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# LABOR ACTION Independent Socialist Weekly

**SEPTEMBER 25, 1950** 

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## Liberals Yield to Political Panic As They Join Assault on Civil Liberties

By R. FAHAN

If a matter of fundamental importance were not involved, there would be something indescribably comic about the Senate debate on "anti-Communist" legislation. Consider the following picture: The original legislative proposal

for "dealing with Communists" was the Mundt-Ferguson bill: it proposed to register all Communist and Communist-front organizations (no definition offered-a mere detail, of course) and to require Communist organizations to provide a list of members. This bill was denounced by those intrepid heroes, the Senate liberals, as being undemocratic, a violation of the Constitution and-in their eyes most important of all-difficult to enforce.

They, the Senate liberals, would come through with a democratic solution to the "Communist problem." They would not succumb to hysteria. They were men of large social vision, who understood that you cannot oppose ideas with

#### CONCENTRATION CAMPS

The liberal proposal was...the Kilgore bill, which grants the president the right to throw Communists and, as the New York Times chastely puts it, "others" (who?-a detail, of course) into "detention camps," which, translated from "newspeak" into English, means concentration camps. Now you see, of course, that the ADA did not labor in vain when the Senate; that Arthur Schlessinabout when he called for a "vital center" against both right and left "extremes."

For it is perfectly clear that if merely registering Communists is the reactionary solution, throwing them into concentration camps is the genuine liberal, Jeffersonian solution. Or, to translate back into "newspeak": the solution of those who believe in "human val-

But the comedy does not end here. As Jimmy Durante used to say: it's only beginning, folks, it's only beginning.

A furious debate takes place in the Senate. Senator McCarran, who is responsible for preventing the passage of legislation to help DPs, rushes in with a denunciation of the Kilgore bill. It is, he says, unconstitutional: a violation of liberty; nothing less than "gestapo proceedings." He proposes a modified (read: "stiffened") version of the Mundt-Ferguson bill, which would "merely" register Communists but not prevent them from functioning publicly.

The liberals strike back: they

stubborn reds would be so presumptous as to challenge the legmake it a judicial issue for several years.

(Meanwhile, it is not clear whether the Kilgore bill contains a habeus corpus provision or notbut, no quibbling now, a mere detail.)

The forces of reaction are locked with the forces of liberalism: principles are involved, tradition appealed to. And then a sudden solution: Pat McCarran is no statesman for nothing! He proposes that both bills be rolled together in one big bundle of repression: register the Communists and, "in case of emergency," toss them into concentration camps too. Joy is unrestrained: the opponents who had previously denounced each other as violators of the Constitution and advocates of gestapo proceedings, unite. The ADA's heroes-Humphrey, Morse, Douglas, Benton-see their duty clearly. They vote for the new bill, for registration and concentration camps. Men of vision, they have stood firm in defense of human

And this is the end of the com-

values...

The tragedy is still to come. It now seems likely that some variant of the McCarran bill will be passed (with or without habeus corpus, that wretched detail) and it sent Humphrey and Douglas to that either President Truman will renege on his promise to veto it den. And then, with the help of Pat McCarran and the ADA, we shall have the most repressive legislation in the U.S. since the alien and sedition acts.

#### CONCENTRATION CAMPS

That the proposal to send Communists to concentration camps is reactionary, anyone can see on the face of it. It is perfectly probable that the U.S. concentration

wrong people may find themselves camps would not be as brutal as registered, and besides those those in Hitler's Germany or Stalin's Russia. And if any liberal thinks to gain consolation from islation, take it to court, and thus that probability, he is welcome to it. But surely that is cutting pretty thin the cause for which atom bomb war is supposedly necessary: "humane" concentration camps as against brutal ones.

> What should be emphasized is that the other proposal, for registering Communists, is in its own way equally reactionary. For one thing, it sets up a special class of political helots, who must expose themselves to public deprecation and discrimination. Where everyone else has the right to keep his political views and affiliations private, the Communist (a term that remains undefined) is required to

Disturbing signs of militarism in American life have been detected by James A. Brownlow, president of the Metal Trades Department of the AFL, whose speech at the department convention was reported as are civilian in character.' follows in the newspaper La-

"One of the hardest struggles. Brownlow said, has been to block the steady 'encroachments of the military in the field of civilian rights.'

"He cited replacement of civilian craftsmen in navy yards and army installations by men in uniform; attempts by the brass hats to break down craft standards in such establishments, and other efforts to curtail rights of workers.

"'This gradual usurping by the military of functions which nation,' Brownlow warned.

'Military Drive For Power"— sage military dictatorship, with military personnel under military conditions, carrying out every phase of defense operations, including those which

> "Brownlow stressed that 'in the formation of our government it was never supposed that the military branches should be a law or body unto themselves.' He urged alertness against the military 'drive for power' over civilians and declared that monarchies and dicwisdom of continuing civilian control in this country."

We wonder - from where does Brownlow think this military pestilence has come? After all, in the last elections the workers followed the AFL's political advice, and we were are essentially civilian does not told that a great victory was augur well for the future of our won for the people. Yes, we wonder....

## BLP Wins Steel Vote Under Left Wing Pressure

By a vote of 306 to 300 in the House of Commons the British Labor Party has beaten back the Tory-Liberal attempt to force a new election. The contest came over a "no confidence" motion presented by Winston Churchill when the Labor government announced that it would proceed with the nationalization of the steel industry on the earliest date possible under the law.

The determination of the Labor Party to go through with the nationalization of steel at this particular time has aroused widespread comment and speculation throughout the world.

When the LP was returned to power at the last election with its very slender majority, it seemed that the more con-

servative wing of the party was strengthened. Attlee, Bevin and Morrison seemed to accept the view that a wide section of the middle class which had voted Labor in 1945 had been alienated by the too rapid pace of nationalization. Their reaction to the squeeze-through victory last winter led them to adopt a program of "consolidating" the previous nationalizations and trying to remove some of the austerity from British life. At that time it was a widely accepted idea that the BLP would not press on with the actual nationalization of the steel industry which had been authorized by the previous par-

#### FOR BOLD MEASURES

The more radical section of the party (we are only considering those sections of the party which are represented in its high councils) expressed themselves in favor of proceeding with bold measures to try to regain the political initiative. But their policy seemed to have little chance to carry the day.

(Turn to last page)

the superficial which character- come. izes it, the national press has all but obscured the meaning of the removal of Louis Johnson as secretary of defense.

It was a victory of the State stances means that it was a vicmunists is wrong because...the military weakness of the United hand in the MacArthur and Mat-

With the unerring instinct for States and its allies is to be over-

Opposing the State Department were those military figures who view politics as marring the classic purity of military operations. Recent points of conflict Department over the military- have included the MacArthur inwhich under the present circum- transigence on Formosa, the capitalism to rise to the level statement of Secretary of the tory for those within the govern- Navy Matthews on preventive it in the political sphere. The ment who more or less clearly war, and (in slightly different administration is finding out the will not be daunted in their strug- realize that in a war with Russia fashion) Truman's fumbling of hard way that the time for amagle for human values. No, they military means must be augmented the Marine Corps squawk. John-teurism in politics has long since say, a proposal to register Com- by political ones if the present son is supposed to have had a passed. Johnson was given the

thews incidents and also to have been engaging in a little political over the issues involved.

#### HISTORY REWARDS EXPERTS

The current shakedown results from the efforts of United States which history is demanding of

the last Truman campaign. Trutrafficking with the Republicans man finds his existence hard enough without having to be burdened by incompetents - and boastful ones to boot

> That Johnson is in part being made a scapegoat is also true. But his program of arms economy, his juvenile boasting on the state of military preparedness, and the surprise which the Korean war was to him reflected nothing more nor less than administration policy on the politi-

(Turn to last page)

What we were accused of delet-

ing from the official text never

The Wage Earner knows it.

But it has neither the courage

nor decency to retract the lying

accusations in the smear edi-

Instead, in its latest issue out

this week, it keeps up its cam-

paign of distortion and fabrica-

tion, employing techniques

shamelessly borrowed from the

Republican Party and the Na-

tional Association of Manufac-

In a front-page story whose

smear technique would do credit

to Westbrook Pealer, the Wage

Earner tries to tie the Michigan

CIO Council and the UAW-CIO to

The story deals with a Labor

Day week-end conference held by

the League for Industrial Democ-

racy at the FDR-CIO Labor Cen-

The Center is owned and op-

erated by the Michigan CIO

Council, which fact the Wage

Earner emphasized over and over

The ACTU paper's story sought

to give the impression that the

LID conference was a CIO affair

and that representatives of the

state CIO and of the UAW par-

ticipated in the conference in

It pointed out that Socialist

speakers at the conference. It

went to great pains to list all the

union representatives who par-

ticipated, even listing a person

who took photographs of some of

Norman Thomas was one of the

their official capacities.

the conference groups.

the Socialist Party.

appeared in it.

A Picket Line Report

## Militant Strike by Cleveland IUE Gets 16-Cent Package from GE

MONDAY, Sept. 11-Today Local 707, IUE-CIO, called its 1500 members out of the Cleveland General Electric plants for a special membership meeting at 10 a.m. The meeting was called to act against GE's stalling tactics. A very good portion of the 2500 employees here responded to the call, and overflowed the meeting hall.

David Fitzmaurice, local president and member of the IUE National Negotiating Committee, reported on mediation attempts with federal representatives and the company. He also told of the many GE workers already out on strike throughout the country, despite the back-to-work pleas.

It seemed apparent that GE only wanted to talk but was not anxious to settle, and the sentiment of the workers here was that there was no other alternative than to ioin those already on strike. Accordingly a motion was made and passed unanimously that no one go back into the shops and that the strike begin with this meeting.

The end of the meeting found the morale of the GE workers high, and pickets were despatched to all the plants, scattered over the east side of town. Twenty-four-

pionage cases brought to the bu-

reau's attention have increased

tremendously since the beginning

There can be no doubt that the

Stalinist movement in this coun-

try will form a base for espionage

and sabotage activities for the

Russian government far more ex-

tensive than anything the Nazis

had during the last war. This is

one of the aspects of the Stalinist

movement which Trotskyists and

Independent Socialists have em-

phasized at a time when many of

the recent pro-capitalist converts

to the fight against Stalinism were

in a fraternal embrace with the

Communist Party and its front or-

ganizations. It is also one of the

features of the international Sta-

linist movement which is in direct

contradiction to any claim that it

is a 'socialist" movement working

in the interest of the mass of the

Nevertheless, it seems that a lit-

tle skepticism is in order on Hoo-

ver's claims. For one thing, the

of the Korean war.

THURSDAY, Sept. 14-Local 707 has been a strike for four days now. Plants located at East 45th Street, East 152nd Street and on Chardon Road are closed shut with no trouble in sight. The Nela Park units on Noble Road now provide the center of activity. GE's administrative offices and three production units are located

Several breakthroughs in the picket line have occurred, both from administrative employees and from one of the production units, Cuyahoga Lamp, which has remained unorganized from UE days. A small minority of the workers from this unit went through with the aid of foremen and East Cleveland police.

Today the picket lines were reinforced and no production workers were able to get through and very few office, supervisory and engineering personnel got in either. One picket was injured yesterday when an advertising supervisor crashed the line in his car at 35 miles per hour. After bouncing around a few cars today, none tried to repeat this stunt.

FBI. claims that sabotage and es- sabotage and other criminal ac- dition, Senator McCarthy has

growing development of the FBI

the government's policies. And it

is a well-known practice of gov-

ernment agencies to exaggerate

Hoover states that instances of

reported sabotage in various parts

of the country called to the FBI's

attention have increased from 17

in August, 1949, to 106 in August

of this year. In addition, the vol-

ceive top priority and are investi-

gated immediately, has increased

from 1.939 last year to more than

In considering these figures it is

well to remember the state of

mind which has been engendered

in the nation. A few weeks ago

SPIES OR HYSTERIA?

ume of espionage cases, which re-

junction to prevent the union from interfering with those who

wish to scab. Each day our lines have grown stronger as strikers from other units which have no picketing problems come to our SUNDAY, Sept. 17-At a special membership meeting called to ratify the national GE agreement, the workers here voted unanimously

FBI Asks Bigger Appropriation — for What?

tivities. Increased financial outlays "found" spies and Russian agents

are also made necessary by the sprinkled through all levels of the

keeping its ears and eyes on all is defending himself against sena-

dissident and radical opposition to torial charges of former Stalinist

into a political police which is Secretary of the Interior Chapman

to end their strike and accept the new contract. The 16-cent package was satisfactory to the union membership under the circumstances. Although the pension remains contributory, it was explained that this will result in a higher pension than could have been accomplished otherwise. The added holiday, Election Day, was considered a big step toward the whole labor movement's achieving this goal.

The morale at the strike's end is very good here and the members of 707 feel that they have done a lot to help force through a national agreement with GE. With this spirit, it should be possible to go back and complete the job of organizing the Cleveland plants and finishing UE-CP

government service. Right now

Now the crackpots throughout

the country who detect espionage,

sabotage and plots of one kind and

another even in normal times have

been given official encouragement.

Even people who usually are not

given to calling the FBI when

they see two strangers talking on

a street corner late at night are

quite likely to take a dim view of

Thus, whatever real basis there

may be to the claim that Russian

espionage and sabotage squads

have gone into action, it is very

likely that J. Edgar Hoover is just

mation of the public imagination

on this matter. He does not state

how many of the cases brought to

the attention of the FBI have led bill?

doing his bit to add to the inflam

such suspicious behavior

affiliation or sympathy.

## **'Equality of Sacrifice':** The Same Gold Brick

Briggs plant, Detroit, written by Frank Marquart, its-educational director.-Ed.

"Equality of sacrifice" is a phrase that leaves a bad taste in the mouths of auto workers. In the UAW the slogan became the title of a program adopted at a conference in April, 1942. Delegates and visitors to that conference will never forget the stormy and bitter debates that took place.

The "Equality of Sacrifice" program called for giving up the right to strike and for surrendering premium pay for overtime.

In return for these sacrifices on the part of labor, the program specified sacrifices that were to be made by industry and business also. Incomes were to be limited to \$25,000 a year, checks were to be placed on the rate of profit, prices were to be controlled, goods were to be rigidly rationed, and disputes were to be fairly and quickly adjusted by the War La-

gram to the delegates at the con-

ference. Many of them felt that the sacrifices would become one-sided J. Edgar Hoover Claims Sabotage, Espionage Have Increased Since Korea

Suspicion is heightened with

regard to Hoover's statement when

he continues to say that "in race

riots or things of that kind you

always find them (the Commu-

A million crimes can be legiti-

mately laid at the door of the Sta-

linist movement. But to this day

we have yet to hear of their fo-

menting a race riot. At the bottom

of every race riot in this country

you will find bigoted white Amer-

icans. Very frequently you will

find that the police force has

played a major role in assaulting

Negroes under the pretext of

"quelling" the riot. But an at-

tempt to charge the CP with re-

sponsibility for race riots points

clearly to a conscious effort to

Is Mr. Hoover perhaps preparing

the public mind for a full-scale

enforcement of the concentration

camp provisions of the McCarran

whip up the "anti-red" hysteria.

nists) in the background."

A MILLION CRIMES

Inequality is also becoming more glaringly reflected in terms of real wages (what money wages will buy). Conservatively estimated food prices during July rose eight per cent. Wholesale prices for all commodities taken together rose four per cent.

As yet there have been no cutbacks in steel and other materials used for producing cars, radios, television sets and other materials used for producing cars, radios, television sets and other durable consumer goods. Nevertheless, because of an anticipation of shortages, people have been rushing to buy such goods and prices have

pands, cutbacks are sure to occur and inflation will move from a trot to a gallop unless overall rationing and price controls are imposed. What kind of "Equality of Sacrifice" will we get this time? Present signs are not encourag-

## **IUE-CIO Wins Wage Increase** At Exide by 14-Week Strike

PHILADELPHIA, Sept. 14-Members of Local 113. International Union of Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers, CIO, have gained a 101/2 cents per hour wage increase and other substantial concessions from the Electric Storage Battery Co. (Exide). These gains were made as the result of a 14-week strike by the 2300 workers at the two Exide plants here. Since early June operations have been halted by the IUE-CIO local and a long series of bargaining sessions has been held under the direction of

The new contract, which runs from September 1 of this year to June 1, 1952, provides for the 101/2 cent general increase, improved sickness benefits for the employees and company-paid hospitalization benefits for the workers and their

additional holidays (total eight), severance pay of one week for each year's service and a noncontributory pension plan with maximum total payments from \$120 to \$184 monthly.

hospitalization and retirement are ally. - Raymond Lonergan, Labor, particularly important in battery September 2. ment of Labor is now available. You can get a copy by writing

your congressman for one or di-Electrical, Radio & Machine Workrectly from the Bureau of Labor ers, independent, has not been able to lead and win any comparable struggle here. Once again it cannot explain why an IUE-CIO local which it branded as "reactionary" has been able to carry on a mili-. lar interest to workers in a given tant struggle and make substantial

The following comments appear —that labor would do all the sacin The Voice of UAW Local 212, rificing and management would take advantage of the no-strike

LABOR ACTION

"What will happen to our collective bargaining if we give up even the threat to strike? How do we know that prices will be held in line after our wages are frozen. And aren't we gullible to think high incomes will be limited and profits will be checked after we give up premium pay for overtime?" delegates asked when they spoke from the floor.

The "Equality of Sacrifice Program" was adopted and in the weeks that followed it became apparent that the worst suspicions of the delegates were well founded. One has only to read the UAW convention proceedings of 1942 to realize the extent to which collective bargaining became "collective begging" and how prices rose out of line with wages.

Since the Korean war began, the slogan "Equality of Sacrifice" has been used again in many circles. President Truman stated recently that his tax program was aimed to achieve equality of sacrifice.

But the CIO and AFL as well as independent unions are watching with grave concern the inequities cropping up in the American

For example, Truman's tax proposals would restore the rates in effect in 1944—the very tax rates which the CIO attacked on the ground that they imposed an undue hardship on low income

As industrial mobilization ex-

#### On the Spot

Senator Joe McCarthy of Wisonsin has been strangely silent of late. He's busy trying to square himself with the Wisconsin Tax Department, You see, McCarthy is not only one of the great liars of all times, but for several years he has had the idea he could beat the income tax game. For example, it is said that Mc-

Carthy, in four years, pocketed income totaling \$66,938, but didn't pay a cent of income tax. The ordinary citizen, who tried anything like that, would be summering in Alcatraz. Maybe that's where Senator McCarthy will land eventu-

#### Labor Directory The 1950 directory of labor unions, published by the Depart-

A Hard-Hitting, Meaty Independent Labor Party

#### The Michigan CIO News Article in Full

the UAW-CIO was being torn by factional strife, the Wage Earner-a Detroit newspaper issued by the ACTU Publishing Corp .gained a most respected position in the field of labor journalism. It became regarded then, and justifiably so, as the most reliable and readable chronicler of political trends and maneuvers in the UAW.

It is because the Wage Earner was once such a fine example of honest, accurate and brilliant reporting that we note-with some degree of sadness-its degeneration into a dishonest, incompetent, bungling smear sheet. What had once been the prophet of progressive unionism has become an apostle of reaction.

> What brought about this moral bankruptcy is a desperate effort to stave off financial bankruptcy. The Wage Earner had built its circulation on a basis of filling

a need for information on Com-

munist machinations within the

When Commie influence in the auto union petered out, so did the need for the Wage Earner's unique reportarial services. But the Wane Earner was the last one to realize

And, having chanted the same song for so many years, it found it difficult to learn a new one. So it kept striking at a menace that · ex-Nazis. everyone, except the Wage Earn-

During the many years that er, knew had become an insig-

Michigan CIO Blasts McCarthy-Type Smear

By Association of Catholic Trade Unionists

sharply, publication had to be cut from a weekly to a monthly basis . . . but the same old chant was confinued An experienced, labor-wise staff

gave way to a succession of incompetent labor-outsiders who couldn't even get names, titles and local union numbers right. And so the Wage Earner of old came to a slow, agonizina death. But the fumblers guiding its

destinies didn't have the good sense to bury the corpse while it was still possible for some people to remark that it looked good.

Instead they tried a post-mortem transfusion. They were going to expose a new menace to the CIO: socialism. And even if it wasn't a menace, they were going to make it look like one.

The targets selected by the Wage Earner in the new crusade are the Michigan CIO Council, its education department and its official publication, the Michigan CIO News. Early this year we ran a series

of articles on the role of German unions in the rebirth of democracy in Germany. Among other things, we pointed out that one group of unions fought the return of Nazism, and that another group played footsie with

The anti-Nazi group contains

lows generally the same philosophies as do the publishers of the Wage Earner.

This reporting of facts was promptly, and at great length, exposed" by the Wage Earner. socialist front.

The Wage Earner's conclusions partment.

devoted a three-column editorial to comparing the Michigan CIO News with the Daily Worker and calling us down for "dishonest reporting."

First of all, we don't like being compared with the leftist reactionary Daily Worker any more than we would like being linked with the rightist reactionary Wage Earner.

charge of dishonest reporting lodged against us. The Wage Earner editorial said that we, in reporting on language in a reso-Newspaper Guild, doctored the text and deleted the "fact" that the Guild had gone on record as being opposed to "Marxian so-

up for Socialism.

## UAW Strike at Harvester Solid While FE Still Plays Shady Role

one per cent of their total pay-

rolls. An industry-wide pensio

fund was also set up. A fund of

one per cent extra will be estab-

lished to take care of vacations

for those workers who work for

an employer six months and then

The piece work prices now in

existence will remain unchanged,

but with new models coming up

piece work prices are to be ad-

justed on the basis of the new

minimums. This of course will

result in good prices where there

is a militant shop committee and

rank and file, and so-so to bad

prices where the local is asleen

wages during the life of the

agreement, the first coming in

The "Daily Worker" comment

on the settlement was as usual

upside down. The best aid to of-

ficers is having an opposition like

the Stalinists. However, the lead-

ership did fail in two very im-

portant aspects. First the vaca-

tion period should have been

raised from one to two weeks,

which has become more or less

standard in the unions organized

even after the ILGWU. Secondly,

with the 35-hour week, overtime

for piece workers should have

been negotiated to start after 35

receive it, and it-should go to

The bureaucratic air around

the ILGWU offices should be

changed A worker entering the

offices should feel that he is going

into his union hall. The educa-

tional program of the union

should be revised and an attempt

made to bring trade unionism to

the workers in a much better

manner than is presently done.

This is very important for the

life of the Chicago ILGWU.

piece workers also.

There are three reoneners for

are laid off.

seven months

CHICAGO, Ill.—The UAW-CIO strike at International Harvester enters its fourth week. From all sections of the country the reports are that the rank and file are solidly behind the strike.

The company, in desperation, has resorted to full-page ads in the metropolitan papers. It called the union into session after the Bargaining Committee broke off negotiations to offer the locals an additional 3c per hour and the GM escalator arrangement, with the further guarantee that if the Bureau of Labor Statistics cost of living index goes down on

However the union refused to move because the company insisted that the unions take their old contracts and return to work. The issues of the contract are

more important or as important as wages at this time. The central fight is for better working conditions. Protection for the piece workers against wage cuts; better grievance procedure and union representation; a full union shop; strict seniority; the elimination of the southern wage differential-these are the major issues. Meanwhile the Farm Equipment Workers Union, now affiliated with the Stalinist-controlled United Electrical Workers, plays its traditional role of not knowing where they are going. Two weeks ago they took their workers out on strike. Monday, September 18 they sent them back to work with no gains. Their explanation to the company and to their workers was that they were recessing the strike, and they know they will not be able to work because of the UAW strike so they might as well get unemployment compen-

conduct as strike breaking because they are again ordering their workers through the Mc-Cormick Works picket line. The super-strategy seems to be to wait and see what the UAW ends up with, take it if it is good, and condemn the UAW if they fail to get everything it is going after.

Strike rallies throughout UAW towns were very successful, and in contrast to the FE strike there are no scabs at all in any UAW shop. The International UAW-CIO strike assessment for the Chrysler strike is being used in this strike and is a moral boost for the workers. At Louisville. UAW's subsistence pay ments are the talk of all the FE workers. The Stalinists scream during the jurisdictional dispute about the use of this fund to raid unions has been forcefully answered in action. If the International Union continues to give this type of support both at the picket line and at the bargaining table-Harvester will fall before the will of the workers.

Chicago garment workers ratified a three-year agreement this week in the Windy City. Some 4,000 workers attended the meeting, and there was no opposition to the leadership's recommenda-

The time workers will receive a 5 per cent or \$2 a week raise. whichever is more. The weekly minimums for piece workers were raised from \$3 to \$5. Hourly minimums for operators were raised 10c and for pressers 15c. A health fund and union administered health plan which will take care of drugs, doctor care, glasses, etc., was established on the basis of having the compawere every bit as accurate as their story's headline which, to our great surprise, had us listed as part of the UAW education de-

Last month, the Wage Earner

But let's get down to the lution adopted by the Detroit

Again the Wage Earner broadly hinted that we were covering

The Wage Earner's charges of "doctoring" the text of the Guild

> The facts of the matter are that the Michigan CIO Council had no connection with the LID conference other, than that of landlord; the center's facilities were rented to the LID, as they

have been to other groups: The Council employes at the conference attended as individu-

als and had every right to do so. These facts are also known to the Wage Earner, because they were carefully pointed out to the amateur Sherlock Holmes it sent out to "expose" the conference. And he was given complete freedom to see for himself.

In another story in the same issue (which, incidently, contains other garbled reports) an attempt is made to pin a Socialist tag on Michigan CIO president August Scholle.

In a story headlined "ADA Wage Earner states that the State Legislature is holding up confirmation of 28 appointees to state agencies because 90 per cent of them are members of ADA (Americans for Democratic Action).

Only one of the 28 appointees is mentioned in the story; Scholle. And mention of his name is followed by "documentation" that ADA is a "Socialist Front." In all these stories the Wage Earner had sought to smear the Michigan CIO Council through a technique of lies; distortions and guilt by association.

What it is evidently trying to get across is a fabrication that hours of work. The time workers the council is fronting for the Socialist Party . . . but it hasn't come right out and said so. Now, we have some very defi-

nite ideas about the Wage Earner. We think it's become a foul, lying organ of reaction that has really muddied its former reputation, and don't mind saying so. The Wage Earner evidently thinks we're a bunch of evil Socialists, but hasn't come right out and said so. So we're asking it right now to put up or have the decency to apologize and shut up.

#### Prices on Raw Materials Zoom Higher As Speculators Rush to Cash in on War Since the war started in Korea are selling for six cents again).

FBI is constantly asking for addi- President Truman called on all

tional appropriations. As is well citizens to report to the FBI any

prices have been increasing at the retail level. But these price increases are minor compared to what has been happening to prices of a whole list of raw and semi-finished materials. It will take a while for the price rises which have already occurred to trickle down to the poor consumer. But when they do . . . down will go your real wages ac-

Here is a list of some of the price rises since the Korean war started (from "Business Week" for September 16, 1950. Price rises given in percentages). Tallow, up 120; rubber, up 95 (there go your new tires). Wool, up 50 (there goes your winter coat). Burlap, 48 (even sack-cloth and ashes will cost more). Cottonseed oil, 45; lead, 40 (batteries for your car will cost more too). Print cloth, 38; rosin, 33; cocoa, 32 (no wonder nickel candy bars

Shellac, 30 (phonograph platters will go up). Hides, 28 (and shoe prices for everyone). Tin, 25; lard, 36.

To date all these price increases have been purely speculative. They have nothing to do with actual supply shortages or military absorption of supplies. The profiteers haven't been slow in cashing in. And congress has forced labor to cut its demand for a price-freeze to a whisper by attaching a mandatory wagefreeze provision to any pricefreeze the government may institute. The cry is already starting that labor's "unreasonable" wage demands are forcing prices up, and liberals and reactionaries alike will be calling on labor to "exercise self-restraint" in its

the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service.

The question remains: how many workers are there left who

families. Other gains included two

The provisions regarding illness, manufacture, where there are many industrial hazards. These gains, as announced by Local 113 President Joseph Kelley, are the most substantial made by any local in the electrical and allied industry in the area. The Stalinist-dominated United

Statistics in Washington The directory can be put to good use by readers of LABOR ACTION. A few copies of the paper containing articles of particuindustry could well be sent to union locals in your area.

nificant one. Its circulation dropped off

Reuther faction in the United Auto Workers union boiled over and reached public print this week, when Detroit newspapers and radio stations played up a sharp attack on the Wage Earner, official publication of the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists, by the Michigan CIO News, official state CIO publica-

This is the first time that any CIO officials; who work closely with UAW President Walter Reuther, have answered an increasing volume of sniping and criticism by ACTU, through the Wage Earner, along the lines of charging the CIO officials with "socialist." Lumped together with these officials is Americans for Democratic Action, which is also on the "socialist subversive" list of ACTU.

DETROIT-The long simmering

rivalry and struggle between two

tendencies within the dominant

#### TWO POLITICAL TENDENCIES

As the CIO attack shows, the tone and language of the dispute is not that of two friends who just had a minor falling out, but rather of two political tendencies in fundamental disagreement.

It has been quite some time since anyone in the CIO has publicly quarreled with ACTU. Some of the events in recent times within the UAW furnish further background to this remarkable incident.

Not very long ago, top UAW officials planned to run Brendon Sexton, UAW-CIO assistant educational director, for Congress in the seat left vacant by the death of John Lesinski. At a routine policy meeting of the Wayne County CIO top committee, this suggestion was voted down overwhelmingly, as a result of a shrewd campaign auginst Sexton, which was spearheaded by ACTU. Sexton, among other things, was "too so-

Within the Democratic Party there is intense bitterness between the UAW group, including ACTU, which wants to make a deal with the "old line" Democrats as the basis for functioning there, and many UAW delegates spearheaded by Briggs Local 212 who want to build their own machine and drive out the "regu-

Other incidents are related in the Michigan CIO News article printed below.

#### A WARNING TO MILITANTS Without in any way endorsing

the past evaluation of ACTU. with which we disagree, or suggesting agreement with the whole approach of the CIO News, we think that publication of this article is desirable as a warning to all UAW militants of the days to come. For this dispute will not easily be suppressed even if it comes at a most embarrassing time for the regime of Walter Reuther in the UAW.

This dispute raises the whole question of the role of the unions in the witchhunt and hysteria in America today. For clearly ACTU expects to ride to victory in the IJAW on the methods of Senator McCarthy.

Next — A Labor Party! by Jack Ranger Presentation of the Need

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## The ISL Program in Brief

The Independent Socialist League stands for socialist democracy and against the two systems of exploitation witch now divide the world: capitalism and Stalinism.

Capitalism cannot be reformed or liberalized, by any Fair Deal or other deal, so as to give the people freedom, abundance, security or peace. It must be abolished and replaced by a new social system, in which the people own and control the basic sectors of the economy, democratically controlling their own economic and political des-

Stalinism, in Russia and wherever it holds power, is a brutal totalitarianism—a new form of exploitation. Its agents in every country, the Communist Parties, are unrelenting enemies of socialism and have nothing in common with socialism-which cannot exist without effective democratic control by the people.

These two camps of capitalism and Stalinism are today at each other's throats in a world-wide imperialist rivalry for domination. This struggle can only lead to the most frightful war in history so long as the people leave the capitalist and Stalinist rulers in power. Independent Socialism stands for building and strengthening the Third Camp of the people against both war blocs.

The ISL, as a Marxist movement, looks to the working class and its everpresent struggle as the basic progressive force in society. The ISL is organized to spread the ideas of socialism in the labor movement and among all other sections of the people.

At the same time, Independent Socialists participate actively in every struggle to better the people's lot now -such as the fight for higher living standards, against Jim Crow and anti-Semitism, in defense of civil liberties and the trade-union movement. We seek to join together with all other militants in the labor movement as a left force working for the formation of an independent labor party and other progressive policies.

The fight for democracy and the fight for socialism are inseparable. There can be no lasting and genuine democracy without socialism, and there can be no socialism without de-

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State

# YOU and SICIENCE

#### SCIENTISTS VIEW PAST FIFTY YEARS

Fifty years ago the editor of a famous scientific journal wrote:

'In no period of human endeavor has the work of man been so built nto tangible and enduring things of useful quality as in the century about to pass into history. Ancient and medieval history deal with bloody war, limiting creeds, cunning politics and the greed of conquest. Modern history must leave these to a subordinate place and substitute for them, as of greater importance, the genius of invention, the elements and agencies of industrial progress, and the arts or peace; and in so doing it marks the approaching millennium of happiness, good will and material prosperity which men have always longed for." (From 50 Years Ago column of Sept., 1950, issue of Scientific American.)

So brief is the moment of man's life span in the course of human and natural history that we cannot hear the same editor's voice as the first half century of the "approaching millennium" draws to a close. However, we can read the editorial comments of the same Scientific American as it summarizes the 1900-1950 epoch. In the preface of the September issue the present editors write:

'Yet for the two billion-odd human beings who inhabit the earth the past fifty years have been sufficiently eventful. What has distinguished his half-century from all previous ones is not wars, hunger, catastrophes or the clash of ideologies from which no century in human history has been free-but a swift surge forward in man's knowledge and command of the physical forces of nature. Whatever else it may be, the 20th century is above all the age of science."

#### A Striking Contrast in Attitudes

In 1900 the Scientific American predicted and hoped for the "millennium of happiness, good will and material prosperity"; in 1950 the magazine of the same name rather blissfully accepts the fact that we had arrived at "the age of science" instead. To the editor of 1900 the "age of science" would "subordinate" and "substitute" for "bloody wars, limiting creeds, cunning politics and the greed of conquest." The editors of 1950 evidently ignore the fact that 1900-1950 has seen more global "wars," more "hunger," greater "catastrophes" and the violent clashing of "ideologies" as well as "a swift surge forward in man's knowledge.'

This writer believes that it has been worthwhile to single out this striking contrast in attitudes in scientific journalism in 1900 and in 1950 only to highlight the very serious lack of social consciousness and perspective in what he regards as one of the most highly informed segments of society. Can it be that today only socialists predict and dream, and plan and work for "the approaching millennium of happiness, good will and material prosperity"? Are there not thousands of scientists who share their conviction that the age of science should have brought better than it has? Are not the editors of so competent and popular a science journal as Scientific American just as obligated in 1950 as in 1900 to express these hopes and desires of scientists and all the people?

The editors of Scientific American have performed a public service in making available their special issue dealing with the 1900-1950 epoch in the ten important fields of astronomy, physics, chemistry, geology, mathematics, genetics, biochemistry, physiology, psychology and anthropology. At the same time they have discounted the rapid disintegration of society and its effect upon scientific advancement. The editors could well have reiterated the comments made in 1900 or echoed the introductory article by J. R. Oppenheimer in the September issue when he warns:

"This harmony of the flourishing of the community and the liberation the individual man, even in science itself, is being destroyed or threatened in vast areas of the world today. Terror, orthodoxy, recantation, hierarchy, secrecy—these words are full of grim omens for science and for liberty. A society which as a matter of principle invokes the measures for which these words stand betrays, whatever its protestations, science and the traditions that have nourished it. A society which invokes these measures (in the name of man's welfare, in fear or in folly) is in danger of death."

#### They Need Your Help!

Local New York of the Independent Socialist League mecracy. To enroll under this banner, has been regularly mailing packages of food and clothing ioin the independent Socialist League! to needy workers in Europe. The relief committee has espe- a "black son of a bitch"—this cially urgent need for clean, wearable clothing for children of school age, particularly in the 12-14 age group. Please bring or send your contributions to the city center of the ISL, at 114 West 14 Street, 3rd floor, New York City.



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## Political Panic

register. This means, in effect, that a U. S. citizen has the right to hold any political views, except those of which the government disapproves; and if he retains the temerity to hold unpopular views he must suffer public deprivation.

Further, the registration proposal, which is defended on the ground that it merely brings "the Communists into the open," would actually mean the most severe economic penalties on those who hold views designated as Communist. For there is a great hypocrisy in the charge that the Communists fear to expose themselves publicly. When the Stalinist movement was popular in this country durthe last war its members did not hesitate to function publicly; now that they are subject to discrimination and persecution they try to keep under cover. For the CP to provide a list of its members means to provide a list for discharges from jobs and boycotts in business. In effect, the registration proposal means that people holding "Communist" views are to be deprived of their livelihood.

But since it is well known that the Communist Party - and any other organization designated by the proposed "Subversive Board" -will not hand in the names of its members for public assault, the government would then proceed to press judicial charges against the leaders of such organizations. Further, as the bill makes each member of the CP or a front organization individually responsible for his own registration, the FBI could then pick up anyone it de-.cides to pick up. Non-registration would be a crime.

If the courts should sustain the government in such cases some more Stalinist leaders and members would then be imprisoned. That is the only possible practical result of the registration proposal -except, of course, that the CP might change its name or dissolve into several fronts in order to evade the registration. But, in practice, it is most unlikely that there would be any public listing of "Communists." The proposed law is presented merely as a means of public exposure; actually, it could result only in public

#### WILL HELP STALIN

But there is one other likely political consequence of the Mc-Carran bill: it will help international Stalinism. Every instance of reactionary politics in the U.S. is immediately exploited by the Stalinists in their European and Asiatic propaganda. Like Secretary of the Navy Mathews' "preventive war" speech, like the freeing of Ilsa Koch in Germany, like the denunciation of a Negro witness at a congressional hearing as will provide Stalinism with further political ammunition. The Kremlin doesn't give a hoot about the fate of the U.S. Communist Party, a wretched and inept organization which it is willing to sell out, as it so often has, for the slightest immediate advantage. But it will roll out its rhetorical batteries throughout the world, shrieking in defense of the "Communist martyrs" in the U.S. And what will the U.S. liberals say in reply? What will Sidney Hook say the next time he visits Berlin? Or James T. Farrell, that other liberal?

What, for that matter, do they say right now about the McCarran

Why is this bill being passed at the present moment? It is possible to speak of the general need of U. S. capitalism to prepare for the coming war; of the reaction that seems to be engulfing the U.S. And all those things are true. But at the moment there seems, at least to this writer, to be present an additional factor which on the surface might appear as a mere psychological observation but which is actually a political fact of some importance. The immeThe more level-headed and in-

be taken.'

telligent spokesmen of capitalism are against the McCarran bill: the New York Times, the New York Herald Tribune. They know how difficult some of its provisions would be to enforce and they know, too, that the government could, in case of "emergency," take repressive measures against Stalinists and perhaps radicals without having to put itself in the embarrassing position of drawing up formal repressive legislation. Yet their counsel goes neglected: the majorities in Congress for the McCarran bill are overwhelming.

#### MUST RESORT TO FORCE

The reason is panic, political panic. Something like the following outlook seems to be creeping through Washington: "Every time you stop the Russians in one place, they break out somewhere else. We (the U. S. government, that is) just can't seem to take the political initiative away from them. The Stalinists have gotten hold of a sure thing in their anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist propagan-da, and by comparison our democratic propaganda doesn't seem to work. We don't really know why. But it seems hopeless to try to combat them on a political level. Consequently, we must resort to force. The Russians seem intent on war anyway; why not beat them to the punch by striking

Perhans no one in Washington actually puts it as bluntly - or clearly — as this; but it seems to be a prevalent mood. From this mood there follows a kind of political panic, a bewilderment fore the Stalinist victories and a desperation which results in proposals for repressive measures against the domestic Stalinists who, weak and inept as they are, serve as the scapegoats. A fair exchange: Stalin wins China and Truman puts Eugene Dennis in

And from this panic we must learn something else: the whole future direction of U.S. war policy. The last war was fought partly in terms of a "progressive" ideology: anti-fascism. The forthcoming war will be fought largely in terms of a reactionary ideology: anti-Communism. The liberals, uneasily aware of how unappealing this reactionary ideology is in many parts of the world, try to give it a somewhat liberal content or at least coloring: they try to transform it into a somewhat progressive anti-Stalinism. But they are not at the seat of power in the U.S., and when a crisis comes they succumb to those who are at the seat of power. If, now, before there is a war, the Senate liberal the ADA leaders in Washington, vote for a McCarran bill, how much hope is there that they will do anything to preserve civil erties when there actually is a war?

observe and beware! There remains finally to be dis-

"true, we do not want repression of civil liberties, but still you must admit that the Stalinists are a menace and that some of them are spies, and therefore action must

First, be it noted that those liberals who advance it have not particularly exerted themselves to have removed from the attorney general's "subversive list" the organizations which are violently anti-Stalinist. In fact, we rather suspect that some of them approve of the listing of anti-Stalinist, revolutionary socialist organizations. In fact, we rather suspect that such liberals as the Social Democrats-but we shall not say at the moment what we suspect about the Social Democrats and the subversive list.

Secondly: the spies. It is perfectly true that some U.S. Stalinists have served as Russian spies. We do not in any way defend

them; we are completely indifferent to their fate. That is a matter for the FBI and the spies to settle between themselves - just as in Russia there are no doubt American spies trying to keep out of the hands of the GPU. Spying is the business of governments; our business is political ideas.

#### A POLITICAL MOVEMENT

But Stalinism is also a political movement; it has millions of adherents throughout the world, and it is absurd to believe that these people can be disabused of their Stalinist ideas by repression. It is said that the CP is a recruitingground for Stalinist spies. Perhaps. But would there be any the less of such recruiting if the CP were forced underground?

And in the meantime, while they

frighten themselves by visions of

spies, the liberals are simply selling out their birth-right. It is true that some of them have opposed the anti - Communist legislation, the Nation and the New Republic for example. But the outstanding spokesmen of liberalism, of official rather than intellectual liberalism, in this country—the ADA contingent in Congress-has come out for repression. They do not think to ask, or they do not care, what the consequence of anti-Stalinist legislation, even if it be merely anti-Stalinist, is likely to be. They do not look to recent history, to the logic of similar attempts in Europe to outlaw, minority movements. They do not ask themselves, or they do not care, whether the perfectly obvious dangers to all civil liberties resulting from repressive legislation might not by far outweigh the assumed dangers of letting the Stalinists continue to function publicly. No, they vote with Pat McCarran. Whatever remains vital and

worth preserving in liberalism is rapidly being destroyed by the liberals themselves. That is the conclusion of the moment: the liberals are the deadliest enemies of liber-

This is the trend of the fature. alism. And, alas, this conclusion is not even a paradox, it is merely a statement of fact.

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#### THE PRO-TITOISM OF THE SOCIALIST LEFT-9

## Tito and the Monolithic — Party Principle

By HAL DRAPER

Up to this point, we have been discussing the Titoists' principles of the monolithic (totalitarian) state system. It obviously goes hand in hand with the Stalinist concept of their monolithic (totalitarian) party ruling this state sys-

The term "monolithic," by the way, made notorious by the Russian talinists to describe their police regime inside the party as well as nside the state, is current coin in Belgrade as it is in Moscow.

In 1945 the Yugoslav Stalinists, fresh in power and on the instrucions of Moscow, formed a government which included two Yugoslav liticians, Subasic and Grol. This was derogatorily referred to later Tito (in his report to the fifth congress of the CPY right after the ominform break) in the following terms:

"Thus, the joint government, set up March 8, 1945, upon suggestion from abroad, was not a monolithic government which, as a whole, would correspond to the real situation in Yugoslavia."

The standard Stalinist image for national unity is the "single block" (which is, of course, exactly what monolith means), and not any unity of different "blocks." Like this:

"...today all the peoples of Yugoslavia, without regard to their nationality, are firmly united, in a single block which struggles in perfect unity of thought for the creation of a better future...." [Speech by Tito, Tanjug, June 3, 1950.1

There are few better descriptions of the monolithic totalitarian ate than this from an editorial in the Yugoslavs' Macedonian organ:

"The economic, cultural and social life of the people is thus systematized and being regulated. Under the leadership of the Yugoslav Communist Party headed by Comrade Tito, the economic and social life of the people is developing similarly throughout our Fatherland, not only in the working class and industrial centers, but in the most backward parts of the country." [Flaka Vallaznimit,

An article by the prominent theoretician Moshe Piyade speaks of the unanimity of the People's Parliament, which could not be hampered by a handful of careerist renegades, and its untroubled agreement with government policy...." [As reported by the Belgrade radio, Feb. 2.] The word "untroubled" opens a fascinating peephole into the Stalinist mentality.

#### The Monolithic Party

As in the case of the state, the Titoists boast of the monolithism

"Our party, steeled in a long struggle, will henceforth also remain as firmly united and monolithic...." [Tito, Discours Prononcé au 2me Congrè du PC de Serbie, Livre Yougoslave, 1949.]

Tito again, boasting of

"what can be done by the peoples of a small country like ours ... when they are led by a Communist Party steeled in experience and monolithic, like our party." [Discours au 3me Congrè du Front Populaire de Yougoslavie, Livre Yougoslave, 1949.]

Let no one think that this little word "monolithic" is merely the terinological vagary of Eastern Europeans. It is a seal of Stalinism. In any case, to fill in its content, let us listen to Tito himself explaining in detail exactly what "monolithic" means and (part of) the story of how the

This was in his report to the fifth congress mentioned above, a report which consisted mainly of a history of Yugoslav labor, the CPY, and the war, as seen by the Titoist school of historiography. It is, however, sufficiently detailed to include a long section in which Tito describes the totalitarianization of the party which was carried through

From 1928 to the end of 1937, he relates, "factionalization" ruined the party. He makes clear that he means factions as such, that is, any group formations in the party.

"The purging of our party of various alien elements began in 1937. The close of 1937 marked the end of the impossible situation which had existed in the CPY for many years. During the year the last remnants of the factionalist and group-forming elements, whose harmful activities had obstructed the development and bolshevization of the CPY for 15 years, were removed from the party and leadership. In 1937, the leadership headed by Gorkic was removed with the exception of one member (long tumultuous and enthusiastic applause and demonstrations of approval for Marshal Tito) to whom the CI gave the task of forming a new leadership in the country and purging the party.'

In other words, Moscow junked the whole party leadership over the heads of the party, and put in Tito (then virtually unknown even to the party members) as gauleiter.

"The new leadership of the CPY, which began to function at the end of 1937, had four fundamental tasks facing it: (1) to purge the party most energetically of the remnants of the factionalists and group-formers: ...

"During 1937, '38 and '39, removed from the party, both at home and abroad, were not only various old, incorrigible factionalists and group-formers, but Trotskyists and other elements which were harmul to the development of the party as well....

"It was especially difficult to effect a purge of those who were in prison where the well-known factionalist Petko Miletic had succeeded Lin gaining influence].... Today we have all the material regarding his treacherous behavior before the police. This was no ordinary factionalist, therefore, but a police provocateur. This shows the accuracy of the rule that almost every factionalist is not far from being a provocateur or similar enemy of the working class...."

This last vignette, with its last sentence, is a bottled-in-bond example of the monolithic mind. Tito's history gets to the year 1940:

"It [the CPY] could achieve such great success: (1) because it had-purged its ranks of factionalists and spies of the class enemy [note that "factionalists and spies" has now replaced "factionalists and group-formers" in the litany]; (2) because there was a sound party cadre ...; (3) because a unified leadership was now at the head of the party, because there were no internal conflicts, namely, there was complete unanimity on all questions..."

-Or else! So, of course, by the time of the German occupation in 1941, Tito says proudly, the party "was organizationally and politically monolithic and preserved."

And not a single congress of the party had been held all this time since the year 1928, and none was held till the Cominform blast in 1948 forced the Tito leadership to mobilize its forces. In his report to the fifth congress, Tito called this "a unique case in the history of the workers' movement in general...."

Monolithism in the party is a necessary accompaniment of monolithism in the state for the simple reason that, in a totalitarian structure, every faction is an embryonic new party, every tendency in the party is an embryonic faction, and every dissident is an embryonic tendency. It is only in the political climate of democracy that factions, tendencies and dissent can play their proper roles as a legitimate part of the mechanism of that democracy.

Totalitarianism has an internal "logic" of its own, to be sure, and every turn of the screw requires the next turn of the screw. It is sufficient to look back over the history of the development of Stalinist totalitarianism in Russia to appreciate this. But such a look back also teaches another lesson, which is certainly clear enough but which is obviously forgotten by our pro-Titoists: The development of this totalitarian "logic" is neither automatic nor in a straight line.

It works itself out through an interplay of contending forces, and in the famous "long run." As we have emphasized in other articles, even Russian Stalinist totalitarianism was not always what it is now, and tomorrow (even before "1984"), if it is allowed to live, it will

It is simply the height of superficialty or the weak recourse of apologetics to demand an equation of the Tito totalitarian structure with that of Russia (which had two and a half decades to develop) and say: See, where are the slave-labor camps in Yugoslavia? (as if Stalin's totalitarianism started with the slave-labor camps); or See, in Russia they had a massacre of the peasants in a forced-collectivization drive (as if every totalitarianism or every Stalinism is fated by history to go through a forced-collectivization massacre). One might as well "prove" the democratic character of Mussolini fascism by pointing to the absence of anti-Semitism under it, in contrast with Nazism.... Even the East European satellites of Moscow are yet far, far from being as totalitarianized as their master.

The driving-down of the totalitarian principle from the state to the party to every nook and cranny of political, social and cultural life takes time. When Trotsky was expelled from the Russian CP in 1927, there were still a hundred times more remnants of democracy left under Stalin than there is under Tito today. This comparison does no credit to Stalin: he did not begin as a Stalinist, so to speak; Tito did, and insists on his fundamental Stalinist orthodoxy in every essential point, even though Stalin himself has ceased to be the law-

At this point the pro-Titoists argue that, although this may be true, Tito is faced in the opposite direction. We are in process of taking up all the arguments which seek to prove this; but at any rate, one way it cannot be proved is by merely pointing to differences between Tito's regime and Moscow's-differences, moreover, plainly determined by different present exigencies, which do not step out of the bounds of the Stalinist system.

That is one reason why we are interested in showing that there is not a sign of a different direction precisely on those basic principles of the Stalinist state structure: the monolithic state and the mono-

(Next week: The Tito-CP's political monopoly)

#### FOOTNOTES ON A CRITIC

In re: Gérard Bloch's recent article in the Fourth International Trotskyist press replying to our positon on Titoism.

#### (5) No "Sixth Sense," He Says!

Last week we footnoted Gérard Bloch's fantastic claim that there have been three different "Shachtmanite positions" on Titoism. He has a companion claim worthy of that one: The Fourth International, he boasts at some length, was the only group "to understand the profound meaning-the class content" of the Cominform break, and this was not due to chance or a "sixth sense." "If we saw clearly it was because our powerful ideological armament enabled us to orient ourselves quickly and correctly in the face of this new situation." Etc.

The man is singularly shameless. We presented the detailed evidence on this point in the September 1948 New International. Bloch stays mum about it, although he does take up some sentences from that very article.

The Cominform break took place in June 1948. Only two short months before, the "Second World Congress" of the Fourth International had been held. (The resolutions, by disconcerting coincidence, were published in the June 1948 issue of the Fourth International and could be read along with the headlines on the

The "powerful ideological armament" developed in advance by this unlucky congress consisted of the following theses: (1) The Stalinist countries of East Europe, including Yugo-

slavia, are capitalist states. (2) They are "police dictatorships" and "an extreme form of Bonapartism"-i.e., in other words, fascist states. (3) Only "violent" revolution in these states can bring socialist victory. (4) No defense of these states in war. (5) The bourgeois resistance in these countries is stiffening.

Bloch's modest disclaimer of a "sixth sense" is a prize under statement in the annals of Marxist literature, if it can be included there.

To show how powerfully armed they were "to understand the profound meaning-the class content" of the event: in the July 19, 1948 Militant of the U. S. orthodox-Trotskyists, we were

"Tito and Stalin want the workers to choose between them... Regardless of what Tito and Stalin want, the workers will surely reject this trap of choosing between the type of gold braid worn in Belgrade as against the type Stalin prefers in the Kremlin."

We are not denouncing these people for "changing position" after the Cominform break, any more than this is our point when we speak of the Stalinist flipflops. But typically, like the Stalinists, they change their line in the dark of the night, with no reference to their previous line, and then brag about their "powerful ideological armament" in the hope that no one remembers beyond yesterday.

# Political Morality — SP Style

#### By GORDON HASKELL

The Socialist Party of the U.S. has always taken great pride in its own political morality. For decades one of its chief charges against Trotskyists and revolutionary socialists in general has been that they, like Lenin and the Russian Bolsheviks of his day, are guilty of political moral turpitude. This has been one of their chief arguments used against young people in their own ranks who become dissatisfied with the politics of the SP, and begin to show interest in the ideas of consistent revolutionary socialism.

One of the stock arguments relates to Lenin's alleged political immorality and inclination to personal dictatorship. From this alleged immorality a direct line of descent is traced to the horrors of Stalinism. And as the decades go by, this view of Lenin's political and organizational practices is being gradually telescoped. As the myth develops, it seems that Leninism did not lead to Stalinism. It was identical with Stalinism.

In recent years this myth has been embellished and "documented" by a motley host of writers both inside and outside the social democratic movement of the world, "Facts" which ten and twenty years ago were trotted out only by the most discredited charlatans have today become gospel for the professional "anti-Bolsheviks" of the social democracy.

#### "On Bolshevik Philosophy"

An interesting case in point appeared in the Reading Labor Advocate, weekly newspaper of the Reading (Pa.) Socialist Party. We devote a bit of space to this matter for two reasons. In the first place, it is a fine little example of political morality as practiced by the Socialist Partv. But more important, it gives us an opportunity to help set the historical record straight with regard to one of the most brazen frauds in recent political literature for the benefit of readers of LABOR ACTION.

The Labor Advocate carries a column from time to time entitled "What's 'Left' in the World" by one Howard Penley. In the issue of May 26 of this year a sub-head in this column caught our eye. It was entitled "On Bolshevik Philosophy." Under this sub-head the following appeared:

"Because so many of those who would like to hang on to the policies of Bolshevism but who have to admit that Stalin's dictatorship is not all that it should be, are using the line that 'if Lenin had lived it would all be different, I feel compelled to set the record straight.

"The following are quotations from Lenin which are all too seldom seen, and when seen all too often rationalized.

"Classes are led by parties, and parties are led by individuals who are called leaders. . . . The will of a class is sometimes fulfilled by a dictator.... Soviet Socialist democracy (!) is not in the least incompatible with individual rule and dictatorship. . . . What is necessary is individual rule, the recognition of the dictatorial powers of one man . . . all phrases about equal rights are nonsense.""

On May 30 I wrote a letter to the editor of the "Reading Labor Advocate," I first took up the question of whether or not there are any people who claim that "if Lenin had lived all would be different." But the section of my letter relevant to Lenin's morality read as follows:

"Secondly, I would like to point out that the quotation attributed to Lenin by Mr. Penley is now a notorious literary fraud which he is, perhaps unwittingly, passing on to his readers.

"It is obvious that this 'quotation' has been taken directly not from Lenin, but from page 68 of David Shub's book Lenin. I would like to point out to Mr. Penley, and I hope to your readers, that this quotation as well as many other sections of Shub's book was proved to be completely fraudulent by Max Shachtman in articles appearing in the New International for Decem-

ber 1949 and March-April 1950. "It is probable that Mr. Penley was unaware of the fraudulent nature of this auctation. This is just one more example of the principle, which Stalin has used so effectively, that a lie will travel a thousand leagues before the truth gets a chance to put on its boots."

Of course, I expected to see my letter in the Reading Labor Advocate. But a bit of disillu-

sionment about the political morality of our honorable Socialists was in store. Instead of my letter there appeared in the June 16 issue of the paper, in Penley's column, an item headed "ON BOLSHEVISM."

The item first took up the question of the alleged "Lenin would have been a saviour" school of thought. No reference is made to any individual or group which has this view. Instead Penley simply says there are "some people" of this variety. But then the atricle goes on:

"The second point the writer makes is more definite. He writes, 'I would like to point out that the quotation attributed to Lenin by Mr. Penley is now a notorious literary fraud which he is, perhaps unwittingly, passing on to his

"Because of this charge we feel it worth the space to document the quotations of Lenin we

#### A Fraud Is "Documented"

Penley then proceeds to list each part of the "quotations" appearing between dots in his original in order with the notation that each one comes from the following writings of Lenin: (a) from "Left-Wing Communism, an Infantile Disorder" to be found in the first Russian edition of Lenin's Collected Works of 1923 Vol. 17, p. 133. (b) from the speech "Economic Development" before the Ninth Communist Party Congress delivered March 31, 1920, first Russian edition of Lenin's Collected Works, Vol. 17, p. 89. (c and d) from a speech before the Third All Russian Congress of Trade Unions on April 7, 1920 to be found in the second Russian edition of Lenin's Collected Works, 1928, edited by Bukharin, Molotov and Stepanov-Skvortsov, Vol. 25,

Penley then continues: "These documentations should end any doubt in anybody's mind, except those who may be psychologically unable to accept the fact that Lenin, as well as Stalin, believed in dictatorship, when they could be the dictators. This is the inevitable end product of the Bolshevist philosophy, and incidentally the product of this column."

Still naively thinking that the failure to print my first letter was Penley's fault, and not a policy of the moral Socialist editor of the paper, I addressed another letter to him on June

#### "A Delicate Sense of Morality"

"On May 30 I addressed a letter to your paper in which I took exception to the alleged quotations from Lenin reproduced in Howard Penley's column.

"In my letter I stated that the quotations which purport to prove that Lenin believed in dictatorship of the kind which Stalin now exercises over the peoples under his rule were fraudulent. I pointed out that this literary fraud had first been perpetrated by David Shub in his book Lenin, and had been thoroughly exposed by Max Skachtman in the December and January-February issues of the New Interna-

"In replying to my letter, Penley 'documents' the quotation by showing that each phrase quoted had in fact appeared in some speech or pamphlet by Lenin. The 'documentation' is, of course, also taken directly from Shub's reply to Shachtman, though Penley hasn't the grace to say so. In general, it seems to me that he shows a very delicate sense of morality himself by not quoting the portion of my letter which mentions the Shachtman articles, thus making it impossible for the readers of the Labor Advocate to check for themselves whether or not the Lenin quotation had been, in fact, demonstrated a fraud.

"In compiling this 'quotation' from Lenin, Shub had simply used the age-old trick of tearing a number of phrases out of context, stringing them together, and thus giving them a meaning which is completely different from that intended by the original author. What Shub, and now Penley, have done to Lenin's ideas in this quotation is no better and no worse than it would be if I should 'quote' a portion of Norman Thomas' speech appearing on page four of your issue of June 16 as follows: '... we shan't win in a world caught in a revolutionary situation . . . we socialists must press in season and out of season for . . . a cooperative war . . . a modern war

which will be fought by weapons which sooner or later will bring universal destruction.' (At least all of that comes from the same speech. while the Lenin 'quotation' came from different speeches delivered to different bodies on different occasions dealing with different prob-

"Of course, it is not possible to place each phrase from Lenin in its context in a brief letter. That was done by Shachtman in his articles. Wouldn't it only be fair to your readers to at least let them know that these articles exist?

"It is anyone's full right to disagree with Lenin's ideas. But what, from a socialist point of view, can be gained by falsifying them?"

Just to make sure that the editor of the paper was fully informed on the matter. I also sent him copies of the Shachtman and Shub articles in question.

Needless to say, the reply to Penley was never printed in the "Reading Labor Advocate," nor was any further reference made to the mat-

We would like to ask: just how indignant about political morality would the Socialist Party pundits become if LABOR ACTION should refuse to print a letter from some SP member challenging the facts in an article? And how much more indignant would they be if, instead of publishing such a letter, LABOR ACTION should proceed to quote selected portions from it with the obvious intent of withholding from its readers information which could help them to check on the accuracy of the facts in dispute? Even the reputable bourgeois press does not censor its letter columns so carefully to prevent readers from learning about material carried in socialist publications!

#### Lenin's Famous "Quotations"

An additional word is in order on the substance of the Lenin "quotations." (To thoroughly expose a piece of literary banditry of this kind much space is required. That space was made available in the above-mentioned issues of the New International.)

The first quotation is a statement of fact which certainly cannot be disputed or considered "immoral" or "anti-democratic" by members of the party of Norman Thomas. It is made to appear sinister only by stringing it together with the other quotations.

The remaining quotations all come from discussions on the management of industry in Russia. They all deal with the problem of industrial discipline, with the question of placing factories under the absolute administrative control of individual managers. They have no bearing whatever on the question of one-man political rule, of political dictatorship.

Was Lenin right or wrong in trying to cure the inefficiency and near-anarchy which prevailed in Russian production at the time these disputes took place (1920) by resorting to the administrative set-up which exists and is accepted in every factory in the United States, and we might add, in the industries nationalized in Britain by the Labor Party? Perhaps he was wrong. In fact, it appears in retrospect that what seemed a necessity from the point of view of getting some production out of the disorganized plants and unskilled peasant-workers of Russia was a political mistake which lent itself to the subsequent totalitarianism of Stalin.

But to lead people to believe that Lenin's ideas of 1920 on the necessity of one-man administrative responsibility and authority in industry were in fact proposals for individual totalitarian rule in the country is to perpetrate a conscious fraud on unsuspecting readers. By this method every textbook on public and business administration in the United States could be distorted into a tract for a fascist dictatorship in the country as a whole.

It is obvious that when Penley inserted his first contribution to "setting the record straight" he had read the Shachtman articles. He was fully aware of what he was doing. And Raymond Hofses who edits the Reading Labor Advocate was quite aware of what he was doing when he failed to publish the letters exposing the fraud. In this manner is socialist political morality practiced by the leaders of the American Socialist

### Labor Leaders, Liberals and Witches AFL Seamen and Others Deplore Witchhunt but Silent on Role of Liberals By BEN HALL A front page cartoon portrays

an ugly old witch labeled "100% PURE" flying in the dark of night. One bony hand clutches a broom with the inscription "IN-DISCRIMINATE CHARGES," while the other points hairy, fingers in all directions at invisible "COMMUNISTS."

Does the work of art described above come, as one might expect, from the Stalinist galleries? No. it appeared in the September 15 issue of the Seafarers Log, official organ of the Seafarers International Union, AFL.

A startling editorial, running with the cartoon, comments: "Since the Communist aggression got under way in Korea, we have been witnessing a sorry show of hysterical finger-pointing by sundry characters posing as superpatriots but who apparently don't give two hoots for the democracy we are so intent upon preserving. Its wrath is kindled by the latest who have just "exposed" not ugly old witches but Jean Mair and strip teaser Gypsy Rose Lee. "Although seafaring is a bit afield of

last Wallaceite leaders of the Pro-

gressive Party to shift that organ-

ization from its strictly Stalinist

path has failed. O. John Rogge,

former assistant attorney general,

now attorney for agencies of the

Yugoslav government in the Unit-

ed States, attempted futilely to

tyge a course of support to the

United States action in Korea on

the National Committee of the

Progressive Party at its meeting

Rogge's action came in the form

of a resolution urging the Nation-

al Committee to call a special con-

vention of the party early in Jan-

uary of next year for the purpose

rougher time than up to now.

These workers hit the bricks to

enforce demands for better wages,

pensions and other issues. But be-

Also involved is the ever popu-

gas to the surrounding communi-

of patriotism.

gas needed.

in Chicago on September 17.

mits the Log, "she and seamen are in the same boat when it comes to exposure to wild base less charges." This unhappy mutual experience has been the first incident to stimulate the Log's concern for civil liberties. The Log also reports that the

SIU has rejected a Coast Guard proposal that all seamen turn in their presnt sailing certificates in return for "a specially validated merchant mariner's document" issued by the Coast Guard to loval patriotic seamen in the course of screening out so-called 'subversives." But the SIU is leary of the motives of the Guard: "Until such time as you give us a proper explanation of the activities of the Coast Guard in this respect," said Harry Lundeberg, SIU president, "we have no intention of complying. SIU vice-president Paul Hall characterized the Coast Guard's plan "as another of its moves against seamen" and continued: "they ask for our support with one hand but never let us know what's going on in the other one. Our job is to protect our members against any encroachment Miss Lee's type of artistry" ad- on our rights and we are not

Rogge Attempt to Change Line

icy by the Progressive Party and

its National Committee from the

time of the founding convention

in July, 1948, to the date of the

The motion was defeated 41 to

2. At the same meeting a resolu-

tion was passed placing the whole

blame for the war in Korea and

the cold war in general on the

It seems that Rogge is deter-

mined to play the game of the

Progressive Party out to the end.

It is hard to believe that he actu-

ally is so naive as to be unaware

of the complete Stalinist domina-

United States government.

OHIO LABOR NOTES\_

**UMW Workers Win Hard Fought** 

Strike at Diamond Alkali Co.

taken with respect to foreign pol- late date. But then it is also dif-

of PP on Korea Lays an Egg

going to be placed in a position of stooging for the Coast Guard."

The SIU is playing an unfa-

miliar role as the guardian of the democratic rights of seamen. Opponents of its administration have been physically beaten and expelled from the union. Negroes and Puerto Ricans have gradualy been pushed out of the industry. Every critic is wildly labeled Trotskyite, Communist, saboteur. "The SIU has been fighting to keep the Commies off the water-front of America for the past dozen years but there was never any question about the status of those whom it attacked," says a Log editorial which strains and twists the truth be-

yond all recognition. The administration of the SIU has been systematically wiping out the democratic rights of its whole membership in the past years. If now it springs to the defense of Gypsy Rose Lee and Jean Muir and resists military control over the seamen, it is not enough to make us forget its record, but at least it is something, Belated though it be, and with full knowledge of the tainted source from which it comes, it is a welcome

ficult to suggest what other mo-

A few weeks ago when he re-

turned from a trip to Prague.

where he attended a meeting of

the Executive Committee of the

Partisans of Peace (the Stalinist

front organization which is circu-

lating the Stockholm petition) he

issued a statement which had been

prepared jointly by Konni Zilli-

acus, Jean Cassou and himself.

This statement condemned both

American imperialism and Stalin-

ist totalitarianism, and urged all

men of good will to rally behind

tives might prompt his actions.

sign.
The SIU itself has helped set the blaze which is now beginning to scorch its dungarees. And it is only a beginning! But the SIU is being forced to react

to the witchhunt, and others who are still silent will be forced to react as it continues its inevitable spread beyond the original Stalinist target. And even though the SIU's reaction is still a thin, flat whisper of opposition to the fringes of the campaign against civil liberties in the United States, such whispers will eventually come together as a mighty roar from the whole labor move-

Other murmers of resentment are already heard from sections of the labor movement. Nothing clamorous or insistent, just polite and softly worded complaints. Sorry to say, that is all that can be truthfully reported.

#### HALT UNBRIDLED HYSTERIA

The New Jersey CIO has just urged President Truman to veto the Mundt-Nixon-Ferguson-Mc-Carran bill and has demanded 'a halt to the current unbridled hysteria creating disunity in our country." These words seem almost like a protest against something until one seeks in vain for a denunciation of the Kilgore bill for the establishment of concentration camps in the United States. One must not speak too harshly about concentration camps, you see, because after all they are Fair Deal concentration camps whose architects are not reactionary Republicans but the

The PAC-CIO in its News Letter of September 18th also raises its voice on this crucial question: "Liberals lost a bitter fight against the McCarran - Nixon anti-civil liberties bill which passed the Senate by a final vote of 70 to 7. The measure Communist 'front', organizations cocted legislation.

penalties for failure to register. President Truman has said he will not sign such a bill." The fightmust have been bitter and exhausting indeed. So weary were most of the outstanding Fair Deal Senators at the end of the debate that they could muster only enough energy to vote with the prevailing 70. Again the embarrassing diffident sitence about liberal concentration camps.

All is not lost, however. Every cloud has a silver lining; it's an ill wind, etc. The "reactionaries" appear to have outwitted themselves. In the words of the PAC "The bill has reactionaries on the spot" because, you see, they want Congress to adjourn before action on excess profit taxes. But if Congress adjourns the President might kill the anti-civil liberties bill with a pocket veto. O unhappy choice - between the joys of reaping excess profits and the charms of plowing under de-

PERHAPS-A WAY OUT? But perhaps the president has found a way out of this dilemma for them. After all, this is a time for national unity. He will not, he has announced, pocket-veto the bill. He will act promptly, on If Truman vetoes the bill, the Congress will be able to override his veto promptly and go home to campaign for re-election.

If he signs it, they will be able to go home even more promptly to tell their egger constituents how they slew the red dragon in the last sessions of the 81st Congress. Our labor leaders have swal-

lowed the "subversive" lists. lovalty purges in government bureaus, and Smith Act trials. If now and then one hears an occasional grumbling it's not yet a noise that has too much significance. It's only the vicarious would require registration of all burp of union officials every time Communist Party members, of all Truman gags at Republican-con-

## **UMW Paper Asks about Korea** Information, Please!

We are at war! Yours not to reason why! To close one's eyes and plunge toward the inside of blackness seems to be the first prerequisite of modern "patriotism." But at least one labor union wants a little light. Says the United Mine Workers Journal of September 1:

"We are at war in Korea. Just who we are at war with in Korea is another question. For the present, we think it is only

"The agencies of the administration are at odds over their own widely varying concepts of the territorial limitation of the Korean conflict. Our statesmen confess that they do not have

"We the people have not been given the slightest understanding of U. S. commitments around the world and, as a consequence, we do not know what to look for in the possible timetable of spreading global war even though it be processed over a period of years.

"We are told by administration spokesmen one day that the Korean war will end in a few months, while almost in the same breath commentators and the military tell us that Red China is on the verge of joining Russian-dominated Northern Korea, and thus spreading the war on a seemingly forever basis.

"On one day the administration blasts all-out protection for Formosa, and on the next day we learn that such announced policy merely invites the opposition of all Asia in the event of actual war developing with Red China-which seeks to take over

"Up to date, we have received little aid from UN nations in the Korean fight, and as for the Atlantic Pact nations, France and others have assumed the attitude of 'home-first' preservation and are asking for more troops, more guns and more money to bolster their forces to resist when and if the timetable spills a Russian invasion.

"Its a disheartening picture but; nevertheless, one we will be forced to meet in one way or another."

We fear that the UMW will never get a straight story from the administration, or for that matter, from the Republicans. The grim fact is that capitalism has lost its ability to inspire the peoples of the world and faces a deadly war without enthusiastic allies. "One way or another . . ." either a socialist labor government in the United States which rallies the oppressed working people of the world in a struggle for democracy and against Stalinism or a capitalist administration which can only lead us into a long, tiring, devastating, annihilating war.

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The strike at the Diamond Al- to represent the Diamond Alkali kali Co. in Fairport, Ohio, near workers had been challenged. Two AFL unions, the Interna-

Painesville, which was called by Local 12231 of the United Mine Workers' District 50 on July 22, is still going strong. However, latest developments indicate that the strikers will have an even

The two AFL unions will be on cause Diamond Alkali is an important producer of chemicals the ballot, but not Local 12231. needed for the war effort, from since the Mine Workers have not complied with the non-communist navy ship de-moth-ballers to provisions of the Taft - Hartley whisky bottles, the union has been Law. The union is in the position under constant attack for its lack of advising its members to vote "no union" in the representation election. If this "no union" posilar newspaper slugging at John L. tion gets a majority, the company Lewis and the fact that Diamond will also claim that its employees operates a coke plant supplying do not want any union, a stand it has made from the beginning; and ties. The coke plant has managed the strike will be in no better to keep running on a reduced shape than before. In any event, it schedule with supervisory em-

had difficulty in supplying all the Despite the "war effort" and "public utility" angles, the union has kept its ranks pretty solid. Then one day last week, just when a meeting of union and management had been arranged by federal mediators, the company refused to meet with Local 12231,

tional Chemical Workers and the at this critical moment and claimed bargaining rights. Now all attempts to settle the strike are halted and on September 22 an NLRB election will be held for the over 2000 employees.

appears nothing further can happlovees at the controls but has pen until the 22nd.

Of course, Diamond Alkali has the usual aid of the courts and has an injunction limiting picketing activities and insuring free access to the plant property. The UMW pickets have shown an unwillingness to comply with the injunction and a number of them are to be tried on contempt of under the pretext that its right court charges.

#### Marshal Tito's peace program. In a press conference which he held at the time, Rogge stated that it is his hope to get together with such men as Francis Biddle, leader of the Americans for Democratic Action; Harold Ickes and perhaps Philip Murray and Walter Reuther to see whether they couldn't agree

on a common program. He even talked of trying to found a new political party with these men. Every day Rogge spends in any

relations with the Stalinist - controlled Progressives adds to the already not inconsiderable obstaagreement between himself and the gentlemen mentioned above. There is, of course, the possibility that his present tactics are calculated to aid him in bringing a considerable section of the Progressive following with him as a bargaining point.

None of the above guesses about his motives, however, seem to make too much sense. Whatever O John Rogge may have in mind, he has at least served the purpose of adding one more item of proof on the Stalinist nature of the Progressive Party. Beyond that, we must admit that his actions appear either extraordinarily foolish or extraordinarily principled, or both.

# 1945 to 1948

## **BLP Wins Vote on Steel**

The proposal to nationalize the steel industry as rapidly as possible under the law indicates that the LP leadership is thinking along somewhat new lines. This action points to the conlusion that the primary concern in the thinking of the LP leadership for its middleclass electoral following has been replaced by an even more pressing concern for the political reactions of the backbone of the party, the British working class.

Last week LABOR ACTION discussed the British Trades Union Congress at which a majority of the delegates rebelled against the General Council and voted to end the policy of voluntary wage restraint which has prevailed for five years. This was an ominous sign for the leadership of the BLP. With their own party congress in the offing, it seems that the leadership has decided to run to the head of the parade and to try to deflect it along paths which will be least dangerous to the labor bureaucracy.

To do this successfully, it is necessary for the leadership to convince the ranks that it has not softened in its determination to wrest power from the capitalist class of Britain. The TUC majority had demanded not only an end to the wage freeze, but also a statutory limitation on profits. There can be no doubt that if the Labor Party were to go on record for these policies at its congress the struggle with the Tories would become much more vi-

from the purely parliamentary py if such had been the outcome. field to the industrial field. Thus, in the midst of the crucial negotiations over the militarization of Western Europe, the LP leadergle at home.

terly by the Conservatives than any other measure proposed by the Labor Party. Most other major nationalizations were not opposed so much on principle as on the details of compensation or organization proposed by the LP. The industries to be nationalized were either very sick, or of such a nature that some form of major reorganization had been accepted as a necessity by all parties. The same is true of the social security measures and the national health service law.

But steel is highly profitable. It is also integrated with so many other industries that all parties realize that the logic of nationalization may take the LP much farther than was necessarily the case with respect to the other industries.

#### LEADERS PREFER ELECTION?

It was in this situation that the Labor Party high command decided to risk an end to the precarious balance in Parliament. When the leadership took this step it was fully aware of the possibility that it would be defeated and would have to go to the country for a new mandate. It seems reasonable to believe that the BLP leadership would olent. Further, it would shift not have been altogether unhap-

They may very well have reasoned as follows: If the LP should win a parlia-

mentary majority on this duesship would be confronted with a tion, the leadership would be able major outbreak of the class strug- to go before the party congress with the feather of a new victory The nationalization of the steel over the capitalists in its cap. It industry has been fought more bit- could hope that this demonstration of boldness would disarm its left-wing critics to the extent that it would be able to win over the less adamant on the question of wages and profits and thus

split the opposition. If the Tory-Liberal bloc should win, the LP leadership would be able to go before the ranks and demand party unity and party loyalty during the electoral campaign. It would no doubt have played heavily on the idea that any rash of strikes for higher wages during the campaign would alienate the middle-class

#### COMMUNIST PLOT

It is interesting to note that at precisely this critical moment the leadership of the Labor Party has discovered a "communist plot" to disrupt British industry through strikes. To people who know a little about the history of the British Labor movement of striking parallel comes to mind. In 1924, when the first Labor government was fighting an election in the face of rising dissatisfaction in its own ranks, the foreign office "discovered" an alleged letter from Gregory Zinoviev, then head of the Third International, purportedly giving instructions to the British Communist Party to fo-

ployment everywhere, even the

countryside is choked with refu-

gees. At Wurtzberg, he goes to

an official welfare bureau. They

give him five marks and stamp

his identity card. Three days

later, he erases the stamp and

tries to touch another bureau for

another five marks. They catch

him and he flees to escape arrest.

he finds work selling subscrip-

for Wolfgang: two marks per

slow. Constant walking has left

his shoes in shreds. He gives

them to a shoemaker but lacks

the wherewithal to get them out

again. So he forges six subscrip-

quickly and Wolfgang is arrested

Wolfgang is indicted; falsifi-

ing. He is assigned a lawyer: "Of course, your honor, ladies

and gentlemen, my client did

all faith in humanity, etc. . . ."

application of the law."

home to Mecklemburg.'

ter here, but not for me."

ready to go to Aue.

you to say?"

going so badly?

the same evening.

subscription. But business

tions to a fashion magazine. Net

A month later at Frankfurt,

The "Zinoviev letter" was, of course, a forgery. But it served the purpose of turning the minds of the ranks away from their own legitimate grievances against the capitalists and against their own leaders in the first Labor government.

Now the Labor Party has suddenly discovered that the Stalinists have got instructions from their bosses in Moscow to foment strikes wherever possible so as to weaken the British armament program. There is no particular reason to doubt that such indeed have been the standing instructions to Stalinist leaders in all Western countries. But even capitalist commentators have raised an eyebrow at the "sudden discovery" by the Labor government that such is the case.

#### STALINISTS AND STRIKES

Is it speculating too far to say that this particular "Communist scare" has been given its present emphasis for reasons similar to those which led to the discovery of the "Zinoviev letter"? Not only can it serve as a distraction for the British workers, but more important, it can be used as a club to beat down any legitimate strike movements on the part of anti-Stalinist left-wing leaders in the British labor movement under the cry that they give aid and comfort to the CP, or even that

any such movements must be and are inspired by Stalinists.

Of course, the Stalinists will seek to profit from the current dissatisfaction within the British working class. If the more militant elements of the anti-Stalinist left should be intimidated by the anti-CP scare and should abdicate their leadership of the growing demand of the workers for a limit on profits and higher wages, the Stalinists may well increase their influence. The same would be true if the LP leadership can undermine the growing militancy of the ranks through its steel-nationalization fight.

Socialists welcome the initiative taken by the Labor Party on steel, whatever may be the calculations which lie behind it. But they should not be diverted from their over-all criticism of the timidity of the general policy of their leadership. Nationalization of steel may be a red flag waved in front of Churchill and his colleagues. By itself it brings the British working class not much closer to the development of a really socialist policy. Even when steel is nationalized, workers' control in the nationalized industries still has to be won. The power of the British capitalist class still remains to be decisively broken. And equally important for Britain, a really socialist internationalist foreign policy still has to be developed.

(Continued from page 1)

cal and military level. His worst mistake, from Truman's point of view, was to support the proponents of preventive war. But this might have been overlooked except for the fact that Johnson had become the object of a major political attack by the Republicans. He became a victim of political expediency.

The fact that the only person who could be found to replace Johnson was Marshall is an index to the seriousness of the situation. Marshall is old and ill. Nevertheless, the idea is widespread in capitalist circles that as long as he holds office Marshall will be the real director of foreign affairs for the United States. He is reputed to see eye-to-eye with Acheson on most problems, and to be considered by Truman as a vertiable genius in international politics.

A few of the liberal political writers have been protesting, though not too loudly, about the tion blanks. The boss gives him appointment. The traditional six marks and Wolfgang gets his principle according to which the shoes. But the boss catches on civilian power in the government should be dominant over the military is being breached. In order to make Marshall eligible for this cation of identity card and steal- appointment the law, which provides that no one may become Secretary of Defense who has been in military service during wrong. But, your honor, ladies the previous ten years, must be and gentlemen, if he is conrevised. This revision lays another brick in the military walldemned, this young man will lose ing-in of the government, even though the appointment of this The prosecutor: "I demand the particular ex-general is calculated to re-establish control by Judge: "Prisoner, what have the administration over its military caste. The accused: "I want to go

#### NOT MORAL SCRUPLES

Judge: What? Home? In the The most immediate result of Russian zone where everything is the appointment of Marshall is the removal of the preventive The accused: "I know it's betwar ideology from the first point on the agenda. This has little to Wolfgang receives a suspenddo with moral scrupulousness, of ed sentence. Again, he starts course; the United States is not walking toward Mecklemburg. ready militarily for such a task, For the fourth time he crosses nor is it at the moment willing to the border illegally. He returns risk the loss of world-wide poto his village and tries to put his affairs in order. He presents himlitical support which such a polself at the requisition service, icy would entail.

But the concept has been "But you were missing! . . ." launched and is guaranteed to arise again in the future-espe-Today, Wolfgang is at Aue not cially since atomic warfare confor three months but for a year fers an appreciable advantage and in a punitive group. If he ever gets out, he'll probably be a beggar for the rest of his life. fers an appreciable advants upon those who can mount a w prepared, total, initial attack. upon those who can mount a well-

The crisis around Johnson will not be the last of this order. Another one may be precipitated soon. What, for example, keeps Secretary of the Navy Matthews in office? It is not his knowledge. When he took office he stated with that bland effrontery which passes for honesty in United States politics that his acquaintance with naval affairs was confined to a certain knowledge about rowboats. He isn't a realistic politician: he has already put his foot in things with his remarks on a preventive war. There may be some changes

made.

The "American Century," it seems, is running into a few obstacles. We never considered Stalin as exactly a brilliant intellect, but how he must rub his hands on occasion at seeing the happy innocents that United States political life nurtures. From the point of view of the United States, however, it is more than a matter of inept personnel. The perspectives offered world capitalism in decline are simply too narrow for presentday politicians. No matter how astute they may be as individuals, they are bound to appear sorry figures as they try to hold up the sagging structure.

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## **Wolfgang and the Two Germanies**

By BENNO SAREL

Here's a true story and one. alas, all too significant for German youth on both sides of the

Johann Wolfgang is a young peasant of 18, living with his parents in a little Mecklemburg village in the Soviet zone. A life, narrow, poor and stifling. One day he is requisitioned to work for three months in the Soviet uranium mines in Aue, Saxony. He knows that working conditions there are very bad and that even a young man may return with his health broken.

He takes off and sneaks into the British zone. At the refugees' service, he declares that he wants to work in the Ruhr mines. He's given a railroad ticket to

Bochum, heart of the Ruhr. He Here and there he finds a few goes to an employment office: peasants to work for. But no "Have you a birth certificate?" work at a living wage; unem-

AI'm a refugee; left secretly. I didn't take all my papers." "Nothing I can do about it: no birth certificate, no work."

Wolfgang leaves Bochum on foot, headed east. Again he sneaks across the frontiers, reaches his village, takes his birth certificate, hits the frontier illegally for the third time and retraces his footsteps to the Ruhr, eating one day out of three.

He must take a medical exam, this time. He has no disease but is very weakened. Not eligible for work in the mines.

He leaves again, still on foot and penniless, this time toward Southern Germany. He begs.

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Saturday, September 30

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9:00 P.M.

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