

LABOR ACTION

Independent Socialist Weekly

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Has Labor a Line To Fight Axing Of Price Control?

Labor is again threatening to walk out of the war mobilization agencies, in protest against the recent hatchet job on living standards by Congress. It is high time.

But not much will be gained merely by dark threats about it at this late date.

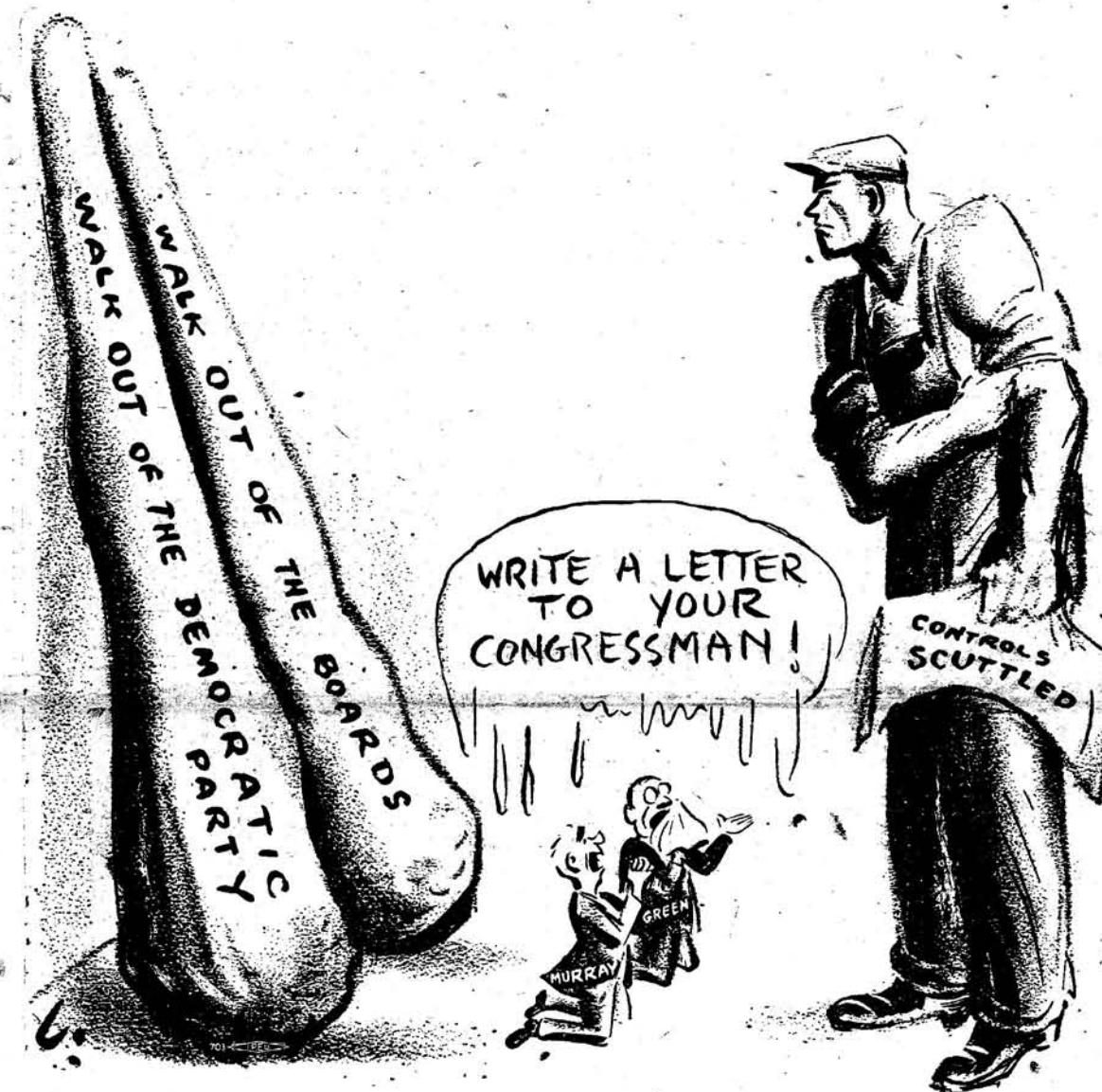
The United Labor Policy Committee, which combines the top leadership of the AFL, CIO and railroad brotherhoods, met in Washington on July 9 to consider its action, now that an overwhelming Democratic-Republican majority in both Houses of Congress has shown that it is eager to give business and the profiteers what they want from the Defense Production Act.

Emil Rieve, president of the CIO Textile Workers and a CIO member of the Wage Stabilization Board, laid before them a proposal for a boycott of the agencies. The ULPC decided to defer action on it until Congress completes action on the Defense Production bill. In effect, in other words, they decided to look into the barn after the horse will be stolen.

The ULPC statement after the meeting blasted the Dixiecrat-Republican coalition for supporting a bill which "will increase the cost of living a dollar a day for each... American family," and stated that if Congress enacts anything weaker than the Defense Production Act that was extended until July 31 it would "cause grave dissatisfaction." They proposed an extensive letter and telegram campaign to urge the passage of "an effective stabilization program."

"There is no justification whatever for higher prices now," the ULPC statement continues. "Yet lobbyists for the profiteers are exploiting the possibility of truce in Korea to further weaken price controls."

This action by the ULPC indicates the weakened position.
(Turn to last page)



Detroit Auto Locals Fight Speedup

By WALTER JASON

DETROIT, July 9 — As though the nightmare of layoffs were not enough to plague the autoworkers, the major corporations here have intensified their efforts to utilize the occasion for a concerted drive to speed up the workers.

As a result, a series of slowdowns and quickie strikes have occurred in most Chrysler plants during the past two weeks, and Hudson Motor Company has had a complete plant walk-out every day for more than two weeks.

The Hudson situation has been the talk of UAW circles. Since the company still has a large supply of unsold cars, even after a two weeks' complete shutdown, the company reduced its working forces and tried to increase production per man on many assembly-line jobs.

Each day the men report to work, and then within an hour either walk out or have

been sent home, as the jobs go in the hole because the men refuse to speed up and do the extra work the company has placed in them.

DANGER FOR REUTHER

At Chrysler, the Dodge, Kercheval, Jefferson, Plymouth and De Soto plants have had similar occurrences, following the layoffs of two weeks ago. Both verbal and written agreements with union shop officials have been violated openly and attempts to speed up the men through intimidation, discharges, etc., have been tried.

At a recent Hudson local meeting with more than 4,000 attending, the ranks voted overwhelmingly to strike; at the same time many speakers were very caustic in their remarks about the leadership of the international union.

At a meeting of all shop committeemen from Chrysler plants, a policy was

adopted not to send grievances pertaining to discharges to the stage at which the international union takes charge. This was a not very subtle slap at the top leaders, since a chief steward at Dodge was recently discharged following a walkout and the umpire upheld the company's action.

Unless the Reuther leader-

ship takes some aggressive action, it may well be that the East Side shops in Detroit, where Chrysler and Hudson plants are located, will follow the course of so many local unions in Flint which went anti-Reuther largely on account of the speed-up issue and the excellent capital which the anti-Reutherites made about it.

The Real Lowdown on Those Old Soldiers

Old soldiers never die; they just fade away into corporation executives. Generals and admirals, that is.

MacArthur had his Remington Rand, and now General Albert C. Wedemeyer has his Avco. There's a parade of retiring generals, admirals and other brass going by in Washington, and as they stow their generous pensions in their pockets, more than one goes right into a highly paid position with a big-business corporation or a big-business association.

The latest, Wedemeyer, is becoming vice-president of the Avco Manufacturing Company, part of the Victor Emanuel combine which, among other things, makes airplanes and engines for the government.

Before retirement the high brass had constantly to deal with big-business for the armed services or make recommendations involving big-business interests.

Naturally, who are we to charge that their judgment in these dealings or recommendations may be... say, warped by the knowledge that in their declining years a fat job with one of these corporations will buy lots of pork chops?

Civil Liberties Union Takes Stand Condemning Truman Purge System

The American Civil Liberties Union has taken a stand against the present federal "loyalty program." In a letter to President Truman dated July 5, it calls for the abandonment of the present program, and for its replacement by a specific security program, with fair standards and procedures.

It is well-known that for some time the board of directors of the civil-liberties organization has been divided and uncertain on many aspects of the government purge system. Its vigorous intervention now will be welcome to all friends of democracy.

Specifically, the ACLU attacked the program for its inclusiveness (covering government workers in non-sensitive as well as sensitive positions); the recent substitution, on Truman's order, of "reasonable grounds" as a standard on which employees are judged; and the whole procedure by which organizations are placed on the "subversive list" without a hearing. It also attacked the denial to individuals charged with disloyalty of the right to question persons who bring evidence against them.

The ACLU's letter states that "we believe it is not a service, but a disservice, to national security to require special loyalty investigations of persons holding, or applying for, non-sensitive positions," and that the "all-inclusive loyalty program has resulted in the creation of an atmosphere of repression, highly dangerous to democratic government; it has evened out and terrorized government employees and prospective employees, who are now afraid to practice the good old American habit of speaking one's mind and joining organizations one believes in, to say or do anything unorthodox, lest some administrator later consider such things evidence of 'disloyalty.'"

The change in the "reasonable grounds" standard on which findings by loyalty boards are to be based will shut the door to government employment "on all but the most conservative, courageous or foolhardy," the ACLU letter states. "For what does it mean to prove one's loyalty beyond a reasonable doubt? If a single voice is raised in derogation of an individual's loyalty, does that create a reasonable doubt?"

HITS THE LIST

The ACLU also hit hard at the government's refusal to permit accused individuals to question their accusers. Its letter pointed out that, except in the case of professional "counter-espionage

agents and the like," people giving evidence on the loyalty of a government employee should be made to back it up in a hearing, or at least their refusal to do so should be made known to the loyalty board for what light it might cast on the value of their testimony.

The Union also stated that the Supreme Court's recent decision in the case of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee and two other groups which tested the constitutionality of the attorney general's subversive list "makes it obvious that hearings should be held before any organization is put on or continued on any list prepared for any security or loyalty program."

With regard to the "subversive" list the ACLU proposes a four-point program:

- (1) Immediate hearings for all existing organizations listed or considered for listing, and the serving of notice of charges in as much detail as security will permit.
- (2) Hearings should be made public, unless the organization affected requests they be private.
- (3) Whether the decision is for or against listing, the findings should be made public—in writing and with detailed findings and reasons. The findings should indicate the dates over which the given organization had been "subversive," as organizations listed are known to have been captured by the Stalinists long after they had been founded, or had been released from Stalinist control at a certain date by the action of their memberships.
- (4) Persons belonging to defunct groups listed as subversive who are adversely affected by that listing should be granted hearings, as well as past officers or directors of the group.

LABOR CAN BACK IT
It is very gratifying that the American Civil Liberties Union has at last come out with a strong statement condemning the present "loyalty program." Its condemnation hits at so many aspects of the system that it constitutes an attack on the whole program.

This action, coming on the heels of the ACLU's forthright condemnation of the Smith Act and its statement of determination to enter into the fight to have this and similar acts repealed and to aid in the defense of the legal rights of persons indicted under this act, indicates a growing feeling on the part of liberals that the government's whole approach on civil liberties must be actively combated.

Of course, LABOR ACTION does not agree with all aspects of the ACLU's reasoning on the

billion a year that is to be spent for military purposes for the next several years.

The difference between the two is one of long-term perspective. The Truman administration and the Fair Dealers, charged with running the government and stabilizing the economy over the longer period of the war economy, find it necessary to put forth measures like price and production controls. Within its means, it tries to adopt a long-range point of view in its role as the executor of the capitalist state.

There is no doubt that if the Republicans were in Truman's place, they would be forced by this same interest to put forth much the same program. Congress, however, is more susceptible to the immediate narrow pressures of big

business and the special-interest lobbies in their quest for profiteering.

WILSON EXPLAINS
The case of life-long Republicans and businessmen such as Eric Johnston, former president of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce, and Charles E. Wilson, "former" head of General Electric, entering the Truman administration illustrates the point. With greater or lesser enthusiasm they have been pushing for a stronger Defense Production Act, and in turn they have been denounced by the NAM as "prisoners" of the New Deal and by others as "traitors."

In self-defense against their brethren, both Wilson and Johnston have been reiterating their belief in capitalism and the "free

loyalty program." It is clear that the compilation and publication of a "subversive list," however arrived at, subjects the organizations listed and their members or sympathizers to disabilities which go far beyond eligibility for government employment. It is a proclamation of guilt-by-association which publicly brands all persons connected with a given organization as somehow beyond the legal pale. This has nothing to do with the government's right to protect itself against espionage, sabotage and such.

Court Sets New Black Precedents In Moves on Bail for Stalinists

By MARY BELL

That the millionaire CP "angel" and descendant of Commodore Cornelius Vanderbilt spent a weekend in jail and may be there longer doesn't cause us to shed a tear in his behalf. Nor that the author of *The Thin Man* and trustee for the Civil Rights and Dashiell Hammett, was sentenced to ninety days, as was the secretary of the Council on African Affairs.

But again and again and again we must record our protest against the methods of the government—executive, legislative and judicial—in handling the Communist Party.

The current judiciary motions involving Frederick Vanderbilt Field, the Civil Rights Congress, the eight missing Stalinist leaders and the matters of bail are the latest acts in the long series of curtailing civil liberties. Judge Ryan and District Attorney Sappol are going after the Stalinists with weapons which at this stage strike harder blows against democracy than against the Communist Party.

As was predicted by those who still believe that democratic procedures against the Stalinists are the only means to maintain democracy, the resort to legislative violence has served to drive the Stalinists underground. That is undoubtedly true regardless of speculation whether the missing eight will serve in the capacity of underground leaders.

THEY'RE PRECEDENTS

We condemn the judicial and legal precedents being set daily even if they are sustained against men justifiably hated for their support to one degree or another of the Stalinist totalitarian ideology and system of government. The continuation of the perse-

cution and prosecution, stimulated afresh by the Supreme Court ruling, spurs on those night-riders of the Senate, McCarthy and McCarran. McCarran has already served notice that he will subpoena Field before the Senate Committee for Internal Security—the show must go on!

Some very democratic safeguards like the Fifth Amendment, the right not to incriminate oneself, are being trampled in the roundup of the Stalinists. These repeated holdings of contempt, like the refusal of bail because of the source (in the case of Field and the Civil Rights Congress bail fund), the demanding of the names of those who furnished the subpoenaing of records of organizations, are setting PRECEDENTS. It can only follow that these same precedents are available for use against other critics and opponents of the government.

A serio-comic note is furnished by the role of the FBI in the case of the missing eight men. The FBI's fuhrer, J. Edgar Hoover, has been guilty of the boast that his G-men were prepared when necessary to pick up "12,000 leading Communists at a moment's notice." Not eight, but 12,000.

POLICE-STATE METHODS
It would be of interest to know how many man-hours and resources and how much money is being spent by this bureau with the well-oiled public relations department. It is hinted that McCarthy will find a means to pin their disappearance on Acheson. Meanwhile, the FBI can't find the eight who skipped under its nose.

It is an entirely serious and difficult matter to defend the rules and rights of democracy when anti-democratic elements like the Stalinists are being persecuted.

Certified Pure

Sign of the times: The National Council Against Conscription, which issues a bulletin *Conscription News*, has a list of officers and executive board members including such persons as Cardinal Dougherty, Catholic archbishop of Philadelphia; Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick; Francis X. N. McGuire, O.S.A., president of Villanova College; Louis Bromfield; William P. Tolley, chancellor of Syracuse University; Rufus C. Harris, president of Tulane; and many others from kind-of-liberal to conservative.

Together with its last issue of *Conscription News* (June 14), the committee sent out a covering letter to clear itself of any suspicion that it is "red." The testimonial is from the New York World-Telegram's red-smelling expert Frederick Woltman.

Yet it is so clear that Stalinism natures on the anti-democratic actions of its capitalist opponents, like maggots on sores. It is worse than absurd, it is dangerous, to consider that the Communist Party of the United States is a serious threat. The threatening power of Stalinism increases in inverse ratio to the power of democracy.

The dominant way of proceeding against Stalinism has thus far been by means of undemocratic, police-state methods. It betokens the anxiety and lack of understanding on the part of capitalism and its inability to cope with Stalinism by democratic methods.

Received from the New American Library, publishers of Signet and Mentor pocket books, publication date July 25:
THE DAUGHTER, by Arthur Markowitz. A Signet book, 224 pages, 25 cents.
FOLLOW ME DOWN, by Shelby Foote. A Signet book, 224 pages, 25 cents.
A STRETCH ON THE RIVER, by Richard Bissell. A Signet book, 144 pages, 25 cents.

What happened at the outbreak of the war was that, for two issues running of the SWP's *Militant*, that alleged organ of "orthodox Trotskyism" bubbled over with articles which seemed to be attacking both sides in Korea, both the U. S. and the Stalinist camps. To the naked eye—or, more appropriately, at first blush—it sounded as if they were talking rather a Third-Campish position: support to neither side.

In our July 17, 1950, issue, therefore, we went to bat for the democratic right of their membership to know what they were supposed to believe if they were to remain suitably orthodox and untainted by petty-bourgeois gangrene. We volunteered three whopping orthodox arguments to show that they were in duty bound to support (however critically) the Stalinist-North Korean-Russian side, on the basis of their own position on Russia as a "workers' state," on the "defense of the Soviet Union," and on Titoism.

It is true that we were never properly thanked for the good turn. But virtue is its own reward, and in our next issue we were able to record that the Fourth International had come out foursquare, and unblushingly even at first blush, in favor of the Stalinist camp.

They're not going into this for the sake of history; it's the background of their present difficulty. For no sooner had they decided to take up arms (politically speaking) on the left flank of the Stalinist imperialists, than they went further. They could have decided to plump for the Stalinist camp on the ground that the real antagonists were the U. S. and Russia, and they were for "the defense

of the Soviet Union." This would at least have had the advantage of squaring with the facts of life in the Korean war, where the real antagonists were really Russia and the U. S.
Instead they chose to base their pro-Stalinist line on the third of the three orthodox arguments we had offered. What was going on in Korea was not a war, or at least not the war that everyone else thought was going on: it was a REVOLUTION.

The North Koreans were staging a Revolution for national freedom and independence from U. S.-UN occupation. Russia, as could have been anticipated by every *Militant* reader, had not given them the high sign, but rather was busily scheming how to sell them out and stop the revolution.

This was all in the cards since China too had just had its revolution, to the dismay of the Kremlin. It was only imperialist propagandists and petty-bourgeois deviationists who saw the expansion of Moscow's power in the victory of Mao. It was "revolutionary China," etc. And so they have, forearmed by the power of the "finished program," did not even have to blink when the armies of the "Chinese revolution" marched into Korea to aid their embattled North Korean brother revolutionaries. One revolution was coming to the succor of another revolution, which is as it should be.

"ON WITH THE WAR!"
And remember: all this time Stalin was standing back there chewing his fingernails to the elbow, a-schemin' and a-plottin' or how to do them dirt.

This brings us more or less up to date, with respect to time, though with respect to the spatial coordinates we may be left doubtful as to which planet is under discussion.
Now comes the cease-fire, or so it seems at this writing. Moscow and Washington have stepped in to call off the revolution.

Down with the cease-fire, North Korean revolutionary comrades! On with the war—we mean, the Revolution!

Surely, that's what the *Militant* must be saying in the last two weeks. . . . We don't expect just those words, but certainly the

idea. . . . Or maybe they're not writing big articles about it, but somewhere in the *Militant*. . . . Well, at least a couple of well-placed words if only for the initiate. . . .
No, not a word, let alone an open letter to Congress.
The *Militant's* writers are pointing with alarm at the cease-fire, of course. The Kremlin "has once again demonstrated how eager it is for a deal, no matter how temporary, with American imperialism." It is "apparently seeking to elbow China out of taking direct part in the 'cease-fire' negotiations." Which may well be true, as everyone guesses, but why isn't the *Militant* denouncing the Chinese "revolutionists" for even wanting to take direct part in this betrayal of the North Korean Revolution?

You see how easy it is to explain things when you know how. The Revolution is caught between two forces before which it must capitulate. One is: the same force it has been fighting all this time, which (we are told in the same issue, remember) is at a "disadvantage at the present time," and in relation to which it is "surprisingly strong." The other force is: the pressure of the Kremlin. And what does the pressure of the Kremlin consist in? "Its power to withdraw the scant aid" it has been giving, which we were also told elsewhere is a "tiny trickle."

Obviously Stalin, who was scheming and plotting this whole past year, as we know, finally figured out how to knife the Revolution. It took him a year but he did it. "Why," he said to himself, "all we have to do is withdraw the tiny trickle!" Why then had he been giving the tiny trickle up to now? In order to knife the Revolution by withdrawing it, stupid! One plumbs the depths of Moscow's depravity when one fully appreciates the devious machinations of its betrayals.

The *Militant* editorial above-mentioned is entitled "Not Peace—but a Sword." It was not intended for the purpose, but this exactly describes what its line on the cease-fire should be, as an exhortation to the North Koreans. . . . Can it be that it is permitting the Revolution to be betrayed, for lack of its advice, merely because a denunciation of the cease-fire AS SUCH would be somewhat unpopular?

Not to keep anyone on tenterhooks, here is Weiss's apology for the disgraceful conduct of his North Korean and Chinese revolutionists: "Caught between the enormous military might of world imperialism and the pressure of the Kremlin, with its power to withdraw the scant aid they have been getting, they are likely being forced to accept these harsh imperialist terms."

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NO WAY OUT
Instead of the ringing call (or even muted whisper) "On with the Revolution!" a writer named M. Weiss bangs away at the terms of the cease-fire. One might even suspect that the terms he is writing about—he keeps writing about terms—is the fact that there is a cease-fire at all, short of the victory of the Revolution in a united Korea under the Stalinists. That is, one may suspect so if one knows that that is exactly what he should be saying.

This Weiss even takes up the question of "the reason the North Koreans and Chinese have gone along with the terms of this armed truce." Is it perhaps because they feel that their North Korean Revolution is in danger of losing, and a truce is better than defeat? It would be a half-reasonable way out, but they won't have it. In a special editorial, no less, the *Militant* informs us that "The Korean war can be ended temporarily in a truce because American imperialism finds this particular war to its disadvantage at the present time. The Korean and Chinese forces are surprisingly strong. . . . So that can't be it."
Yet, with the U. S. at a "disadvantage" and the forces of the North Korean Revolution "surprisingly strong," the *Militant* neglects to make clear that it thinks the revolution ought to be carried on to victory.
Is it because, given a cease-fire manufactured by Moscow, Russia

would withdraw its aid to the North Korean Revolution and leave them defenseless? No, that can't be it, because part of the approved script says that Russia hasn't been helping worth a damn anyway, no more than a "tiny trickle" in any case, as one article says.

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The ISL Program in Brief

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Editorials Fordrung Case

Every now and then since it broke, the Fordrung (Hunter College) case has been referred to in the same breath with firings of Stalinist teachers as if the former justified the latter. The general idea is supposed to be: "See, here's a reactionary anti-Communist professor getting the bum's rush. If you oppose the discharge of Communists, you ought to fight for Fordrung's 'rights' too, or vice versa."

Fordrung was the Hunter College (New York) professor of hygiene and physiology who was recently suspended by the school for incompetence and associated reasons, some of the grounds centering around his teachings on sex education. (The N. Y. Daily News promptly dubbed him the "sex prof," which saved headline space at the expense of accuracy.)

The fact is that the Fordrung case is almost made to order as a demonstration of what is wrong with the argument, such as is made by Sidney Hook, that Stalinist teachers should not be allowed to teach. This can be said without passing any judgment on Fordrung in advance of his hearing. It is clear from the nature of the charges against him and the nature of the procedure which is being applied to him.

Both, as far as we can see, are flawless precisely on the basis of the identical criteria which make the Hook type of proposal a plan for a hysterical witchhunt.

The charges, which themselves were made after a long investigation in response to complaints from students and others, are strictly based on his classroom behavior and, one and all, impugn his competence as an instructor. He is charged with devoting only a minor portion of his classroom to the subject he was supposed to teach; the rest of the time, or a good deal of it, was given to tirades against such horrible things as birth control, loose sexual morals, the Fair Deal, the State-Department, atheism, and in favor of virginity, motherhood, God and political reaction. (The associations implied in the preceding sentence are Fordrung's, not ours.)

When asked if he attempted to present both sides of controversial issues such as birth control (which at least fell within the general domain of his subject), he replied: "No, there are not two sides to murder."

This antediluvian will be given a trial in the fall by three members of the Board of Higher Education, who will report back to the full board. (Fordrung, in addition, demanded that his trial be shown over television but it is doubtful whether that can be considered a democratic right!)

The Tendency and the Test

It is perfectly plain, then, that no part of the case questions his right to hold any of his opinions, or touches on any activity outside the classroom and school. It is perfectly conceivable that a teacher with the reactionary and pitifully obsolete ideas which are ascribed to him might yet be a competent teacher of hygiene and physiology.

It would not be wholly to the point to argue that a man who is capable of holding such opinions must be too stupid, or too mentally twisted, to be a competent teacher of anything. There is truth in that, it can be granted, if it is represented as a tendency and with a couple of other qualifications; but by that token it is irrelevant to the present question. The test of whether the putative tendency does or does not manifest itself in this or that individual can only be an inquiry into the individual's competence as a teacher, unless it is irrationally claimed that such a tendency manifests itself as an invariable rule.

Thus we would heartily agree that, to the degree that a teacher is a hardbitten Stalinist party-liner who swears by the latest Pravda ukase on culture and science, to that degree he will tend to be an incompetent teacher, and to a greater degree in certain subjects than in others. The same type of statement can obviously be made with equal justice in other kinds of cases. The one that comes to mind fastest is that of the fanatically Catholic communicant whose intellectual horizon is limited to the thoughts declared safe by papal authority, and whose classroom behavior is at least in part based on the fear of punishment if he deviates from the Lord's party line as he sees it. We think that punishment in everlasting fire is a somewhat stronger deterrent to deviationists than expulsion from the party, either in the U. S. where expulsion means one thing or in Russia where expulsion can mean death.

We have indeed known professors who were not only Stalinists but (it is morally certain) were card-holding CPers, who did not distort and falsify the content of their subject in order to make it square with the Kremlin line. If one can add that that was their contradiction, and also that they would not have lasted long in their "socialist fatherland," and many other things, none of these thoughts is germane to the present question. To fire a teacher merely on the ground that he is proved to be a member, or follower, of the CP is to give up all objective criteria of teacher competence.

The criteria and procedure in the Fordrung case are a crushing indictment of the Stalinist hysteria who would fight Stalinism by the Kremlin's method of witchhunts.

READING from LEFT to RIGHT

THE CASE OF THE "VESNA" ORGANIZATION, by A. Sergeev.—The Challenge, June.

The Challenge is the monthly of the Association of Former Political Prisoners of Soviet Labor Camps.

The special interests of Sergeev's article is that it concerns an early flyer in GPU concoctions dating back to 1930-31. The first information about it in the West was brought out at the Kravchenko trial in Paris in 1949.

The background was the collectivization drive of 1930; rebellions and uprisings flared up among the peasants. The Kremlin undertook the project as a new-type propaganda weapon. On the night of October 15-16, 1930 in the Ukraine and on the night of November 5-6 in Russia proper, a large-scale roundup started of selected intellectuals, army officers of the Civil War period, and technical specialists in contact with the peasantry. They were informed that they had been arrested in connection with an underground organization, Vesna (spring).

"Each prisoner was forced to confess and to give the names of those he had 'enlisted' in the mythical clandestine organization. The latter

were, in turn, arrested, and the 'organization' grew and grew with monstrous speed."

In cases where the usual forms of torture failed, the GPU brought the worn-out prisoner into chambers with people who had already confessed. "These explained to him that there was really no organization of any kind in existence, but that the case had been built up for reasons of foreign policy, to show the workers of the West that their bourgeoisie, together with the remnants of the capitalist classes in the USSR, was trying to overthrow the workers' and peasants' government. . . . And since there was really no organization, those who confessed would naturally suffer no punishment. . . ."

A "headquarters cell" was set up in Kiev's Lukyanovsky prison where "plans for the insurrection" were worked out under military experts, GPU-equipped with the necessary maps, etc. The GPU also decided to assign the role of Ukrainian underground leader to ex-Major Gen. Olderogge who had once commanded the eastern front against Kolchak, a tsarist officer before that.

The no-punishment come-on proved a fraud. Many of the confessors were shot and the rest sent to concentration camps.

Holy Water for the Tsar Kerensky and Company Write a Letter

By H. D.

A rather remarkable letter appeared in the correspondence column of the N. Y. Times on July 8. Its list of signers was impressive (for Times readers), consisting of prominent names among Russian emigré scholars and political personalities, Mepshchik and points right. They are: Raphael Abramovitch, Roman Goul, Alexander Kerensky, Boris Nicolaevsky, Dr. Solomon Schwarz, Vladimir Zenzinov, and Professors Fedetoff, Karpovitch, Konstantinovskiy, Kurganov, Smirnov and Vishniak.

It is to be assumed that all of them read it before affixing their signatures.

Yet the following is true:

(1) The letter is a backdated whitewash of Russian tsarist imperialism.

(2) We are pretty certain that all of the signers would be indignant at this characterization.

(3) If they are to be cleared of the stigma of apologizing for tsarist imperialism, it can only be done by showing that they are hopeless muddleheads.

We are perfectly willing to accept the latter hypothesis. We lean toward believing that both explanations are true in part.

The letter to the Times had a laudable object. Its original aim, apparently, was to protest a Times editorial and a statement by Acheson which, they think, implied an identification of the Stalinist regime with the Russian people. Their expression of that protest is, of course, in the letter. But the letter also goes on to 1½ columns of argumentation and historical comment.

As their means of arguing against identification of the Stalinist despotism with the Russian people, the manifesto of Abramovitch, Kerensky and the professors finds itself arguing for the identification of the tsarist autocracy with the Russian people. No less! Here's how it is done.

The signers, of course, are "against" any kind of imperialism—"we are all anti-imperialists now," to paraphrase the famous wheeze. So they say. But in the first place (before we get to the heart of the letter) it seems that there was no tsarist imperialism to be "against" any later than the Russo-Japanese war. "The expansion of Russia . . . was essentially finished in the last quarter of the 19th century," they write, and tsarist policy in the war with Japan was an "attempt to revive the process," but it was an "unhappy adventure."

APOLOGISTICS FOR THE ROMANOV

It is clear then that there was no tsarist imperialism involved in the outbreak of the First World War! It is hard to believe that this falsehood can be accounted for by muddleheadedness, rather than by political ideas which apologize for the Romanov dynasty.

(If holy water is sprinkled over the tsar, it is almost digressive to report that the regime headed by one of the letter's signers, Kerensky, is hailed for its "complete absence of expansionist or belligerent intentions." We note only that these "honest men" prove this by citing Kerensky's grant of freedom to Poland while they grudgingly admit only that the Bolshevik government under Lenin "was compelled by Russian public opinion to renounce aggressive and expansionist intentions." Being what they are, they neglect to mention that Kerensky "granted" freedom to Poland when it was under German occupation—that is, when he

didn't have it—and refused to grant freedom to any part of the empire which was in his grip (like Finland), in spite of the "Russian public opinion" which proved so efficacious under Lenin. But what can you expect of people who whitewash the imperialism of the tsar?)

But this is still not the heart of the argument. We get closer to it when we read that "the ruling Communist Party cannot be regarded as a national government of Russia." The Stalinist regime is an internationalist one, not a national Russian regime. Shades of Pravda, whose very claims our émigrés are shouting here! The Ukrainian people and Tito particularly will be interested to be told by these "experts" that the Stalin fight is in truth not Russian-nationalist but dedicated to "international communism" as distinct from Russian nationalism!

THE GHOST OF NICHOLAS

What is the bearing of this on the purpose of the letter? For the signers it is a vital part of the argument that, SINCE Stalinism cannot be considered "a national government of Russia," it is THEREFORE impermissible to identify the Russian people with its regime.

Do or do not the signers understand that they are thereby arguing that it is correct to identify tsarism with the Russian people, in its time? We might be more doubtful if the above was all there was to go on. But they virtually insist on making the thought explicit:

"When you [the Times] declare that Stalin is at bottom the inheritor of traditional Russian policy you identify him with the Russian people. You imply that the Russian people, or at least its leading strata [—H. D.], are responsible for the Kremlin's conduct."

And before that: "Stalin is not an instrument in the hands of the Russian people actuated by 'imperialist tradition' but quite the reverse: the people are an instrument. . . ."

All this is written in the context of a contrast between Stalinism and all preceding Russian regimes, including tsarism! They could, of course, have said even more clearly that tsarism was "an instrument in the hands of the 'Russian people,'" unlike Stalinism. But not much more clearly.

Is it any wonder that these apologists for the Romanovs (whether each one of them does or does not understand what he signed) have no more chance of getting the ear of the Russian masses who hate Stalinism than does the ghost of Nicholas himself?

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California SP Threatens to Split Over Right-Wing, Pro-War Trend

By PHILIP COBEN

The rapid slide of the Socialist Party to the right since the outbreak of the Korean war—that is, even farther to the right than it was before—has brought the state party organization of California to the brink of revolt, with broad hints of disaffiliation.

There have been rumblings in other sections of the SP—Reading, for example [see LA for March 26]—but no other has as yet gone as far as the West Coast section in challenging the leadership of the Thomas group.

The main issues are two: the party's pro-war policy, and its recent decision virtually to abandon electoral action in its own name, permitting support of Democratic Fair Deal candidates. While the former is more basic to the discontent in the ranks, it is the latter that has set off the immediate situation.

The sharp feeling over the electoral-policy question is perhaps due as much to the way in which the SP changed its line as to the fact of the new line itself. For one thing, the left-wing elements in the party thought that they had won a great victory in the spring of last year when a majority of the delegates, in convention assembled at Detroit, turned down the electoral proposition offered by Norman Thomas. The victory, such as it was, was very soon snatched away from them.

That convention victory gave many of the left-wingers new hopes—i.e., new illusions—about making the SP over into a half-cent organization with a genuinely socialist program. Only one who knows the atmosphere of the SP can appreciate the meaning of defeating Thomas on an important question in his own party; in its own way—in a quite traditional social-democratic way, not the Stalinist way—the SP, in spite of its minuscule size and importance, has as bureaucratic a relationship between the public leadership and the rank and file as any socialistic group in the world.

How the Convention Was Reversed

But the 1950 convention had hardly ended when Thomas started planning for the rescinding of his decision [see LA for June 19, 1950]. Perfectly "democratically," of course, in form; in fact, the convention was finally reversed by a referendum vote. Behind this reversal of line in the referendum, however, was the fact that the convention decision was openly and covertly flouted by the leaders and National Executive Committee members who had opposed it, from the day the convention ended [see LA for March 5].

To put it bluntly, which is rarely done in polite SP circles: leading supporters of the Thomas position went ahead and followed their own policy regardless. They thus presented the ranks with a fait accompli and an implied ultimatum: either take disciplinary action against us or the convention decision is scrapped by default. The majority which had truly voted its convictions at the convention did not stand up when it came to enforcing the party position against party leaders.

After this situation had been built up, the NEC instituted the referendum to reverse the convention. Behind the formal argumentation pro and con was the real crusher: the only way to re-establish "unity" was . . . to give the discipline-flouting notables party sanction to do what which they were doing anyway.

So this year the Thomas position carried in the referendum, if only by a small majority.

Right after this referendum, the California SP blew its top. Meeting in state convention on April 29, the delegates adopted the following resolution. (Copies of this resolution and the NEC's reply have been mailed to all SP members in the state—and also to many ex-members, since the composition of the party is such that even the SP national office often can't tell the difference, it seems.)

Text of California Resolution

"WHEREAS the referendum on electoral activity is the culmination of a trend marked by a general backing away from socialist principles—a pro-war position, an avoidance of the issue of the Atlantic Pact, etc.—on the part of the National Executive Committee and the Socialist Call, and this trend is aimed at destroying the Socialist Party, U.S.A., and in turning the membership away from the course of socialism;

"WHEREAS the results of the referendum show a political defeat for the NEC in the form of an 85 per cent abstention, in effect a far more serious rejection of the NEC than even the votes cast in opposition, it is clear that in fact the NEC and the Socialist Call no longer are representative of the Socialist Party, U.S.A.

"THEREFORE the State Executive Committee is to instruct Comrade Briggs to resign as an alternate to the NEC in question, and is to urge other locals who support the Detroit resolution to instruct their representatives to do the same.

"And the SEC is directed to ask the present NEC to resign, with the exception of Comrades Friedman and Steinsapir, as unrepresentative of the rank and file of the party membership.

"And the SEC is directed to institute steps for the calling of a special convention of the Socialist Party, U.S.A., not later than September 1, 1951.

"And the SEC is to ask the NEC to declare the results of the national referendum as indecisive and inconclusive.

"And the SEC is to demand of the NEC the expulsion of all violators of the Detroit resolution—including the members of the NEC. And the SEC is to ask the NEC for the total number of ballots mailed, for an explanation of the 158 invalid ballots, and the total cost of the referendum to the Socialist Party, U.S.A.

"And the SEC is directed to do all within its power, and exercise all democratic measures to bring about a settlement of the difficulties caused by the referendum, but that if they are unable to do so through the NEC, the SEC is instructed to refuse the recognition of the Socialist Party of California to the present NEC as unrepresentative, and further that the SEC be empowered to recognize a new NEC."

85 Per Cent Abstained?

The wording and content of the California resolution testify to the deepness of the differences and need no underlining. But the reader will also note that the justified indignation of the California left-wingers is greater, evidently, than their political experience in

conducting a fight of this kind. The reply of the NEC, dated June 14 and signed by National Secretary Robin Myers, took full advantage of these features.

The NEC's reply, for example, points out that alternates and members of the NEC are elected by the national convention as a whole and that a state organization cannot "instruct" a member to resign. (Which is true, of course; the Californians, however, were in effect calling on Briggs to resign, and this is what is important.) The NEC similarly cited other formalities in answer to the angry but loose wording of the coast resolution, none of which is of much interest.

More interesting is the matter of the 85 per cent abstention in the vote, as charged in the state resolution. The NEC's reply does not directly deny the fact.

Where it deals with this point of the resolution, it merely argues that "it is regrettable that so few party members voted" but that "exactly the same procedure, notification of membership, and internal discussion was used in two previous referenda within the past two years (one, the North Atlantic Pact; two, socialist unity) and about the same number of members voted." And so "Both the criteria of the constitution and the precedent of recent years" validate the result in this case too.

Do They Mean Split?

Later on, however, it mentions that "The party's membership figures is not usually publicized, and we are not making an exception in this case, excepting to say that the California convention has overestimated the total membership in its belief that there was an 85 per cent abstention."

If this is a denial of the 85 per cent figure, it is cautious enough to warrant the guess that maybe it ought properly to be reduced to 80 . . . or at most 75 per cent. It hardly makes any difference at these levels.

The fact that three-quarters or more of the party did not even vote on the hottest internal question in years is sufficient commentary and sufficient justification of the Californian rebels' indignation of counterposing such a vote to the decision of a convention. The contrast between the NEC's formal-constitutional justification and the actual meaning and context of the vote could be a textbook case in a study of social-democratic party democracy, but we need not pause over it here.

The NEC also, naturally, asks what can be the meaning of the last point of the resolution, and reveals that the California convention had also had before it a resolution for direct disaffiliation from the SP: "It is hard to understand what the convention meant by this last point, excepting in terms of the withdrawn motion to disaffiliate from the Socialist Party U.S.A., which we are told may be reintroduced."

The wording of the last point implies the setting up of a rival NEC, which of course means a rival party organization and a split. This may mean that the Californians feel they have sufficient support in the party nationally to make this meaningful.

"Unity" as Chloroform

The NEC also decided to send its national secretary to the dissident state comrades to "talk over the situation." A meeting of the California SEC is scheduled for July 29, and local membership meetings of the SP groups in the state will also be held while she is there. Her line will undoubtedly be something like this: "Personally, comrades, I sympathize with much of what you have to say, but we must maintain the unity of the party above all."

It is to be seen whether the Californians will be much impressed with the unity appeals of a national leadership which uses this laudable appeal only to quiet left-wingers while it itself knuckles down before the deliberate flouting of party policy by privileged leaders.

The Californians, as recorded in their resolution, have gone too far to retreat with face or grace, and it is out of the question that the NEC will grant any substantial part of their demands. They will have to decide what to do, if they are not to capitulate.

And it would be lamentable if any number of them seriously think in terms of trying to build a second version of the SP, locally or nationally. The SP as a whole today is little more than a sect, and it would be futile to try to build a parallel sect which would merely reproduce the SP of a couple of years ago, programmatically.

Organizationally, the character of all socialist groups in this country today is on pretty much the same level; but the California comrades rightly want a socialist group which will perform the function, to begin with, of keeping the principles of genuine socialism before the people, as their vanguard. If they follow through with their political break with Thomasism, they will find such a socialist movement before them already, the Independent Socialist League. We of the ISL invite them to get acquainted with our program and our organization.

NEW YORK

Labor Action Forums

Thursday at 8:30, July 26

The Cease-Fire Talks in Korea

MAX SHACHTMAN
National Chairman, ISL

Thursday at 8:30, August 2

Origins of Totalitarianism

ALBERT GATES
Secretary, ISL

LABOR ACTION HALL, 114 West 14 Street, N.Y.C.

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The NAACP Convention in Atlanta Says:

Resolutions Stress Fight on Segregation Everywhere, Condemn Government's "Loyalty Program" as Unlawful

By F. HARPER

ATLANTA, July 1—The 42nd annual conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People gathered in Municipal Auditorium this afternoon to be addressed in closing session by Dr. Ralph J. Bunche, Nobel Peace Prize winner. An audience of 10,000 was responsible for the cancellation of plans to use the smaller Herndon Stadium for this occasion. Dr. Bunche stressed the international political implications of the convention's slogan: *Democracy begins at home! Let's end Jim Crow NOW!*

The entire nation was interested in the Atlanta convention since it was the first one held by this militant interracial organization in the deep South since 1920. No incidents marred the convention.

William B. Hartsfield, mayor of Atlanta, greeted the delegates at the opening session on Tuesday, June 26. Hartsfield is widely known as "a good white man." He is a sincere believer in "separate but equal opportunities" and his remarks pointed out, one by one, the opportunities and facilities offered to the Negroes in the city of Atlanta.

Other major addresses were made by Dr. Benjamin Mays, president of Morehouse College of Atlanta; novelist Lillian Smith; NAACP Special Counsel, Thurgood Marshall; Philip Wilkie; and Executive Secretary Walter White. Formal talks were also delivered by Walter Carrington, president of the Harvard University Chapter, and Albin Krebs on "A Southern Youth Views Educational Inequality." Miss Smith's remarks were made on presentation of the 39th Arthur Spingarn award to Mrs. Mabel Staupers for "distinguished achievement by a Negro American" in "spearheading the successful movement to integrate Negro nurses" into the American Nurses Association. Mrs. Staupers aided in founding and was for many years president of the National Association of Colored

SATURDAY SESSION

Five hundred and fourteen delegates and 213 alternates and observers attended the convention, according to the credentials committee. Total memberships in the NAACP were in excess of 200,000; this represents an increase over the previous year but is well below the World War II figures. The organization has 937 senior member branches, 277 youth

councils and 84 college chapters. The Saturday session passed, even if in a hurry and often in confusion, a large number of fine resolutions outlining and implementing the association's fight for an extension of civil rights and material blessings for all people and for advancement, equality, and non-segregation for the colored minority. The delegates reaffirmed their opposition to Communist Party control of some branches of the association on the basis that the CP's primary interest was to serve the needs of totalitarian Russia; they exploded the myth of the "separate but equal" theory; they protested discrimination in hiring, segregation in schools, housing, churches, hospitals, and in the army. The convention took a fairly strong stand on civil liberties and in particular termed President Truman's loyalty orders "unlawful" and castigated the government indictment of the noted Negro educator, W. E. B. DuBois. A pledge was made to work to defeat legislators who have blocked passage of civil-rights legislation. The keynote address by National Administrator Roy Wilkins, set the tone for the entire convention. The delegates heard Wilkins voice their own thoughts when he said, "We don't want equality next year or in the next decade or the next generation; we want it now. We are perfectly willing to work out our destiny and accept our status on merit, but we must start as free men, in competition with other free men, and at scratch, not behind scratch."

ON THE CP

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Graduate Nurses, now formally dissolved.

One of the most valuable features of the convention should have been the series of round-table discussions. These were held on topics such as: civil-rights legislative program, branch administration and program, equal opportunities in employment, youth work, discrimination in health and medical care. However, due to poor facilities and planning, these proved to be confusing, noisy, and poorly attended. Separate seminar rooms were not available at the auditorium.

In reading the resolutions passed, to the careful reader there will appear to be several inconsistencies and contradictions. On one hand the association has declared and has shown itself to be a staunch defender of the rights of all people regardless of race, color and creed. Yet it comes dangerously close to barring its membership rolls to those who are suspected of following the Communist Party. Again, the NAACP avoids taking a racist position, yet bases its defense of Dr. DuBois on race grounds in its overzealous desire to steer clear of any charge of endorsement of Stalinist politics.

POLITICAL ACTION

The convention calls for effective political action, yet relies solely on "pressure politics," which has time and again (the latest being admittedly the 82nd Congress) proved to be quite ineffective. The association cannot give a political candidate support but directs its members to work for the defeat of candidates with a Jim Crow policy. But this is

hard to distinguish from support of the opposition candidate. Neither did the convention appear to have adequately handled its two pressing organizational problems: the relatively small membership and the friction between the parent organization and the youth councils. Perhaps the reduction in dues would have enabled the organization to substantially increase its rolls. Certainly, if the next convention does not see a substantial increase in memberships, the proposal for a dues reduction will be forced on the administration, unless the NAACP turns completely away from the low-income groups.

YOUTH PROGRAM

Despite the fact that the convention recognized that "the future of the NAACP lies in its youth" the delegates did not gratify the obviously overwhelming youth sentiment for separation from the local senior member branches. While it is true that the youth groups need the aid and guidance of the parent branches, it is likely true that the youths' charges of "interference" is sometimes valid. It is the opinion of this reporter that the youth councils should have been given the "right of self-determination" even though that would not have solved the problem of coordinating youth and senior work.

Notwithstanding these shortcomings, it may well be that this 42nd convention will be the third milestone on the journey of the Negro to full equality that has taken place in Atlanta. In his address Walter White considered this claim; he placed the recent convention and its work on a par with the bloody and decisive battle of Atlanta in the Civil War and the 1895 Atlanta speech of Booker T. Washington which gave Negro blessing to a policy of segregation—a policy which the NAACP is determined to end and to end as speedily as possible.

reported (individually) that they did have white members, but these people preferred to be "dues-paying members only."

There are more wealthy Negroes proportionately in Atlanta than there are in any Northern city. It is the home of the Atlanta Life Insurance Company, a large bank belonging to the Federal Reserve System, several country clubs, and many not-so-small businesses which are owned and operated solely by Negroes. The wealthier Negroes in Atlanta belong to and are very active in NAACP, and appear to be much concerned with the problems of the Negro people despite the fact that they personally have much to gain by a continuation of the segregated pattern.

The Atlanta Branch knocked themselves out to make this conference the best ever held. They held three receptions, two dances, a bus tour of the city, a cabaret night with entertainment, and a barbecue (the food was truly wonderful)—all free to delegates and friends. Personally I have never met such large numbers of friendly, hospitable people who went so out of their way to make you welcome.

It is rumored that no branch has been able to survive the strain, both financial and physical, of entertaining the national conference. Let us hope that, if this is true, the Atlanta branch will not have the same fate. NAACP work is sorely needed there.

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SIDELIGHTS ON THE NAACP CONVENTION—

Atlanta: "Take Any Cab You Like, Folks" But—

By H. HARPER

ATLANTA, July 5—On our way to attend the NAACP convention here, we traveled down from our Northern city in a mixed group, white and Negro. That worked through the Southern states because we stopped only at Negro-owned hotels and restaurants. The only interracial hostility we ran across was that of the Textile Workers Union (CIO) in Danville, Virginia. There, in the center of one of the most reactionary mill towns of the South (home of Dan River fabrics), TWU has built a comfortable and modern hall through necessity, since no one would rent them a place to hold their meetings.

There is no doubt that Georgia, or at least Atlanta, was well warned and prepared for this gathering, and most anxious to create a good impression on the visitors. The mayor (a "good white man"), in greeting the delegates at the opening rally, assured us of our welcome, pointing with great pride to the progress in business and education that the

Negroes in Atlanta had made within the "separate but equal" pattern.

The chief of police stood out on the steps of the Municipal Auditorium greeting delegates as they left the hall, telling them, "Take any cab you like, folks." But all of the taxis had "For colored only" painted in large letters on the side.

One mixed couple wearing delegate badges got into a bus and sat down in the first seat available. The bus driver stopped the bus when he saw a police officer, but the officer instructed him to leave them alone after he noted their badges.

Conversation dealt almost exclusively with the "race question." Many stories were related over

bottles of Coca-Cola. One story was told of a wealthy Negro contractor who has built practically all of the modern homes for Atlanta's Negroes. He is one of their most prominent citizens and rides around his building projects on horseback directing the work.

He was supervising construction on a new housing development and had hired white and colored who were getting along well. An inspector from City Hall came out to inform him that he would have to install separate toilet facilities for the men or they would take action against him. He blew his whistle, gathering all the workmen about him, and informed the white workers that he had to lay them off since he would not install separate toilet facilities for their use. The workmen were very angry and told the official that they were not complaining about their working conditions, and for him to go away and leave them alone. This, of course, may not be a typical stand taken by either side in the segregated pattern, but it is indicative of altering attitudes.

All of the branches were not represented at the conference. There are over 937 branches, but the total number of delegates, alternates and visitors was only 727. The reason for the lack of representation from some of the branches was not made clear.

SOCIAL COMPOSITION

The group appeared to be composed primarily of professional people: doctors, lawyers, ministers, social workers; a few white collar workers, union people, and some businessmen. There seemed to be too few white representatives. Southern branch members

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We Want Equality—And We Want It NOW!

Plans Center on Extending All-Out War on Jim Crow to Elementary Education Also

By KATE LEONARD

The main theme of the 42nd annual convention of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which was held in Atlanta the week of June 25 through July first, was, in the words of Dr. Ralph J. Bunche, that "the Negro's burden is the nation's shame."

The NAACP is a thousand times right in saying that while one tenth of the nation remains proscribed, claims of moral leadership in the world can only be as sounding brass. The way in which this convention brought this home-truth home testifies to the strength with which the NAACP membership holds this conviction. When they say that they want equality and want it now, they are not advocating a good squeeze play for the home team.

It also shows that the association in 1951 appraises correctly the mood of this tenth of the nation who, long before the world was made safe for democracy the first time, weighed American democracy and found it adulterated and deficient. Negroes in the U. S. want equality now and they want steps taken to get it now.

The most significant thing about the convention was the demonstration that the leadership of the NAACP today does not feel called upon, at any point dealing with race relations, to tread gently lest the heavens fall. Their mandate is the opposite, and the convention showed that they are aware of this.

In little ways and in big ways, and with one big stride ahead in policy, the convention devoted itself to this business of integration.

It may be reading between the lines to say that the award of the Spingarn medal this year had more than ordinary significance. The fact remains that it was given to a fighter for equality for Negroes whose special task is done. The awardee was Mrs. Mabel Keaton Staupers, former president of the National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses.

Her organization was dissolved this year since Negro nurses are now received on equal terms in the American Nurses Association throughout the country. The award also honors the women in white. This one task of integration is completed. The award of the medal made one more way for Negroes to say, "We don't want equality next year, or in the next generation, we want it now."

HIT TRUMAN TOO

The NAACP has definitely emerged from the petition stage of its development. The convention did a pretty good job of stepping on official unions, and proved to be no respecter of whose corms twinged in the process. The nonpartisan political policy is fastened tight around the organization for the present and the immediate future, but within this framework it called a spade a spade, and not with terrible politeness.

Examples of this are numerous. MacArthur was put in his political place. The U. S. Senate, designed to be the last stubbornly held foxhole of Southern reaction, was told that its members "quail like chipmunks" when confronted with civil-rights measures. The Dixiecrats were not left to God. Most important, our chief executive was not spared. This is an advance over 1948 when Negroes were alleged to be grateful to President Truman. The NAACP sees that Truman's arms are sagging. "There are indications that the administration is cottoning to the Southern Democrats for political purposes." Where is the promised executive order establishing FEPC? "Nor can the president escape responsibility for the failure of congressional Democrats to take the ball." "Truman has not really cracked down on Jim Crow in the Army." The NAACP does not like the speed the

to speculate on the motivation for this stand. There is diplomacy here, certainly, and aud lang syne, and respect for a long past even if by now it is long past. Many of the leaders of the NAACP learned their ABC in just this school, and at about the same point in history that the Stalinists were calling their educator "this turncoat."

The NAACP apparently, on this issue, also, felt no need to knuckle under, to cotton. We are glad they added no cheap postscript to the *Litany of Atlanta*.

WARNS ON CP

At last year's convention the organization passed a resolution "instructing the board of directors to end Communist infiltration and empowering them to expel any branch under Communist domination." This resolution also instructed the directors to investigate the ideological composition of the members and leaders of the branches. This year the convention reaffirmed the opposition to the Stalinists, the matter coming before the body in a curious way. It was reported that the board had heard that some of its chapters were not certain whether they had the power to initiate moves to block Communist infiltration. No wonder, since the task itself, its supervision, and its control had been very explicitly relegated to the board of directors.

We like to think that we see some whimsy in this question coming "from some of the chapters." It looks like a potshot or two at the august bureaucratic board. By resolution it was emphasized to the local branches that there was sufficient organizational machinery available for them, too, to combat Stalinism.

Around the DuBois matter the NAACP cautioned its branches and youth councils against "so-called peace organizations." It warned Negroes against the "calious" efforts of the Communist Party to exploit their disabilities for propaganda purposes—there should be plenty of this kind of warning. Walter White urged that members when approached

for funds to support racial discrimination cases ask if there would be a certified audit of all monies raised and spent. This is a long standing criticism made by the NAACP. It dates from the Scottsboro days.

Not much labor "news" filtered through from the convention, we regret to report. The convention voted for price rollbacks, low cost housing construction program, etc.

The campaign against Jim Crow in the armed forces was featured. Thurgood Marshall made a full scale report on the defense cases in Korea. (The Crisis for May also contains this material.) It was on Korea that General MacArthur got his dressing down. Dixiecrat hamstringing of the armed forces integration program through their leadership of the Armed Services Committees in Congress, and consequently their control on military requirements, was aired.

The campaign against Jim Crow in the army has reached proportions never before seen, or thought of in this country. Someone—as it Truman—lifted the lid to make a quick jag with a fork, and all the steam rushed out.

DRIVING AHEAD

The long stride ahead in policy taken by the convention was announced by Thurgood Marshall on the first day of the meeting. The NAACP is laying the groundwork for a legal action program to attack racial-segregation practices at the state and municipal level in the South, and involving all phases of civil life.

They plan to continue the campaign against segregation in education and to extend this to an attack on state statutes, municipal ordinances, and public and private regulations which provide for segregation in transportation, health, housing, recreation, public gatherings, hotels, restaurants.

During the early part of 1951 the NAACP instituted action against the separated school system of the South, at the grade school level, with the Atlanta, Georgia, the Clarendon County, South Carolina, and a little later the Virginia suits. Just before the convention the decision of the lower federal court in the Clarendon County case was handed down.

The court held that the state

constitution, in providing for separate schools for the races, does not violate the 14th amendment, but that the inequality in the dual school system is a violation of the equal-protection clause of the 14th amendment. The NAACP is appealing this decision to the Supreme Court, and not withdrawing the Georgia and Virginia cases.

They are correct not to view themselves as defeated on this issue. Marshall also stated that the association is of the opinion that sufficient precedent has been established to warrant the broadened attack outlined above. The basic line of attack will be that segregation in any of these forms prevents Negroes from attaining equal status in society as guaranteed by the 14th amendment.

Hard on the heels of the convention, the first of these cases reached the courts, in Virginia, where on July 3 the NAACP brought action against the state and the city of Richmond on their "separate but equal" law for public meetings. These actions will mushroom this year.

The convention, we think, gave due attention to the fact that a new South is emerging. The NAACP in the South should know this if anyone does, and they value it correctly. Particular emphasis was given to the evidence that young white students are through with segregation in education. When sanctions are finally applied in Dixie, a significant section of the population will not say them nay. But today in the South it is the NAACP which carries the ball.

Frequently we have said that the weaknesses of the NAACP through the years have flowed not from its program, but from its restricted policy.

Full and complete equality for the Negro in the U. S.—this is a right good program. At its birth, a labor party here could do worse than to come borrowing, on this question.

Criticism of policy within the South was always less welltaken. Here the NAACP is closer to the heart, and closer to the open sores. The NAACP is mapping a giant step ahead in the South, and its goal is that much nearer.

To crib from one of childhood's street games, the 42nd annual convention didn't first ask, "May I?"

'Since We Are Men, We Have No Choice'

FROM THE KEYNOTE ADDRESS BY ROY WILKINS AT THE NAACP CONVENTION

Our goal is simply stated: we want full and complete equality with all other American citizens, without any shackling and humiliating discrimination and segregation based upon race and color. We don't want equality next year, or in the next decade, or the next generation; we want it now. We are perfectly willing to work out our destiny and accept our status on merit, but we must start as free men, in competition with other free men, and at scratch, not behind scratch.

We are happy to note in recent years indications here and there that the South has altered its thinking on the problem. Among the young white people, particularly, is this noticeable. If the admission of Negro students to state universities in the South had been left to the white students, the Negroes would have been in several years ago, without the fuss and expense of court actions. The young people of both races would work this thing out speedily if the old folks would turn their backs, or go fishing.

While it is no longer accurate to lump all white Southerners together in discussing the race problem, it is still true that as yet the dominant opinion in the South is Jim Crow. Some of this is apologetic and some shameless and arrogant. The apologists say they believe in gradualism. How can anyone give to a group gradually those rights which belong to it by the very nature of its being human? These rights are not for the gradualists, or others, to hold or dispense. A man stands up before a court and says brazenly that there is a difference of \$40,000,000 between the white and colored schools in his state, but asks the court and the Negroes to "wait" for the state to catch up! How long? And for how much? We have been waiting for 85 years and still, in 1951, the gradualists say "wait."

Unquestionably, the segregation system has been at the bottom of most of the troubles of Negro troops in the army. It is always easy to mistreat a group when it is separated off somewhere by itself. Don't let anyone tell you the old fairy tale about segregation being for the pur-

pose of making you "happy." Segregation is strictly for the purpose of making the other fellow happy. It is a system for short-changing someone you don't like, or wish to exploit. Our boys get the dirty end of the stick in our Jim Crow army.

Thurgood Marshall's trip to Korea last winter exposed the courts-martial system, and he will tell you more about it this week. But no matter how they try to explain it, they cannot get around the fact that in the mixed air force in Korea there is no such record of Negro courts-martial cases.

But the evils within the services are not the only burdens our men have to bear. With but few exceptions, and those only in degree, the Southern towns near army camps have given the Negro in uniform a very raw deal. City and county police, bus drivers, and ordinary civilians have harassed, humiliated, beaten, kicked and shot Negro soldiers. Yet the South and America expects these men to fight to the death to defend the "American way of life."

Our children and young people have been cheated and robbed of their birthright as Americans. Their race has been hobbled and handicapped. More damage, to repeat a favorite phrase, has been done by the denial of equal opportunity in education than by all the lynching mobs in our history.

We have been at the task [the right to education for Negro children] since we came together as an Association, and in recent years notable progress has been recorded. But real gains for our children eluded us under the concept of "separate but equal." This is a Jim Crow doctrine. It is a sloganizing of inequality. It is a myth, a fantastic fabrication impossible of realization.

As for us and ours we will continue the good fight. Since we are men, we have no choice. We cannot ask, or be satisfied with less than our basic aims. And neither our friends nor our enemies expect us to do so. We are on the right side as Americans. We are on the right side as Christians, and we are on the right side as human beings.

Has Labor a Line to Fight — —

(Continued from page 1)
tion in which the labor leaders now find themselves. All past experience indicates that a letter-writing campaign by itself is very unlikely to produce results.

The position of the labor leaders is weakened by two factors. One is the delayed effect of the gutting of price controls. The inflationary spiral is bound to take a heavy toll on the standard of living of the workers, but the more immediate problem is likely to be one of layoffs. That problem could be alleviated by a program of compensation to workers for unemployment due to material

shortages and plant conversion to military purposes, but is only indirectly connected with the mobilization act. The pressure of the ranks on their leaders for action on wages and prices will only build up when prices start climbing steeply once more.

The other factor which weakens the labor leaders' position is their failure to involve the ranks in the political struggle. Despite their ringing indictment last spring of the government's turning over of the whole mobilization program to businessmen, their decision to re-enter the mobilization

agencies had the inevitable effect of lulling the workers into a false sense of security.

NO BUILD-UP

The ranks are now asked to write letters to their senators and congressmen urging a strengthened mobilization act . . . and nothing more. The responsibility of the Truman wing of the Democratic Party for the direct power of big business at all levels of the mobilization program is glossed over.

No attempt is made to organize the workers for a general political struggle against both major parties which share this responsibility. And the present blast against the Dixiecrat-Republican coalition continues to conceal the role of the Democratic

leadership in both houses in gutting the price-control program.

One likely reason for the hesitancy of the ULPC leaders in walking out of the boards once again is precisely the fact that it is a repetition of the act and thereby less dramatic and explosive. They walked out once before—and walked back. This consideration, strong in itself, indicates just what was and is wrong with their strategy.

THERE'S A WEAPON

For if a second walkout would be less effective now, it is for no other reason than that they went back the first time. And they went back with what? Whatever their claims at that time about the illusory compromise which they accepted, it is clear now that nothing fundamental was changed. Mobilizer C. E. Wilson may be sweeter and more polite in his dealings with them, but labor is still getting a rooking in Washington—and with the full cooperation of the Democratic Party leadership in Congress.

A boycott of the war agencies is no panacea in itself. It had an electrifying effect the first time for one reason mainly: it bore within itself the greater threat of a declaration of INDEPENDENCE BY LABOR FROM THE ADMINISTRATION AND THE FAIR DEAL RUN-AROUND.

This is the weapon which is at labor's hand and which the ULPC leaders are afraid to touch. But it is also the only weapon which will beat back the assault on price controls and on labor's standard of living.

This could be a time for education and preparation for the inevitable crisis ahead. Concentrat-

ing on a letter-writing campaign as the primary task now simply wastes time and effort, and points labor's attention in the wrong direction. Philip Murray told the press that his Steel Workers Union had already sent 75,000 messages to Congress on its Defense Production Act machinations. It could not have been the rousing success of this literary campaign that encouraged the ULPC to ask for more letters. They are simply marking time, not knowing what to do.

WOULD IT BE WORSE?

Their fear of really independent political action is what also accounts for their grossly hypocritical line in referring only to "a combination of Dixiecrats and reactionary Republicans." Such a formula has become pretty much a reflex action for them, no matter what happens in Congress. Everyone who reads an inch below a headline knows that the whole leadership of the Fair Deal party and pretty near all its membership in Congress voted the Dixiecrat-reactionary Republican way.

But even to mention this fact would raise the question for the ULPC leaders: What have we been doing, supporting this party and these men? Where has our political action gotten us, after all these years, when this can happen after decades of New Deal-Fair Deal "victory"? Where have we piddled away our strength? Would we have less support in Congress now, if we had started building our own labor party years ago, instead of tagging after the coattails of shilly-shallying "friends of labor" who vote the bosses' way when the chips are down?

Kutcher Case May Become Prime Test for High Court

James Kutcher, the legless veteran whose case has drawn national attention in the fight against the government's sweeping purge system, has lost a round in the courts but thereby moved closer to the decisive round in the Supreme Court.

On June 26, Judge Curran of the Federal District Court in Washington, upheld his dismissal from a clerk's position by the Newark Veterans Administration. The attorneys for the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee, Joseph L. Rauh Jr. and M. J. Meyer are readying their appeal to the U. S. Court of Appeals. This will probably take place in the fall. It is expected that the highest court will get the case within a year.

The "case of the legless veteran" is now the only "loyalty program" case in the higher courts. Recent Supreme Court decisions in the field have added special importance to its outcome.

MAY BE DECISIVE

In the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee case, the Supreme Court ruled that the attorney general acted unlawfully in placing organizations on a subversive list without a prior hearing. The firing of Kutcher was based on his membership in the Socialist Workers Party, and on the fact that the SWP had also been put on the subversive list, likewise without a hearing.

But at the same time, by a 4-4 vote, the Supreme Court refused to review the case of Dorothy Bailey, another government employee discharged under the purge system. In effect, the Supreme Court held that it is illegitimate to blacklist an organization without a hearing, while refusing to protect individuals victimized as a result of the same unconstitutional procedure. As Justice Jackson said at the time: "This is justice turned bottom-side up."

As a result of these two decisions, the law regulating conditions of public employment under the purge program hangs in the balance, substantially unclarified, and the Kutcher case may prove decisive in testing the situation.

An editorial on the latest court action on Kutcher appeared in the Washington Post on June 28

and amply characterizes the injustice of the government's position. It said:

"The government loyalty program is made to look rather absurd by District Judge Edward M. Curran's ruling on Tuesday in the Kutcher case.

"James Kutcher, a veteran who lost both legs in the battle of San Pietro in Italy in 1943, was dismissed on loyalty charges in 1948 from his job as a clerk in the Newark office of the Veteran's Administration. The charge against him was that he belonged to the Socialist Workers Party, a bitterly anti-Stalin, Trotskyite group which the attorney general included in his list of subversive organizations.

"Judge Curran held that Kutcher had been given full hearings by federal loyalty boards and that his constitutional rights had not been violated. In view of the Supreme Court's four-to-four division in the Dorothy Bailey case, the constitutional issues are by no means clear. But the common sense of men must surely be affronted by a procedure which results in the dismissal of an individual who can scarcely be considered a danger to the United States and who has given such costly proof of his patriotism.

"No one from the attorney general down appears to entertain any doubt as to Kutcher's personal loyalty or any fear that he would use his Veterans' Administration job to injure the United States. As a Socialist Worker, he favors production for use, socialization of all industry and creation of a workers' and farmers' government. He insists that he and his party aim at bringing about these changes by orderly, constitutional means.

"But the government says he admitted that 'force and violence' might have to be used to overcome the resistance of a 'minority of capitalists.' In either case the danger seems pretty theoretical. Capitalists are not in any imminent danger of becoming a minority, and Mr. Kutcher's political philosophy is unlikely to be put to any practical test.

"To save the country from Mr. Kutcher's daydreams, however, the government has thought it necessary to proscribe the political party to which he belongs—something which the Supreme Court has said it may not do without at least granting it a hearing—haul him personally before a star-chamber tribunal, and brand him as disloyal. The process seems to have about as much relation to reality as the voodoo rites which primitive tribes de-

vised to ward off evil spirits. And it entails, besides, an immeasurable corruption of cherished American institutions."

The Kutcher Civil Rights Committee has launched a new drive for funds to defray the costs involved in the next stage of its important work.

Lineup in Congress — —

(Continued from page 2)

inflation must involve a combination of these four methods."

The big dispute is over the fourth point, with a large section of the Democratic Party, including most of its congressional leaders, lining up with the Republicans. But concerning all the four points, there is the question of emphasis in controlling inflation.

QUESTION OF EMPHASIS

On this there appears to be general agreement between the Truman administration and the Republicans. The emphasis is distinctly on the first three points, for they are determined by the needs of the war economy. And as it was pointed out last week in LABOR ACTION, Wilson and others influential in administration policy place the greatest emphasis on increasing production, and here there is concurrence by most Republicans.

The effect of this emphasis is seen in the special privileges granted to big business by tax write-off schemes and priority allocation of production materials. It means the strengthening of the conservative and reactionary influence of big business through its influence in the government and the fabulous profits it rakes in. And above all it is in conflict with the last three points, or at best it weakens them.

It has been the argument of the NAM and similar groups that production depends on the profit incentive, and therefore they oppose too many controls. However, the government needs the production and price controls to stabilize the functioning of the war economy and to direct war production. Therefore it pushes for these controls in Congress while it is the internal operation of the government that will grant the incentives to business.

During the tortuous passage of the Defense Production Act through the House of Representatives, the House voted to out-

law the use of livestock-slaughtering quotas. It has been the position of Michael DiSalle, director of Price Stabilization, that if quotas were not permitted, then the OPS might have to consider dropping meat from price regulation.

After the passage of this amendment, Rep. Cooley of North Carolina, Chairman of the Agriculture Committee, who has an amendment erasing the existing 10 per cent rollback in beef prices, said that "this ought to make mine easy."

However, this is only the beginning of crippling amendments, such as the ban on all rollbacks. Another amendment would give

the "public" members of the Wage Stabilization Board an absolute majority, thus removing the tripartite fiction of labor equality on the board.

Dr. George Taylor, chairman of the board, in criticism of this amendment pointed out, "Equal tripartite representation on the wage board is needed to maintain cooperation in the stabilization program. What is not generally realized is that labor's participation on the WSB is in a sense a limited no-strike pledge on the wage issue."

There could be no better way of explaining why labor ought to get off the boards, and free its own hands.

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