THE AMERICAN Socialist

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

"Best the Movement Has Produced"

My friends and I are tremendously pleased with the first issue of the *American Socialist*. We all feel it is the best thing the radical movement has yet produced. You certainly have set a high standard for yourselves to shoot at. If the enthusiasm engendered among my friends is any indication, a large list of subscribers will be built. If ever a socialist publication lent itself to newsstand and college campus sales, as well as sales to unionists, this is it.

My congratulations to the editorial staff, and keep up the good work.

E. M. *Detroit*

"The Writing is Mature . . ."

My immediate reaction to the magazine when I saw your first issue was that it is a beautiful job. Closer inspection confirms my first impression. I didn't have to wait long for corroboration of my opinion from others. Two friends to whom I had sold subscriptions telephoned me to tell me how much they liked the first issue. A third subscriber, dropping by the house to return a book, said about the *American Socialist*: "It's the best socialist publication I've yet seen; the writing is mature—not the daydreaming stuff I've seen so often in the radical press."

A student who had seen the first issue in a subscriber's house volunteered the information that he is impressed by the look and style of the *American Socialist*. He also volunteered to buy a subscription. This amazed me—not because he is a tight-wad (he isn't), but because I had become accustomed to meeting very high sales resistance from him. Before I became a distributor of the *American Socialist* I was connected with another radical publication. That publication was hard to sell. I used to imagine that the whole reason was the witch-hunt atmosphere in the country. I now see that the witch-hunt is not entirely to blame. While it is true that many people are afraid to buy a radical publication, it is also true that there are quite a few others who will buy a radical periodical if it looks interesting and informative to them. Like this student, they will pass up a paper which looks forbidding, or which they know to be full of pompous and thoughtless articles.

D. H. *Minneapolis*

"Superior . . . Highest Praise"

I have read your first issue and find that the technical aspect, as type face, paper quality, layout, etc., in addition to the excellent political literary content, exceed par excellence any socialist publication I have seen. The back cover message, "What This Country Needs . . ." sums up in essence the first issue impression.

A. S. *Chicago*

Congratulations to the *American Socialist* staff for the excellent first issue. Everyone I've talked to here seems to agree that the format and style are superior to any paper ever put out by the American radical movement. To say nothing of the content. Enclosed find a check for five dollars in payment for the enclosed subscriptions which I solicited among my friends. I hope to show additional results in the coming weeks. Best wishes to your staff for the good job they're doing.

F. P. *Flint, Mich.*

I should like you to know that I think your new journal is one of the best ever produced in the movement. I am sure I can sell at least 50 copies among my Labor Party friends over here—probably a lot more. Very best wishes.

M. C. *London*

Your new magazine has been received most enthusiastically here. Those who participated in the magazine make-up deserve the highest praise. Results and responses to my efforts to sell subscriptions indicate that it will be a profound inspiration to those interested in socialism.

J. L. *Detroit*

Reaction to the new magazine runs from approval to enthusiasm among people here with whom I've had a chance to discuss your first issue. Some think there should be a sort of "Notes in the News" column, and a political cartoon (of course, we know cartoonists don't grow on trees).

B. D. *Milwaukee*

Among my acquaintances the reaction to the first issue of the *American Socialist* was unanimously inspiring. Everyone including myself feels that it represents an outstanding achievement from many points of view. It is a publication I am proud to support and spread.

M. T. *Flint, Mich.*

The first issue of the *American Socialist* is a first-rate job of writing and editing. If you can maintain the quality of workmanship in succeeding issues I am sure the magazine will make its way in political and labor circles.

The first issue had everything anyone could ask for to recommend itself to po-

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EDITORIAL BOARD: Bert Cochran, George Clarke, Harry Braverman
BUSINESS MANAGER: Jules Geller

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tential subscribers. It had good variety, political analysis, and articles of local color. Offhand I would think your greatest trouble will come in getting local correspondents to write; not only letters, but articles like that of James Haskins on Detroit Jim Crow. I hope readers who have experienced such significant struggles, will put pen to paper and provide the *American Socialist* with news and ideas from all over America.

S. D. *Flint, Mich.*

"The Great Need is Unity . . ."

I noted your ad in the *Nation* with regard to Bert Cochran's speech and regret that due to a previous engagement I will be unable to attend. I am however most interested in learning more of the reasons for your split from the SWP and being advised of any publications you may be printing.

When the forces of fascist reaction are united as never before in an all-out drive to smash the last spark of civil liberties in our country it is a tragedy that socialists should be as splintered as we are today. The great need of the American Left today is unity, and from it alone can we build a movement able to strike back in the name of Freedom and Socialism.

G. R. S. *Bayport, N. Y.*

Sends Thanks for Book Review

Thanks awfully for that very friendly review in your first issue. You have the distinction of being almost unique. So far as I know only one other publication in America reviewed the book and that was a paper in Detroit which gave it a one paragraph sneer-and-smear.

It got good reviews in England straight across the board from the London *Worker* to the London *Times.* I enclose check for a subscription. Best of Luck.

I. F. Stone *Washington, D.C.*

A Pitiful Example of Unionism

Your readers may be interested in the pitiful example of unionism in the Flint Ternstedt plant of the General Motors empire. This new plant has rapidly expanded its labor force and now includes 4,000 employees. A majority are women who are driven at a maddening pace for peak production quotas. It is a common sight to see women faint on the job from overwork. The company conveniently supplies stretchers to rush unconscious workers to First Aid.

Since these women are the wives of UAW members in other plants, the union officialdom is hard put to explain away this fantastic situation in a union center. The latest explanation bewails the lack of cooperation received from the hostile NLRB. Apparently the board is dragging its feet in providing an election until GM housebreaks the new employees.

In 1937 the auto workers didn't await

(*Continued on Page* 31)

Socialist Notes

Rush Orders — Issue Sold Out

The first issue of the *American Socialist* certainly went over big, judging by the response in the mails and from the local newsstand sales. Several branches of the Socialist Union of America sent rush orders after selling out their bundles quickly. Chicago ordered an additional 50 copies; Flint an additional 25 copies; Minneapolis an additional 25 copies; Buffalo an additional 50 copies; Detroit an additional 100 copies. Many of the local groups are placing the magazine in bookstores and libraries. Unfortunately, we could not fill some of these orders. The first issue was all sold out soon after it came off the press.

Statement on Tresca Killer

Norman Thomas, Chairman of the Tresca Memorial Committee, released a statement that "Lucky" Luciano, notorious racketeer deported to Italy in 1946, knows the identity of the killers of Carlo Tresca. Tresca, a great labor organizer for the IWW and crusader against fascism, was slain eleven years ago by unknown gunmen.

"Several months ago," Thomas said, "Luciano was interviewed by Michael Stern, Rome correspondent for the Fawcett Publications. Luciano told him that when he was trying to get out of prison upstate he offered to give to Governor Dewey (in exchange for freedom) the names of Tresca's slayers, who, he declared, were professional killers. But Mr. Dewey would not go for this."

Full Liberty for Everyone

Corliss Lamont, well known writer, who defied the McCarthy inquisition, refusing to answer questions about his political opinions on the grounds of the First Amendment, was honored recently at a New York dinner sponsored by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee. Lamont declared in his address:

"The clear meaning of the Bill of Rights is that all individuals and groups in America shall enjoy full civil liberties. That means everyone: reactionaries, fascists, liberals, progressives, business men, tycoons, workers, Socialists, Trotskyists, Communists, Catholics, atheists and all the infinite varieties of crackpots, fanatics and self-appointed saviors of mankind. As soon as we start making exceptions to the Bill of Rights in any direction, we are lost."

Browder Denies Allegation

The *N.Y. Times* carried a report on January 4 that a "high former Red," perhaps Earl Browder, was going to spill his guts before the Jenner Committee. Earl Browder, in a letter to the *Times* denied the allegation. He stated: "The idea suggested in your correspondent's story that years of persecution from both the Communist Party and the United States government have 'softened' me up so that today I would give a different kind of testimony displays a profound ignorance of the facts. I have survived a lifetime of persecution without being 'softened' into becoming anybody's agent, whether it be the McCarthys of Moscow or of Washington. I am rather old and tired, and my wife has been made an invalid by the special persecution against her and we wish nothing more than to be left in peace for our remaining years."

Won't Dampen Resolution an Iota

Vincent Hallinan, famous criminal attorney from San Francisco, who defended Harry Bridges and was the Progressive Party candidate for president in 1952, was sentenced to 18 months in jail and $50,000 fines for alleged income tax evasion. In a statement printed in the *National Guardian,* Hallinan said: "I am exceedingly practical. I do not propose to waste time explaining away the 'disgrace' of such a conviction. The effort would be lost on those so innocent they cannot understand that political repression takes any avenue open to it: with a militant labor leader it is a Smith Act or Taft-Hartley prosecution, a fighting journalist encounters a deportation proceeding and a rich professional man an income-tax action. The end sought in each instance is the same: the suppression of criticism, the silencing of those who champion the cause of the Common Man. . . . Don't worry that this may dampen my resolution an iota. I'm like that Shamus O'Brien, an Irish rebel, whose exploits I used to recite as a child. When he was finally captured he swore that even when he should be lying in his grave,

His enemies never would have it to boast
His scorn for their vengeance one moment was lost;
His bosom might bleed but his cheek would be dry,
For undaunted he'd lived, and undaunted he'd die."

British Socialists State Stand

M. Collins, Secretary of the British section of the Fourth International, sent the following communication to the *Militant,* organ of the Cannonite sectarian grouping in the United States:

"In your contemptible effort to split the Fourth International on the eve of the Third World War you resort to lies as to the real strength of your splitters. Your editorial of Dec. 21 states that the French, British, Swiss and New Zealand sections have formed an International Committee of the Fourth International and have issued a declaration to all sections.

"We can leave the French section to answer for itself, but it is just not true that the British section has signed any such declaration. A clear majority of the British section has utterly repudiated your splitting tactics and remained loyal to the Fourth International and pledged itself to fight against your sectarian capitulation. The declaration you referred to was signed by Burns of the minority who split from the Fourth International."

For years, the spokesmen of Big Business have promised miracles with "economic stabilizers" in case of a slump. Now the decline in war orders after the Korea truce and the sagging of the economy is going to test the theories.

64 Billion Dollar Question:

Will The Brakes Hold?

Watch Your Language

Don't say "depression." Avoid "recession" where possible. Aside from those two words, you have a wide choice. Economists may not be coming up with many answers to the growing unemployment problem, but they are coming up with more names for it than you can shake a stick at. You can have your choice of:

- "Readjustment," "rolling readjustment," "inventory readjustment."
- "Shakeup," "shakeout," "shakedown."
- "Slump," "decline," "downturn," "downslide."
- "Healthy decline," "dip in the cycle," "corrective disinflation," "galloping disinflation."

Or, if you are colorful, like one 1949 witness before a Senate committee, you can call it "a burp but not a belly-ache."

by Harry Braverman

CAN U. S. CAPITALISM restore the economic boom by government intervention? Up to yesterday, the propagandists were all cocksure on this score, but now that they are up against the test, the forecasters are starting to hedge their bets.

Even in the past, in predictions intended not for the public but for the trade, economists were very doubtful that any serious block could be placed in the way of a decline in the economy by government intervention. For instance, on Dec. 29, 1951, the *N. Y. Times* reported a consensus of opinion among the country's leading economists that "If a peace settlement or its economic equivalent were achieved, this country's economy would be in for a drastic readjustment leading to a serious slump. This would test counter-depression techniques, and in the opinion of most economists, find them wanting."

Now that the test draws closer, even those who boldly defied any depression to show itself and who threatened to belay it with one blow—even those economists are showing themselves shaky at the knees. Consider Leon Keyserling, the boldest by far of the warriors. Keyserling was a New Deal-Fair Deal economist; not just *any* economist, but the head of Truman's Council of Economic Advisers, and in that capacity the smithy who forged many an impenetrable shield against depression, including tax reduction schemes, public works schemes, etc., etc. Keyserling is busy covering himself as his schemes stand a chance of being tested:

> *"As an old New Dealer, I do not have much confidence either in tax reduction or in public works. The important thing is to stimulate investment expansion."*

ACCORDING to the propaganda which we have been reading, both parties, Republican and Democratic alike, have adopted the creed of "controlled capitalism." They are ready to force the capitalists to surrender some of their privileges in order to preserve prosperity. This tale of two parties that went to college during the last depression and have now emerged all smartened up and ready to deal with any emergency is about to get its first serious tryout. And, as a sign of how well they are going to do, we have already seen the spectacle of greed and irresponsibility that was produced by Eisenhower's proposal, mild and inoffensive as it was, to share out war orders to the unemployment areas. Hard-

ly had the words left his lips when the dominant sections of both parties raised a terrible outcry. The administration leaped on its bicycle and began back-pedaling so fast that in two days it was out of sight.

This is the way the parties which have adopted the new anti-depression creed act at the first alarm. This is the way Big Business, now no longer dominated by the "jungle practices" of pre-1929 days, we have been told, but "enlightened" by the lessons of the depression, show their enlightenment. Big Business may have adopted a new creed, but apparently, like the Established Church, it is more ready to abandon 38 of its 39 articles of faith than to give up one thirty-ninth part of its profits.

Another favorite notion of the propagandists of capitalism that is about to be tested is the scheme for vast public works to meet the threat of depression. The workers will raise a great demand for such public works from the outset of any slump. Facile newspaper propagandists of the Sylvia Porter type have been writing for years that the government can just as easily spend great sums on public works as on war programs. Yet we may be sure that at the first mention of any welfare spending, the Big Business class will gird itself for battle. And since this class controls directly just about every department of government concerned in this matter, public works will not prove too easily obtained. *Business Week* gave a clear explanation of the capitalist viewpoint in this matter three years ago, when the recession of 1949 stirred up discussion about it:

> *"There's a tremendous social and economic difference between welfare pump priming and military pump priming. It makes the government's role in the economy—its importance to business—greater than ever. Military spending doesn't really alter the structure of the economy. It goes through the regular channels. As far as a business man is concerned, a munitions order from the government is much like an order from a private customer. But the kind of welfare and public works spending that Truman plans does alter the economy. It makes new channels of its own. It creates new institutions. It redistributes income. It shifts demand from one industry to another. It changes the whole economic pattern. . . ."* (Business Week, Feb. 12, 1949)

PROFESSOR Albert G. Hart of Columbia University, at the recent forecasting sessions of the economists' professional associations, expressed the universal feeling among economists when he said: "A serious recession . . . will come some time in the next few years, whether or not we have one in 1954." And then he added: "No one worries about that because it is normal." He might have added that capitalists have always considered an army of unemployed to be "normal." But even aside from the millions of prospective unemployed and their families, there are plenty of people who are worried about "a serious recession."

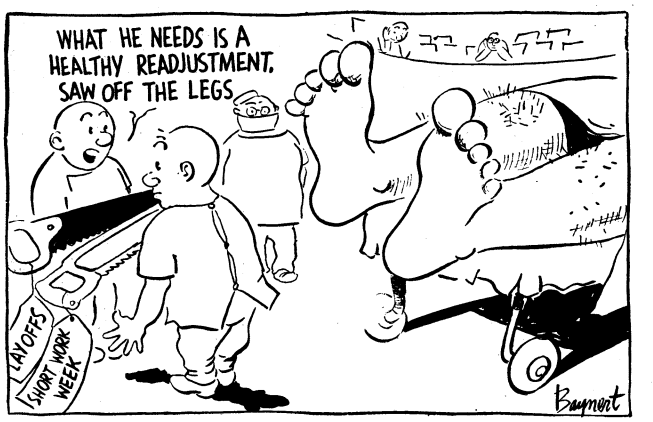
Jobless Want Debt Moratorium

THE PRESIDENT and vice president of Dodge Local 3, Joe Cheal and Pat Quinn, have sent a wire to President Eisenhower informing him that over 100,000 workers are idle in the Detroit metropolitan area, and calling on him to take "positive action" to prevent depression. This highlights a situation in which, in a single day, two companies between them laid off 12,150 workers! This was done by Chrysler and Hudson on January 8.

A popular demand growing in the union ranks is for a moratorium on all debts for the unemployed, that is, for the jobless to be relieved of the obligation of making payments on debts until they are working again. In heavily mortgaged labor circles of Detroit, in this city where prices and rents have climbed faster than anywhere else in the country, the demand rings the bell.

The moratorium proposal was passed by the General Motors workers after the fire at the transmission plant in Livonia, Mich. last year caused such wide layoffs in that corporation. Dodge Local 3 has now taken it up. There is even talk on the part of some politicians, under pressure from the ranks and seeking popularity with the auto workers, of introducing this proposal into the state legislature.

The Dodge Local is sending committees calling on finance companies and appealing to them to halt the repossession of household goods and automobiles of jobless workers. The special unemployment committee of that local also plans to appear before the City Council in Detroit and Hamtramck to outline the situation.



With seven and one-half percent of the work force in this area already idle, and with unemployment growing daily, there is bound to be considerable pressure for action. Ford Local 600 has been consistently pressing a campaign on unemployment and the issues arising from it for some time, and the UAW recently held a conference on full employment in Washington.

The international union, in spite of the Washington conference, has not given the local unions a lead on *what to do*. The speeches and plans emanating from the top have been extremely general. But talk alone will no more get results than it did when Hoover was president.

The crying need is for a great mass public crusade, drawing in directly the unemployed themselves and their employed union brothers and sisters. That is the immediate job of labor today, especially in Michigan.

D. L.

Europe worries, thinking back to the devastating effects which the minor slump of 1949 had on foreign trade. U. S. capitalists worry, thinking about drops in profits from the record highs where they have stayed for a number of years, and about the increase in business failures.

And the top planners of U. S. capitalism worry. They dread the disappearance of social stability, and the growth of labor-capital battles in this last stronghold of capitalism. They have been worried about the catching up of Soviet economy even when U. S. industry was booming to beat the band; how much more frightening will the amazing growth of Soviet economy be to capitalists here now that American production has stopped expanding and started contracting. Ten years of that and the U. S. lead in industrial production will be pretty near shot! And of course the effect of this on the popular mind would be enormous.

But most of all the top capitalist planners in the U. S. worry about the collapse of their war drive. The foundation of the capitalist war alliance has been, after all, the vast and greatly respected output of the American economy. With a decline in that economy, the present fissures in the Atlantic Alliance and European Defense Community could rapidly become gaping holes that would lead to a collapse of the entire structure.

What then are the capitalists going to do, if the "slump," "readjustment," "downturn," "recession" or call-it-what-you-will becomes serious, as it well may?

On Feb. 17, 1950, shortly before the Korean War, the authoritative *U. S. News and World Report* printed the following significant words:

> *"Armament can always be pushed if private activity slows. War scares are easy to create, are nearly sure-fire producers of money for more and more arms. There are signs now that top officials are to start conditioning the public for greatly expanded armament programs in the not-too-distant future."*

Do these words, which foreshadowed so accurately the Korean War and the big armament buildup which liquidated the slump of 1949, apply today to the slump of 1954? It may well be that the General in the White House and his industrialist-financier cabal of "planners" will take the arms path and the war path as the only solution for them. They may soon find the international situation "growing tense" again, and give up all thought of stabilizing the arms budget at its present level. Even with the best will in the world, politicians can't resist capitalism's basic pressures for very long, and it can hardly be said that Eisenhower, Charles E. Wilson, Richard Nixon, etc. have the best will in the world. They are neither New Dealers nor pacifists, and even the New Dealers and pacifists didn't do very well when they were in office and the heat was on. Thus the real "counter-depression" mechanism which the capitalists may try to put into operation is the same one they used in 1940 and again in 1950. That's the danger posed by the slump, and that's the danger which the labor movement must face squarely and oppose vigorously.

Melts Without Cold War

In a remarkable dispatch from Geneva slightly less than a year ago, Michael Hoffman, chief European economic correspondent for the *N. Y. Times,* penned these lines:

> *"In a few short weeks, Russia, by talking mildly and doing a few little things that would be considered quite ordinary on the part of any other country, has done more to produce adverse economic repercussions in the Western world than have all Russia's threats, agitation and conspiracies in the previous post-war period.*
>
> *"Evidence pours in from nearly every European capital, from Tokyo, Washington and Southeast Asia that the economic framework of the non-Communist world has an alarming tendency to melt in any atmosphere slightly less frigid than the 'cold war.' In the face of this evidence, economists can only repeat earlier warnings that real relaxation of international tension would find the West in a serious and perhaps fatal economic condition."* (*N. Y. Times,* Apr. 13, 1953)

The real Soviet plot exposed! Russia won't go to war with U. S. capitalism, thus threatening the West with "a serious and perhaps fatal economic condition."

Labor and the Democrats

Labor bloc with Democrats has failed in its aim. Southern Bourbons dominate the Democratic Party and a reactionary political climate has spread in the U. S.

by Bert Cochran

THE AFL, CIO, United Mine Workers and Railroad Brotherhoods all officially pursue a policy of non-partisanship in politics. George Meany, the AFL President, declared recently in an extensive interview that his organization continues to follow Gompers' policy "1000 percent." (*U.S. News & World Report,* Nov. 6, 1953) But all this is strictly lip service. In practice, the trade unions have been in a bloc with the Democratic Party from the first days of Roosevelt's New Deal. It is true that the AFL, because of the Gompers tradition with its semi-syndicalist suspicion of all government interference, was a little slower in moving into the Rooseveltian embrace. But once it had taken the step, its loyalty to the coalition was no less constant. As a matter of fact, its ardor for pro-Democratic politics is on the increase. It emulated the CIO in setting up its own political arm in 1948 and broke precedent in endorsing the Democratic presidential candidate in 1952. The few Republican holdouts in labor's ranks, like Hutcheson, President-Emeritus of the Carpenters Union, are viewed in labor's ranks like fossils of a bygone age.

The Democratic Party has been identified from time to time in the past as the liberal force in American politics, and accepted as such by the unions. In 1896, the workers backed Bryan after the Populists flocked to his banner. Again, labor union ranks joined with the liberals in hailing Woodrow Wilson's New Freedom after the Democratic victory of 1912. But these flirtations were short-lived. The trade unions were too weak to impose a coalition setup, or to force through more than a few secondary liberal laws. The present unbroken twenty-year coalition of labor and the Democratic Party, beginning in 1933 and continuing to this day, must therefore be put down as a new departure in labor politics, as symbolic both of labor's growing strength and political consciousness.

The question therefore naturally arises: How is this coalition policy paying off? And the answer that practically hits you in the face is that the United States is the only advanced capitalist country that is in the grip of reaction today. Labor is on the march, or holding its own in England, France, Italy, throughout Western Europe. But in the United States, where according to the latest figures of the Bureau of Labor Statistics between 16½ and 17 million workers are organized into unions, labor was shackled with a Taft-Hartley law, the Republicans snowed under the Democratic-labor coalition in the elections, and McCarthyism has grown to a national threat.

REPUTABLE SURVEYS made during the 1952 election period showed that the middle classes were going Republican *en masse,* that the more than 10 million white collar workers were voting overwhelmingly the same way. At no time during the election did more than 8 percent of the adult population think that changing the Taft-Hartley law was one of the important tasks of the coming administration. But "Keeping Communists out of government" was declared a key issue facing the country, only below the problem of "Keeping prices from going higher." The labor union ranks undoubtedly displayed a remarkable organizational solidarity in voting the Democratic ticket. But the families of union members reversed their previous voting habits and supported Eisenhower 9 to 8. And even in the rank and file of labor, Eisenhower managed to get approximately 1 vote out of every 3.

The record is thus plain that from the point of view of educating to a pro-labor attitude the non-unionized workers and middle classes, and even the wives and children of union members, the coalition policy proved an unmitigated flop. It was as if after twenty years of belonging to a union, the membership was polled and voted in its majority that it did not think unions worthwhile. The argument that blocking with the Democratic Party is necessary to prevent labor's isolation from the middle classes also got knocked squarely in the head in the 1952 elections. Actually it worked the opposite way. Labor, which had practically nothing to do with setting the major policies of the two Truman administrations, had to take the full brunt of the blame for rising prices, the Korean war, high taxes. Far from helping to cement an alliance with other sections of the population, labor found itself instead the recipient of the full venom and hostility of the non-unionized worker, the suburbanite, the small business man and semi-professional, and held largely accountable for the major ills of the nation. On this count as well, labor's coalition with the Democratic Party must be put down as a failure.

But union officials and most union members refuse to accept these clear lessons of 1952. They argue that we forget that it was the favorable climate created by the New Deal that made possible the building of big union organizations and the many gains that labor secured. It can be demonstrated, in our opinion, that the labor movement would have made far greater advances and registered

far greater progress right in the New Deal period, if instead of dragging after Roosevelt's chariot, it had formed its own political party. But even those who dispute this must admit that no favorable social legislation has been passed by Congress since 1938, and that labor has been increasingly crowded and under attack in the past several years. Today, labor has been backed into a corner so that its actual program no longer consists of how to make new advances, but how to hold its own, how to ward off the ferocious blows that are raining down upon it. Labor is on the defensive and in retreat. On that there can be no two opinions.

WHAT NEXT, then? How can the unions get out of the hole they are now in? What policies are necessary for the period ahead?

If we would turn to Jack Kroll, National Director of the CIO-PAC, for enlightenment on this score, the results would be disheartening indeed. Labor can't do very much of anything, he opines, and no one should make impossible demands of it: "In no instance can the political activities of unions reverse or stem the current of opinion flowing in the body politic. These tides and currents are as complex as those in the ocean." (*Labor and Nation Inter-Union Institute,* 1953) If this is so, what then is the purpose of PAC, and why should workers contribute their hard-earned dollars, ring door bells and give out literature? Certainly if Brother Jack Kroll knows the answer, his article fails to reveal it. In other words, at the head of the CIO's political organization is an old-time trade union wheel horse, without imagination or program, who is just holding down a job.

Have the labor officials *any* political perspective at all, outside of Kroll's prescription of waiting until the inscrutable tides come in again? Walter Reuther explained a while back that the big pitch in American politics was to secure a realignment of forces: Let the liberals in the Republican Party (whoever they are) join with the Democrats to form one great liberal party, and let the Dixiecrats join with the Republicans to form a Tory party. Eli Oliver, an official of AFL's LLPE, gives the lowdown on the thinking of this "progressive," "advanced" school of labor leaders in the symposium previously quoted. He says:

> *"The desperately needed reform of Democratic leadership in Congress could not be undertaken under a Democratic president because of the necessity of avoiding open conflict within the administration. . . . Labor should plan that when the Democratic Party does take over, it will be free from the incubus of Dixiecrat domination of Congress."*

As every observer of American politics knows, a Republican-Dixiecrat coalition has been in the saddle in Congress since 1938-40. The thought then is that if we clean the Dixiecrats out of the Democratic Party, and get the Democrats back into power, labor's interrupted march can resume, and everything will be in great shape again.

TO THIS END, PAC has been working away very energetically in recent years, especially in those sections dominated by a Reuther-type union officialdom. Let us list a few of the more important projects undertaken by labor to secure a bigger voice in the affairs of the Democratic Party preparatory to squaring accounts with the Dixiecrats.

In 1950 the PAC decided to run Willoughby Abner, a dynamic young Negro pro-Reuther UAW official, for State Senator out of the Fifth District of Chicago and asked the Democratic Party organization to back him as the candidate. The PAC in Illinois had done yeoman work for Truman in 1948 and felt entitled to this small reward. But the machine sensed that the PAC had larger organizational ambitions. It turned down the request cold, mobilized huge resources and finances from all over the city against the CIO, picked a strong candidate, and dealt Abner a resounding defeat in the Democratic primary contest.

In the same year, a United Labor League was formed in Ohio consisting of the CIO, AFL and independent unions to defeat Taft in the Senatorial elections. The labor forces did practically all the work in the campaign and contributed practically all the money. Out of total funds of $230,052 raised, labor's share consisted of $205,104, or 88 percent. In return for its efforts, labor found itself saddled by the Democratic Party with a light-weight chump who quickly became a laughing stock all over the state, while the Democratic machine openly sabotaged the Ferguson campaign and concentrated its efforts on reelecting Lausche as Governor. (The Democrats probably had concluded a back-door deal with the Republicans on the campaign.) Thus, despite its tremendous efforts and splendid unity in action, labor suffered a most humiliating defeat.

But the most ambitious attempt to influence Democratic policies by becoming a power inside the party occurred in Michigan. Here, the Reuther leadership executed the most aggressive maneuver since Lewis tried to take over the Pennsylvania Democratic Party in 1938. They sent their union people wholesale into the Democratic Party. Taking advantage of the dominant position of Wayne County (Detroit), in the state setup, they organized a so-called liberal coalition which since 1948 controlled both the Michigan State Convention and the State Committee. At the 1950 convention, the liberal coalition claimed over 750 of the 1,243 delegates, about 486 of whom were CIO members. The 68 members of the State Committee in 1950 were all from the liberal coalition, and 20 were CIO members. So firm has been the hold of the governing coalition against the previous "Old Guard" regime, that George Fitzgerald of the old leadership told newspapermen when he walked out of a district convention that he had "just watched Socialism take over the Democratic Party by Communist processes." Mrs. Nellie Riley, former Democratic National Convention delegate, solemnly warned her sex that, "Socialists are in complete charge of the Democratic Party machinery. Mothers and housewives in Michigan cannot afford to let the state go Socialistic." (*Detroit News,* Sept. 28, 1950)

As in the anti-Taft campaign in Ohio, most of the precinct work fell on the shoulders of the labor people, especially of the CIO-PAC. The latter, in addition, loaned many staff members for full-time work during campaigns. Of $328,519 contributed in the 1950 state-wide Democratic campaign, $211,550 or 64 percent, was raised by the CIO alone.

In contrast to the Ohio experience, labor's efforts were crowned with resounding success in 1950 when the Democrats elected "Soapy" Williams to the governorship under very difficult circumstances and counter to a national trend. So what does all this success amount to? Every union member in Michigan knows, and every half-honest union official will readily admit, that labor's political influence has never been lower in the State of Michigan than it is today. In Detroit, probably the most solidly organized union city in America, PAC endorsement is considered "the kiss of death." The CIO has been reduced to backing a lot of wormy politicians as "friends of labor" whom it had the year previous denounced as reactionaries, labor-baiters and crooks. There isn't one labor member or pro-labor member on the whole city council. "Soapy" Williams and the other high dignitaries are treating the CIO leaders like country cousins.

In a word, the policy of infiltrating the Democratic Party has been adequately tried and found wanting. Both in its defeats and "victories," labor's political policy has been a proven disaster.

LET US NOW shift our attention to the national scene and see how the pressure tactics have worked toward effecting labor's aim of cleansing the Democratic Party of Dixiecrat and reactionary control.

In 1948, it will be recalled, delegates from a number of the Southern states bolted the Democratic Convention after a civil rights plank was adopted and set up the Dixiecrat party organization. When the Southern Bourbons and their big money backers found their secession movement had misfired and that they were in danger of getting isolated, they quickly changed their tactics. The Southern states altered their electoral laws to enable them to place any name they wanted on the state ballot, and then walked into the 1952 convention with the threat of boycotting the national nominees unless their demands were met. This is the background of the fight over the so-called loyalty oath at the 1952 Democratic Convention.

If there is one principle that the professional politician can get genuinely excited about, it is the principle of party regularity. The professional politician knows the organization needs a certain amount of discipline if it is to hold together. Yet here the Southern politicians were challenging precisely this holy-of-holies, and challenging it overtly, brazenly, brutally. A small minority was holding a pistol to the head of the whole convention and threatening that unless it had its way it would not back the national candidates! And what happened? Did the assembled liberals, Fair Dealers, fighters for right and justice—including incidentally close to 200 union officials out of approximately 1,200 delegates—did this august assembly rise up in its wrath and read the riot act to the miserable descendants of the slave holders and secessionists? No, the assembly instead got down on all fours and kissed the posteriors of the Dixiecrats. First, the convention watered down the so-called loyalty oath so that it meant practically nothing. Then they seated the defiant Shivers delegation from Texas despite the protests of the liberal bloc. Then the Virginia delegation was seated on Adlai Stevenson's personal intervention after it had explicitly refused to abide by the convention decision. One must at the very least admit that labor's crusade against the Dixiecrats was launched in a very inauspicious way.

Even after this convention capitulation, Shivers, Byrnes and most of the other Dixiecrat leaders broke ranks and went over to Eisenhower. Those who remained "loyal," like Senator Russell of Georgia, sat in their rocking chairs

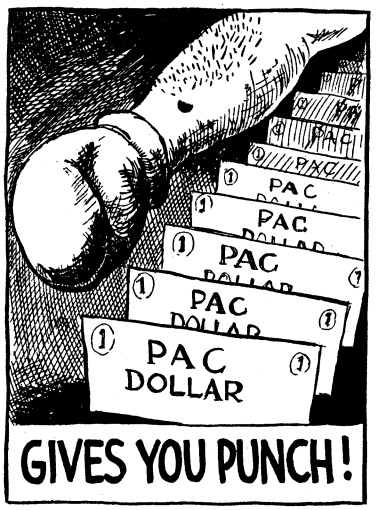
POLITICAL ACTION ISSUES IN 1830

THE RICH

We are in favor of monarchy, aristocracy, monopolies, auctions, laws that oppress the poor, imposture and the rights of the rich man to govern and enslave the poor man at his will and pleasure, denying the poor the right to redress or any partici pation in political pow er.

WORKINGMEN'S PARTY

We are opposed to monarchy, aristocracy, monopolies, auctions and in favor of the poor to political pow er, denying the right of the rich to govern the poor and asserting in all cases that those who labor should make the laws by which such la bor should be protect ed and rewarded; and finally, opposed to de grading the mechanic by making mechanics of felons. Our motto shall be Liberty, Equi ty, Justice and the Rights of Men.



Two samples of CIO Political Action Committee propaganda. Illustration asking for PAC dollars (above) is most common in CIO literature, and merely tries to push collection of funds without real explanation or program; reflects weakness of alliance with Democratic Party which leaves labor without a source of inspiration. Contrast of workers' and capitalists' program in 1830 (left) raises the question: Why is there no workingmen's party in 1954?

The disgrace of labor's alliance with the Democratic Party is sharply emphasized in this view of Adlai Stevenson waving the flag of the slaveholding Confederacy (a slap in the face to the Negro people) in New Orleans during 1952 presidential campaign.

on their front porches throughout the campaign. Since Eisenhower's victory, the Dixiecrats have not only maintained their bloc with the Republicans, but their control of the Congressional Democratic machinery has enabled them to completely hamstring any attempted opposition activity. The Democratic Party as an opposition to the Republicans is strictly a joke, strictly a John Davis vs. Cal Coolidge proposition. Its Southern and conservative contingents supported the Tidelands oil steal. They are behind Douglas McKay, Secretary of the Interior, in his guerrilla warfare against the rural electric co-ops, his death sentence on federal power dams and his handing over the works on a silver platter to the Western utilities trusts. They have blocked consistently with the Republicans on tax measures, anti-labor excursions, witch-hunts.

HAVE THE Northern liberals, so-called, now awakened to the true state of affairs and determined to burn this cancerous growth out of its political body? Not so far as the naked eye can observe. So far as the naked eye can observe, the Northern leaders are resolved to wipe out only those who stand in the way of their continued collaboration with the Dixiecrats and reactionaries. The Democratic rally held in Chicago after Labor Day 1953 solved the issue of Dixiecrat revolt and disloyalty by referring the question to a committee for further study. The Northern liberals joined with the Southern white-supremacists and labor-haters in declaring that the rules adopted in 1952 had lapsed and that it was up to the next convention in 1956 to adopt new regulations.

"I am going back to Mississippi very happy," announced Governor Hugh White, who had come to the conference to lead a fight for the lifting of the loyalty pledge. But not only he was happy. Blair Moody, former U. S. Senator from Michigan and sponsor of the loyalty resolution at the 1952 convention, was exceedingly happy too. Asked if he was satisfied with the conference action, he unhesitatingly answered, "Absolutely."

Everybody was happy. And a more amazing thing still was reported out of the conference: Nobody spoke in favor of the loyalty resolution. What is this horrible loyalty proposition that could find no defenders at the Democratic gathering? According to Roosevelt Jr. who ought to know as he was co-sponsor of the resolution in 1952:

> *"The so-called loyalty pledge at the last convention was not a loyalty pledge at all. It was only a statement by each delegate that he would honorably see to it that the national candidate's name be placed on their ballots on the Democratic line. As a result, each delegate was free to support either the Democratic or Republican candidate in the national election."*

It is fair to conclude from all this that not only did the Dixiecrats successfully blackmail the Democratic convention, not only did they retain leadership of the Congressional machinery, but that they have now successfully squelched even the wavering tremolo voices of the so-called liberal Northern bloc. The Dixiecrats are calling the tune in the Democratic Party today as successfully as the slave owners did before the Civil War.

Shortly after this happy gathering of the Democratic warriors, Adlai Stevenson journeyed—like a latter-day Stephen Douglas—to the State of Georgia, where he embraced both politically and physically the unspeakable Governor Talmadge, and informed the state legislature there that "the sheep that have strayed are daily coming back into the fold. For my part, they are welcome."

All is love and forgiveness toward the Dixiecrats. But not toward all men. Stephen A. Mitchell, Stevenson's handpicked Democratic National Chairman, publicly declared just about this same time that he regarded Americans for Democratic Action as a political handicap. Foster Furcolo, Massachusetts State Treasurer, publicly invited the ADA to leave the Democratic Party.

IN AN interesting article entitled, "Struggle for the South" in the Jan. 1953 *Progressive,* David S. Burgess, a Southern preacher, Democratic Party activist and union organizer, details how the Democratic Party National Committee consistently has supported the old-line Dixiecrat leaders and given the cold shoulder to the so-called liberal elements.

> *"Frank Graham did not get Truman's aid in his unsuccessful attempts to defeat the racebaiting Willis Smith. Claude Pepper was snubbed by the President and the National Committee in his fight against the Tory George Smathers. And in Tennessee, up to the time of McKellar's defeat by Albert Gore, this ancient Tory rather than Estes Kefauver had been the sole recipient of the party's patronage."*

A fitting conclusion to this aspect of the story is the dispatch in the January 1 *N. Y. Times* which informs us that Lyndon B. Johnson of Texas, Democratic Majority leader in the Senate,

"will seek to restrain those Democrats who wish to take up an instantaneous and general partisan position. . . . His intention, he made clear to visitors today, is to have the Senate Democrats pursue a waiting policy until the full disclosure and full development of the President's legislative recommendations. . . . He will urge the Senate Democratic Policy Committee, which he heads, that matters be pursued by the party about as they were in the last session."

It would be difficult to put the matter more brazenly. The Southern Bourbons have the party by the throat, and they intend to prevent the emergence of any opposition even of the milk-and-water liberal variety—this is after the Republican leaders branded Truman a traitor and his administration as infested with spies and crooks.

This record set out here constitutes an unanswerable demonstration that labor's policy—judged by its own criteria of 1) creating a political climate favorable to labor, and 2) liberalizing the Democratic Party—is bankrupt. The Democratic Party isn't getting more liberal, but more reactionary. Instead of continuing to spend its strength and substance chasing the will-o'-the-wisp of reforming the Democratic Party, labor ranks would be well advised to take to heart the analysis of a successful practicing politician, Wayne Morse, the independent Senator from Oregon, who on this subject knows whereof he speaks.

Morse states (*New Republic,* July 6, 1953): "Since 1938, the dominant factions of both parties have been the conservative wings, which have effectively dominated Congress for the past 14 years. . . . One need only look at the management of the Democratic Party in the Senate of the United States during this session of Congress to realize that it is completely controlled and dominated by the reactionary wing of the party working in close coalition with the reactionary Republicans. . . . Great changes are taking place at the political grass roots of America. Most of the professional politicians are unaware of it. However, a political realignment is growing in the thinking of the American people. . . . What it will take to crystallize that thinking into the formation of a new party or realignment is for time to tell. . . . My heavy mail from all parts of the United States, including every state, convinces me that the demand for realignment of political forces is a great and growing one."

U. S. Gets in on Labor Spy Racket

DETROIT

THE ENTIRE government Smith Act prosecution of the Michigan Communist Party rests on the testimony of a battery of six or eight company-government stool pigeons. Open court testimony showed a number of the informers to be paid agents of the Ford Motor Company. For example, the FBI-Ford Motor Company spy, Schemanske, testified that he joined the investigative department in 1936, and was assigned to keep "subversive" persons and activities under surveillance. He joined the Young Communist League in 1938, as a spy, and worked for 17 years as an informer for the company and the FBI. His activities go back to pre-union days in Harry Bennett's "service department" union-busting organization.

The trial exposes that the Ford Motor Company violated its agreement with the union to abolish Bennett's terrorist organization. The company merely converted it into a secret undercover operation.

These spies are hostile to union principles, and in general reveal themselves to be human scum. For example, when Mrs. Beatrice Churchill, a Flint informer, was asked by the defense about her attitude on such things as equal pay and equal time for women in General Motors Corporation plants, the press reported that she testified "she did not support such issues because they were communist-supported. . . ."

This worries Judge Picard, who scolds the prosecution attorneys for initiating such discussions, and in general for presenting a weak case. He fears the possible effect on the Detroit jury, composed in large part of union people. Goodman, the defense attorney, is giving the prosecution a hard time. He was even able to demonstrate in open court that two of the key government informers had lied under oath, and several times changed their replies under pressure. The *Detroit News* reported, "Judge Picard was considering the court's own obligation in connection with perjury, he said, but he added, 'I assure you, however, that nothing will be done till this case is over.'"

When reporters asked Kaess, the prosecuting attorney, what he intends to do, he arrogantly replied, "Nothing. There were extenuating circumstances." Imagine what would happen to Smith Act defendants under similar circumstances!

The trial shows that the U. S. government has taken over the labor spy racket, so roundly condemned in the Thirties by Senator LaFollette's committee. These spies receive fat rewards from Ford, the FBI, state and local police agencies and other sources. For example, Goodman brought out from Schemanske that he was earning $710 a month plus $100 in expenses in his double-life role as a party member. The Ford Motor Company paid him $580 a month, the FBI provided him with the expense money and he got $130 a month at the J. L. Hudson Co., where he "worked" as a part-time shipping clerk as part of his masquerade.

It is disturbing to see the *Michigan CIO News* lend credence to the employer-FBI spy setup by referring to sections of their testimony as "evidence" of "communist plot on unions." Its issue of December 3, for example, captions a story "Spy Says Reds Plotted in 1949 to Win GM Units." Instead of fighting the witch-hunt 100 percent the union movement adapts itself to it. This in spite of the fact that the American labor movement is on record against the Smith Act. Recent developments in Michigan, however, offer the hope that the labor movement will abandon this suicidal policy, and play a more consistent role in defending civil liberties for all. Labor must remember Voltaire's aphorism: "I may disagree with everything you say but will fight to the death for your right to say it."

D. L.

The "Cold War" has won victories only in the United States. Anti-communism is reaction's blockbuster against the people of this country.

The Secret of McCarthy's Formula

by George Clarke

THE STRONGEST impression I came away with from Europe was the bewilderment of thinking people at the phenomenon of McCarthyism in the United States. They point to the lack of war hysteria in France and Italy although communists number in the millions. They point to the absence of witch-hunting in England, separated only by the Channel from the communist masses of Western Europe and only by a few hundred miles from the communist states of Eastern Europe.

Perhaps, some say, the American people must really be particularly susceptible to communism, and unless constantly alarmed they are liable to slip into its embrace almost any day. Others believe that fascism has already triumphed here. They ask whether it is possible to discuss radical ideas, say in a bar or a restaurant, without being arrested; whether a socialist or a communist can get a job. Allowing for the exaggeration—not too great, however—what they can't understand is how this "fascism" triumphed so easily. It doesn't square with all they've heard about the attachment of the American people to democratic rights.

When they speak of fascism they don't necessarily mean it in the scientific meaning of the word, but rather in the broad terms of thought-control, book-burning, the outlawing of ideas, the hunt for heretics, etc. The contrast with Europe puzzles them. In Europe, fascism emerged and triumphed in defeated countries, wracked by chronic economic crisis, where mass socialist and communist parties threatened the powers-that-be with revolution. Fascism was the attempt of the most privileged of the propertied class to solve the crisis by smashing the labor movement and establishing totalitarian rule. In this way, they eliminated the social threat and began to restore profits.

But in America, they say, none of these conditions have obtained. America was a victor country in the war, and of all the capitalist countries its only beneficiary. There has been full employment and prosperity for 13 years. The labor movement is led by capitalist-minded leaders among whom there is not a single type comparable to a Bevan or Thorez. There is no socialist left wing in the ranks, hardly any opposition at all.

YET IT IS precisely these conditions that brought McCarthyism into existence. For if the situation was generally favorable for Big Business at home it was just the contrary abroad. There they were faced with an acute and growing threat of social revolution on all sides. The old regimes were pushed out in Eastern Europe, capitalist rule was overthrown in China. There was now a front of 800 million people organized in the Soviet or communist bloc and hostile to the profit system. And the front was constantly expanding. Not all the billions of Marshall Plan dollars had changed the communist allegiance of one out of four voters in France, or of the even larger proportion in Italy. Nor could modern armies conquer for imperialism in Korea, Indo-China or Malaya. Rather the fever of discontent has spread to the colonial peoples of the Near East and all parts of Africa, from Egypt to Kenya. This became a perpetual nightmare for American capital. Its world dollar empire was vanishing, and it feared the day when this tidal wave of social change would overwhelm it in America as well. Big Business declared war against this world revolution which they call Communism. And it was that declaration of war that raised the curtain for McCarthyism.

From the proclamation of the Truman Doctrine in 1947 to Dulles' latest speech, the government has acted as if it were not merely giving leadership to the forces of anti-communism in the world, but actually at war with the Soviet Union, China and the states of Eastern Europe. All the language, methods and acts of war, short of actual hostilities, have been in constant official use. Government spokesmen designate the USSR as the enemy. A world-wide chain of encircling military bases has been built around it. The State Department sought to create a military coalition of states clearly directed against the USSR. In the dispute that flared up between Truman and MacArthur over strategy in the Korean war, the *fact* of war with the USSR and China was not questioned.

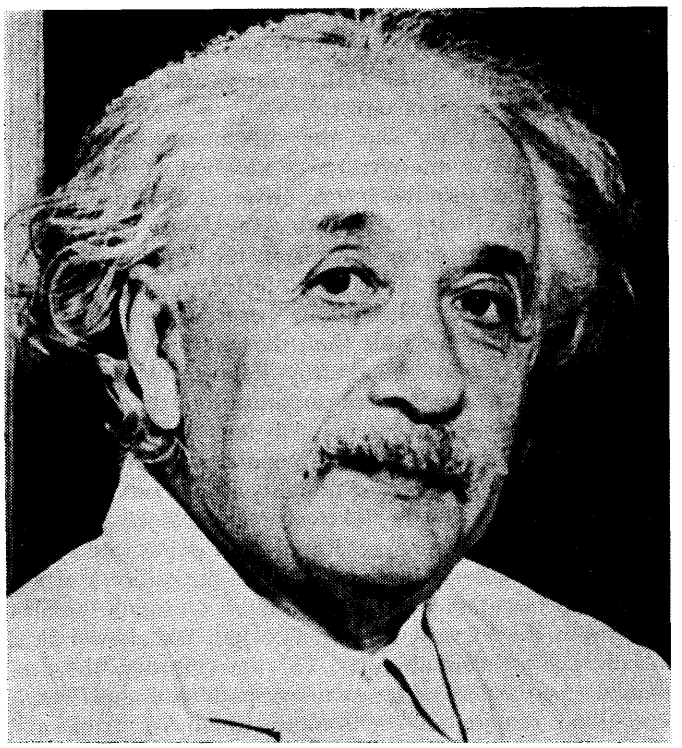
The "cold war" was no brilliant success from the military point of view. Its only real victory was in the United States. The chief victim was the American people who were driven by skillfully exploited fears or by intimidation into accepting or acquiescing in America's role as the aggressive leader of world reaction. But there was another victim whose defeat was almost as ardently desired by Big Business as the defeat of Russia itself. That was the "New Deal." We use this term to designate the broad social movement that had arisen in the last depression, a movement which was based on powerful trade unions which rallied the people to fight the Big Business monopolies for a program of social reforms and a more equitable distribution of the nation's wealth. For almost a dozen years the kings of industry and finance had been vainly trying to destroy this movement. They denounced it as "socialist." Despite the honest, indignant denials, there was a certain grain of truth in the charge. For if the movement continued it was bound to be forced to the left, to adopt a more radical program and to find new and socialist leadership. But the denunciation fell on deaf ears. The workers saw in it another device to restore the open shop and the jungle conditions of the last depression.

It is one of the ironies of history that always overtakes liberals, that the very men who were supposed to

lead this movement, the so-called New Deal wing of the Democratic Party and its labor leader allies, were most responsible for preparing the conditions for the defeat of this movement. The "cold war" and the mold of "national unity" it created, which they authored, directed and led for its first five years, proved to be the Frankenstein monster that eventually rose up to destroy them politically, and some of them personally. Big Business now had the formula that had long been lacking.

It was a diabolic one, skillfully adapted to the prejudices of a wealthy America surrounded by an impoverished and revolutionary world. *First*: Capitalism, the profit system, "free enterprise" so-called, is the American Way. To support this system is patriotism, to oppose it disloyalty, subversion. *Second*: Communism is totalitarian, anti-Christ and aggressively seeking world domination. It is not merely a doctrine, or peoples in revolt, but above all a number of states possessing big police forces and bigger armies. From here it was a short "logical" step to the crowning conclusion that all opposition to capitalism, that even liberal criticism of the power of the monopolies is communist, or a step on the road to communism. Therefore it is treachery or a step in the direction of treachery on behalf of a foreign power with which America is, in effect, at war. And contrariwise, all desire for peace is really support or appeasement of communism, which means the enemy foreign power, Russia—and is therefore tainted with subversion.

This equation of communism to treason is the keystone of the witch-hunt. The American people had no palpable reason to be frightened by the threat of communism as a native movement. "Communists," "radicals" could do all the "agitating" they wanted, all the "fomenting" and "inciting," but if nobody responded there was no serious danger. There had to be a threat to "national security"—which was parlayed into a threat to the standard of living —a conspiracy organized by a foreign power through secret agents here. There had to be spies, helpers of spies, dupes of spies. The Hiss Case was the key piece to the whole structure of what is now called McCarthyism. Its effect was reinforced by the Rosenberg Case and the Harry White Case.



"Every intellectual," urged Albert Einstein, greatest scientist of this century, "who is called before one of the committees ought to refuse to testify, i.e., he must be prepared for jail and economic ruin, in short for the sacrifice of his personal welfare in the interest of the cultural welfare of his country."

STRANGE as it may seem, the spy-scare took hold precisely because the American people didn't want war, they weren't particularly interested in foreign adventures to crush revolutions or for any other purpose. Unlike pre-Hitler Germany, there were jobs and careers at home, and plenty of illusions about the possibilities of getting ahead. The people accepted the anti-communist "cold war" on one condition: that they wouldn't have to fight it personally.

But all of this was geared to the notion that America's monopoly of the atom bomb gave us the security that was once provided by the oceans. The Truman administration was primarily responsible for convincing public opinion of this fantasy. But when Russia exploded its own atom bomb the road was clear for McCarthy. He added a spy-scare to the anti-communist drive and made it the focal point. He could double Truman in brass in tearing up the First Amendment, smearing reputations, burning books, turning the country into a paradise for cops, vigilantes and informers. Once again the Truman administration was smeared in the process because obviously—obviously! —the spies could not have operated so successfully if not for their well-known softness to communism which was the natural result of New Dealish, socialistic ideas.

Once the spy theory became accepted currency it was converted into a theory of history. Why had communism overrun one-third of Europe and all of China? The answer was simple. Because the Roosevelt and the Truman administrations were composed of fools and knaves. Didn't they make the deals at Yalta, didn't they present Stalin as a faithful ally and the Chinese communists as "agrarian reformers"? Obviously they were appeasers of communism or fellow-travelling sympathizers. It was a theory that had many virtues. It depicted the revolutions in the world not as vast peoples' movements but as cloak-and-dagger conspiracies. It compromised all political opponents, all dissident thought, outlawed the "red" and smeared the "pink." It concealed the fact that the anti-communists and spy-hunters were tied in with the China Lobby, the oil interests and big investment houses, that all the tears about "America losing China" was nothing but mourning for the loss of a lucrative source of cheap labor, raw materials and profits.

THIS IS NOT the first time in American history that a foreign revolution has been used to create a war hysteria, and then the war scare exploited to smash domestic opposition, to put the country behind the iron bars of thought-control for the selfish benefit of plutocratic, propertied interests. A study of the events of the end of the 18th century, both for their present day parallels and their

lessons, turns out to be instructive in understanding McCarthyism and how to fight it.

Mention has often been made in recent times of the Alien and Sedition Laws of 1798—the Smith and McCarran Acts of those days—mostly however for the purpose of proving that the people are deeply attached to their liberties, that hysteria and witch-hunting are only passing moods. But it is rarely noted that the fear used to motor that witch-hunt was also a *foreign revolution,* the French Revolution, that had triumphed in its own country and was being spread with the help of armed might to other lands. It is rarely noted that the aristocrats of those days, the commercial and banking interests of the eastern seaboard organized in the Federalist Party, sought to stifle the popular democratic movement that had sprung up after the victory over England by posing as patriots, as the saviors of their country from "foreign revolution." In reality, President Adams and Alexander Hamilton—like Eisenhower and McCarthy today—were exploiting the French Revolution to whip up a hysteria against their political opponents and to consolidate their rule against back-country and western farmers.

The enemy then was "Jacobin" instead of communist. A state of war—"cold war" if you like—existed with France without ever having been declared. The country, according to the 18th century McCarthys—was teeming with "French agents," chief of whom being none other than Thomas Jefferson. All sympathizers with the humanitarian aims of the French Revolution were branded "spies," "undesirable aliens," "foreign agents." All opponents and critics of the government were denounced as sympathizers of the French Revolution. Matthew Lyon, a member of Congress from Vermont and one of the first victims of the Sedition Law, wrote:

> *"Every one who is not in favor of this mad war (with France) is branded with the epithet of Opposer of the Government, Disorganizer, Jacobin, etc. . . . It is quite a new kind of jargon to call a Representative of the People an Opposer of the Government because he does not, as a legislator, advocate and acquiesce in every proposition that comes from the Executive."*

But for Adams, who called the conflict with France a "holy war," the witch-hunt was a miraculous formula. Hamilton predicted that "there will shortly be national unity so far as that idea can ever exist." He was right, national unity with the opposition behind prison bars. Why bother about trifles like the Bill of Rights when the country stood in danger of being overrun from without and undermined from within? You could not, said Harrison Grey Otis, "boggle about slight forms." You had to "seize these [subversive] persons wherever they could be found carrying on their vile purposes. Without this everything else which has been done in the way of defense would amount to nothing."

"PEACE" then too was a nasty, seditious word. A Philadelphia editor, Benjamin Bache, grandson of Benjamin Franklin, was arrested for printing in his paper a conciliatory letter addressed by the Foreign Minister Talleyrand to the American President. He was accused

Spy-chasers Jenner (left) and McCarran shown about to leave for Canada to interview Igor Gouzenko, former Soviet code clerk. Aim undoubtedly was to go Herbert Brownell one better in concocting new red smear to discredit political opponents and scare daylights out of American people.

of being an "abandoned traitor" and indicted for having libelled the president and the government "in a manner tending to excite treason and opposition to the laws." A newspaper asked then, as many of us can ask now: "Is it treason to tell our fellow citizens that the French will settle our differences . . . without war—horrid bloody war, useful to a few placemen and pensioners?"

Arrests, deportations, trials by prejudiced judges, the burning of books, guilt by association and by accusation, attempts to make informers of honest men, firing of government officials because of dangerous thoughts—all this existed at the turn of the 18th century, and it was called at the time "the reign of terror."

In 1800, two years after the enactment of the Alien and Sedition Laws, the terror was smashed, the Federalist Party which had inspired it was driven from office in disgrace, the laws disappeared from the books, the prison doors were swung open for all political prisoners in a general amnesty proclaimed by Jefferson. How did it happen that quickly? Essentially because the opposition was made of different stuff than the one today. The government party was out to destroy Jefferson's Republicans (resemblance to the present organization purely coincidental). They accused them of being "French agents," "Jacobins," "traitors." But the Republicans did not turn tail and run as many of our doughty Democratic warriors are doing today. "To be lukewarm about such a cause" [fighting the witch-hunt], a Republican paper said at the time, "is to acquiesce in slavery." The opposition did not offer its persecutors common cause in a crusade against Jacobinism (as Stevenson offered to join Eisenhower in a crusade against communism). On the contrary, they remained steadfast in their warm sympathy for the French Revolution despite all the hysteria about its "atheism," its "godlessness," despite all the atrocity tales about it, some true, some false. In fact, Jefferson openly expressed the hope that a French army would cross the Channel, in which case, he said, he would go to London and drink tea with the victorious generals.

The Jeffersonians never bowed to the war hysteria against France, on the ground that they had to submit in the name of national unity or patriotism. On the contrary, they stigmatized Federalist policies as "war-mongering." They constantly pointed to the selfish economic interests behind the war hysteria and the witch-hunt. When a move was made to set up a standing army under the command of Alexander Hamilton, a Republican editor in Connecticut said only the rich and powerful stood to profit from such an army. "Are our sons," he demanded, "to fight battles that a certain class of men may reap the spoils, or enlarge their power and fortune upon our destruction?"

BY CONTRAST, the opposition to McCarthyism today —New Dealers, liberals, labor leaders—cuts a sorry figure. It endorses the "cold war," which it began under the Truman administration, but balks at its by-product, the war hysteria. It "me-toos" the war-mongers in condemning any talk of "peace" with the Soviet bloc as "appeasement" or worse. Only the rare exception is favorable to the recognition of the People's Republic of China. It marches in unison with Syngman Rhee, Chiang Kai-shek, Franco, but resents their American spearhead, McCarthy. A large part of the opposition consents to the principle of the witch-hunt, the suppression of communists, but wants to limit its scope and methods. (Bespattered with the Harry White smear, Truman boasted he had jailed more communists than anyone.) Do it in a quiet "dignified" way, says Stevenson. It's not the lynching this aristocrat objects to but the mob.

Obviously with such a policy, the opposition is beaten in advance; they concede all the ground to McCarthy and leave themselves the amendments and the squawks. They holler the loudest when the fire is aimed against them—then, of course, liberty is really in peril. Unless the anti-McCarthy forces draw some lessons from these experiences and adopt a more sober and rational attitude in their thinking about the present world revolution, about war and Russia, they will always be on the defensive, counting victims instead of winning battles.

Of course it is objected that such an approach would lead to the defeat of capitalism and the victory of communism in the world. There is a flying saucer story told that if Western forces had been more alert in 1948, communism would never have triumphed in Czechoslovakia or Eastern Europe. The truth is that these old regimes would have been overthrown by genuine people's uprisings four years earlier, immediately on the defeat of the Wehrmacht, had not Stalin, honoring his Yalta pledges, held the movement back. Furthermore, if not for his intervention, revolution would have triumphed in Greece (as it did in Yugoslavia) and probably in Italy and even in France. In any case, the forces of "God" and "liberty" have been more vigilant since then, and they have only the smouldering ruins of an unsettled civil war in Korea to show for their efforts—not to speak of the rise of McCarthyism at home. This is only another proof, as all history has demonstrated, that force has never stopped a movement of social revolution once it has taken hold of the people, once it has received the momentum of mass power.

THERE ARE some in the labor movement who are genuinely worried about McCarthyism, but are paralyzed by their fears of communist domination of the unions. They point to Italy and France. They are wrong on many counts. In the first place, communism is not a foreign importation. It arises out of the misery of the people and has a genuine, voluntary mass following. In the second place, every working class follows its own path, one that is historically determined by a body of experiences, traditions, cultural outlook and conditions of life. Neither force nor money can divert them from that path. The Greek labor movement was crushed to bits in civil war by a corrupt, reactionary government stocked with American dollars and guns. But today, raising its head from a slight respite from the terror, that movement is, according to all objective observers, again led and controlled by Communist Party leadership. In France and Italy, American labor leaders have to record a dismal failure—and the opprobrium of the working people—in their attempt to buy the union movement into pro-Americanism and away from the communists.

The British experience, however, provides the most instructive example for the American labor movement. As we said earlier, there is no witch-hunt, no anti-communist drive, no war hysteria there. It isn't that the Tories or the many right-wing labor leaders wouldn't start the scare going if they had the chance. But the workers just won't go for it. Their attitude is generally reflected by the Bevan wing of the Labor Party. This group holds that the revolutions throughout the world, regardless of their form or leadership, are a progressive development and that any attempt to stop them is not only futile but reactionary. It has no sympathies for the internal methods of the governments in the Soviet bloc but declares that these regimes will be altered by peace, not war. It points to the significant changes which have occurred in the Soviet Union since Stalin's death, changes it attributes in part to the relaxation of the "cold war." They hold it their duty to aid these changes in the direction of more democratic government by a policy of peace and economic cooperation. Furthermore they believe that Britain under a new Labor government could provide a powerful example to the peoples of these countries of a different road to socialism. Undoubtedly such a policy advocated there today would be shouted down as fellow-travelling appeasement, as a wide-open door to communism. Yet the fact is that although this viewpoint is not far from dominating the Labor Party today, the Stalinists haven't prospered at all and remain a small and dwindling minority in the labor movement of the country.

But what is more important is the fact that the labor movement is alive and vigorous. It is not hamstrung by restrictive anti-labor laws, not intimidated by witch-hunts. It is the labor movement, not reaction, which is today on the offensive. It isn't whining like the labor leaders here about the nasty attitude of the Republicans toward the unions, but actively preparing to kick the Tories out and set up a new Labor Government. By the plain test of experience, its attitude toward the problems of communism, war and revolution should recommend itself to those who want to prevent a victory of McCarthyism in the United States and the outbreak of the terrible third world war.

Reuther reverses himself on 30-hour week as ranks worry about spreading layoffs. Militants are combining demand for shorter work week with guaranteed annual wage.

by John Darnell

Economic Security—Plans and Ballyhoo

TO AMERICAN workers a new economic recession is no empty abstraction. It means hungry homes, medical care neglected, suffering and insecurity. But Big Business spokesmen view a limited unemployment as a wonderful pressure device upon the employed workers. Resistance to speed-up and employer-rule of the shops is weakened when lines of job-seekers appear at the factory gates.

Unemployment is not a new problem for American workers. For 150 years workers have been victims of unemployment at periodic intervals as the planless system of capitalism went through with its "adjustments." As an answer to these cyclical depressions, the union movement long ago launched a struggle for a shorter work day. Moreover, modern industrial unionism has had to look beyond the old traditional concepts of wages, hours and working conditions. In varying degrees, the modern labor movement has had to recognize that the wages and security of its membership are indissolubly tied up with the broad social issues of the day. This concept has been reflected in new goals of the labor movement: life and health insurance, pensions, etc. The recent conference held by the UAW-CIO in Washington, D. C. on "Full Employment in Peace Time," where an intricate program on almost every aspect of the subject was presented, illustrates both the present strength and weakness of the CIO unions in grappling with these problems. A study of the program presented will reveal that confronting labor today is not so much the question of what progammatic aims and demands to raise on this question, but *how to achieve these aims.*

Some recent labor history will help place the matter in better focus. In the first years of the CIO the demand for a 30-hour week with no cut in pay was one of the recognized objectives to which even case-hardened bureaucrats paid lip service. As late as 1944, Walter Reuther, at that time Vice President of the UAW-CIO, supported the slogan. In a debate with Eric Johnston, then President of the Chamber of Commerce, Reuther said:

> *"We can in America on the basis of a 30-hour week create all of the wealth that we could create before the war on the basis of a 40-hour week. We have made that much technical progress during the war. . . . All I ask is that we move in that direction. If we find that we can keep our people—that is, all the*

people who want a job—gainfully occupied on a basis of a 30-hour week and then people want more goods, we can gradually step it up; but until we demonstrate we can keep everybody who wants a job working at 30-hours a week, I think it is better to have all the people employed, all the people participating, than to have some people working 40 or 50 hours a week with great masses of unemployment in our big centers."

IN 1944 Reuther, still aspiring to a bigger role in the labor movement, frequently gave expression to far-reaching demands and programs. This won him great prestige without the responsibility of carrying through his announced projects. It put Reuther in the unexcelled position, from his point of view, of gaining the support of those responding to his pronouncements, and at the same time placing the onus upon the top leadership of his union and the CIO for not executing his programs.

Now Reuther has arrived as a "labor statesman." His demands today are couched in general terms and phraseology which appear deep-going on the surface, but which permit considerable juggling and maneuvering in their actual implementation. This accounts for Reuther's recent change in attitude toward the 30-hour week with 40 hours' pay, as this demand does not lend itself so easily to manipulation. Even the most inexperienced rank-and-file worker can readily measure progress made in achieving this goal.

Reuther projected the program of a guaranteed annual wage two years ago at a time when the auto workers were beginning to chafe at the bit of the five-year contracts with their unsatisfactory economic provisions. He obviously felt the need to offer an objective which would capture the imagination of the auto workers. Hence the promise of a big struggle in 1955 when the contracts terminated. The guaranteed annual wage demand as conceived by Reuther is made to order for his purposes. It is the kind of demand which can mean all things to all men. After two years of ballyhoo and publicity the concrete annual wage proposal of the UAW has still to see the light of day. Secrecy is justified by Reuther on the grounds that "we do not want to tip off the employers." However, there is considerable evidence at hand of what he has in mind.

THE OCTOBER 1953 issue of the *CIO Economic Outlook* is devoted to a discussion of the guaranteed annual wage. One of the revelations is:

> *"Contrary to some reports, our unions are not asking an open-ended guarantee, without limits on what the companies might find themselves obliged to pay.* The Steelworkers, the IUE, and the UAW all propose to limit the employers' liability. . . . *The United Steelworkers suggested to both the steel and aluminum companies that they contribute a specified number of cents per man-hour into a fund and that the company's obligation be limited to these payments.* The contributions specified in the Steelworkers' demands are less per hour than wage increases for which the union has successfully bargained."

The UAW proposal presented to its last convention was given in a very vague form. However, even this resolution hints what is in the offing. Point 3 of the "general principles" to be embodied in the demand for a guaranteed annual wage provides, "All workers should be guaranteed employment or guaranteed payments from the time they acquire seniority. *The guarantee should assure protection against a full year of layoff for all eligible workers and for shorter periods on a graduated basis for those who have not worked the minimum qualifying period."*

Translated into plain language, this means that low seniority workers, the group most affected by layoffs and unemployment, shall be entitled to benefits on a limited, partial, graduated basis. The annual wage guarantee shall, in fact, apply fully only to high seniority workers, that section least likely to be affected by unemployment.

The steel workers' demand as presented by the *CIO Economic Outlook* restricts benefits to "employees with three or more years' service with the company." "Weekly benefits to be equal to thirty times the employees' hourly wage rate" and restricted to 52 weeks maximum benefits. "Total liability of the company shall be limited to 10 cents per hour paid into a Trust Fund by the company." So we see that even before the annual wage demand is laid on the table for bargaining, it has been reduced from the grandiose aim for security to a ten cents per hour proposition with added restrictions.

AT LAST YEAR'S UAW convention Reuther coupled his proposal for a guaranteed annual wage with a denunciation of the proposal advanced by the leadership of Ford Local 600 for a 30-hour week at 40 hours' pay. As fantastic as it may seem, the Reuther administration sponsored a resolution which stated in part, "That this convention rejects and repudiates the demand for a 30-hour week with 40 hours' pay *at this time* as a politically inspired maneuver that is unsound and impractical, divisive of the union, a service to the totalitarian aggressors in the Kremlin, and an attack upon the hopes of workers' families for higher living standards." The demand was denounced as a Communist plot to cut production. "It weakened the union fight for a guaranteed annual wage. You must choose between them," the Reutherites said.

Unfortunately, at first, the leading proponents of the 30-40 demand took this bait and counterposed the 30-40 demand to the guaranteed annual wage. As the months have gone by, however, the leaderships of Ford Local 600, Dodge Local 3 and the Flint GM locals, who have been spearheading the fight for the proposal, have correctly raised the demands as combined demands. It has become clear that what is needed, if the struggle is taken seriously, is a program which provides that hours of work shall be cut to assure jobs for all who desire to work and that the income of all workers be guaranteed on the basis of their earnings on the previous 40-hour level.

As yet, the proponents of the 30-40 demand have not developed an appreciation of the need for an escalator approach to this demand. Actually, unemployment at this stage has not reached a point to make the 30-hour demand as such realistic. Particularly at Ford and General Motors where workers continue to work overtime hours at the present time, the demand for a rigid 30-hour week appears somewhat far-fetched. Horace Sheffield, Reutherite President of the Production Foundry Unit of Local 600, has been poking fun at the seriousness of the Local 600 leadership from just this point of view. Unfortunately, so far at least, the Ford leadership in their paper, *Ford Facts,* have resorted to baiting and smearing of Sheffield as "agent of the Ford Motor Company," etc., rather than grappling with the

Program of the Ford Local

LOCAL 600's leadership must be given full credit for militant defense of the democratic rights of the UAW membership and a progressive fight against the Reuther administration. However, it is constructive to call attention to certain shortcomings of the program they offered for the Washington Unemployment Conference.

The greatest weakness of the Ford program, like that of the Reuther program, lies in its inadequate political action policy. For Local 600 this is especially significant as a number of months ago they adopted a forthright statement calling for the formation of a labor party. Retreat from this position was one of the reasons the Local 600 delegation was confined to a limited role in the Washington conference.

Of importance, too, is the grossly inadequate proposal of the Local 600 program on speedup. The program calls for "retiming of tight jobs at contract termination" and "for competent union time study men to challenge every new standard." *This is actually the Reuther program on speedup which has been so disastrous to workers in the auto industry.*

Every one who has ever worked on a production line realizes that an effective fight against speedup cannot wait to "contract termination." The fight must be made when the problem presents itself. Any other course is futile. Once workers agree to produce at a faster rate, any discussion on speedup months or even years later at contract termination time becomes academic. The "union time study" approach has been equally costly. Invariably workers find themselves saddled with higher quotas once they agree to this approach. It is impossible for a time study watch to provide for the intangibles of the human system and makeup as contrasted to a machine.

Far more effective in the fight against speedup is the proposal discussed at various times in Local 600 for a Chief Steward for every foreman, with authority to act with the full backing of the union. This was the way that speedup was tackled in the early days of the UAW when the only real successes against speedup were chalked up.

Greeting John L. Lewis as he arrived to speak at 10th anniversary celebration of Ford Local 600 in summer of 1951 is Carl Stellato, local president, and other officers.

Since that time progress has all been in the other direction. It is common talk in most auto plants that speedup conditions today are the worst since the original organization. This dictates that what has been lost in the speedup fight must be won back. A demand for a flat 15 or 20 percent reduction in work quotas would be an effective slogan against speedup and would at the same time contribute to the fight against unemployment.

This is not a side issue. The last local union election which resulted in the splendid victory of the Stellato forces over the Reuther-backed slate contained within it danger signals which cannot go unheeded if the leadership of Local 600 is to continue with full support of the membership. While Carl Stellato and his slate were elected by substantial margins, many of the Stellato supporters running for unit posts had extremely close contests. It is clear that problems on the job including speedup within the units reflected themselves in the close contests.

This should be a clear warning for the leadership of Local 600. It is not enough to have a correct program and to lead a worthy fight against Walter Reuther on an international union level. It is necessary too to give leadership and life to that program within the plants.

difficult problem of presenting the demand in a way which makes sense to workers who are still working six days a week.

WITH THE GROWTH of unemployment, particularly in the auto industry since the UAW convention last March, there has been increased support for the 30-40 demand. Confronted with this, Reuther has been compelled to make a tactical shift at the recent Washington conference. Rather than take the proponents of 30-40 head on, Reuther retreated from the position of nine months ago and proposed that the question of a shorter work week with no cut in take home pay be discussed in a "Pre-Negotiations Conference in 1955." Reuther now treated the shorter work week demand as legitimate and assured the conference that "we will be out in front leading the fight for a shorter work week when the factors are right."

The forces around Carl Stellato and the Ford Local leadership were taken completely aback. They could not participate in the conference in an independent way. They had permitted themselves to be maneuvered into a position whereby Reuther's promise to talk about the shorter work week a year from now cut the ground out from under them.

But the problems of unemployment

are present now and require action now. There can be no question that as unemployment grows, resolutions for 30-40 will be passed by the bushelful. But clearly the 30-40 demand is not of a nature whereby a strike against one particular employer can be waged and won.

Furthermore, while unemployment produces more support for the 30-40 demand, at the same time strike action to achieve this demand becomes more difficult. Because as layoffs occur, the workers on the job become more leery of strike action. They become anxious to get every minute of available time. As a result division between the employed and unemployed sections of the class becomes more acute.

THE STRUGGLE for economic security which is at the heart of the annual wage demand and the 30-40 proposal is the most fundamental goal of labor, the achievement of which requires complete mobilization of the labor forces. It is obvious that the present labor leadership does not conceive of the demand in this light. In some cases, the labor officials have not thought it through. In others, as we have indicated, the demand was never raised seriously to begin with. It was conceived as a clever substitute to avoid fighting on behalf of the current needs of the membership. A few entertain the hope that in particular industries some arrangement on a modest scale may be won giving at least the appearance of a guaranteed annual wage.

The militants, who take these demands seriously, have the duty of devising a realistic program of action to attain their realization. The struggle for these broad demands should include: first, a continuing propaganda and educational campaign for the guaranteed annual wage with shorter hours and no cut in take home pay; second, education of the union ranks against the deals, limitations, and booby traps of the present annual wage plans of the union officialdom. (Ford Local 600 leadership has already begun this job.) Third, every effort must be made to broaden the fight with full membership participation. It must not be permitted to remain a political football of the officials.

These proposals, as will be noted, are not action proposals. At best they are preparatory for action. There still remains the ever-important question, "What to do now?" This brings us to the legislative side of the Washington conference program. The legislative proposals contain important and worthy labor objectives. These include mass production of low cost housing, revision and expansion of the federal educational program, broad health programs on a state and national level, extensive highway construction and improvements, creation of adequate parking facilities, effective harnessing and utilization of the power sources of the country, end of discrimination, full equity for working farmers, increase and extension of unemployment compensation benefits, higher minimum wages and extended coverage, increase of social security, a tax program based upon ability to pay, a debt moratorium for the unemployed, plus a series of proposals to extend international trade and American aid to backward countries.

THESE PROPOSALS, if put into effect, would obviously result in a different kind of America than the one which exists at the present time. But when viewed together with the appeal which accompanied them and the proposals for their implementation, they are revealed in their true light as an expression of social demagogy of the Reuther variety designed to pacify the ranks with broad programmatic manifestos while continuing along the old course.

The legislative program, if meant seriously, places squarely on the table the question: "Who shall run the country?" Here, again, no answer is given, but the continuation of the hat-in-hand begging policy of supporting "good" Democrats and "good" Republicans for office. The Washington conference resolution appeals for a labor, industry, agriculture, consumers and civic group conference to implement the full employment program. Thus the conflicting interests of labor and capital are completely ignored and denied. Truly an impassable gulf separates the professed aims of the Reuther program and the means proposed for their achievement. Instead of an appeal to the broad ranks of labor, over 16,000,000 strong, to mobilize for a broad-scale battle to achieve the security and comforts which the industrial machine of America can provide the people, Reuther voices an appeal to the powers-that-be in Washington to adopt his program as the most effective way to fight communism.

While we cannot expect to quickly achieve a significant part of the Washington conference program, one phase of the program does lend itself to immediate action with possibilities of success; that is the demand for increased and extended unemployment compensation. The unemployment compensation proposal calls for a maximum of 65 to 85 percent of the state or national average wage, whichever is the higher. This demand is of pressing importance in view of the sizable unemployment which already exists in many areas. It is important too as it affords possibilities for action right now.

The Washington conference called for a series of state conferences in the various state capitals to press for implementation of the various legislative proposals. Reuther had in mind conferences of the local officials who will endeavor to convince the state legislators that the Reuther way to fight communism is the most effective one. Nevertheless, state conferences invite a broad participation of the union ranks in the form of delegations, and at a later stage, auto caravans and mass meetings in the state capitals. It is probable, if unemployment continues to increase, that mass action in the form of picket lines and demonstrations in the major centers will find broad support. With the further unfolding of this situation, Local 600's proposal for a conference of all labor organizations in Washington to plan joint action will become a realizable proposition.

This kind of campaign is worthwhile because it holds the promise of gains and victories along the line, and also tends to unify the unemployed and employed sections of the working class. It has the virtue of offering immediate possibilities for action and gains which will fortify the struggle for the shorter work week with the full pay guaranteed annual wage. It is worthy of the fullest support and participation of union militants everywhere.

Longshore Union's "March on City Hall" in San Francisco brought mass of union men into action, froze Velde Committee out, and shows that labor can defend liberty.

Labor Can Stop the Witch-Hunt

IT LOOKS as though there is a turn for the better coming in the civil liberties fight. The witch-hunters may be in for their first serious opposition since they started their torch-and-rope parade.

Perhaps it is more accurate to say that the most extreme wing of the witch-hunters, the McCarthy terror vigilantes who have come to symbolize the reactionary campaign, are due for some trouble. These Inquisitors of the Congressional Committees are not the only witch-hunters, as Truman proved so conclusively during his tenure in office, but they are the most ferocious hounds of the pack, and a setback for them would be a setback for the entire gang.

The event which may prove to be the turning point is the recent attack upon Truman by Brownell, McCarthy and Co., and the reason this may have big consequences is because of its effect in the labor movement. Labor, ranks and officialdom, is seriously alarmed for the first time. Of course it is an irony and a scandal that an attack upon the party which initiated the witch-hunt, which broke strikes and weakened union power, should anger labor after so many attacks upon labor's own men and women went by with scarcely a ripple of resentment. There is no sense or principle to it, but fine sentiments were not taken into account when the forces of American politics were formed. Given the political alliance between labor and the Democratic Party, and given also labor's present lack of interest in any of the radical movements, it is understandable that the first broad stirring against the witch-hunt should come as a response to an attack upon Truman.

The force that can smash McCarthyism resides in the labor movement. As a matter of fact, you can paste it in your hat and memorize it that if labor doesn't stop the vigilantes they aren't going to be stopped at all. A job requires tools weighted to the purpose, and nobody is going to be able to spike the lid on the coffin of the McCarthyite monster with a tack hammer. That's why this is a job for the power of labor, which is to be thanked for every great progressive advance in this country from free education to decent wages. And that's why radicals, rather than sulk over this most outrageous arrow of fortune—labor's anger at an attack on its enemy after it failed to defend its friends—had better get busy and seek ways and means to organize the new mood in the labor movement into a powerful force that can turn back the McCarthyites. In the process of this and other battles the labor movement will learn the truth about Truman and his ilk and avoid such bizarre errors in the future.

A sign of the times is this note in the Jan. 2 *Nation*:

> *"Labor is slowly awakening to a realization of the threat represented by McCarthy and his phony demagoguery. In Detroit, Cleveland and Pittsburgh, all key industrial areas, labor leaders have begun to speak out. In San Francisco the independent International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union set an example for American labor by giving Representative Velde a reception he will not soon forget. Convergent pressures are forcing labor leaders to take a stand on civil liberties."*

To this it should be added that, from all reports, there is a real mood of antagonism against the McCarthyites swelling in the ranks of the labor movement. In the plants and union meetings, sharp words on this subject are now to be heard as often, and greeted as appreciatively, as the angry denunciations of the Taft-Hartley law.

THE TURBULENT "reception" given to Velde in San Francisco which the *Nation* mentions is truly a landmark. It shows that the power of the labor movement to stop McCarthyism is not a notion invented by "romantic radicals," but a fact that can change the picture in short order. In theory, Velde and his committee are hard-bitten reactionaries who don't care about mass sentiment. In practice, when confronted by a solid front of antagonism, when left virtually without "cooperative" witnesses, when their attacks on a union were met by a solid protest strike action, they turned tail and fled. This can be duplicated in every industrial city in the country, and when it is, the junkets of labor-hating congressmen on union-smashing expeditions will be ended.

But before we let our hopes and enthusiasms run away with us on the basis of this one action, there are a few big things we should recall. The first is that the West Coast longshoremen's union which struck the pioneering blow—this same union also closed down a good part of the island of Hawaii in a four-day strike of dock and plantation workers against Smith Act convictions of alleged Communist Party leaders last June—is not part of the main labor current. This union was expelled from the CIO over four years ago, along with ten other internationals, on charges of "communist domination." The action of the longshoremen's union, while it shows what labor *can do,* is not necessarily an index of what the leaders of the CIO and AFL *are planning to do.*

Next, we should recall that the CIO and AFL have a history of private McCarthyism inside the labor movement which they have not repudiated. They haven't given any sign of altering their course on this all-important matter of the right of union members and leaders to hold self-chosen political views without an inquisition from the union heads. So long as this situation persists, the labor movement will be badly hampered in the fight for civil liberties.

TO RECALL the complicity of the labor leadership in the rise of a McCarthyite atmosphere in America, one should think back to the postwar events in the CIO. It is instructive to remember the Allis-Chalmers strike of 1946, perhaps the starting point of the CIO's wrong course. The leader of the Allis-Chalmers workers in Milwaukee was Harold Christoffel, accused by the Hearst press in Milwaukee, and later by the entire capitalist press, of being a "communist." The strike against the bitterly anti-labor Allis-Chalmers company was over a demand for a twenty-five cent an hour wage increase and for other improvements. At this time, the United Auto Workers was being torn by an internal battle for control. Walter Reuther, in a right-wing alliance with the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists, was making his bid.

It was in this struggle that Reuther uncorked the bottle out of which came the ominous genie which was to do so much damage in the labor movement. He began to depend upon a campaign of red-baiting in his effort to capture union control. The company, joined by the reactionary press, opened an all-out union smashing drive against the Allis-Chalmers workers under the discredited sign of red-baiting. It had been many years since the corporations employed red-baiting with any success, but Reuther's criminal complicity revived this weapon in the Allis-Chalmers strike and set it in motion once again in American labor battles. He made the fateful decision that it was more important for him to control the UAW than it was for the workers to defend their union and win their strike. Reuther opened fire on the leadership of the Allis-Chalmers workers in a "super-clever" way: the leaders were "reds," the company would never settle with them, and so the workers ought to throw them out and put in "responsible" Reuther men, etc., etc.

In this way began the pattern which has been followed down to the present, as typified by the recent events in

Velde Committee Meets A Storm on the Waterfront

SAN FRANCISCO

THE WITCH-HUNTING Velde committee met vigorous protest in this area when it attempted to meddle disruptively in the affairs of the union movement under cover of "investigating communism." A one-day protest strike by the independent International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union shut down the waterfront, and a series of protest meetings and demonstrations attracted wide popular interest. In addition, the committee had difficulty in getting "friendly" witnesses, or in other words, stoolpigeons.

Longshore Local 10 of the ILWU had warned before the Velde committee came to town that any attacks on the union would be met with a work stoppage. The ILWU was attacked, as expected, on the first day of the hearings. On the following day, Dec. 3, the 6,000-member Local 10 hit the bricks, and called a mass meeting in front of City Hall where the Velde group was holding hearings. Reinforced by contingents of longshoremen and warehousemen from Oakland and Stockton, and by large numbers of students from the University of California at Berkeley, the demonstration demanded that the hearings be shifted to the huge Civic Auditorium so the union ranks could attend.

This powerful action set the stage for further protests. Students at the university organized a packed meeting, which was addressed by an ILWU speaker, and set up a committee for continued activity against the witch-hunt. The Alameda County CIO Council spoke out against the Velde committee.

Inside the hearing rooms, Velde was able to display only the thinnest and most pitiful fringe of stoolpigeons. This was because divergent political types, called to the hearings, stuck together against the committee. Officials and rank-and-file members of the Communist Party, expelled members of that party, union officials, educators, attorneys, etc., all refused to kneel before the committee's demands.

Ken Austin, longshoreman expelled from the Communist Party in 1946, demonstratively refused "to be an informer for this committee, now or at any time." Harrison George, former editor of the *People's World,* expelled from the Communist Party in 1946, refused to answer the committee's questions. Nineteen witnesses, called on the last two days of the committee hearings, varied in political outlook, all refused to cooperate with Velde.

Charles (Chili) Duarte, President of Warehouse Local 6 of the ILWU, declined to answer questions put to him about Communist Party membership on the grounds of the Fifth Amendment, and proceeded to elaborate on his reasons. Velde interrupted him and closed the session a full hour ahead of the usual adjournment time, despite the fact that scheduled witnesses were waiting to testify. The Local 6 president then delivered a brief but blistering speech to the press and observers, in protest against the procedure of the committee.

The public at the committee hearings was extremely hostile to Velde, and he threatened several times to clear the hearing room.

The Velde committee packed up and left this area after a week of hearings, although it had been scheduled to stay for two weeks. Its departure is being widely interpreted as a flight before the stormy wave of protest which broke from the waterfront.

Lynn, Mass. (how different that tale is from San Francisco!), where the CIO electrical workers, seeking a factional victory over its left-wing rival, exposed the union movement to the ravages of a terrific McCarthyite attack. The CIO won its petty NLRB election victory by a narrow margin, but at a frightful cost to the labor movement of New England and the country. General Electric took advantage of the opening to promulgate the new and immensely dangerous doctrine that it has the right to screen the political opinions of its employees.

IT CAN BE clearly seen why the exclusion of the left-wing unions from the CIO and the factional war against them is so dangerous. By this factional war the CIO accepts the basic principle of McCarthyism. It is cold comfort to reason that the left-wing unions need not be defended because these unions have been cast out and thus the attacks on them don't touch the CIO and AFL. Nobody has McCarthy's or General Electric's sworn affidavit that they will stop just where they promise to stop—with the so-called "communists." Those gentlemen consider all unions a variety of "communism." McCarthy's shrewdness consists almost entirely in that he limits himself on the surface to the issue of "communism," while in reality he hopes to destroy unionism, New Dealism, welfare legislation, liberalism and all opposition by this method. His strategy is being used by Big Business like a crowbar which gets a better purchase by small stages as the gap is opened. If he succeeds in smashing the unions which the CIO so considerately (for McCarthy) expelled, the precedents set in that process will be turned to militant sections of the CIO and AFL, and the definition of "communist" broadened day by day as the crowbar inches in. Don't we already see this going on?

To fight McCarthyism while you have your own little McCarthyism inside the labor movement is self-contradictory and self-defeating. Yet people often go along for a considerable time acting in a contradictory way. Thus a stirring of anti-McCarthy action may get under way in the labor movement without any change in CIO and AFL policy on their past internal course. And yet this contradiction is bound to be a trap, and sooner or later the labor movement will be impelled to untie its hands for an all-out battle by discarding its present impossible viewpoint and making room for everyone in the fight. If the officialdom doesn't yield to this need, a wing of the labor movement may well arise that advocates this change. When the labor movement seriously enters the battle against McCarthyism, this battle itself must produce movements for a reconsideration of policy.

THAT RECONSIDERATION will embrace many phases of union policy. Take as an example the Taft-Hartley law. The union movement is officially very hostile to the slave labor act. Yet it has collaborated in the maintenance of the law, partly out of fear of the "communist" issue. If the union movement were to take John L. Lewis' advice, which it should have done in the first place, it would refuse to file non-communist affidavits for its officers, and would take the ground that the political opinions of the unionists are no business of the bosses or the politicians. With the whole union movement "denied access" to the National Labor Relations Board, that Taft-Hartleyized board would collapse in five minutes, and the law would be a dead letter overnight.

In the fight against McCarthyism, labor has to adopt the principle that the attackers must be met at the threshold. Every victim of the Smith Act, of the congressional committees, of the McCarran immigration law, of the government employee "loyalty" program, must be defended regardless of political opinion. Unless it does this, the union movement recognizes the judgment of the worst reactionaries over political opinions, and the fight for civil liberties collapses before it gets started.

Labor must meet the invaders at the border in every industrial center, and this means a hostile demonstration on the order of San Francisco wherever the witch-hunters threaten to invade the union movement with their "investigations," charges, blackmail menaces and general vigilantism. Above all, the method of seeking factional advantage in inner-union struggles by relying upon the McCarthyites to hurt an opponent must be firmly and decisively rejected, and all those who practice it must be punished by the public opinion of the labor movement. The electrical workers have felt the harm of this dirty method even in their pocketbooks, to say nothing of their political liberties, and it is the sure road to self-destruction if it is continued.

Labor must form a standing committee to fight the witch-hunt in every way, and that committee must be a working force ready to reply to the vigilantes front by front: with educational literature, with meetings and demonstrations, with legal and financial aid to all victims of the witch-hunt. It is pitiful to observe how many hundreds of essential court cases are struggling along on a couple of nickels and a prayer, when the labor movement could change all that and lift this burden from the handful of radicals and liberals by just a slight movement of its mighty arm.

AND FINALLY, it would be well to begin discussion on calling a Congress of Labor, Negro and Liberal Organizations in the nation's capital to launch this pressing battle in the most militant, united and demonstrative way. Such a congress is a serious undertaking, and ought not be proposed or considered at every slight turning of the road. But we are up against a reactionary monstrosity which has been growing for a half-dozen years, which disposes of vast financial and press support, which all but possesses the full backing of the federal administration. The labor movement has to start thinking in terms of a fight for its very existence. American labor has to take the tragic experience of Germany to heart.

There is a turn for the better coming in the fight against McCarthyism because labor is showing signs of waking to the danger. And yet, without a real drive on the part of all workers who see the threat and the answer, this turn may be too slight and too late. Massive action is required, and a few speeches or even a few good isolated actions won't fill the bill. The militant unionists, the clear-sighted workers, the radicals in the labor movement have a big responsibility in this battle.

I Warned Reuther!

by Genora Dollinger

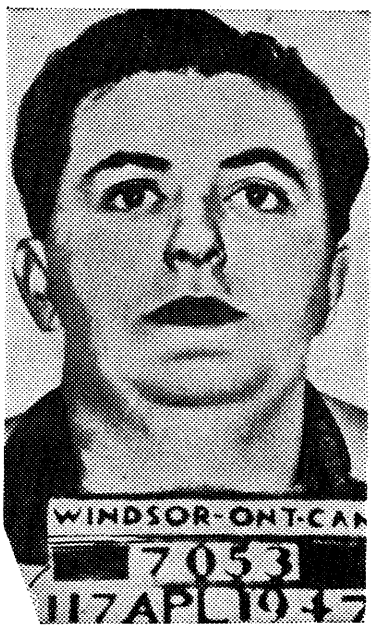
FLINT, MICHIGAN

WALTER REUTHER might never have been shot if he had heeded the advice of the Special Investigation Committee elected by the membership of Briggs Local 212. We met with Reuther in the summer of 1945 after thugs had on three occasions badly beaten up two of our Briggs rank-and-file members. Our local committee had demanded that the International Union set up an investigating body with authority to uncover the perpetrators of anti-labor violence. We further proposed that a substantial reward be offered for information leading to the arrest and conviction of the guilty parties.

The Briggs delegation, headed by Ernest Mazey, went from the office of R. J. Thomas, then president of the UAW, to Walter Reuther, then vice president. As secretary of the committee, I was one of the spokesmen. Members of the committee were aware of my prior acquaintance with Reuther and his brothers, dating a few years before the 1937 sitdown strikes in Flint, and we felt this would facilitate our arriving at an agreement.

At that time we could proceed only from our knowledge of the three assaults and a general understanding of the labor-capital struggle. Briggs local had achieved a reputation for union militancy and was therefore selected for the attacks. If allowed to go unanswered, the beating of Briggs militants could terrorize the local and this fear could grip the entire labor movement in the Motor City. We of the Briggs local understood this and were trying to convey our convictions to our top union officers.

The Briggs local investigating committee, despite very limited resources, succeeded in uncovering evidence to bear out our contention that the violence was the beginning of a serious plot against the labor movement, particularly the UAW-CIO. It was this conviction, drawn from the evidence we had already found, that brought us to union headquarters to seek resources and help beyond our own means.



Donald Ritchie, who signed statement naming corporation-backed thugs that made attempt on Walter Reuther's life April 20, 1948, slipped easily out of police custody and fled to Canada. In Detroit, Prosecutor Gerald K. O'Brien offers little hope for Ritchie's extradition. Case has been hampered from beginning by police sluggishness.

I CAN STILL recall the general tenor of my remarks to Reuther which concluded as follows: *"They will step up their attacks. If they are successful in the Briggs local, Walter, it will very likely spread to the International and who knows, you might be the next victim."*

Reuther's scoffing answer certainly didn't anticipate the shotgun blast of April 20, 1948, which unfortunately confirmed the analysis of the Briggs local and myself to the hilt. He responded with a condescending smile: *"Now, now, Genora, let's not get dramatic."*

A few months later, in September, I became the fourth Briggs victim when two hoodlums entered my bedroom in the dark early hours of morning and severely clubbed me with a lead pipe from head to foot, breaking my collar bone, giving me a brain injury and temporarily paralyzing my right side. This was followed by the severe beating of Ken Morris, later elected President of the Briggs local, and then the shotgun murder attempts on Walter and Victor Reuther.

It was not until I had been slugged that the union commenced to take action. And only after the capitalist press tried to smear the labor movement with the trumped-up charge of internal struggle and factionalism as the cause of the beatings. Unfortunately the union leaders dragged their feet miserably in this crisis.

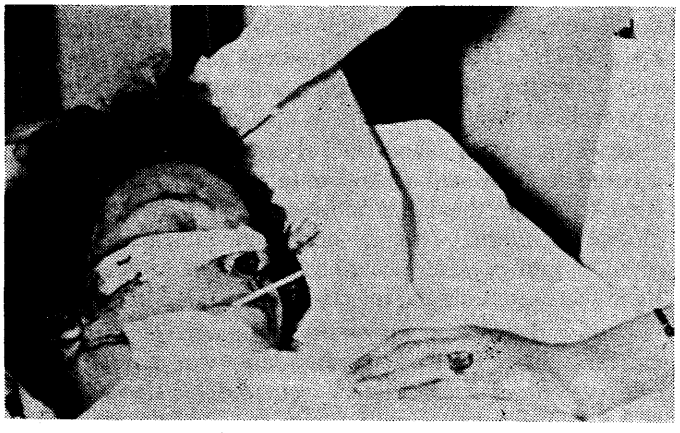
During the Detroit mayoralty campaign Richard Frankensteen, the CIO-backed candidate, was harassed by a full-page newspaper editorial centered on the clubbing I had received, replete with pictures, cartoons and all. It is ironic that the press was permitted by the unions to utilize this beating against the unions without reply. In light of the subsequent Kefauver report, which revealed that the beatings were engineered by Perrone, who, in

turn, was being paid off by the Briggs corporation, the union's conduct becomes positively astounding. The most charitable explanation for the union leaders' cowardice was their personal hostility to my politics which prevented them from taking a principled union stand. But to this day I must suspect that their failure stems from too much softness toward the corporations.

NEVERTHELESS our efforts in Briggs were not without results. They led to the establishment of the One Man Grand Jury in Detroit in 1947. In spite of rumors of important revelations, the Murphy Grand Jury showed no signs of activity—with the sole exception of going after the elected leaders of the Teamsters Union in the best labor-hating style. The Briggs Investigating Committee members continued pressing the International Union all this time to force the Grand Jury to make its findings public.

One day, after recuperating from the beating I had received, I met Emil Mazey, now Secretary-Treasurer of the UAW, at the sessions of the Michigan State CIO Convention of that year. Mazey had just returned from the army and had been elected to the UAW International Executive Board. As organizer and former President of Briggs local he had authority and the necessary prestige to press for action on the case. I proposed to Emil Mazey that we either force the Grand Jury to release its report or publicly blast the Grand Jury. Emil counseled caution. He was worried of possible contempt citation. I offered to risk contempt of the Grand Jury with a challenging press statement in my own name. I thought it hardly likely that the Grand Jury would take action against a victim of the hoodlum attacks. But apparently the union officials were bamboozled by the red scare and afraid of publicity in connection with a prominent Michigan socialist. So the issue was buried.

The Grand Jury's data on the Briggs beatings were released by the Kefauver Senate Investigating Committee in 1951. It contained explosive information on the relations between Briggs Corporation, the Michigan Stove Company and the Perrone gang. Perrone's union-busting, head-busting activities have become public knowledge three years after Reuther was shot. Yet it was known by the Grand Jury for a year prior to the Reuther shooting!



". . . in September, I became the fourth . . . victim when two hoodlums entered my bedroom in the dark early hours and severely clubbed me with a lead pipe from head to foot, breaking my collar bone, giving me a brain injury and temporarily paralyzing my right side. . . ."

The Kefauver hearings filled in many details then unknown to us. Yet even previously we were in possession of the most important facts. And it is incontestable that a concerted campaign in 1947—as proposed by the Briggs Investigating Committee members and myself—would have forced the Grand Jury to release its information. The attendant widespread publicity could very well have averted the Reuther shootings.

IT IS OBVIOUS from reading between the lines of the daily press that enormous pressure is being exerted to clear the skirts of the auto corporations. Everyone understands that the Briggs beatings and Reuther shootings must have cost a pile of money. The only source for this kind of money is the wealthy industrialists in Detroit who have never reconciled themselves to militant unions. The absurd press attempts to attribute the beatings to a gangsters' attempt to seize control of the union hardly need refutation. Even a cursory knowledge of the UAW structure shows the impossibility of this. Certainly the elimination of Reuther would not have given control to the gangsters. This talk is strictly poppycock for a purpose: It is designed to cover up the corporations who are the actual power behind the hoodlums.

The way the union officials are now conducting themselves proves they haven't learned a thing from the whole experience. How can one overlook the escape of the star witness from a guard of ten Detroit policemen? How did Sam Perrone get wind of impending arrest? Who is responsible for the ugly rumors in the press attempting to convert the murder attempt into an inner-union squabble —without, let it be noted, a single counter-statement from Reuther, or even a modest effort on the union's part, independent of the police, courts or capitalist press? One would think the least the union officials could have done was to guarantee protection to the star witness in the case. Why didn't the union surround Ritchie with a union guard? Reuther knows, or ought to know from past experience, about Perrone's influence in the Detroit police department. The cop who gave me the third degree after I was beat up—grilling me as cruelly and inhumanly as though I were the criminal—was later exposed by the Kefauver Committee as having a mysterious source of income through his wife who had mysteriously come into possession of a beer garden. This same cop, DeLamillieux, was assigned to the case of the Briggs beatings!

Reuther's failure to inform the press along proper lines and to demolish poisonous press "rumors" seems to point to nothing less than a demonstrated fear of Perrone's powerful backers. It may signify that there is a cowardly attempt on the part of the union officials to play ball with the police and capitalist politicians in hanging the rap on a few hoodlums while permitting their wealthy corporation backers to get out from under and go scot free.

Are union leaders so naive as to think labor peace has been established in America? Do they think the beatings and shootings were an aberration of a local industrialist suffering from an overdose of anti-union rabies? If they

Reuther is shown in 1948 as he testified at hearing on Carl Bolton, then accused of having fired shotgun blast that came near killing the UAW president and smashed his right arm.

have these illusions they better get rid of them. They should know from the rising unemployment figures that the class struggle will get sharper. Anti-union terrorism will rise with national difficulties, not go down.

THE PERSONNEL managers of the big auto corporations make no bones of the fact that unions are tolerated—but only until the changing political climate will enable them, they think, to bust unions. Reuther and Mazey are in possession of these reports. They can't pretend ignorance on this count. They may delude themselves into thinking their favorable press treatment—after they started red-baiting inside the unions—is going to remain. But those illusions paved the way for the Reuther shootings.

Not all union militants have gone through the experience of the veterans of the sitdown strikes. If these workers were shot at and teargassed as I was in the Battle of Bull Run in the 1937 sitdown strike in Flint, they would know General Motors doesn't like unions. If they were violently driven out of Saginaw by GM-inspired vigilantes in the same year for trying to organize workers into a union, they would never forget it. If they had lived through the bitterness and violence of the Ford organizing drive in Detroit this conviction would be part of their flesh and bones.

I hope Reuther and the other union officials have second thoughts on all this. I hope they will stop soft-pedalling the issue which involves them as much as the ranks, and use the coming trial on the attempted murder of Walter Reuther as an opportunity to expose the whole rotten mess of Big Business tie-up with hoodlums, thugs, spies and the rest of the underworld scum, to expose the responsibility of the corporations for the gangster attacks. I hope also the UAW will give full and unstinting backing to the three of us who were beaten up, and whose court case against the Briggs Corporation is due to come up shortly. This is the best way to prepare the union membership for the hard battles that lie ahead.

The Ohio Inquisition

YOUNGSTOWN

THE THREAT of the new Ohio witch-hunt measure, the Devine law, hovers over the rights of the people of this state. Passed over the governor's veto by a one-vote margin last July, the law goes further than the federal Smith Act in limiting free speech and free organization.

The law makes illegal "subversive organizations" and "subversive persons" (!), and defines such organizations or persons as those "a purpose of which" is to advocate "overthrow" of the government. No definition is given as to what activities can be said to demonstrate a "purpose" to "advocate" such "overthrow." Penalties for what can be construed as advocacy of socialism, "or contributing to the support" of any organization branded as "subversive . . . by a court of competent jurisdiction" run as high as 20 years in jail, a fine of $20,000, or both.

Devine, who authored the law, has recently been rewarded with the chairmanship of the Ohio Un-American Activities Commission. Twenty witnesses were cited for contempt by this commission in 1952. Judge William Bryant of Columbus recently upheld the grand jury indictments that followed citations, saying that witnesses before a state legislative committee could not invoke the Fifth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution and refuse to answer on grounds of self-incrimination. The judge *literally* stated that the Ohio State Constitution supersedes the Bill of Rights. However, he added that a witness cannot be prosecuted on the basis of testimony elicited by the commission.

Needless to say, this latter "guarantee" is a legal joker that the witch-hunters could quickly cast aside by using the Devine law. As pointed out by the eight uncooperative witnesses called before the commission in Akron last October, to answer "yes" to the question "Are you a communist?" is to make mandatory indictment under that law.

Three weeks ago a grand jury ordered a trial for contempt for the eight Akronites. They had insisted on their constitutional right to refuse to answer under the Fifth Amendment, in spite of the brandishing by the Un-American Commission of Judge Bryant's ruling.

Meanwhile, as state officials contemplated their newly acquired powers under the Devine law, which went into effect last October, the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Attorney-General of the U.S. arranged the indictment of a group of alleged Communist Party leaders in the Cleveland area.

The labor and liberal movement of Ohio (with the exception of the American Civil Liberties Union) has avoided taking a stand against the federal and state witch-hunters. The CIO movement here, powerful as it is, did not fight the enactment of the Devine bill. Socialists have work cut out for them here in pressing for a broader understanding of the problem and for the defense of civil liberties in Ohio.

L. B.

LONDON LETTER

On-the-scene report by George Clarke tells of swing to left in Labor Party, growth of Bevanite influence, new rise in labor struggles and prospects ahead.

"ANGER ON THE LEFT" This headline in Aneurin Bevan's *Tribune* was a good description of the political climate in Britain at the close of 1953. The cause of the anger has been the atrocities committed in the colonies by Winston Churchill's Tory Government and its Big Business attacks against the standard of living at home. But the object of the spreading discontent has been the timid, compromising right-wing Labor Party leadership headed by Attlee and Morrison. "Labor," the *Tribune* demands, "must show it means business." And precisely this is being shown by millions of workers pressing for wage increases in industry after industry.

To a lesser extent, the new radical mood is finding expression on the floor of the House of Commons. Despite the many restraints imposed by the leaders of the Parliamentary Labor Party, "back benchers" have been breaking through to hurl defiant words at the Tory ministers. Twice in the course of a December week, the government was taunted with the memory of a revolution 400 years ago in which an English king had lost his head. The resemblance was striking: like their Royalist antecedents, the Tories are hanging on for dear life, out of touch with the times, out of tune with the people.

The Labor MP who evoked the memory of the Great Rebellion was as unlike Cromwell as were the issues which precipitated the division in this once insular and imperialist-minded British Parliament. The Kabáka of Buganda had been summarily deposed by the Tory Colonial Secretary for his opposition to plans for the constitution of an East African Federation to be dominated by British monopoly capital and minority white-man rule. The same Oliver Lyttleton had only recently suspended the constitution of British Guiana, *written by his own Foreign Office,* in order to get rid of the Peoples Progressive Party, legally placed in office by an overwhelming majority of the electorate.

There was a time not so long ago when the fate of black men in remote Central Africa, or the rights of East Indian workers on the sugar plantations of a South American colony would have caused scarcely a ripple in a country inured to the atrocities that accompanied the centuries-long subjugation of India. Today, however, British workingmen are discovering a kinship with the insurgent colonial peoples. The profits of empire no longer bring special privileges. On the contrary, rebellion in the colonies and the loss of foreign markets in inter-imperialist competition is resulting in a steady decline of living standards.

The Tory Government appears increasingly as the source of the double misfortune, at home and abroad. It gives the impression of a buccaneering expedition where a handful of rich men are trying to grab up everything while the grabbing is still good. Since its accession to office over two years ago it has been feverishly at work dismantling the structure of the "welfare state" set up by the Labor Government. It added new charges to the once-free health services. It turned back the road-haulage industry to private operators. It denationalized steel. All these operations were strictly unsound from the point of view of the national economy, but the new owners or the returning old ones made a big killing in the transaction—and that's what was intended. Meanwhile with the elimination of food subsidies, prices on staples such as bread, meat, milk, butter have been steadily rising and there is a return, in the words of the left-wing *Socialist Outlook* "to rationing by the purse." Rents for some eight million working-class families will soon get the same treatment when the landlords stick on an increase; the pretext will be so-called "repairs" in old housing for which they will receive a handsome bonus from the government.

IN ITS OWN dogged, unemotional way the anger of the British people is mounting against Churchill's Tories. It was not for this piracy that millions of middle-class voters, attracted by the promise to rid the country of the "grim austerity" of the Labor regime, had put the Conservatives in power. Even so the Tories were elected as a minority government with a smaller total vote than that received by the defeated Laborites. Each new by-election, including the two most recent Labor victories in the Holborn and Paddington sections of London, verifies that this situation not only continues, but it is improving in Labor's favor. Yet there is not the slightest indication that Churchill intends to heed these signs and to let the people, in a new election, pronounce themselves on the policies of his government.

"The grand strategy [Churchill's]," a writer in *The New Statesman and Nation* points out, "is to hang on to office until the essential machinery on which the 1945 government depended is smashed or dismantled . . . [it is] to make certain that the obstacles before the next Labor Government shall be too great for it to advance in the direction of socialism." A constantly growing public is beginning to perceive this Tory design which can be summed up in the old phrase: After us, the deluge! In this popular view, the actions and tenure of the Conserva-

tive Government are as unconstitutional, unrepresentative, irresponsible and illegal at home as they are in the colonies. The use of troops here to break the petrol lorry drivers strike in November at the very moment gunboats were being sent to Guiana, aroused the comment that this government was apparently capable of the same violence against British workers as against subject peoples.

The first signs of revolt are appearing on the industrial front in a gathering storm of strikes. For more than two years Transport House (headquarters of The General Council of the Unions) has been trying to restrain this movement, promising concessions if the workers were reasonable. While the concessions were not very numerous or substantial, Deakin and the trade union hierarchy were aided by the somewhat "unorthodox" Tory policies of Chancellor of the Exchequer Butler whose object was to alienate the trade unions from the Labor Party and thus create a new source of popular support for the Tory Government. But even the patience of a British worker is not inexhaustible, and now faced with more burdens than they care to carry for the millionaire Blimps, the self-confident ranks are writing finis to the era of footsie-wootsie between Transport House and the Tory ministers. "More ominous of the coming trouble than the trade prospects of the New Year are unsettled wage problems of industry—our own and many others." So writes the secretary of the Amalgamated Engineering Union. His was one of the biggest affiliates of the Confederation of Engineering and Shipbuilding Unions, some two million strong, including auto, aircraft, shipyard, machine tool workers, and others in the metallurgical industry, which staged a 24-hour general strike demonstration for a 15 percent increase in wages.

"Every wage increase over the last seven or eight years—apart from the difficulty and delay in securing them," he continues, "has been less than sufficient to meet the cost of living as it then stood." The highest paid of the metal workers, that is, toolroom fitters and turners (according to figures published in the *New Statesman and Nation,* Nov. 28), received a little better than 234 shillings in average weekly earnings during June 1953. In terms of dollars, that amounts to just about $33 per week! The industrialists can afford to pay the increase: first, because productivity per worker is at least 50 percent higher than it was in 1947; and second, because gross profits jumped some 101 percent in engineering, shipbuilding and electrical goods manufacture in the same seven years.

YET THERE IS little reason to expect any magnanimous gesture on the part of the employers. Their eyes are riveted to the deteriorating foreign trade and to the dangers of a slump in the U.S. which will have quick and serious repercussions in Britain. "We have only just been holding our own," says *The Observer* (Nov. 22), a very authoritative but very conservative paper. ". . . industry must now expect increased competition in foreign markets, especially from America and Germany. It will take a lot to convince the employers that they can afford to pay even an extra few shillings." The London *Times* (Jan. 1), commenting on "Tasks for 1954," says that "The choice may be between risking serious labor trouble and ceasing to be fully competitive in international markets. . . ." Thus the "grand strategy" here too is to maintain the present level of profit-grabbing, or to prevent it from sinking too much by keeping the standard of living of the British workers at present low levels, or reducing them even lower.

Last summer, the government tried to pass off the wages question as a "communist plot" because Stalinists figured prominently in the leadership of the Electrical Trades Union then on strike. They tried the same again during the "wildcat" petrol lorry drivers strike. Today the *Observer* regretfully admits that "it would be wishful thinking to dismiss the 15 percent demand [of the engineering unions] as just a communist plot. . . . Indeed all the evidence suggests that the 15 percent demand has come from every section of the workers including many Roman Catholics." Not much place for a McCarthyite witch-hunt in this scheme of things.

Big Business and its Tory Government had counted on a little time to organize its forces, and for maneuvering, before facing the challenge of this movement directly. The engineering unions had put off action until a meeting of executive boards of the confederation affiliates on Dec. 23. At that meeting it was decided to initiate on Jan. 1 an overtime ban and a restriction on piecework. In the very midst of what seemed like a long drawn-out process, the Tories found themselves confronted with the threat of a railway strike. The time, on the eve of the Christmas holidays, was well chosen. The sympathy of the country was clearly on the side of the underpaid rail workers who had been awarded a miserly 4s. a week (64 cents) by a government arbitration board in place of their demand for a 15 percent increase. At the very last moment, the Tories decided to retreat, promising to grant further increases later on and to review the entire wage structure of the industry. Some of their papers consoled themselves by saying that railroads were not a good place to make a stand. They won't have to wait long to find out whether engineering or mining, where increases are also being demanded, are any better.

The Sun Sets on the Empire

"Britain is being outmatched in the struggle for export markets. Vital markets outside the dollar area are being lost to Germany, the United States and Japan. While world exports over the past two or three years have been rising, the volume of British exports has been falling, and her share in the total exports of manufactures has been shrinking.

"The much-publicised recovery in industrial production in the course of this year is not helping to pay our way. This is because the main increase has been in the building industry and because increases in other industries have gone to satisfy the home market and not to exports.

"The market for our dollar exports [is] very precarious indeed.

"Our debts to sterling countries have been rising too fast, reflecting failure to export as heavily as we have been importing.

"All these facts represent a real threat to our economic security. . . ."

—The London *Observer,* Nov. 22

THESE NEW developments on the industrial front deepen and sharpen the leftward swing in the Labor Party which appeared in new but somewhat vague form at the Margate Conference last September. It was the same Amalgamated Engineering Union, now at the head of the wages movement, that broke the solid bureaucratic bloc of unions, to join with the constituency parties led by Aneurin Bevan, in demanding an extension of nationalization to other industries, particularly its own. It is the same Deakin, who was allied at Margate with Labor's right wing headed by Attlee and Morrison, who today finds himself at odds with the other affiliates of the Engineering Confederation and will probably be in a minority when the decision for the next step is taken. (In fact, if the ranks of Deakin's Transport and General Workers Union—something like Beck's teamsters union, only more inclusive—could express themselves freely, as they do periodically in wildcat strikes, Deakin would also be in a minority there.)

The walls between the two sections of the Labor Party, the constituency parties (the equivalent of ward clubs) and the trade unions, dented at Margate, are now beginning to break down. The two are beginning to react reciprocally on one another. Bevan's struggle for an extension of nationalization stimulated a leftward movement in the unions. Now the struggle of the unions on the wage front is having its effects on Bevan's movement. His paper, *The Tribune,* previously written for the "highbrows," has now begun for the first time to give increasing attention to union struggles. It declared its complete solidarity with the railroad workers and referred to the engineers' demonstration as "The biggest stoppage since the General Strike of 1926, and certainly the biggest and most significant trade union action since the war." At the same time, the Bevanites have moved further to the left on the colonial question. Besides *Socialist Outlook,* the *Tribune* was the only paper in Britain to feature articles by Cheddi Jagan, the deposed Guiana prime minister, or by his colleague Burnham. The Bevanites were in the midst of organizing big public rallies for the two Guianese then in Britain seeking support for their cause when the National Executive Committee of the party proscribed the members from speaking on the same platform with these "communists"—that is, they used the same argument used by the Tories to depose the Guianese after they had legally come to power under a British colonial constitution!

"We denounce a shameful decision," said *Tribune,* and Jennie Lee (Bevan's wife) demanded from the floor of Commons that the Guianese people's leaders be permitted to explain their case from the platform of Parliament itself. In her speech, Jennie Lee drew the comparison between the infamous "Zinoviev Letter" which had brought down the first Labor Government in 1924 and the "red scare" used to oust the PPP from power in Guiana. "How," she asked, "were the people of British Guiana likely to react to the behavior of the [British] Government when in the first days of democratic government the British Government pretended they were outraged because the people wanted to replace the dictatorship of the sugar planters by a dictatorship of the poor?" Then, despite the Minister "begging the Opposition to withdraw the motion and let the House appear united before the world," the Laborites voted in a body to annul the removal of the Guianese constitution. And the very next day, the Laborite back benchers were at it again making scathing speeches about the atrocities in Kenya where British soldiers are paid by the head for every Mau Mau they kill. Another Labor MP, on hearing that Lyttleton was about to depart for Rhodesia, ironically asked "who in [his] absence is authorized to sack Ministers and suspend constitutions?"

The right wing tried to throw the colonial issue out the door of the party but it came back through the window of Parliament. (As we write, the news arrives that they have been obliged to reverse themselves, and to resubmit a motion of censure against the government for its "handling of affairs in Africa.") This came on the heels of spreading criticism throughout the country; the ranks have been asking why the Parliamentary Labor Party is out of step with the party as a whole, and why it conceals its position from the party by secret ballot in its caucus. When the right wing attempted to victimize a Bevanite writer for pointing out this fact, *Tribune* flung the challenge back at them: "Neither *Tribune* nor its contributors will allow themselves to be bullied into suppressing what we believe to be the truth. We shall continue. . . ."

THE WEAKNESS of the right wing in its struggle against Bevan and the Left in the party rests in its knowledge that it cannot abandon the fight against the Tories without suffering the fate of Ramsay MacDonald. The struggle against the Tories forces the party steadily into more radical positions and insures the victory of the Left with whom that struggle is identified. With each passing week the retreat of the right wing is being cut off by the clamor of militants in the party and the workers in the shops for action. They want the Tories out. They are in no mood to outwait Churchill's apparent determination, as the *Socialist Outlook* puts it, "to stay in office until time and the natural processes carry him out feet first." Their impatience is expressed in the big economic actions now pending.

Seeking a means to provide a political rallying ground for the vast diversified movement of strikes, demonstrations and tenant protests, the *Socialist Outlook* is taking a leaf out of the history of the Chartists, who a hundred years ago won suffrage and other democratic rights for the British workers. It is proposing to the Labor Party members and leaders that a monster petition signed by millions of people give expression to the democratic will of the majority that the Tories resign and let the people elect a truly representative government. The times—and the people—are ripe for such proposals.

Perhaps, indeed, the day is not so far off when Labor will refuse to take no for an answer, when its representatives will say to Churchill as Cromwell once said to the Long Parliament:

"You have stayed too long here for any good you have been doing. Depart, I say, and let us have done with you. In the name of God, go!"

BOOK REVIEW

Out of Their Own Mouths

The World the Dollar Built, by Gunther Stein. Monthly Review Press, New York, 1953, $4.00.

THIS BOOK is a journalist's compendium, competently assembled, of facts and quotations about the fear of depression, the armament drive resulting from this fear; Big Business control over advertising, press and radio-television, government and politics; on the fear of overproduction and the decline of U. S. science that has resulted; on the distribution of income in the U. S.; on medicine, housing, security, etc. It is unfortunately not the "analysis" of the American economy which some have called it.

There's no point in blaming a book for not being what it doesn't try to be, and Mr. Stein's book, while not an analysis, makes a splendid handbook for socialists and a very convincing out-of-their-own-mouths argument against U. S. capitalism. As a matter of fact, before I had read three pages, I found myself indexing the excellent factual summaries and selected quotations in the book, and by the time I had read 60 pages I had listed about 40 interesting items.

Some samples: Did you notice in the *N. Y. Times Magazine* of Nov. 10, 1946, that one writer saw the U. S. problem after the war as similar to that of the Soviet Union before the war; that is, "trying to maintain capitalism, as they [the Soviet leaders] were trying to maintain communism, in a single country"?

Do you know that in June 1941, a U. S. Senator named Truman said: "If we see that Germany is winning we ought to help Russia and if Russia is winning we ought to help Germany, and that way let them kill as many as possible"?

In a January 1947 Gallup poll, 28 percent favored nationalizing banks and railways, 30 percent were for nationalizing electric power companies, 35 percent said the same for coal mines. A hard core of 15 percent favored nationalizing any basic industry, and as many as 45 percent would say "yes" on some industries!

Here's a little gem: In 1950 a studio cancelled a movie dealing with Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's "Hiawatha," because he smoked the peace pipe as a signal to the nations. The *N. Y. Times* reported on Sept. 17, 1950, that "the picture might be regarded by some as Communist 'peace propaganda because Hiawatha had tried to bring peace to the warring Indian tribes of his day."

A few months later, Paul G. Hoffman, former Marshall Plan administrator, told the Paris *Herald Tribune*: "I could break into every newspaper in America if, when I return to New York, I said: We ought to drop an atomic bomb on Moscow right away. But if I say that peace can be won through patience and firmness, it wouldn't get into a single paper."

Joseph Alsop's comment on who pays the piper in U. S. politics is worth noting: "Businessmen and corporations pay at least 85 percent of the American political bills, mostly under the table. . . . They can purchase political influence that may be worth millions for sums which they hardly feel."

Two more samples: On March 17, 1950, *U. S. News and World Report* wrote: "We are today bringing on the next war. We may not yet see clearly our own tendency to become provocative. But it is there—a bland refusal to inform ourselves on the real issues, a willingness to accept superficiality, prejudice, hysteria and mere arms as a complete substitute for any other approach."

And finally, the quotation with which Mr. Stein closes the book, from the Paris *Le Monde*: The choice before the U. S. is "to decide which of its two traditional moral laws to transgress: the one that makes preventive war inadmissible, or the one that does not permit free enterprise to be touched."

H. B.

Confessions of A Liberal

The Age of Suspicion, by James A. Wechsler. Random House, New York, 1953, $3.75.

POLITICAL memoirs of ex-communists are no longer a novelty. Publishers have the presses working overtime trying to keep abreast of the literary output of radicals turned stoolpigeon. James A. Wechsler, in 1935 a National Committee member of the Young Communist League, and in 1953 editor of the *N. Y. Post,* has added his volume to this undistinguished library.

The peg on which Wechsler hangs his confession is his "ordeal" before the McCarthy committee last April. He was provoked into writing the story of his political career by McCarthy's "mad" refusal to believe Wechsler had really quit communism and was really an undercover man criticizing the witch-hunters from the vantage point of the editor's chair of a metropolitan daily newspaper.

McCarthy's calculated attack on Wechsler was part of his sinister campaign to stifle all critics of the drive toward thought-control. The Wechsler hearing was an important phase of the McCarthyite campaign to intimidate those, who like the *N. Y. Post* editor, were protesting against Congressional "excesses."

Moreover, the questioning of Wechsler also involved an attempt to smear those liberal newspapers and magazines who dared to differ even slightly with McCarthy. Thus, not only were important principles of the civil liberties of individuals involved in Wechsler's case, but freedom of the press. Wechsler's book therefore records a significant chapter in the attempt to suppress freedom of thought and expression.

But far from using his pen to wage a battle against McCarthy, Wechsler wrote this book as a whining self-defense. On the one hand he introduces incontrovertible evidence that he is indeed an anti-communist and among the best apologists for capitalism; on the other hand he strives with no success at all to justify his role as informer against associates of his college days.

The author pictures himself as a tortured soul, torn between his reluctance to aid and abet McCarthy, and his belief that silence before the inquisitors was a poor policy. ". . . there is in the American tradition a very real belief that the man who has nothing to conceal will speak up when spoken to; muteness has not often been equated with valor," writes Wechsler. If this is the American tradition, then it was certainly not known to the men who drafted the Bill of Rights, and particularly the First and Fifth Amendments to the Constitution. Describing his thoughts during the hearing at the moment when McCarthy demanded from him a list naming all the communists he had known, Wechsler states: "I am sure that he knew enough about me to guess the reluctance with which I would give such a list to a man like him. . . . For McCarthy knew I would have been happier not to give him any list." To be sure, one would probably have to search far and wide to find the morbid type, happy in his work as informer.

While McCarthy may have known enough about Wechsler to realize his discomfort, the witness revealed a total lack of understanding of his inquisitor and his aims, when he wrote: "I knew he would have been delighted if I had taken that stand"; that is, had Wechsler refused to testify against his young friends of former days. McCarthy's purpose is not only to smear people who refuse to testify, but to pressure and bully as many as possible into his service as stoolpigeons.

Here is Wechsler's dilemma in his own words: "I did not see how I could persuade my perplexed countrymen that unwillingness to entrust such a list to McCarthy was different from the stereotyped refusal of communists to answer questions before congressional committees." Here Wechsler joins McCarthy in equating refusal to recognize the right of McCarthy to inquire into people's political beliefs with "guilt."

So, he drafted the list "with so much foreboding and unhappiness" and turned it in to McCarthy. This Wechsler did after checking with his boss, *N. Y. Post* publisher Dorothy Schiff, and after he had "walked up and down the corridor for several moments in a state of total irresolution." It was really rough. "Whatever I did was bound to be misconstrued." But the crusading editor, a big name among American liberals, pulled himself together, and did what he tries to palm off as the American tradition. He turned informer.

This is what has happened to a whole generation of young intellectuals, radicalized by the experience of the depression, but who, in the days of prosperity, have accommodated themselves to the red-hunt and the drive to enforce intellectual conform-

ism. Wechsler's book is noteworthy only as an example, since he is a recognized spokesman of the corruption and sterility that has almost wiped the radical intelligentsia off the face of America.

There are those, of course, who have defied McCarthy and the witch-hunt. Some are Stalinists, some are independent radicals, some of indeterminate political hue. Their principled refusal to talk is far more in the tradition of American struggles for freedom than Wechsler's crawling submission to the enemies of civil liberty.

J. G.

Marx on America

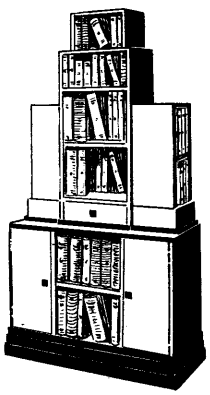
Letters to Americans, by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. International Publishers, New York, 1953, $3.50.

THIS IS a new volume of Marx and Engels correspondence based in the main on the 1906 German edition of the Friedrich A. Sorge correspondence, but also containing many letters to Joseph Weydemeyer, probably the first important American Marxist, Engels' correspondence with his American translator, Florence Kelley, as well as other American figures of the time. A number of the letters in this volume appear in English for the first time, and according to the editor's preface, others are printed for the first time in any language, from the archives of the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute in Moscow.

The most important section of the book undoubtedly is the correspondence with Sorge who was a leading figure in the German-American labor circles of the East, and through whose influence Marx established relations with William H. Sylvis, founder of the first labor federation, the National Labor Union.

While very few trade unions affiliated directly with Marx's International, Socialists were very influential in the unions at this time and led the great unemployed movement of 1873. The confusion among the Socialists was enormous, however, as to how to work in America. The labor movement in the post-Civil War days was largely dominated by the German Socialist emigrants who were far better educated than the rest of the workers. But they lacked knowledge of the country, of the American workers and of the specific American problems. The Socialists soon split into Lassallean and Marxist wings, not to mention many lesser groupings, with the Lassalleans advocating the formation of workers' political parties to concentrate on election campaigns for the purpose of securing state credits for producers' cooperatives. In 1874, the Lassalleans formed the Social Democratic Party and ran candidates for numerous local offices. But the results were very poor, and two years later, under strong pressure from the ranks, the party united with the 19 American sections of the International to form the Workingmen's Party of the United States on a platform that emphasized trade union activity and general political work, but called for delay in election campaigns until the party "was strong enough to exercise perceptible influence." The Marxists won the platform but the Lassalleans won the party machinery. They then proceeded to ignore the platform, refused to become active in the great strikes of 1877, and at the party convention of that same year, took over control, overhauled the program and changed the name of the organization to the Socialist Labor Party under the banner: "Science the Arsenal, Reason the Weapon, the Ballot the Missile."

After a few years of electioneering, the SLP declined badly and the Socialist forces split up again into three divisions: the SLP, the pure-and-simple trade unions, and the anarchist societies. The greater militancy and aggressiveness of the anarchists (who advocated the propaganda of the deed in place of the propaganda of the ballot) in participating in the life of the unions and workers' struggles won them decisive support among the German emigrants. By the end of 1883 the SLP had dropped to 1,500 members while the anarchist association boasted in 1885 a membership of 7,000. But anarchism was obviously a passing phase even for the German Socialists and could take no roots in a country like the United States. The hysteria that swept the country after the Haymarket bombing hastened its decline, and automatically reestablished the SLP as the main Socialist organization.



IN 1890, a Columbia University lecturer on international law, Daniel De Leon, was recruited into the party and quickly rose to leadership of the organization. De Leon was a highly educated man, possessor of great will power, energy and driving force. He imparted new vigor to the party's activities and projected its program with a sharpness and clarity it had never attained before. De Leon's more capable and aggressive leadership, instead of thrusting the SLP onto a broader national arena, was responsible instead for hardening the organization into a finished sectarian mold, thus sealing its doom. De Leon fully shared with the German emigrants their ignorance of the country and its working class. And he perfected the emigrants' doctrinaire and sectarian conceptions into a fully developed pseudo-scientific dogma that was to be rammed down the American workers' throats whether they were willing to swallow it or not. The formal tactics that De Leon started out with were not so bad. He was going to "bore from within" the AFL and the Knights of Labor. But under his tutelage, the SLP members were the carriers of such a narrow-minded, mean spirit of intolerance, sectarian exclusiveness, ultimatum-hurling factionalism; they were so impervious to the trends in the labor movement, and so blind to the actual state of development of the workers, that the SLP tactics soon turned into a nightmare. In a few years, after a series of the most fantastic twists and maneuvers to "capture" these movements, the De Leonists found themselves outside of the AFL and the Knights, as well as outside Henry George's United Labor Party in New York. They thereupon haughtily concluded that working within reformist organizations was the bunk, and just as the only real labor union was the De Leonist Socialist Alliance, so the only real labor party was the SLP.

It was in this period that Engels was writing his letters to Sorge and others, and directing shaft after shaft of his anger and disgust at the sectarian antics of the American Socialists. It is indeed remarkable with what clarity he saw—from across the ocean—the essentials of the American situation, with what unerring skill he put his finger on the source of the trouble, and with what prescience he discerned the broad lines of American labor development. Even the few short excerpts quoted below will demonstrate the correctness of this evaluation. Engels wrote:

"My preface which is included as an appendix in this book will of course turn entirely on the immense stride made by the American workingman in the last ten months, and naturally also touch Henry George and his land scheme. But it cannot pretend to deal extensively with it. Nor do I think the time for that has come. It is far more important that the movement should spread, proceed harmoniously, take root, and embrace as much as possible the whole American proletariat, than that it should start and proceed from the beginning on theoretically perfect lines. There is no better road to theoretical clearness of comprehension than to learn by one's mistakes. And for a whole large class, there is no other road, especially for a nation so eminently practical and so contemptuous of theory as the Americans. The great thing is to get the working class to move *as a class;* that once obtained, they will soon find the right direction, and all who resist, Henry George or Powderly, will be left out in the cold with small sects of their own. Therefore I think also the Knights of Labor a most important factor in the movement which ought not to be pooh-poohed from without but to be revolutionized from within, and I consider that many of the Germans there have made a grievous mistake when they tried, in the face of a mighty and glorious movement not of their creation, to make of their imported and not always understood theory a kind of *exclusive-salvation* dogma, and to keep aloof from any movement which did not accept that dogma. Our theory is not a dogma but the exposition of a process of evolution, and that process involves successive phases. To

expect that the Americans will start with the full consciousness of the theory worked out in older industrial countries is to expect the impossible. What the Germans ought to do is to face up to their own theory—if they understand it, as we did in 1845 and 1848—to go in for any real general working class movement, accept its actual starting point as such and work it gradually up to the theoretical level . . . do not make the inevitable confusion of the first start worse confounded by forcing down people's throats things which, at present, they cannot properly understand but which they will soon learn. A million or two of workingmen's votes next November for a bona fide workingmen's party is worth infinitely more at present than a hundred thousand votes for a doctrinally perfect platform." (*Letter to Florence Kelley,* Dec. 28, 1886)

"The Social Democratic Federation here (in England) shares with your German-American Socialists the distinction of being the only parties that have managed to reduce the Marxian theory of development to a rigid orthodoxy, which the workers are not to reach themselves by their own class feeling, but which they have to gulp down as an article of faith at once and without development. That is why both of them remain sects and come, as Hegel says, from nothing through nothing to nothing." (*Letter to Sorge,* May 12, 1894)

"The German party over there must be smashed, *as such;* it is becoming the worst obstacle. The American workers are coming along all right, but just like the English they go their own way. One cannot drum theory into them beforehand, but their own experience and their own blunders and the resulting evil consequences will bump their noses up against theory—and then all right. Independent peoples go their own way, and the English and their offspring are surely the most independent of them all." (*Letter to Schlueter,* Jan. 11, 1890)

"There is no place yet in America for a third party, I believe. The divergence of interests even in the same class group is so great in that tremendous area that wholly different groups and interests are represented in each of the two big parties, depending on the locality. . . . Only when the land—the public lands—is completely in the hands of the speculators, and settlement on the land thus becomes more and more difficult or falls victim to gouging—only then, I think, will the time come . . . for a third party." (*Letter to Sorge,* Jan. 6, 1892)

B. C.

Coming in the March
AMERICAN SOCIALIST

TURN TO DEMOCRATS?

An analysis of lesser-evilism and coalition proposals as advanced by the Daily Worker in the N. Y. American Labor Party.

Letters to the Editor

(*Continued from Page* 3)

governmental consent to fight speedup. They electrified the nation with the sit-down strike. It wouldn't take the union officialdom five minutes to call the 4,000 Ternstedt employees out on the best picket line Flint has seen for years. This is still the only prescription for speedup, as all the union ranks and leaders well know.

Ternstedt Worker *Flint, Mich.*

Stand on Non-Repatriate GIs

With the hatred of the American press being spewn upon the GIs in Korea who have refused repatriation, it is important for socialists to state their position on this issue.

It seems to me we should have sympathy for the GIs who have seen a progressive force in the struggle of the Chinese and Korean people. When the conflict over repatriation of prisoners has become such a major issue, the position of socialists toward these GIs is a yard-stick to measure their socialism.

S. G. *Newark*

McCarthy Placed on Trial

The public mock trial of Senator McCarthy held here Jan. 6 in St. Nicholas Arena had a number of features worth taking a second look at.

There was the exceptional turnout of several thousand people, far more than one would normally expect these days at such a gathering. The meeting, held under the auspices of American Veterans for Peace, had a remarkably high percentage of Negroes in the audience.

The *Brooklyn Eagle* was enraged about it all. It speaks of a "harangue" and gives a rundown of some of the speakers emphasizing their left-wing backgrounds. For example, Rev. William Howard Melish is described as a "former chairman of American-Soviet Friendship. His father, the Rev. Dr. John Howard Melish, was ousted as rector of Holy Trinity for condoning the younger man's left-wing activities." Another speaker, Dr. Melba Phillips, is described as having been "discharged after refusing to testify under oath whether she was affiliated with the Communist party."

This meeting saw the appearance of a pro-McCarthy picket line in front of the arena entrance. The line, under the sponsorship of the John J. Ryan Association, held placards reading, "John J. Ryan Ass'n Upholds McCarthy," and "John J. Ryan Ass'n Protests This Mock Trial." Another demanded that "Malenkov Follow Beria." These McCarthyites yelled insults at the people entering the arena, with a big crowd of cops protecting them.

J. W. *New York*

Is Puzzled by Views

On a visit to New York last week I bought your January issue. I am somewhat puzzled by it. Marxism is mentioned as though it had some definite meaning. I have been in the socialist movement for forty years, but while I have often seen Marxism mentioned I have never seen it defined, and I have never found out how Marxism differs from socialism. As I understand it, the socialist principle is so plain and simple that books are not needed to define it. We object to the system of owning for income. We wish to make work the only title to an income, except that those who cannot work ought to be supported by those who can; not by legal right, but because we love our neighbors. We expect to abolish the kind of property that yields an income without work, and learn ways of doing business that do not need and will not produce property income.

There are any number of programs by which this condition might be brought about, but difference of opinion about them ought not to divide socialists into separate parties. Am I a Marxist or not? I do not know. What has Marx to offer more than Aneurin Bevan, for instance?

I hope that you will explain Marxism to me and to the public so that we can know what we are talking about. Enclosed is 30 cents. Send me the issue in which you make the definition.

A. C. *Oxford, Pa.*

Not A Sleeping Pill—

OUR FIRST ISSUE has met with a round of enthusiastic approval, as letters from readers testify. The most common phrase running through almost all these congratulatory notes describes the AMERICAN SOCIALIST as "the best thing the radical movement has yet produced."

The editors have not let all this praise, welcome as it is, go to their heads. They have organized themselves into a League against Smugness and Self-satisfaction.

We think it bodes especially well that we have received such a good subscriber response from Detroit and Flint; these dynamic industrial centers are running neck and neck with New York in the building of our subscribers list.

We already have subscribers in New York City, Washington, D.C., Chicago, Buffalo, Detroit, Flint, Minneapolis, Milwaukee, Youngstown, Akron, Seattle, San Francisco, Los Angeles, and in Iowa, Oregon, and Pennsylvania. We're off to a good start.

Our first issue has been greeted with approval, and even with a bit of pleasant surprise by our readers, because, we believe, the AMERICAN SOCIALIST is a new departure in socialist publications. What has discouraged readers of the radical press in recent years has been not only the technical dullness, but the lack of vigorous analysis of the changing reality we live in.

Our publication, in contrast, aims to dispense with empty sloganeering, and concentrate instead on some thinking about the problems that confront us.

Thus, when you fill in the subscription blank and send us your dollar for our special introductory offer of six issues, you will get a lift in your thinking, not a sleeping pill.

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