it provides is that under certain conditions, workers laid-off as a result of a strike in other states shall be eligible for unemployment compensation.

But according to Williams and the UAW, around 35 other states in the country already have provisions similar to that. And nobody would seriously claim that their having such provisions is the result of the Democratic Party or courts being controlled by the labor movement in those states.

Brother Haessler asks if this could have been done through any other force than the Democratic Party; if it could be done by the Socialist Workers Party or any of the other small radical groups at the present time. Obviously the answer is no. They are not in a position now to get a majority of the state Supreme Court. But it doesn't follow that labor therefore is forced to rely on the Democratic Party. It can get concessions of this modest caliber by exerting mass pressure on both capitalist parties, without supporting either.

And it can get much bigger concessions by forming its own party to fight both old parties. The alternative should not be restricted to the small radical parties of today or the Democratic Party of today; the choice for progressives is also between the Democratic Party of today and the labor party that the union movement is now capable of building.

Brother Haessler points to the difficulties of building a labor party. I think he overstates them. The labor movement in the United States is big enough to build its own party; it is bigger than the labor movement in other countries that have a labor party. It can do it if it wants to. In its very first election, a labor party would sweep the big cities in the United States. Here in Detroit it could elect five or six labor Congressmen to replace the Democrats. It could do this in all the other big cities too.

From the very beginning it could have in Congress a large bloc of Congressmen who would fight for the things labor wants, and which it doesn't have there now. From the start it would emerge as the second party, rather than a third party, because the Democratic Party minus the labor movement will amount to very little.

What's lacking for this is not personnel, what's lacking is not the people with the experience to run such a party, or to be its candidates, or to get it on the ballot, or to do its precinct work. What's lacking is the will, which is paralyzed by the opposition of the top union leaders. The job of progressives in the labor movement is to fight to crystallize that will by opposing the political policies of the leadership, not to support and aid them.

I might say if we're going to mention "all the facts" that Justice George Edwards, who is presented here as something of a hero because he spent 30 days in jail as a union organizer in 1937, also has another achievement in his record — namely that in 1949, as president of the Detroit City Council, he was the one who introduced and pushed for the passage of the reactionary City Loyalty Investigating Committee. And it is Edwards among others who is pointed to as one of the bulwarks of liberalism on the Supreme Court.

It is like the attempt here to defend the Democrats pushing through witch-hunt measures on the ground that they were trying to prevent the Republicans from pushing through worse witch-hunt measures, which seems to me to be carrying the argument of the "lesser evil" to the point of absurdity.

I was interested by Brother Haessler's advice to Reuther to abandon the Socialist Party, and avoid those "entangling little alliances." Reuther was to some extent perhaps persuaded by him; at any rate we know he left the Socialist Party for substantially such reasons. The trouble is that he got engaged instead in one big alliance, with the Democratic Party, and it's that in which the labor movement is badly entangled and hamstrung.

For progressives to spend their time and effort working in the Democratic Party is neither progressive nor practical. This policy does not result in teaching workers that they cannot trust capitalist politicians and parties. Instead, it results in strengthening illusions that the Democratic Party is a lesser evil, and that they can solve their problems through that party rather than needing a new party. It does not educate the workers to act along the lines of class struggle in politics. On the contrary, it encourages and justifies the continuation of class collaboration in politics.

You cannot serve the cause of socialism and progress by telling the workers that the Democrats are worthy of support despite their pro-capitalist, pro-war, pro-witch hunt, pro- Jim Crow program. Therefore, we appeal to Carl Haessler and all other progressives who favor spending their considerable talents in the Democratic Party to reconsider.

The world tide is now against capitalism. Workers have ended it in many parts of the world. In the United States too, incurable sicknesses are coming to the fore — growing discontent with foreign policy, a new permanent army of unemployd, a deepening demand for integration, an intense restlessness and instability. New opportunities are about to open up for radicals. Let us try to work together to meet them. We still have differences among ourselves. Without denying them or forgetting them let us work together in those areas where we see eye to eye — in our political opposition to war, depression, racial oppression, infringements of civil liberties.

Let us get together on these issues, and do in 1960 what the progressives and socialists did in New York last year: Let us put in the field a united Independent-Socialist ticket that will challenge both capitalist parties and educate all the people that it can reach to understand the necessity for a new party and a new society.

Carl Haessler: Final Rebuttal

I have a few minutes in what you might call rebuttal. I haven't anything to say against Brother Breitman's peroration. I think the ideals expressed are noble; are ideals that I agree with. I further have nothing to say against his appeals for certain people to devote themselves to the organizing of an independent labor party. If they wish to, let them do it. And let me say further that I myself am not enough interested in political organization work to work in the Democratic Party. What I've been presenting is a practical program for those who are politically, organizationally interested. If you want to work and achieve practical political results in this state and a number of other states, do it through the Democratic Party. Don't waste your time trying to achieve practical results in these non-existent or barely existent third parties of all sorts. That's all I was proposing.

To come down to a few trivial points, I didn't parade George Edwards as a hero, he's not one of my heroes. I was simply showing the course of evolution by labor control of the Democratic Party in this state. Here was a jailbird, in jail for the contempt of the courts in our state. He is now sitting on the topmost court in the state, and bawling out lower judges for not acting in a progressive manner. It was just an incident in political evolution, and not a parade of my heroes.

In fact, I haven't mentioned any of my heroes tonight. Brother Breitman has — Eugene Dabs was one of my longtime heroes and the first picture ever taken of my first baby was when Debs held him in his arms. I sent that off to the relatives at Christmas time and one of them replied, "We're so glad to see a picture of your baby, but please send us next time a picture that we can love."

Well, as for the future, I want to see a land of plenty, a land of peace, a land of happiness, I want to see the dreams come true of the couples with two incomes in the family, the wife working too, and she saying, "When we get rich, I want to have a vacuum cleaner upstairs as well as downstairs," and the man says, "Yes, Sally, when we get rich, I want to use a blue blade, both edges on one shave."

And the time will come when those dreams will be realized, and many bigger dreams than those. I'm for a practical third party. I don't want you to waste your time on any if it's not going to be practical. If you want to be practical in an organizationally political way in this state, and in a number of other states, the practical and effective way is, as I've said, through the transforming of the Democratic Party.