Truman Brags About

Super-Bomb; U.S.,

Britain Vie on Ore

ident Truman's accompanying statement, revealed two facts which

made the headlines, and one which did not; and it failed to discuss at

all one aspect of the A-bomb dilemma of the world which may become

duced "on an industrial basis"—presumably, therefore, in greater quan-

tity than hitherto thought—and that the bomb being produced was nei-

ther the Hiroshima nor Nagasaki type but one which was "more effec-

tive," the "Eniwetok type" named after the secret tests in that place

ennese newspapers, Der Abend, Die

Folksstimme, Oestreichisher Zeitung

Major Solomon Feuerstein, chief

editor of the Folksstimme, commit-

ted suicide; Col. Rafael Shumonowitz.

chief editor of the Abend, was ar-

rested together with the other writers

It is difficult to fit these extensive

removals and arrests into any other

than an anti-Semitic pattern. To ex-

plain these accumulating anti-Jewish

moves merely in terms of an exag-

gerated anti-Zionism or excesses of

a campaign against Jewish culture

and nationalism seems entirely in-

The conclusion that Stalinism has

for some reason adopted an over-all

anti-Semitic policy becomes more

and more inescapable. Even the ini-

tial world-wide publicity has not act-

ed as a deterrent, as it might have

The dynamics of this startlingly

new departure in Stalinist practice

is a complex question which will re-

ceive the attention it merits in com-

ing issues of LABOR ACTION.

been expected to do.

and Folks Woche.

adequate.

and sent back to Russia.

The report of the Atomic Energy Commission, together with Pres-

The headlined items were the fact that the A-bomb is being pro-

last year.

Since it was officially

estimated that one Na-

gasaki bomb under fa-

vorable conditions was

the equivalent of 40,000 tons

of TNT, we can assume that the

bomb now being quantity-pro-

duced is substantially more de-

hailed, and this is what he said

should give us "reason for reassur-

ance and faith." Since his sentence

ended at that point, it is not alto-

gether clear what the plain people

are supposed to have reassurance OF

and faith IN, as a consequence of

The implication, it is probably fair

to assume, is supposed to be: "See,

that's what we could do to Russia if

need be. Rest easy." Since everyone

without exception assumes that it is,

only a matter of a given number of

years before Russia does the trick

also, the opposite side of this coin is:

"Behold! that's what can be done to

The reassurance and faith to be

extracted from this two-sided view

is, as far as the man on the street can

see, very difficult to detect even on

the most delicate balance at Los Ala-

The president's statement was shot

through with the stupidly Pollyanna-

ish spirit which was best expressed

in Churchill's last speech in the

said that only the atom bomb stands

between the Western capitalist de-

mocracies and the Russian steam-

roller. But it does not arise from

the stupidity of a Pollyanna. It is

an expression of the fact that raw

destruction and hellish holocausts

are the only terms in which these

statesmen of the profit system can

strous despotism of Stalinist totall-

tarianism. Against the barbarism of

Moscow they offer the barbarism of

the A-bomb backed up with the

The frenetic efforts of the United

States, lashed on by the Hickenloopers and other congressional snoopers;

to produce bombs of ever-increasing

destructiveness raises "certain per-

tinent questions," points out William

Laurence, the science editor of the

New York Times (who protests, how-

(Continued on page 4)

offer hope of beating back the mon-

United States, the one in which he

these stupendous figures.

the United States!

This is what the president

structive than that.

Dirt Flies in ALP Split; Connolly Paper Bares Marcantonio Bossism

NEW YORK, July 27-The blowup mass meetings. In reply Connolly Marcantonio refused, saying a closed inside the Stalinist-controlled American Labor Party has not only flared out in the open, but the dirt is flying in thick clouds. Latest blast is from the Connolly side, just published in the ALP newspaper which he controls and edits, Today's Outlook.

The battle is on between Vito Marcantonio, ALP congressman from New York, representing the outright Communist Party forces of domination in the party, and ALP City Councilman Eugene P. Connolly, who is supported by long-time CP fellow travelers O. John Rogge and Mary Van

The bone of contention is the ALP nomination for borough president of Manhattan, and it will be decided in a primary fight between the two factions of the party, the candidates being Connolly on the one side and Ewart Guinier, a Marcantonio man, on the other.

For those who are not interested in choosing sides between the CP faction and the fellow-traveler faction (and that includes LABOR AC-TION), chief interest centers on the picture of how the Communist Party runs its own front, the ALP, and on the indications of growing unease on the part of their non-party catspaws. Herewith we present some of the muck uncovered with the lifting of the lid by the latter elements.

THE BOSS AT WORK

A short paragraph in the Connolly sheet, under the head "Who Is Building the ALP?" points to the ugly mechanism of CP Boss Marcantonio's grip on the ALP apparatus, resented by the fellow travelers:

"Not many ALP members know that there is not one single duespaying member of the ALP in the clubs directly under Congressman Marcantonio's control in his district. Other clubs in Manhattan have up to 500 ALP members each. But in the Marcantonio area THEY BELONG TO AND PAY DUES TO THE MARCANTONIO POLITICAL AS-SOCIATION."

In other words, for all his partyline blather about a "people's movement." Marcantonio runs an old-line personal machine in the tradition of Tammany which is not even formally hooked up with his own party.

The underlying cause of the fight is the CP's mistrust of its stoogeswho on their part have been willing enough-and its desire to ensure unchallenged control, unhampered by the growth of too great prestige even for Connolly. His account of how it broke out goes as follows, including one round of a fisticuffs match at an ALP meeting.

On June 17 the New York County (Manhattan) ALP executive committee met, with Marcantonio presiding in his role as Il Duce. "Non-members were 'invited' by Marcantonio and his group," writes Connolly's paper. "They created an atmosphere of intimidation and disorder. Over objections of the legal members, Marcantonio ruled that they could stay."

At this meeting, Guinier launched the charge, directed against Connolly, that the Manhattan ALP was opposed to having Negro speakers at charged that Guinier had refused to speak at a testimonial dinner for him. At this Guinier yelled: "That is a lie and you are a liar," rushed up front and punched Connolly in the face. There was a near-riot, and the meeting was postponed for a week.

"On June 24, there was an even larger crowd. Chairman Marcantonio allowed these friends of his to stay and vote. It was a farce. The legal members asked for a secret ballot.

ballot was 'undemocratic.' '

At this meeting, according to the Connollyites, 35 out of 62 of the legal members of the executive voted to designate Connolly for the borough president's office. Il Duce went through his bag of tricks and came up with a stock item: racial demagogy and slander. "I will fight you with a Negro candidate," he threatened Connolly, according to the latter. At the June 24 meeting he proposed that a Negro candidate be named instead, without even bother-

ing to mention any specific candidate. Then, counting the votes in the packed house, he "declared that an unnamed Negro was the ALP choice for borough president."

Six days later he held a rump meeting of the executive (his own faction) and named one-punch Ewart Guinier for the job. Guinier is an officer of the United Public Workers (CIO), Sanitation Workers Local Guinier is also the man who on July 15 had published the following excommunication: "Connolly is an anti-

(Continued on page 4)

Churchill-Bevin Spat Tells How FDR Decided a Life-and-Death Issue

How the world's great statesmen arrive at those portentous decisions which in peace and war affect so drastically the lives and fortunes of millions of people who are forced, willy-nilly, to abide by them, has always been a subject of overwhelming interest to the historian and to the millions affected.

Those of our readers who may have been puzzled by the actions and decisions of the wartime leaders in the late unpleasantness will perhaps be somewhat enlightened on the enigmatic workings of these statesmen's minds by a recent exchange in the British Parliament on the subject of the Allies' "unconditional surrender" slogan and their late unlamented policy for the transformation of post-war Germany into an agricultural country, the Morgen-

It seems that a former Conservative cabinet minister criticized prescisive, vacillating and naive. The Labor government's foreign minister. Ernest Bevin, stung to the third layer of quick by the criticism, sprang to his feet in self-defense.

NO CONSULTATION

Really, he said in effect, this is ingratitude. You Tories handed us a shambles in Germany - a shambles entirely of your own making - and now you criticize us. British policy on Germany, Mr. Bevin said, began with the unconditional-surrender demand made in the Casablanca conference in 1943, which, Bevin declared, left "a Germany without law, without a constitution, without a single person to deal with and without a single institution to grapple with the problems.'

What's more, complained Bevin, the British cabinet had never been consulted on the "unconditional surrender" formula and the first time he had

ent-day policy in Germany as inde- heard about it was in the newspapers, so that really it was "rather bad" of the Tories to criticize him for the mess that resulted from the

> Bevin then went on to criticize the Morgenthau plan for the de-industrialization of Germay, a policy formalized in a memorandum initialed by Winston Churchill and Franklin D. Roosevelt at the Big Three Conference late in 1944. This plan to make Germany an agricultural country severely hindered its recovery, said Mr. Bevin, and the cabinet was

never consulted about it, either. HIS CONSCIENCE IS HURTING

Then Churchill rose to his own defense. "The first time I ever heard that phrase [unconditional surrenderl used was from the lips of President Roosevelt" (at a press conference at the Casablanca Conference.) He, Churchill, had not been consulted, he said, and he was aware that the British cabinet, had it been consulted, would have advised against it. But there it was, and "working in a great alliance and with friends from across the ocean we had to accommodate ourselves." Anyway, said Churchill, he didn't think any great

As for the Morgenthau plan, Churchill went on, "I do not feel so confident in my conscience about the judgment of my actions. . . . I do not agree with this paper for which I bear nonetheless a responsibility, but when you are fighting for life with a fierce enemy. I feel different

dropped. Nevertheless, this exchange gives rise to some interesting speculations, not merely upon the morality of the wartime Allied leaders (which is perhaps no longer even a moot

Super A-Bomb: What's It For?

more and more significant.

William Laurence, science editor of the New York Times, raises "certain pertinent questions" about the AEC's announcement of a "more effective" A-bomb:

"If it is true, as the experts agree, that the Nagasaki-type bomb could effectively destroy the heart of any industrial city, so that it would be eliminated as a factor in a nation's industrial economy, what areater harm, save for the additional destruction of human lives, could an improved model do?

"If for example, the Nagasaki model could destroy the heart of New York City, or of Moscow, is there any greater advantage, from a strategic or tactical point of view, in the use of a more powerful type that would also destroy the suburban outlying districts of these cities?

"While a more powerful model may serve as an advantage from a psychological point of view, as the greater terror weapon, such an advantage may also turn out to be illusory. If, for example, the Eniwetok model is twice as destructive, it can mean only that it is twice as destructive in terms of human lives and not in industrial potential." (August

Report Jewish Editors Purged in Stalin Zones

anti-Jewish disease continue to erupt all over the body politic of the Stalinist empire. The latest signs appear in Stalinist-controlled Germany and Austria.

In a dispatch from London, July 17, 1949, J. Dorfson, Yiddish journalist with very close contacts in the information services of the Jewish Agency, reported that a group of 28 Russian army officers, all of Jewish extraction, had been dismissed from their journalistic posts and arrested. These were editors and writers assigned by the Russian military to Stalinist-controlled German newspapers like the Berliner Taeglicher Rundschau.

Among those arrested were Col. Misha Bernstein, political editor of the Taeglicher Rundschau, and Col. David Neidorf, editor of the paper's economics section. Also arrested were the following editors and writers of other German newspapers in the Soviet zone: Col. Grish Feldman, chief editor of the Neue Zeit; Major Abraham Weispaper, Haim Block and Nikolai Epstein, and Capitains Lola Shapiro and Leon Shocanowitz.

PURGE IN VIENNA TOO

If it were this report alone that had appeared, one could conceivably write it off as a reflection of some obscure local crisis. However, within ten days, sensational reports that the Russian military occupation authorities of Austria had discharged all Russian Jews working on Russiancontrolled newspapers in Vienna began to be received in New York (Jewish Morning Journal, July 27,

The extent and completeness of this new Viennese purge far sur-

Bad Timing for Steel Tycoons!

The CIO's economic report, called the Nathan report, which shows a raise, has been analyzed as being basically unsound, economically fallacious and (worst crime of all) tendentious. In fact the steel companies contend, and the press echoes, that there is hardly a word of truth in it after the first word which happens to be "the."

In more sober moments and on more obscure pages the complaint changes however. The N. Y. Times financial section for last Sunday, which unpropertied proletarians are unlikely to read, observes that what was really wrong was that Murray had "outsmarted" the steel magnates by releasing the Nathan report before the Truman Facts Finding Committee, at the same moment that the steel directors were releasing their financial statements for the first half of 1949.

Few people will be inclined to give credence to the attack on the Nathan report after reading the statement on earnings of the com

"None the less, Irving S. Olds had to report that at the end of the half year on June 30, the company [U. S. Steel] had enjoyed the greatest earnings for any like period in twenty years.".

And we do mean ENJOYED. To fill the bitter cup to overflowing: "Again on Thursday, Eugene G. Grace, chairman of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation, second largest producer of steel in the nation, reported earnings for the first six

months of this year at the highest levels in company history." The timing was awful indeed.

CP 'Refutes' Slave-Labor Charge-It's Not 'Forced,' It's 'Compulsory'!

The British government's publication of the Russian slave-labor code did not contain as much damaging material as did LABOR ACTION's own page of documented excerpts from Moscow's labor laws (see the issue of July 18)—but it contained enough to make the Stalinists hopping mad.

The British Daily Worker dashed to the defense, if defense it can be called. In fact, another such "defense" and it will not be necessary to prove anything more. Here is how England's Stalinists "refuted" the evidence published by the London gov-

The quotation that follows is from the N. Y. Times of July 27. It speaks

"The Daily Worker alleged today that the Foreign Office had made at least three deliberate mistranslations in its English version of the Russian corrective labor (or prison) code, which the Foreign Office termed a forced labor code.

less serious offenses.

"An article in the Communist paper said the Foreign Office had twisted an article in the code to suggest that armed guards drawn from the worst "criminal elements" had power to shoot persons detained on "political" charges. It asserted the Russian text made no distinction between political and non-political prisoners. It would be more accurate, the paper said, to describe the guards as being drawn from workers convicted of

"Second, the paper said, the Foreign Office version spoke of 'solitary confinement cells for persons under investigation.' The words 'solitary confinement cells' were invented, the Daily Worker asserted, contending that the Russian text' was 'isolators,' which meant a remand prison.

"Third, the paper said, the Foreign Office mistranslated 'compulsory labor' as 'forced labor.'

By ED FINDLEY passed the limited purge in Russianoccupied Germany. Involved were the Symptoms of Stalinist Russia's new Russian Jewish personnel of four Vi-

toward him from what I do when that enemy is beaten to the ground and suing for mercy." Anyhow, said Churchill, the plan was just "dropped on one side" . . . it never reached the cabinet because it was only a referendum and it was disapproved of by both the American State Department and the Foreign Office. After this exchange, Parliament presumably went on to more pressing matters and the subject was

(Centinued on page 4)

Negro Loyalty Hearing Proves a Flop

Jackie Robinson Disappoints Probers, Stresses Jim Crow Not a CP Issue, Blasts U. S. Racism

By KATE LEONARD

The hearings on "Negro loyalty" held in July before the House Un-American Activities Committee were designed as an integral part of the government's loyalty drive, and were scheduled in an attempt to extract public loyalty oaths from Negroes for intimidation value.

The occasion for this insult to the Negro people was found in the Stalinist attempt to neutralize a section of the American Negroes in the struggle between United States and Russian imperialism, when Paul Robeson in Paris some weeks previously pontifically declared that American Negroes would not fight in a war against Russia because they loved Russia so

No doubt this was meant to be the shot heard 'round the world, but it didn't take a couple of weeks to see that the results of Robeson's presumptuous and arrogant pronouncement were such as to make a self-

respecting Lorelei close up shop. The presumption and arrogance flow steadily from the skullduggery practised by Robeson's Stalinist par-

ty against 15,000,000 proscribed U.S. citizens. These "on-again, off-again Finnegans" are notorious for their bureaucratic misuse for their own ends of the disabilities of the Negroes in the United States. Robeson's blaring brass was a typical example of this skullduggery-typical for an "on-again" period, that is.

It would be a mistake to suppose that the puzzled and deaf ears turned by Negroes to Robeson came from any intimate knowledge on their part of the dirty trail that is the record of the American Stalinist party on this question. Filthy trail it is from A to Z-but only a modest sampling of Negroes know this to

That the ears were puzzled, there is no doubt: "We would refuse to fight in any war against Russia because we love Russia so much? Is that what he said? Did he really say that? Well, if Mr. Robeson actually made that statement, it sounds very silly to me. Sure, the man can sing." Jackie Robinson's statement along these lines echoes the sentiments of

most Negroes.

Hastily, by his very best friends, the Robeson blast was rechristened "Robeson's Peace Call." The ears only became deafer.

"Get together with the new democracies? What's he mean? Where are they? You think he means Czechoslovakia? But, man, that's behind the Iron Curtain!"

Most Negroes have pretty generally granted that Robeson was trying to express their interest and their demands-and here they are wrong.

"The fact that it is a Stalinist who denounces injustice in the courts, police brutality and lynching when it happens doesn't change the truth of his charges." That is right, Jackie Robinson. And injustice in the courts, police brutality, and lynching go on when Stalinists are quiet as clams.

World War II is a case in point. When Stalinists are quiet as clams, it is in Russia's interest. And when they open up their base mouths, it is in Russia's interest, in their own interest, and not in the interest of the millions of Jackie Robinsons, Jackie for one showed he understands this. The House Un-American Activities

Committee thought it had a big thing here, and the hearings went on posthaste. Conceived as the next big push in the government's loyalty drive, they became George of Georgia's fiasco. Even the thick Bilbo hide in that committee seems to sense that a boner was pulled. It is currently given out that the hearings were held because white folks have lent a certain credence to Robeson's remarks. UNCLE TOM CERTIFIED DEAD

The hearings established nothing, unless it was to confirm for Rankin of Mississippi and his kinsman, Wood of Georgia, that Uncle Tom is dead. They seem to have needed this, but no one else did. That Uncle Tom is dead was stale news even a while back. There will be no summation of the committee's hearings and no evaluation of the testimony forth-

hearings. One fool, of course, did turn up. The fool was Clarence B. Clark from Pittsburgh, who testified that when it became known that he would appear before the committee, he was

coming from the sponsors of the

(Continued on page 4)

INSIDE-A 5-City Survey on the State of LABOR'S POLITICAL MACHINE

> A Labor Action Feature



A Survey of 5 Cities on PAC and LLPE—

Are They Building Labor's Political Machine?

N. Calif. PAC Hampered by Fight With Stalinists; LLPE Active

tween anti-Stalinists and the Stalinists, who have long been strong in this area, looms large in the formation of the PAC organization here.

The Northern California PAC is a top committee whose real function is to organize the political struggle against the Stalinists in the Alameda, Contra Costa and San Francisco County CIO Councils. Its other function is to pose as an officially CIOsponsored body to counterpose to the California State CIO Council. This PAC committee is only a temporary setup, until the problem of the Stalinists has been settled, after which a more formal representative body will be elected.

As for the East Bay PAC, it is composed of delegates from anti-CP locals. These delegates are elected as regular officials at union elections. The present function of the East Bay PAC is to screen candidates for public office. After screening, recommendations are made back to, and usually accepted by, the locals. Then the final official announcement of endorsement is made by the Northern California PAC.

The effectiveness of this endorsement depends to a large extent on the setup in the locals. Where there are active PAC chairmen and committees, considerable house-to-house work is done during election time, getting people to the polls, etc.

Among the things that the PAC plans for the immediate future, one is to try to get regular 15-minute periods devoted to PAC education at each union meeting. They also plan to have some PAC movies to show

AFL WORK SPOTTY

Labor's League for Political Education, the AFL's political arm in Alameda County, consists of an ex-

ecutive committee whose members are representatives from the Alameda County Central Labor Council and the Building Trades Council.

This executive committee screens candidates for public office and makes recommendations to the "political convention," which is a joint meeting of the Labor and Building Trades Councils.

The support that the LLPE gets from the AFL locals is obtained by the locals' voting to affiliate with and financially support the organization. As there is no formal setup for local committees or any specifically delegated body of LLPE people from the locals, activity depends on the interest of particular business agents in political work and on how many people they can rally to work with them.

In the AFL here there are only four or five locals that actually carry the weight of the work of the LLPE. During the last election the most active local was Laborers' Local 886. This local is a shipyard local and has lots of unemployment. Hence it is particularly interested in aspects of politics which bear on getting more shipyard work into the area.

At the last municipal elections there was a serious split in the AFL, with some locals (the painters in the lead) endorsing candidates other than those endorsed by the league, and bitterly attacking the right of the league to try to "dictate" political policy to all locals.

As for any plans to get the LLPE set up on a more representative basis, or actually functioning in the locals, there is some talk about making the LLPE a much more live and functioning body. But the only means of doing this that is usually discussed is to hire someone on full time who will not be burdened with other duties, to direct the LLPE work.

N. J. Labor Tied to Democratic Party But Signs of Independence Growing

sharply defined trend toward inde- have not yet arisen. At the present pendent political action in the North Jersey labor movement.

Democratic ticket: (3) a recognition on the part of the Democratic wheelhorses that labor's power must be catered to-coupled with a very uneasy alliance during the election pe-

Outside the state the effect of this activity was probably most dramatically revealed in the defeat of the hallowed Hague machine in Jersey City, the high point of which was a demonstration in Journal Square of some 50,000 members of organized

Kenney, Hague's successor, is no liberal. He is simply one of the machine men who had a falling-out with the hoss. But the decisive role played by labor and the positive effect it had upon labor morale is undisput-

Of more significance was the election of Steve Moran, state director of PAC, and Leo P. Carlin of the teamsters, to city commissioners' posts in Newark. Both were elected largely through the efforts of organized labor. In the case of Moran, for instance, the Democratic machine supported the five incumbents, composed of both Republicans and Democrats, rather than come out openly for him. Carlin had AFL support. Because Moran's running repre-

sented a small but definite break in the direction of independent labor political action, the Newark branch of the Independent Socialist League supported Moran in his campaign. To date he and Carlin have been the only persons to keep their election promises, modest though they were. Moran, for instance, appointed a Negro, Silas Hogan, as his executive secretary, the first time this has ever

occurred in Newark. Crucial issues which can test Car-

NEWARK - There is at present no lin and Moran's allegiance to labor moment the most politicalized sections of the New Jersey labor move-The following is evident: (1) In- ment are being confronted with the creasing labor activity during the coming gubernatorial race. Driscoll, post-election period; (2) a tendency the Republican incumbent, has a betfor labor to run candidates on the ter labor record than Wene, the Democratic aspirant, who has, at least at the present moment, the support of

> Opinion among labor tops is divided. Some are for supporting Wene. as the lesser evil; others are for supporting Driscoll, pointing out that labor should support good candidates in both parties-as has been the occasional policy of PAC, for instance. Moran is for calling a new convention of the Democratic Party for the purpose of selecting another candi-

> If that proposal fails, Moran is for supporting nobody, but for concentrating upon the lesser offices in the coming elections. There is a small but definite current which wants bona-fide labor representatives to run -but on the Democratic ticket-as was virtually the case when Moran ran for city commissioner, though this contest was nominally non-parti-

The CIO leadership in New Jersey is sprinkled heavily with ex-Socialists, ex-Trotskyists and ex-Lovestonites. It is, in fact, quite a boneyard. To this can be attributed some of the policies of persons like Moran. Several of them were instrumental in starting the ADA in the state. Up to the moment it has remained a very weak organization with very few genuine labor figures in it. There is currently some movement into it.

To sum up, it may be said that the most progressive sections of the labor movement are still tied to the Democratic Party, but that there are signs of movement away from it-not in the immediate future, however. Accelerating factors will be provided by the currently increasing unemployment and the present stalemate in the repeal of the Taft-Hartley Law.

THE BRITISH POLITICAL SCENE IS PORTRAYED EACH WEEK

- IN -

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The Next Step-NOW: Organize Rank and File in PAC!

This page is 'dedicated to the No. 1 problem of labor today. Readers of LABOR ACTION know that we are ardently for the proposition that the labor movement can defend its interests effectively

only if it acts as independently on the political field as it does on the economic-organizing its own forces in its own movement, an independent labor party, separate from the old Democratic and Republican

But the leaders of labor in the United States are against this proposition today. Despite one defeat and disappointment after another. they cling to the hope of "reforming" the old party machines and insist on working with them and through them.

Yet, ever on the basis of this perspective, they have come out for one thing which COULD mean much more for the development of independent political action. They have said time and again that labor must organize its own political machinery, develop its own strength in its own organizations, even while they insist that this political machinery of theirs must be used to support candidates of the parties of the ruling class. This political machinery is, above all, the Political Action Committee of the CIO and Labor's League for Political Education of the AFL.

We believe that militants in the labor movement should welcome the strengthening of these political arms of labor, at the same time that they seek to change their policy. BUT THE STRENGTHENING OF THE PAC AND LIPE CAN TAKE PLACE IN A SERIOUS MANNER ONLY IF THE RANK AND FILE OF THE UNIONS ARE DRAWN INTO THE WORK, INTO ACTUAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR ITS FUNCTIONING, INTO DEMOCRATIC CONTROL OF ITS STRUCTURE.

The reports here published, on five representative cities, make clear that the PAC and LLPE today are mainly bureaucratically-run top structures which CANNOT give the union workers the feeling that they are THEIR organizations. Here and there better setups have arisen (and we hope to publish more about such spots). But the general picture is otherwise.

To workers who do not yet agree with us about the need for an independent labor party NOW, we say:

Very well, you wish to continue the line of choosing which capitalist politician is going to betray your interests next. But even so, will not labor's hand be immeasureably strengthened if it really builds up its own political machine-builds it from the bottom up, builds it from the grass roots?

We propose that the PAC and LLPE—and better still, both together plus the railroad brotherhood organizations—call a national convention of their local units, with elected delegates from the unions, to involve the membership in the movement. We propose that the same thing be done on a state scale and on a city scale. We suggest that WITHIN the unions, PAC and LLPE can come to life only if it ceases to be merely a hand-picked top bureaucracy, but becomes an ORGANIZATION OF THE RANK AND FILE.

From our point of view, such an organization of labor's political arms will sooner or later push toward independent political action, and in any case lay the organizational basis for it. From the point of view of the present CIO-AFL policy, it is a necessity to effectuate ANY aim with the strongest hitting power.

Build labor's independent political machinery, and build it through representative, democratic, rank and file organization of the union

NOW Is the Time Political Action Congress of Labor!

Maryland PAC Speeds Local Organization; Workers Angry at LLPE Okay of Tydings

BALTIMORE - There is today increased organizational activity in the Baltimore and Maryland CIO-PAC in an attempt to set up precinct and ward organization to correct the general ineffectiveness of PAC during the last presidential élection. A CIO man has been brought in to assist in the work; locals are being encouraged to drive for individual memberships; and an experiment is now being organized to call meetings of all union men in the Democratic Party. in one election district at a time, to put over the PAC program.

PAC control in Maryland is strictly on top. The chairman of the Baltimore and state PAC organizations are the head of the city and state councils, respectively. The latest move has merged the two organizations and put the leadership in the hands of the president of the State Industrial Council (who is also regional CIO director). As one CIO man said, coordination of the two councils is good, but the purpose of it seems to be to get a tighter top

The general bureaucratic attitude of the top leadership was shown when the regional director, also head of the Maryland PAC, told delegates at a Baltimore council meeting that they should not criticize their organization and its leadership.

BOLTON CASE

When questioned about their attitude toward working for a Labor Party instead of getting labor to vote for Republican and Democratic "friends of labor," a considerable number of CIO militants among the officers and committeemen of locals will say they are for it but that it will be ten years before it can be done. There is even more widespread sentiment in favor of running individual independent labor candidates, but again there is pessimism about the possibility of putting the idea over. Such people cite the experience with Representative Bolton as proof of the impossibility of putting over withdrawn.

anything more bold than supporting friends of labor.

Representative Bolton has a 100 per cent anti-labor record in Congress. In spite of that, the militants, led mainly by the leadership of Local 33 of the IUMSWA (CIO Shipbuilders) had to put up a bitter battle to prevent his endorsement by PAC since so many people had faith in his public statement that he would vote to repeal T-H. The result was that PAC officially neither endorsed nor opposed any candidate in Bolton's district. The militants complain that if you can't even get PAC membership to recognize an enemy of labor by his voting record, how can you get them to support independent labor candidates?

Since then Bolton has made a liar of himself by voting against repeal of the T-H Law and for the worst anti - labor amendments. Rank and file members say they have learned their lesson on Bolton (the top leadership has said nothing) but it is a question if they understand that means that they must support their own labor candidates.

The action of the top leadership of the Maryland PAC to perfect the ward and precinct organization on the bottom is needed, but more important is the need for the many score of Maryland CIO militants who really believe in running independent labor candidates to get together and start pushing PAC in that direction.

AFL ON PAR WITH CIO

The AFL-LLPE in Baltimore is up in arms, at this writing, over the action of the national LLPE in endorsing Senator Tydings for re-election after his anti-labor vote on the Taft-Hartley Law. Members say that it is fantastic to think that the Baltimore organization would agree to the endorsement, and that anyone who proposed it would probably be thrown out. They are now investigating to find out what happened to cause such a blunder, and to get the endorsement

The LLPE in Baltimore seems to he at about the same stage of organization and activity as PAC. Meetings of delegates from locals function regularly. There is a drive beginning to recruit individual members, and the main activity is to teach the members how to organize on a precinct and ward basis. Some general meetings have been very well attended, but there is little rank and file participation as yet.

There is much general sentiment in favor of running independent labor candidates. At every meeting someone brings the question up, but nothing crystallizes in the form of action. It seems most people are pessimistic over finding labor candidates who could swing a big enough vote. They lack confidence in labor's own strength. A big issue in fighting the election of Tydings is that they can see no acceptable candidate to run against him.

Hold Your Nose!

Hère's a peg up on Westbrook

Discussing his proposed appearance as a witness before a House subcommittee on labor, Hearst's hamster

"The topic which this subcommittee has put to me is the absence of democracy in unions. I know little, if anything, about that because I am not interested in democracy anywhere except to oppose it. Where it isn't, I don't miss it." (July 6.)

He gets \$450 a day for writing this drool and no doubt earns every cent of it: how would YOU like to wallow in muck six days a week?

Definition

"Depression: A period during which people who are out of jobs would, if they had jobs, be able to afford the things that were too high for them to afford when they had jobs."-St. Louis Post-Dispatch.

Buffalo PAC Run by Top Officials; Defeated Plan for Democratic Setup line with the national PAC policy of concentrating on local elections. Each local union, regardless of size, had

virtues of the national groupings. On the credit side of the ledger the local organizations have clearly demonstrated the basic strength of the labor movement when organized as a political force. On the debit side, the local labor officialdom has shown the real lack of confidence in the actual political strength of labor by subordinating the PAC and the LLPE to the Democratic and Republican Party machines.

policies of the CIO-PAC and the

AFL-LLPE, the Erie County organ-

izations exhibit all the defects and

The Erie County PAC is a bureaucratic instrument. The top leaders have openly used all their might and nower to keen it so. This bureaucratic setup is required by the leaders in order to carry out the division of labor upon which the PAC is based: namely, the top local leadership makes the policy in line with doctrines laid down by the national leadership while the rank-and-file unionists are supposed to ring the doorbells, contribute the dollars, attend but not speak at rallies, register the voters and then vote for the endorsed

At the end, when the efforts do not bring forth the expected honey, it is never the policies of the queen bees which were at fault-the excuse is always that there was not enough work from the worker bees.

FOREGONE CONCLUSION

The Erie County PAC was organized last April when the Western

one delegate and one vote at this founding convention. Almost without exception, all of these delegates were appointed. Each staff member of the international unions in the area also was a delegate and also had one vote. Each member of a joint board, a regional labor official, or other appointed officials also were delegates with individual voting power. The result could easily be foretold.

Power in the Erie County PAC lies in its executive board. In addition to its four top officials (president, vice-president, secretary and treasurer), the executive board is made up of one representative from each. of the international unions, regardless of size. A fairly exhaustive search has failed to disclose that any of the twenty-three members of the executive board works in a shop or plant. Each is an appointed official!

IT'S WAGGING NOW

An effort in the Buffalo CIO Council by rank-and-file delegates to recommend that PAC be placed on a proportional basis of representation according to membership in the local unions and that international representatives have voice but no vote at PAC functions was defeated only after the bureaucracy brought out its heaviest (and not-too-clean) weap-

The fact that the Erie County PAC is one of the first to be organized on New York PAC was broken up into a local basis as a means of influenc-

caused it no end of embarrassment. Soon after its formation, the PAC County Committee called a meeting for the purpose of endorsing candidates and drawing up a platform. Not having previous experience to draw upon as a guide, a "fatal error" was committed: this meeting was held PRIOR to the designation of candidates by the Democratic and Republican county machines. The meeting was duly held and was duly adjourned WITHOUT making any endorsements.

Why? Heretofore PAC has always justified its endorsements on the basis that one designated party candidate is a lesser evil or is better than the other party's candidate. Were the PAC to meet before the Democratic and Republican Parties announced their choices, it would have to choose individuals with positive labor records who almost always exist only within its own organization.

However, these candidates would almost invariably not be the choices. of either the Democrats or the Republicans, whose prime consideration in choosing candidates is not their labor records. By making a prior selection of candidates, the PAC labor officials would have placed themselves in the position of having to . oppose the future choices of both the Democrats and Republicans.

The Erie County PAC quickly stopped barking like a dog and resumed its former role of wagging deal like the tail that it is. Instead of pub-

(Continued on page 3)

What NOT to Do: Reading's SP Trying to Substitute Itself for Independent Labor

axis of independent working class politics in this city has centered around the Socialist Party, which had tremendous political power here up to the year 1936. A split in the muddy fashion, followed by the entrance of the erstwhile "left wing" into the Democratic Party where they sank into personal oblivion, resulted in weakening it enormously.

The decline of the SP occurred just at the time that the organization of unions was making tremendous strides under the CIO. Many

READING, Pa.—For many years, the socialists participated in this developing unionization but the SP itself maintained its typical separation of "political action" and union activity and thus never began to recoup its political strength as a result of the SP at that time, carried out in a activities of some of its members. And as the union movement began to orient itself toward the Democratic Party as the vehicle for struggling for labor's political demands and began to develop its apparatus (bureaucratic as it might be) the workers began to look away from the SP and followed the leadership offered by the union officials.

Also, several prominent SPers (one of whom is George Rhoads, recently elected Democratic congressman from Berks County) left the SP and plunged eventually into the main stream of capitalist politics. With the recent death of the three-time mayor, J. Henry Stump, the SP has lost its main tie with its past. This year's election will indicate what this tremendous loss will do to the already feeble strength of the SP in local

UNITED LABOR COMMITTEE

Labor intervention in Reading politics is based upon the United Labor Committee. This committee consists of a sub-committee of the Federated Trades Council and the CIO Councils. It has made the decisions and has used the weight and authority of the leadership to put its policy over to the membership, helped by the FDR myth and the illusion of a "liberal" Democratic Party.

As far as the CIO was concerned, the policies of the United Labor Committee were put over through the regular PAC apparatus. Each local was supposed to have a regular PAC committee elected by the locals. However, in practice, the sub-regional director for Berks County would call a meeting of all officers and subgrievance committeemen of the various locals and there the policy was handed down; the officers and committeemen acted as the PAC setup. It made little difference, in practice, whether or not the locals elected former PAC committees anyway, because they had no power to set policy or make policy counter to the official

The AFL acted mainly through its officers in the locals also. However, the spearhead of the AFL drive was the teamsters, who have a strong organization among city government employees and participate in the local Democratic organizations very extensively.

UNITY DISRUPTED

The elections of 1948 saw the power. and strength of the United Labor Committee at its peak, so far. It won the Democratic nomination for its two chief candidates, Andrew Kondrath, then president of the CIQ Council, for State Assembly, and George Rhoads, one-time socialist and president of the Federated Trader

County. Both of these candidates won the general election by sweeping mas jorities.

Developments in Reading in recent months have tended to disrupt the top unity of the United Labor Committee, Andrew Kondrath, who was sub-regional director for the CIO Steel Workers, president of the CIO Council, and who had just recently topped his personal success by getting elected to the State Assembly, decided to challenge some of his fellow bureaucrats in the USW-CIO for greater power.

After a duel of strength within the CIO, which Kondrath lost very easily, he decided to resign from the CIO and organized a "Steel Workers Federation," which applied for a charter with the AFL and proceeded to try to win over the locals under USW-CIO contract.

Although Kondrath's union has not been definitely chartered by the AFL. the whole situation has disrupted the United Labor Committee. Just recently, two of the present incumbent Democratic councilmen have announced their intention to run for nomination to the same posts in the coming primaries. None of these men has had any real trade-union background but the United Labor Committee announced its support for them a few days later. However, this support was premature because the CIO Council announced that it had not been consulted on the endorsement and had not yet decided what

NEED LABOR PARTY, NOT SECTS

This split will be welcomed by the SP, which will seek to profit by it to get union endorsements of its own party candidates, all of whom are trade - unionists. In general, the SP policy is to neglect any really systematic work to develop coordinated activities within the union movement for a new policy and program on the part of labor in political action; instead it seeks to substitute for this an attempt to win labor endorsement for SP candidates.

But this attempt to substitute the SP for independent labor politics is largely artificial and a pathetic effort" to revive a dead past. With the death bed? of ex-Mayor Stump, the SP's main connection with its livelier past is nabe gone from the scene. They are in (1) new times, which require new approaches and new methods, but they do not see it.

With their stress on endorsement of SP candidates, it is not difficult to see the trend on their part toward to at greater political capitulation in order to obtain such endorsements... Here as elsewhere, the road indi-

cated is not the substitution of a socialist sect (in this case, the SP) for labor's own party, but the wholehearted activity of socialists to turn he labor movement toward really inlependent politics.

Buffalo PAC Setup—

(Continued from page 2)

licly coming out with its choices for political office in Erie County, the PAC will "confer" with the Democratic and Republican Party leaders. And as usual, in most cases the PAC will make its endorsements after the Democratic and Republican machines have narrowed the field down to their respective party stalwarts.

DEMOCRATS RENEGED

The PAC has also drawn up a platform on city and county matters and. in its own words, "acceptance of the platform will be essential for endorsement." The one plank in the platform which most clearly divides the PAC from the Chamber of Commerce is that one dealing with local

Erie County has a sales tax which was put through by a former Republican administration. The CIO has campaigned for the repeal of the sales tax and the substituting of a gross business tax. The PAC doesn't go that far but does call for the repeal of the sales tax.

In the last local election, the Democratic Party centered its campaign around a promise to repeal the sales tax. The Democrats were successful and currently have majority control of the Erie County Board of Supervisors. In spite of its campaign promise and its dominant political position, the Democratic Party not only did not repeal the sales tax but not one single Democrat even introduced a bill to that effect. (There are no Dixiecrats in Buffalo on whom this can be blamed.)

If the Erie County PAC were realistic and honest about its declaration that "acceptance of the platform will be essential for endorsement," the PAC could not rightfully endorse one Democrat in this coming local election. However, in spite of this wretched Democratic Party record. it can be taken for granted that the overwhelming majority of the candidates endorsed by the PAC will be the organization choices of the Democratic Party.

LABOR FAKER AT WORK

By BEN HALL

The subservience of the local PAC to the Democratic Party flows from national CIO policy and is buttressed by the fact that the most dominant local labor leader is the district director of the Steel Workers Union, Joseph P. Maloney. This Murray lieutenant and confidant is even influential in national Democratic Party polities. Locally, to labor audiences, he will say that the PAC is non-partisan as between Democrats and Republi-

There were several important dis-

putes at the recent convention of

the United Auto Workers (CIO) but

there were no faction fights of any

serious importance. Because there are

no longer any factions with real in-

the Reuther group, but its prestige

the entire union. Consequently it can

no longer be termed a faction or

group in the old sense. Almost every-

It would be difficult to invent a

more pitiful ending for the old Ad-

des-Thomas bloc. Men who had the

loyal support of tens of thousands

of unionists simply disappeared from

the scene. The first to go was Dick

Frankensteen, who resigned as vice-

president even before the final fight

with Reuther. He started to try his

hand at show business and ended up

as a personnel director for some

George Addes, once a big name, is

now a saloon keeper whose closest

connection with the union movement

is across the bar from his old cronies.

R. J. Thomas, once the president of the UAW, and Richard Leonard, for-

mer vice-president, have been pen-

sioned off with CIO jobs by Philip.

Murray. Not one - not one - of the

top-ranking leaders of the Addes

group remains in the union (except

those who belatedly climbed on the

Reuther bandwagon, like Matthews).

That alone tells us what they are:

men of myopic vision with no con-

fidence in themselves and no hope

in the UAW; men who sought only

They were defeated; they departed.

DEFEATED-DEPARTED

one is for Reuther now.

manufacturer.

Only one powerful group remains,

toastmaster at the \$25-a-plate Demodinner and will predict and urge local and state-wide Democratic vic-

One final point to complete one's disgust at the knuckling under to the Democratic Party of a labor movement which could be politically powerful in its own name: the statement issued by the Erie County Democratic Party leader when he announced his party's candidates in the coming election: "There is no comparison between the two tickets. The Democratic slate selected this afternoon is far outstanding over and above the Republican ticket with respect to the BUSINESS ABILITY and high caliber of the men." What a choice faces

What is the role of the AFL's League for Political Education? Briefly, its activity has been on a much less active scale than that of the CIO in that it has largely confined itself to the distribution of cards urging people to register and to vote. Politically it has been more reactionary than the CIO in that a good section of its leadership endorsed Dewey in the last election.

In the approaching election, the Republican Party, in a bid for the labor vote, is running a member of the AFL's area executive board for the post of councilman - at - large in Buffalo. As a sop to the CIO, the Democrats have designated an official of the Steel Workers Union as a candidate for a councilman-at-large post.

RYBKA CASE

Still there is a lesson to be learned by the labor movement in a limited success that the AFL has had in nolitics. In the last election, Peter Rybka a business agent of the powerful AFL Grain & Cereal Workers Union, was elected on the Democratic ticket to the position of councilman-at-large. He still performed his union functions while carrying on his political

Recently the most important political issue between labor and the city administration was the campaign of all city employees, led by the very militant CIO Sanitation Workers, for wage increases. Every artifice of stalling, subterfuge and denial ever used by corporations was used by the city administration. The leader in these tactics of the Democratic majority in the Common Council was none other than this AFL business agent and Democratic Party politician, Peter

So open and obvious was his antilabor role that the Union Leader. cans. Three days later he will be the organ of the Buffalo CIO Council, gy of the American workers,

went to the unprecedented length of cratic Party Grover Cleveland Day publishing a front-page editorial attacking the activities of Rybka. The lesson is simple: labor background or not, the Republican and Democratic Party leaders determine policy FOR these elected officials on the basis of the needs of the party and not of labor. Much improvement cannot be expected from the AFL locally, except perhaps an increase in its ac-

POLICY HAS FAILED

In conclusion, the activities of the PAC in Western New York during the last election were looked upon as being the most successful within the entire CIO. Truman was victorious in Erie County and two Democrats, Tauriello and Gorski, were elected to replace Republican representatives from the 43rd and 44th congressional districts.

Tauriello and Gorski since their election have, according to the CIO, voted "right" on all issues. It might be noted that during the recent Easter recess prior to the consideration of the Taft-Hartley repeal, both congressmen appeared before the Buffalo CIO Council and stated that not only would the Taft-Hartley Law he repealed but the Wagner Act would be restored intact! Secondly, they boasted about Congress's passage of a rent-control law which, at that very moment, was attacked by National PAC Director Kroll as being a "rentcontrol bill that runs counter to the wishes of the people of the country as expressed in the last election."

In spite of its much vaunted successes, PAC's policy of supporting the lesser of two evils has failed in two ways. First, the much-needed pro-labor legislation has not materialized. Secondly, and this is often overlooked, PAC has not really drawn upon the full energies of the labor movement. Nationally, the PAC aimed at 60,000,000 voters in 1948. There were less than 49,000,000. CIOendorsed surveys have shown that most workers didn't vote.

Much is heard of the PAC's doorbell-ringing campaigns. Few, if any, rank-and-filers participated in this in Buffalo. The PAC campaign did not draw rank-and-file participation in the elections anywhere near to the extent of, let us say, the union campaigns in the recent union-shop elections in which the workers could feel the full value of the issues involved. Only a clear division between a Labor Party and the parties of the corporations could draw upon the asyet largely untapped political ener-



"Not With a Bang, But a Whimper"

Each of the factors making for a continuation and a deepening of the depression, which I listed in an article in the New International last spring, is continuing the trend then observed. There is nothing in sight to indicate a lessening, or a reversal, of the economic downslide. The weight of the evidence is all on the other side.

U. S. exports are falling more sharply each month, as the dollar shortage abroad becomes more acute. From the long-range view, the foreign-trade picture is even blacker.

The U. S. synthetic-rubber industry has almost reached the point where it can produce at a price which the natural rubber producers cannot possibly meet. This will deal a terrible blow to Britain, and to British Malaya, which for long has been the richest dollar-earning area in the sterling bloc (with rubber accounting for most of the dollars). Nylon has already dried up the dollar-earning capacity of Japan, and is furnishing one of the substitutes for jute, India's only great dollar-earning export.

Industrial production declined in June for the seventh consecutive month, being down 3 per cent from May and reaching a three-year low, the Federal Reserve Board reported.

Building and engineering work east of the Rocky Mountains amounted to \$4,467,676,000 in the first half of this year, a decline of 6 per cent from the corresponding period of last year.

Corporate profits soar above the general level of increasing misery, Industrial corporations in the first quarter of 1949, numbering 575 companies, showed composite net income 5.3 per cent higher than in the same 1948 period. However, the total was down 12 per cent from the last quarter of

"Leisurely Descent to Hell"

If government figures of business expenditures for new plant and equipment are correct, one of the most potent forces for recession has not yet become operative. Federal estimates indicate such expenditures for the first quarter at \$4.46 billion, against \$4.17 billion a year earlier, and for the econd quarter at \$4.82 billion, identical with the figure for the corresponding 1948 period. If these estimates are correct (they have been questioned by an official of Standard & Poor's Corporation), then we have experienced a drop in industrial activity from 195 to 169 on the Federal Reserve index, during a period in which capital spending of industry was actually above last

Unemployment continues to erode the economy. It is generally conceded now that there will be 5,000,000 persons out of work by the end of the year. "The thing the economists like best is that the downturn has picked up no momentum since last winter," declares the N. Y. Journal of Commerce. "They point out that unemployment has been creeping up, not skyrocketing, while unemployment compensation claims have been fairly stable. 'It is a very leisurely descent; we're not going to hell in a basket,' says one expert," states

Unemployment totaled 3,778,000 in June, according to the census bureau. In Illinois, claims for unemployment compensation rose nearly 7 per cent in June, almost doubling the number on record in the same month last year. This advance took place despite the discontinuance of benefit payments to nearly 80,000 claimants, many of whom exhausted their wage credits. Claimants in Illinois for jobless pay rose 90,523 during the month, to a total of 247,257 persons.

With so many of the unemployed throughout the country exhausting benefit claims, work-relief programs (absent from the American scene, or sharply restricted, for the past ten years) are returning. Such programs are reported by the American Public Welfare Association to be under way in at least six cities. On May 1, more than 1,156 persons were on work relief in Detroit; 155 in Chicago; more than 300 in Cincinnati; 488 in Los Angeles, 141 in Cleveland; 201 in Milwaukee. The total general relief load for 19 cities was 165,653 on May 1, an increase of 10,783 since March 1.

Economic Notes

Four major advertisers in 1948 spent on newspaper advertising alone total of more than \$38,000,000. The big four advertisers are: General Motors, \$15.2 millions in 1948; Prector & Gamble, \$8.3 millions; Colgate-Palmolive-Peet, \$7.9 millions, and Lever Bros., \$7.2 millions. Total amount of newspaper advertising by national advertisers in 1948 was \$389,261,000, ouble the 1939 total. . .

The N. Y. Journal of Commerce is running a delicious series of articles purporting to answer the assertion that 60 families rule this nation, and that "2 per cent of the nation own 90 per cent of the wealth." The argumentation is on this level: "The answer is to ask: Who owns the radios, the houses, the dresses and suits, the television sets, the automobiles? Who indeed? That 2 per cent would need mighty big closets and garages if the statement were true." When Lundberg and other economists documented their assertions concerning America's 60 ruling families, they were discussing ownership and control of the nation's means of production. The Journal series never comes

to grips with this very touchy point, the heart of the matter. The government's cost of living index went up 0.2 per cent in the month ended June 15, largely because of a 0.9 per cent rise in food prices. Rents and fuel prices also rose....

Great Britain's international trade conflict climbed to \$216,800,000 in June, higher than at any time in the last 21 months. Imports exceeded exports by that amount. . . .

SPARKS in the NEWS

Bohn-er

William E. Bohn, editor of the social-democratic New Leader, whose breakfast cogitations we quoted in a recent issue, is at bat again:

"Actually, there has never been a more flexible economic system than ours. . . . It works. It works very well. Not perfectly, of course. Its blessings are unevenly distributed both in time and space. There are some who are too rich, while others are too poor. The ups and downs of the business cycle are a trial which Congress does not yet take seriously. But it is flexible. We have changed it, we are changing it and we shall continue to change it. That is why it

works and will continue to work." Honest-to-God, that's the end of his column for July 9. The full measure of certain reactionary slander and filthy gossip can be seen when it is mentioned that some people sometimes refer to the New Leader as a SOCIALIST newspaper. We deplore such barefaced lying.

No Offense, Neighbor

Choice excerpts from a report on the conference of the International Union of Socialist Youth (pink socialist international) held in France in June, by the American YPSL delegate, Bill Abbott:

"While there were caucuses and factions, they were of a different nature than any I have ever known. For instance, members of the Scandinavian groups (the backbone of the right-wing caucus) were cordially invited to sit in on the left-wing caucus. Every faction began its activi-

ties with the idea that it was going

AND MARKET HITTERS ...

to compromise. . . . "Nothing was secret; every delegate was perfectly honest and courteous toward his neighbor. Socialist thought represented at the conference roughly divided into two schools of thought. . . . However, the division was vague. The French, for example, voted on both sides of the issue." (Socialist Call, July 8.)

Did he say the division was "vague"? There must be a better

Incidentally, Delegate Abbott was apparently so impressed by the honest, courteous and neighborly compromising of the delegates that he forgets to mention in his article how the vote turned out on the issue (which was a question of national autonomy versus international discipline). Well, ho-hum, we're not interested either. Bill.

All Wet

"Stressing the extent of the liquor problem today, Mr. Willard asked the press not to report statements in which he, the national director of the Steelworkers Union, said he sometimes wondered if union leaders were doing the right thing in reducing working hours and giving workers more time to spend in drinking."-Toronto Star, reporting 58th annual convention of the Ontario Temperance Federation.

Might be a good thing if Mr. Milperance federation conferences.

Army Jim Crow

BRASS HATS STALL, BUT NEEDS OF COLD WAR WILL MEAN CHANGE

By JAMES M. FENWICK

Under the Forrestal regime important token steps were taken to break down the Jim Crow system in the armed forces. During this period, for instance, Negroes were admitted into the marine corps, whose unit pride is

Following the Truman victory the Fahy Committee on Equality of Treatment and Opportunity in the Armed Services was established to imlement some of the election promises which Truman had made to the Negro people. As a result of its work both the air corps and the navy submitted programs attacking some of the outstanding inequities of the Jim Crow system. These programs were found acceptable by Defense Secretary Louis

To date, however, the army has not submitted a program which could be acceptable. Its attitude was defined a year ago when Chief of Staff Omar Bradley stated with normal rudeness and even a little truth: "The army is not out to make any social reforms. The army will put men of different races in different companies. It will change that policy when the nation as a whole changes it." Nevertheless, it is safe to predict that changes will be made.

Little Moral Fervor Involved

That the army is proving more stubborn than either the navy or air corps cannot be ascribed solely to the disproportionate number of Southern officers who infest it. The same condition holds for the navy and the air corps. One factor is certainly the greater proportion of Negroes in the army. They constitute more of a "problem."

The numerical importance of the Negroes is, however, causing a more socially literate section of the officer caste to adopt another attitude. These are the days of the great sobering up in the army. Creeping into the military journals is a growing recognition of the political and military problems involved in conducting a war against Russia. One of the first problems encountered is that of manpower. The plain fact is that the active support of the Negroes is vitally important for the defeat of Russia.

Hence elements in the lower and more intelligent echelons of the army are talking about the necessity of raising the material and cultural level of Negroes in civil life so that more of them will get into the army in the first instance. Similarly, this school wishes to eliminate some of the worst features of Jim Crow so that the Negroes will more actively support the war effort both within and without the army. Likewise, the more informed officers realize that disaffected Negroes are receptive to Communist prop-

Very little moral fervor is involved. It is largely a matter of cold statistics. The example of the other forces added to this logical necessity will cause changes in army procedure-just as necessity compelled the integration of Negro platoons into white rifle companies during the hard-pressed days of late 1944 in Europe.

'Grand Conspiracy" or Capitalist Trend?

None of this is understood by the Militant, organ of the Socialist Workers Party, which operates on the unclearly formulated basis that as time passes the Negro is inevitably destined to find his status worsened. For it the recent events are merely part of the carefully staged Grand Conspiracy which a homogeneous capitalist class is constantly waging against the working class.

Albert Parker, its agile expert on the Negro question, recently stated "that the whole 'racial equality' program, including the executive orders and the memorandums, is a fraud from top to bottom. If the brass hats act this way, it is because they know that the program was never seriously conceived or intended." If all that Agile Albert says is true, we would like to hear an explanation from him on just how he construes the recent dissolution of Negro air units and their incorporation into white outfits. Just a minor 3 act in the Grand Conspiracy, we suppose.

"All that Truman or Johnson has to do is give a 'direct order' to the brass hats, and they will either have to carry it out or resign from their soft jobs," says Parker. Unfortunately, a considerable number of direct orders have been issued. But the army, as all Marxists used to know, is controlled by a bureaucracy which has considerable independent power. Even Hitler, who headed a totalitarian order, could not quite get the Junkers to obey ANY order.

And just how powerful these military bureaucracies are has been clearly demonstrated over the last two years in the succession of efforts and personalities who have fallen victim to the desire merely to UNIFY the armed forces. It ran the whole gamut up to and including a defense secretary who jumped out of a hospital window. We doubt if a direct order would have restrained him.

Changes in Jim Crow policy will continue to be made. That they will be limited, initially, and that they will be circumvented in some cases goes without saying. But they will represent a step forward for the Negroes and the Negroes will know how to take advantage of the opportunity which U. S. capitalism, entangled in its contradictions, offers them

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lard spent 12 hours a day at his own job, so he wouldn't have so much time to go around making speeches at tem-

comfortable jobs, a little prestige, a fair salary. Now they seek it elsewhere. The ignominious collapse of the anti-Reuther bloc when its top leaders could no longer dispose of patronage hammers the last nail in the theory that it carried on the militant, progressive traditions of the

The last nail? Not quite. Further proof was provided in the actions of the Committee for a Militant and Democratic UAW at the twelfth con-

A different group, remnants of the

old Addes group, the Stalinists and their former close fellow travelers managed to unite into the Progressive Unity caucus on the very eve of the convention after rocky negotiations. This group ran Grant against Reuther. It is difficult to see how it can hold together. The Stalinists are so discredited that everyone is edging away from them.

CMD, Small UAW Grouplet, Forced to Recognize Its Thesis Is Wrong

is so great, its following so wide-SMALL GROUPLET spread, that it encompasses almost

The Committee for a Militant and Democratic UAW, however, enrolls genuinely progressive anti-Stalinists who previously were part of the Addes-Thomas-Stalinist bloc. Like the Socialist Workers Party, these elements deluded themselves with the belief that the group which they supported, the Addes group, was genuinely progressive and militant. The Reuther group in their eyes presented the danger of a reactionary, bu-

reaucratic, "red-baiting" tendency. The SWP, which supports the CMD, persists in the same analysis to this very day. In the July 18 issue of The Militant we read: "The 1949 convention shows that the union is in the grip of a conservative machine and that it has been corroded with the deadly acids of red-baiting and

The CMD was an infinitesimal grouplet at the convention. The vast majority of militants in the UAW are now behind Reuther. It scarcely could mobilize the one or two delegates necessary to distribute its two mimeographed statements to the delegates. It nominated Claud Bland for president only to make possible a statement of declination.

And this statement provides further proof of the real situation in the UAW and the significance of the victory of Reuther over the Addes bloc. In fact, it exploded the whole thesis

EPITAPH ON A POLICY

Bland said:

. . . the majority of this convention retains confidence in the present leadership and believes they should be permitted a further opportunity to put into practice the promises made at this and earlier conventions. . . Recognizing the fact that as yet only a portion of our membership has a clear appreciation of the differences in policy which separate

our group from the leadership of our union, we believe that the important job now to be done is to utilize to the fullest extent the present convention and the period ahead to bring these issues before the delegates and our membership so that any election contest we enter into will clearly reflect the differences which exist. In our opinion election contests which do not clearly reflect differences in program and policies contribute nothing to the development of our union. Fly-by-night or adventuristic conduct in elections, we believe, tend to confuse rather than

clarify the issues. "For these reasons and in view of the present situation in our union, I am declining this nomination and releasing the supporters of the Committee for a Miliant and Democratic UAW so that they may vote as they feel best guided by the needs of their local situations and a desire to help build a bigger, more militant and

democratic UAW."

Conclusion: Those who contended that Reuther's victory meant the victory of a reactionary, peace-at-anyprice policy are compelled now to admit that the militant rank and file look upon it quite differently and consequently it is impossible at this time to distinguish clearly between a militant program and Reuther's program. Not only that: it would be 'adventurism" to ask the workers to defeat Reuther in order to achieve a militant program. The delegates have rallied to Reuther precisely to achieve a militant and democratic

The militants who have elevated Reuther into the presidency and who now support him loyally will find that in the fight to carry out a militant program they will come into conflict with conservative, bureaucratic elements within the Reuther tendency. The future development of the UAW will see a process of differentiation within the Reuther camp. The end of the Addes-Stalinist bloc clears the air.

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Jewish Pen Club Queries Russian Embassy on Purged Writers' Fate

By DANIEL DAVIDSON

The fate of the outstanding Yiddish writers of Russia who were reported to have been arrested and exiled several months ago has aroused concern among Jewish cultural leaders throughout the world. Overcoming its diffidence, the Yiddish Pen Club of New York, organization of Yiddish writers affiliated with the International PEN, sent a letter to the Russian ambassador to the U.S., Ivan Panyushkin, inquiring about the fate of the Yiddish writers in Stalinist

The letter reads as follows:

July 14, 1949 Your Excellency:

... We want to call your attention to reports which have been received that the outstanding Yiddish writers in the USSR, among whom are included Izik Pfeffer, Der Nistor, Mark-

ish, Bergelson and Broderzon, have

reports have reached us, the works of these writers have not appeared. We waited until now hoping that some information concerning their fate would be forthcoming. However, no information whatsoever has been received. In addition we wish to point to the fact that at the Paris Peace Congress held in May, at which the literatures of the various minorities were represented, Yiddish Soviet literature had no such representation. We appeal to you to be kind enough to give us the information for which we have until now waited in vain. The N. Y. Yiddish Pen Club, which is a branch of the International PEN, considers it a duty to bring this matter before the public.

The letter is signed by Ephraim Auerbach, president of the Yiddish Pen Club. (My emphasis-D. D.)

To date no answer has appeared

Freiheit have taken this representative Yiddish writers' organization to task for its effrontery and "gall" in sending and publicizing the letter. The classical Stalinist "epithet apologetics" is employed and the Pen Club is denounced as a reactionary band serving the interests of the "cold war" of the Anglo-Saxon imperial-

SHOLEM ASCH BREAKS

It is also interesting to note that these hacks are not too successful in their efforts to hold their fellow travelers in line. Sholem Asch, famous Yiddish author of "The Nazarene" and "East River," who during the recent war was a contributor to the Stalinist publications, Freiheit and Einikeit, severed his connections with the Stalinists in the U.S. and issued a statement protesting their silence "on the pogrom committed against Jewish culture in the USSR." (My emphasis-D. D.)

Churchill-Bevin Spat—

(Continued from page 1)

point) but as to the "democratic" methods of "democratic" governments in a war fought presumably to preserve that "democracy."

Take the slogan of "unconditional surrender." Quite apart from any discussion of its "correctness," it was obviously a decision of utmost gravity and importance. Its opponents stated that it strengthened German opposition and prolonged the war. Now, Bevin says it was largely responsible for post-war difficulties in governing Germany. Surely these accusations-which affect millions of lives, if nothing more-were at least worthy of consideration by the Allied governments.

ONE DULL AFTERNOON

Yet, how was it promulgated? Roosevelt threw it out at a press conference one dull afternoon in Casablanca — without consultation even with his British opposite number, much less the British cabinet. or even his own State Department. (Cordell Hull, then secretary of state,

29 postal employees accused of dis-

loyalty were handed suspension no-

tices yesterday at the main post office

here. This action dismisses them from

the federal service subject to their

News of the suspensions spread

quickly and brought immediate an-

nouncement from B. A. Washington.

president of the Cleveland branch of

the National Alliance of Postal Em-

ployees, chiefly a Negro group, that

cas, said the letters from the Post

Office Department's loyalty board were given to the employees un-

opened. He would not give the names

of the six but they were learned

from other sources. It is interesting

to note that of the six, four are Ne-

It is also worthwhile noting that

one of the six, Curtis C. Garvin, is

president of a four-state district of

the NAPE and has been a postal em-

ployee for 22 years. Another of the

six. Thomas Williams, is treasurer of

the Cleveland branch of the NAPE

and has a record of 28 years' service

B. A. Washington, himself among left hanging.

groes and one Jewish.

with the post office.

CHARGES RACIST BIAS

Cleveland's postmaster, G. R. Lu-

the suspensions would be appealed.

appeal rights.

OHIO LABOR NOTES

Negro Postal Workers Suspended

In Witchhunt; Union Charges Bias

CLEVELAND, July 30-Six more of action, even though it came months

principle had not formed part of the icy of de-industrialization while they State Department's thinking. We were as much surprised as Mr. Churchill." . . . etc., etc.)

Yet, Churchill "accommodated" himself to this policy, and though the British Foreign Office sent a quiet little memorandum asking that the use of the term "unconditional surrender" be avoided "pending further reflection." . . . Eventually everybody else "accommodated" too. (We do not even recall any loud public shrieks of distress from the now sorely tried Bevin.)

Thus what can only be regarded, in the most charitable light, as a light-minded pronouncement by one man, Roosevelt, became the official war policy of mighty governments, whose presumably representative bodies actually opposed it.

Similarly with the disastrous Morgenthau plan. The British cabinet was never in sympathy with the draconic measures. The American cabinet was in a "crisis" over the plan, Hull and Stimson objecting to it and to Morgenthau's going to the conwrote in his memoirs. "Originally this ference as chief exponent of the pol-

the accused, said the loyalty board's

after the hearings, "belies the think-

ing of those who took this investiga-

tion lightly and thought it would

blow over without anyone being hurt.

Judging from the record of these

men now suspended, the action con-

firms our original view that the in-

vestigation was the product of the

government's policy of anti-Semitism

and anti-Negroism in the Post Office

that the board found "reasonable

grounds" to believe they were dis-

loyal to the government because of

alleged Communist associations, sym-

Donaldson. A final appeal could be

had to the U.S. Civil Service Com-

Together with the two who were

suspended some time ago, there are

now eight who have been suspended.

out of the 29 who were given hearings

by a "loyalty board" some months

ago. It has been the custom of the

department not to notify accused

men when or if they have been exon-

erated. The other 21, most of them

veterans of the many years' service

in the Post Office Department, are

mission's loyalty review board.

The letters informed the workers

stayed at home.

Yet the Morgenthau plan became, in the public mind at least, the official policy of the Allies. And though Churchill may say the policy was "dropped on one side" and administration spokesmen inspired reports that the policy had really been dropped, it is important to remember that the first two years of Allied occupation were shaped by the policy. Germany was ruled by a military government which specifically stated that economic reconstruction of Germany was not its concern or

BEHOLD THE STATESMEN!

And it was not the resulting black and senseless misery imposed upon the people of Germany, in the first two years after the war, by this decree, or its ruinous effect on the standard of living of all Europe that changed the policy. It was the needs of the developing cold war with Russia which made some economic recovery of Western Germany imperative that finally made the Morgenthau plan obsolete.

Any number of reflections may be made upon the whole business. The hypocrisy of a Churchill who "didn't agree" with a policy, and now finds his conscience troubling him a bit . . . but not too much. The intellectual caliber of "statesmen" who had dragged millions through the holocaust of a great war and then could even consider a "solution" of Europe's problems in terms of destroying the industry of Germany, heart, core and nexus of the entire European standard of living.

Millions were affected-bitterly affected-by the light-minded and irresponsible decisions of those "statesmen" and "great war leaders." Yet today these leaders are confronted only by polite recriminations in the gentlemanly houses of Parliament. Eventually it is to be hoped that they will have to answer for even more serious matters to the less tolerant masses of Europe who suffered and are suffering at their hands.

pathies and support. 'The suspended workers were given 15 days to ap-Essay on Reforms peal to Postmaster General Jesse

Life magazine recently carried a big 15-page color spread buildup for the Arabian American Oil Company (ARAMCO). The theme was: Civilization advances in the East. For ex-

"ARAMCO has even succeeded in tempering harsh Saudi Arabian justice with mercy; it is still Koranic practice to punish a pickpocket by cutting off his right hand; a doctor from ARAMCO now attends to paint the culprit's forearm with iodine before the chopping, then bandages the

Of course, they're cruder in Saudi Arabia, but here in the United States the father of a family of four is laid off by the boss and then bandaged up with \$20 a week unemployment insurance. Are we belittling the social security system? Heavens, nowe're even in favor of MORE iodine on the stump. It's the amputation that's disturbing.

PRESS MANAGER'S -PRESS ACTION

By JOSEPH ROAN

Anyone know anybody who reads

LABOR ACTION BOOK SERVICE finds itself in possession of a whole library of Marxist works in that language, including Trotsky's "History of the Russian Revolution, "My Life," "Lessons of October," and others. It took us a while to find out exactly what they were, and now the problem is to find someone in this country who can use them. If you have any suggestions, drop us a line, please.

Arrangements have been completed for a miniature version of LABOR ACTION BOOK SERVICE to be present at the summer encampment of the Socialist Youth League in Wisconsin next September. A complete stock of socialist literature will be made available to the students. We get around. .

Subs came in this week from Seattle, Chicago, Detroit, New York and Streator branches of the ISL, and from a number of other places. So far this summer we have comfortably avoided the traditional summer slump. With the exception of only one week, the number of new subscriptions and renewals has exceeded the number of expirations. Let's keep it up.

The July issue of The New International was delayed a little but has now appeared. Bundles have been mailed to the branches and subscribers. We're doing our very best to hurry up the August number.

Greetings to our new LABOR AC-TION director in Detroit, Tom M. Judging from his first week's work. we can expect big things from Tom. Writings and Speeches of

Eugene V. Debs

Introduction by Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr. (486 pp.) Reduced from \$4.00 to \$2.25

LABOR ACTION BOOK SERVICE 4 Court Square Long Island City 1, N. Y.

Brags About A-Bomb-

(Continued from page 1)

ever, that these questions do not impugn the necessity of doing so. See the quotation from Laurence in an accompanying box.) Isn't it true that a bigger A-bomb can be aimed only at more slaughter of human lives, not at military advantage?

NOTHING TO OFFER

Laurence comes only to the conclusion that the extra power is "wasted" and that therefore continued progress in A-bombs and the race to keep ahead of the field is no "atomic Maginot Line" behind which the people can feel secure, as they are invited to do by Truman. But it is doubtful whether such reasoning, still based in part upon "oldfashioned" humanitarian considerations, can cut much ice with a military which, together with its government, is gloating over figures marked in units of thousands of tons of TNT.

Western capitalism and the defenders of its declining years simply do not have much else to offer the peoples of the world who yearn for a way out from the terrors of both Russian Stalinism and of the old system which has brought the world to this pass. Hence the character of Truman's reassurances.

Can he offer the attractive force of a new society of advancing democracy and security and plenty for all as a counterweight to the Stalinist appeal? This can be done in election speeches and ceremonial oratory, in the vaguest liberalistic phrases, but it goes up the flue like other fumes when there is serious business on the floor. Only the program of Independent Socialism makes sense under these conditions.

The inescapable accompaniment of A-bomb government is indicated in a passage from the AEC's report which was NOT blazoned forth in type as large as "Super A-Bomb in Mass Production."

It consists of one tidbit of sta-

". . . the report stated that 20 per cent of the commission's 4,700 employees were engaged full time in security work."

There is one cop for every FOUR other employees of the government in this field!

Presumably, this also includes the cops set to watch the other cops.

Literally, this goes the totalitarian regimes ONE better-again as far as the atomic energy field is concerned. As far as we know, the general estimate of the number of Gestapomen required to police Hitler's prison-state, or Stalin's today, is one for every five.

The world of AEC employees is only a tiny segment of the population in the United States, and the ordinary citizen can still go his way plagued only with purge boards, loyalty oaths, red hunts, FBI stool-pigeons, anti-subversive ferrets and selfappointed informants. It will be a long way before there is one to four for the general population. But is not Truman exulting over the rapid rate of "progress" in our day?

THE SYSTEM CORRODES

When we Independent Socialists point to the trends and direction which the country is taking under the pressure of A-bomb-plus-A-Pact politics, it would simply be Pollyanna-ish to find reassurance in the

great gap which still separates American life from that of the nation-wide Russian concentration camp, for example. Indeed, there are some who seem to feel that there is so much democracy still left in these United States by comparison with Russia, that we can "afford" to throw chunks of it away for the sake of fancied ecurity against Moscow.

It is, of course, precisely through such rationalizations that bureaucratization, thought control, militarization and totalitarian-style purges advance apace even with the assent of those who sincerely think of themselves as unalterably opposed to such trends.

From the point of view of the government, the atom necessitates secrecy and the precautions of secrecy -it would be fruitless to argue about this. But where the government depends more and more exclusively on the atom for its existence, the corrosion of the Gestapo-GPU system tends to extend more and more into every other aspect of life. The AEC not only runs, but is, a pilot plant -and in this unplanned system, it did not have to be planned that way. Capitalism takes care of that.

CIVILIZATION IN THE CONGO

The tug-of-war over the atom is not only between the United States and Russia. There is a mostly muted struggle over the A-bomb going on between this country and Britain.

It has become known that a section of the administration is for helping England produce its own bombs, as it requests. There does not at present seem much prospect that Washington will permit its monopoly of Armageddon to be cracked even in favor of its dear allies. But

England intends to go ahead anyway. On the same day that the AEC report was released, a UP dispatch reports a hairpulling match between the two countries over Congo ura-

nium. They are bidding against each other, and it is safe to assume that the attitudes developing are not confined to gentlemanly competition. The American contract for Congo uranium expired on the day the report was released. The ore is owned by a Belgian company in which the

British constitute 49 per cent of the stockholders. The latter want a quarter of the output for themselves. The Americans are offering inflated prices in order to freeze the upstarts out. So go the bare facts of the dispatch. Yes, indeed-the A-bomb ensures a world of peace. . . . Out of their mutual anxiety to "ensure peace" with the bomb, the two leading capi-

talisms of the West immediately step on each other's toes and cannot even maintain tranquil relations between themselves. United as they are in interest against the common Russian threat, American and British imperialism are no less predatory today than ever, even if the one is top dog and the other is enfeebled and doddering.

It is only the peoples of the nations who have the common interests of peace and the use of modern potentialities for abundance and security. The ruling classes riding on their backs still have their national exploiting systems to foster and protect against all rivals-ALL rivals. When the working people who produce the wealth of the nation also control their own governments and economic lives in a socialist world. the day of peace will dawn.

Negro Loyalty Hearing—

(Continued from page 1)

besieged with telephonic declarations that Negroes were ready to "fight a circle saw" for their country. But then-one fool located with Rankin radar is mighty small pickings, and it was recognized as such.

LATE IN THE DAY

Every other Negro who appeared before the committee-and these included Manning Johnson, former member of the National Committee of the Communist Party, who has testified before for the FBI: Lester Granger of the National Urban League, and Charles S. Johnson, president of Fisk-testified to the resentment Negroes feel toward Jim Crow. It is necessary first to say that these gentlemen did this each in his own way and in addition to his other testimony. And it is necessary, second. to say that it is a little late in the day for any other type of testimony to have been made. But it is to be hoped that Congress even at this late date can learn something from this

From the point of view of Negroes whose representatives were called before this committee, thefe are a few things also to be said. Negroes, no less than labor, have suffered under the witch-hunts and under this committee which was characterized by them, as recently as the NAACP's July convention, as "this menace to the principles of freedom." It is to be regretted that no one of these spokesmen saw fit to say: "Appear before you? Why? On Robeson, on loyalty, or on any damn thing?" This was the proper response to these Dixiecrat jackals.

The federal employees hounded in the FBI-inspired purges, the Jim-Crowed soldiers at home and in Germany, where the army is engaged in "democratizing" the people, Rosa Lee Ingram, Robert Mallard, Isiah Nixon and any child know this committee for what it is, and could have been better trusted to reply to its effrontery than any of the customary spokesmen. These spokesmen find themselves, in Governor Hastie's fine phrase, "in the middle, insofar as the Un - American Activities Committee is concerned."

WHAT WAS NOT SAID

These hearings, put on in such record time, had a certain kind of planning behind them. Senator George (Dem., Ga.), who has revised his racesuperiority ideology only just enough to accept the fact that "sub-human animals" may be trained to play baseball, planned for Jackie Robinson to be Exhibit One. A. Philip Randolph was not invited to testify. Nor was Willard S. Townsend, who has advised Negroes to turn the forces aligned against race discrimination in the armed forces against the military program itself.

Two men who are accepted as among the "Talented Tenth" by those who hold there is a talented tenth who are the negotiators and architects of the Negro's future, were invited and accepted the invitation. There is a thing or two to be said about the testimony of Granger and Johnson.

Dr. Johnson is one of those "on-theone-hand, on-the-other-hand" sociologists. He is of the opinion that "democratic imperfections of a serious character are being corrected too slowly." He feels that the hearings would have

been absurd except for the fact that, in these days of international tensions, many Americans are seriously apprehensive about national security.

Granger made what the Negro press considered a masterful address, heard by only two problems on the committee, both Northerners, Granger advised that the committee show less concern about Robeson and more concern for democracy. His suggestion that the weapon which the Communist Party now uses against the country might be taken back was concretized with the proposal that the KKK (Rankin, Wood et al.) prosecute the KKK. He told the committee that while Negroes would continue to protest injustice, they would not embrace the Communist Party ideology.

But even from their own points of view-deeply apprehensive about our national security (Johnson), or how best to hold your fort (Granger)there was a thing or two left out. Granger might have quit being in the middle and explained why the House Un-American Activities Committee is a menace to the principles of human freedom. Armed with a statistic or two, Dr. Johnson might have hinted at least that Congressmen Rankin and Wood did not arrive on the committee through bloc voting by Negroes in Mississippi or

in Georgia. That is not too much to have hoped for, even from a sociologist, when tensions are to the right of him, tensions to the left of him, tensions right in front of him.

ROBINSON TELLS 'EM

Jackie Robinson was hardly the man to stay home this trip. He did not exactly rush there, and he had been placed in such a position that. had he staved home, he would have given aid and comfort where he had no interest to give it. He has explained that he stuck his neck out from a sense of responsibility, and he discharged what he felt to be an obligation honorably. This young man who has made a routine of getting from first base to home plate on a single, plugged away on another field and came up with a document that speaks not for himself alone.

Ingeniously he has said: "I did the writing but I had a lot of help get ting it just right." His "just right" is too immodest; he tried to speak not for himself alone, and with this great desire that is exactly what he accomplished. That is what is noteworthy about his speech.

"Put me down as an expert on being a colored American, with thirty years' experience at it. And just like any other colored person with sense enough to look around him and understand what he sees, I know that life in these United States can be mighty tough for people who are a little different from the majorityin their skin color, or the way they worship their God, or the way they spell their names.

"Just because Communists kick up a big fuss over racial discrimination when it suits their purpose, a lot of people try to pretend that the whole issue is a creation of Communist imagination. They aren't fooling anyone with this kind of pretense, and talk about 'Communists stirring up Negroes to protest' only makes present misunderstanding worse than ever. Negroes were stirred up long before there was a Communist Party and they'll stay stirred up long after the party has disappeared—unless Jim Crow has disappeared by then as

We did not need Jackie's guarantee that Negroes aren't going to stop fighting discrimination until they've got it licked, but we are mighty glad he threw it in the governmental

While we cannot say Amen at the end of Jackie's statement, most of it is good enough for us, since we know that those for whom Jackie speaks, not by being wise in the political "isms" but in action, will master the way to a workers' world and to true

Dirt Flies in ALP Split—

(Continued from page 1) Negro, anti - Marcantonio, anti - Wallace, pro-O'Dwyer renegade from ALP policies."

The Connolly people represent themselves as appalled by the cynical use of the racial issue and the Negroes by the Marcantonio Stalinists -they're the kind of people who a while back would have denounced as "red-baiting" any insinuation that Stalinism battens upon precisely such unscrupulous manipulation of the fight against Jim Crow.

As it happens they themselves are now being denounced not only as anti-Negro but also as "red-baiters." in spite of the fact that their pronouncements walk around the CP issue in the ruckus with tender feet. (It is "Marcantonio and his group" and "Marcantonio's friends" in their circumlocutions.)

They now denounce the crude injection of the racial issue as "the worst kind of chauvinism." "a cynical use of the Negro people . . . to gain total control of the ALP," "a base slander upon the Negro people." Connolly has brought suit against Guinier for defamation of character in the New York Supreme Court.

STRONG-ARM STUFF

In view of the fact that the Marcantonio-CP rule-and-ruin crew has put up a Negro against Connolly, insisting that only a Negro should run for borough president, a neat point is scored by the Connollyites against them by pointing to another tiff which broke out between Marcantonio and Connolly in 1946-with the roles reversed. At the ALP Judicial Convention in September of that year, Connolly nominated a Negro Lawyer for Supreme Court justice.

The Times reported at that time: "Mr. Marcantonio followed with a

bitter 45 minute castigation of Mr. Connolly and his followers for raising the issue. He declared that they simply were seeking to put up a Negro, to make a hopeless race as an independent, for the sake of the issue, and that his own friendship to the Negroes could not be questioned, but that he refused to let them be used

as foils." The Boss thereupon put through the nomination of a Democrat and a Republican, as ALP designees,

The Connolly - Rogge - Van Kleeck combination is, of course, feeling the rest of the CP machinery on their own heads. Familiar to all anti-Stalinists is the complaint registered in the pages of the Outlook:

"During the past year reprisals have been taken against those who favor a broad and democratic ALP and who oppose continued domination by the group headed by Marcantonio. Meetings have been packed and club officers illegally removed. Long standing progressives with unassailable records have been viciously slandered. It is no coincidence that since the present fight began clubs sympathetic to us have been broken

into and their records removed. . . . "This bossism has spread to Brooklyn, the Bronx and Queens. The Marcantonio finger is in every pie. . . . Endless quarrels have resulted. The situation is intolerable. We must end it and the era of shady political

WALLACE COALITION RIPPING

The fact is that this ALP-CP smashup in New York is, to say the least, of great national significance for the whole Wallace movement and is indeed an extreme form of the situation within the Wallace coalition (or what is left of it). As the Outlook says:

ALP shall grow as a broad anti-fascist coalition or whether it shall decay as a narrow, small and dictatorially-controlled party. This issue is affecting not only the ALP but the Progressive Party throughout the country. On June 30, the Associated Press reported from Georgia that James Barfoot, head of the Progressive Party and candidate for governor against Talmadge, and Rev. Samuel Williams, board member, resigned in protest against a 'destructive, narrowing policy.' That is the danger we face in the ALP today. Since the ALP represents half of the Progressive Party vote, progressives cannot ig-

nore what happens to the ALP." The present situation, for that matter, was already foreshadowed by the undercover tug-of-war which took place at the Wallace nomination convention in Philadelphia last year, with the Wallace-Tugwell-Martin-Buchanan forces ("Wallace Wallaceites") in the position of the Connolly-

It is perhaps too early to say how much there will be left of the ALP after the fracas is over, and whether the factions will kiss and make up after the primaries. In any case, however, there is no doubt that the ALP will still be reeling from the frayto the benefit of all who want to see a REAL independent labor political force established in the city.

> Read LABOR ACTION and THE NEW INTERNATIONAL