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British Labor Wins in Close Race, Holds Vote, but New Election Looms

FIVE CENTS

If Labor Acts, Miners Can Win! Don't Leave Them in the Lurch!

Statement by the Independent Socialist League

MARCH 6, 1950

Four hundred thousand striking coal miners have said: "ENOUGH!"

They have had enough of Taft-Hartley — enough of threats from the government -enough of promises from the "friends of labor" in Washington — enough of injunctions — enough of employer arrogance — enough of the hatred whipped up

against them by the press. They have determined to take their stand here and now. They will not dig coal. They will see to it that no one digs coal. They are trade unionists who have clearly understood that unless they stand firm and fight to the end their union and all they have achieved through it in the many years of struggle will be crippled, cut d and perhaps finally wiped out.

They know full well the power arrayed against them. They know

ican monopoly capital. They know selves and their families. that the courts and the governmand.

thrown into jail, that the road

that the mine owners are backed they have chosen means more by the massed wealth of Amer- hunger and privation for them-In the face of all this, the ment will defend that wealth with miners have chosen to fight back all the resources at their com- with the only weapon they have. They are fighting for themselves

They know that the courts will and their dear ones. They are seek an opportunity to despoil fighting to maintain their fortheir treasury, that men may be ward march toward a decent (Continued on page 2)

The Labor Party has again formed the cabinet to head the British government but, as the result of last Thursday's election, it now rests on a slim and perhaps unworkable majority of seats in Parliament. The main question mark that hangs over its head now is: Will it attempt to forge ahead with its program or will it mark time in the hope of hanging on to office at the expense of its program?

No reader of the U.S. press-which shouts this message at its readers from its news columns as well as its editorials—need be told that the Labor forces suffered a big drop in terms of parliamentary power. The Labor Party came out of the 1945 election with an overall majority of 73 seats, topping the Conservatives by 180 seats. Now it has a majority in Parliament of only three seats, and



43.4

9.1

1.0

2.8

only 19 more MPs than the Tories.

Gleefully for the most part but quite possibly accurately, the press lays stress on the prospect that a new election may be necessary in a few months, or even sooner if the budget to be submitted around March or April brings the downfall of the cabinet. It is this shaky situation which presents the problem in strategy for the Labor

leadership. Infiated out of all proportion, however, in the light of the facts, are the accompanying claims of a portentous "rightward swing" in the British

political climate. There is, as we go to press, little definite information available on the social and geographic breakdown of the vote, and so analysis on this point must be tentative. The raw figures, nevertheless, do not by themselves bear out the claim, which is doubtless exaggerated for propaganda purposes in "free enterprise" America.

The popular vote was as follows, in thousands, as of Sunday: 1950% 1945 1945% 1950 13.218 47.946.2

1,4001	11,000		×
Conservative	9,961	12,409	39.9
Liberal	$2,\!240$	2,617	9.0
Communist	103	- 92	.4
Others	678	275	2.8
Total	24,945	28,611	

e figures by one and a quarllion, though this has to be taken in light of the fact that 3,666,-(Turn to last page)

The miners are desperately in need of strike relief. Money and food for the miners and their families are the sinews of

battle. We strongly urge all members and branches of the Independent Socialist League, all readers of LABOR ACTION, all union

militants to make every effort to help the miners. Unions should be urged to appropriate money from their treasuries and collect money and food from their members to be sent to UMW locals. Union locals near the mine districts are urged to adopt a UMW local as their special responsibility for strike relief.

ISL branches are urged to act similarly in raising relief for the miners. Every effort should be made to contact other organizations to form joint relief committees. Where such efforts are successful, special public rallies should be organized to protest the miners and to gather money and food for strike ho attack NATIONAL COMMITTEE relief.

Independent Socialist League

WHOSE SIDE ARE YOU ON?



FEPC Ripped to Shreds; House Votes Mangled Bill

By MARY BELL

Six years after it was first proposed legislatively by the Democratic Party, a Fair Employment Practices bill went through the first stages of enactment in the House of Representatives and last Thursday came out amendmentridden, toothless and impossible of complete and sensible interpretation by those who voted for it. It was such a shadowy substitute for the administration bill originally proposed by Representative Adam Clayton Powell (D.) that the latter refused to vote for it.

day rule of the House, the chair- altogether; a mild substitute by man of the alphabetically called Republican O'Connell was helped committee has the right to bring along by the Southerners; it too to the floor any bill passed by his was riddled with amendment; committee but stalled thereafter. and, finally, on Thursday, the The House convened at noon and watered-down version was passed. a prayer was said. Then the long series of rollcalls for quorums (seven in all) began; amendments were interspersed-"We've got a hundred of 'em!" shouted one of the Southern Democrats.

Pauses out of "respect for the first President" were observed; rebel yells interrupted the ses-

Under the Calendar Wednes- sion; the Powell bill was shelved

For the bill were 116 Democrats and 124 Republicans, a total of 240. Against were 134 Democrats, 42 Republicans and one American Labor. The bill calls for a five-member

Fair Employment Practices Commission, but this body would not (Turn to last page)

11.963 Labor

Johnmunist	100	
Others	678	
Total	$24,\!945$	28,
The Labor Party's vote		
tor million though this has	to hat	akon in l



YOU Can Aid the Coal Strike!

Page Two



By GERALD McDERMOTT

PITTSBURGH—The real question in the coal dispute appears to be what form government seizure of the mines will take.

As this is written, the United Mine Workers Union is on trial and the administration is making a further attempt to use the T-H club to get the miners back to work. It is almost a foregone conclusion, however, that neither fine nor imprisonment of union leaders will force the diggers into involuntary servitude.

The meeting of union district heads held in Washington on the eve of the trial may well have been to map strategy in the event of government seizure. Government seiz- plied to the seat of the troubles. ure would probably mean a temporary return to work followed by a resumption of the strike if a satisfactory contract is not reached.

It is possible that the operators will be offered some sort of government subsidy, similar to government subsidies to agriculture and the shipping industry, so that government control or a government-written contract will not interfere with their profits. Already, Senator Murray of Montana has raised the issue of nationalization of the mines as a long-term solution.

In the meantime, the miners have made it plain that they will not back down. Picketing continues to be so effective that even mines which have agreed to union terms and have union contracts under the Kentucky agreement are sometimes temporarily closed by pickets. In Western Pennsylvania, UMW officials have had some difficulty in keeping these mines open.

District miners know that they have contracts, but picketing is on so vast a scale that the mines are sometimes closed by pickets from West Virginia or Ohio. When state police were sent to the operating mines to offer "protection," the miners under contract walked off the job. Since the bitter days of the coal-andiron police, no miner will work, contract or no contract, while a man with a rifle stands by. Truman, please take notice!

DIGGINGS CLOSED DOWN

Indicative of the mood of the strikers is the series of dynamitings throughout the coal fields. Almost daily the tipples or power plants of scab mines have been blown up, burned or smashed. Trucks are burned and power shovels at strip mines are blasted. The actions range from central Pennsylvania to Alabama.

With the UMW's rival union, now, coal production is a bare trickle from the small operators who have signed with the union. "Brown" coal - unprocessed

strip-mine coal with dirt and even grass still mixed in-is selling at more than double its usual price, and the price is going up hourly. It is common for a shipbids more.

The effective picketing of the many very small scab mines throughout the fields is carried on by guto caravans of ten to 500 cars of pickets. Pickets from an entire district will gather at a secret central location and then send out "task forces" to close any mines trying to work.

Mines which do not shut down on the appearance of pickets risk being put out of commission. Most picket caravans are armed and some operate with mud smeared on their license plates. Trucks intercented hauling coal are forced to the side of the road and the coal dumped on the spot.

mines, and scores of pickets have been arrested, but the work goes Recently arrested in West Virginia was a miner's wife who went on picket duty armed with a militant hatpin which she ap-

Further evidence of the seriousness of the rank and file is the organization in northern West Virginia of a Miners' Relief Committee. This committee of local leaders is sending lefters and delegations asking for financial aid from the real allies of the miners

-the rest of the labor movement. The miners in this area and in scuthern Pennsylvania spearheaded the strike three weeks before the rest of the districts struck and have been doing more than their share of picket duty.

We urge every militant and every local to aid them generously. We suggest that UMW locals in other areas would do well to take similar action; they would meet with a generous response. It should be kept in mind that the half million dollars donated by the Steel Workers comes to only about a dollar a striker.

The address of the Relief Committee is:

Miners' Relief Committee c/o Charles Ewing

Box 187 Osage, W. Va.

The current issue of the United

Mine Workers Journal, which is now reaching the coal fields, throws some interesting light on the real attitude of the UMW leadership toward the strike.

It carries, in a box, Lewis' return-to-work order in full. Next to this, however, in another box. is the text of Lewis' reply to the president's request for a factfinding board. This is the statement which concludes:

"To use the power of the state to drive men into the mines, on the terms and for the profit of private employers, is involuntary servitude. . . . It is questionable whether . . such mass coercion would insure enthusiastic service from grateful men."

The Journal makes no other

ing on except to state in passing, in a report on negotiations, that 'miners . . . acting individually and on their own initiative, had refused to enter the mines in protest against the coal operators' eight-month failure to bargain.

There is a question the miners might well be asking themselves at this moment. In the last election, they actively supported and in many cases helped to elect, a number of Democrats and Republicans to Congress. After the election, the UMW Journal boasted about how many politicians the UMW helped to elect.

Has anyone heard even one of those men denounce Truman for strikebreaking? How long will it be before the miners decide to get to work in order to send labor candidates to Washington?

CP Woos Miners, but They Still Recall Its Scab Role in 1943

The Communist Party is busily cuddling up to the embattled coal miners in their great strike, and now's the time for the miners to remind themselves of the Stalinists' treacherous role in the diggers' 1943 struggle.

Today the CP forces, as agents of the Kremlin in the present cold war, are for anyone who's embarrassing Washington. In 1943 the CP was in the midst of its "everything goes" line in support of the war on Russia's side. Everything went-including the interests of labor, which were wrapped up in a no-strike pledge and buried for the duration.

William Z. Foster, CP boss, called on the UMW men to repuliate John L. Lewis and accept the dictates of the government. At a CP rally in Yankee Stadium, "the boos at the mention of Lewis' name were as loud as any expression of displeasure that ever came from a Yankee Stadium audience." In the Wilkes-Barre area, the CP local head called on the miners via the radio "not to follow Lewis into a treasonable strike."

Any kind of strikebreaking went, as far as the CP was concerned. The national committee of the CP appealed to labor, to "uphold the commander in chief [Roosevelt] in whatever steps may be necessary." That was their way of saying that they would consider presidential use of the troops to break the strike as patriotic.

The Stalinists are ready to betray labor when it suits their purpose or even smash labor organizations themselves, as they do when in power. No coal miner with a memory is going to be fooled for a second by their current embraces.



(Continued from page 1)

standard of living, so long denied them, toward the small degree of protection against sickness and old age so recently wrung from the bosses in long and difficult strikes.

FOR ALL LABOR!

But more than that, they are fighting for all of us. Most of the labor movement have gritted their teeth at Taft-Hartley and prayed move this voke from their necks. made a bold gesture or two, and then surrendered to the employers in exchange for a few pennies social security. The fact is: for Keech. the past three years the bulk of the labor movement has been on the defensive. The union leaders have been begging at the doors of the masters of American industry, and from the Capitol and the White House they have received the scraps and the contempt which are the beggar's por-

But the miners have said: ENOUGH! They stand, today, as union men, at the spearhead of the army of American labor. They are taking the brunt of the attack. And it is up to the rest of labor, to every trade-union local, to every union member and officer, to rally to their side.

merely engage in debate on the strength of the American workmerits of the strategy of John L. ing class. But this strength must Lewis or discussions of the economics of the coal industry. The labor movement must stand shoulder to shoulder with the miners under the old slogan of American unionism: "An Injury to One Is an Injury to All."

Every union local, AFL, CIO to "friends" in Congress to re- and independent, should pass resolutions in support of the miners. Most of the labor movement have Every central labor body and council should mobilize support for the UMW. Resolutions should be sent to Truman, to congressor a measly pension plan tied to men and senators, to Judge

GET BEHIND THEM!

Let them know that every union man and woman in America is ready to defend the miners. Appropriate money from the treasury to be sent to the UMW districts and locals.

Let the courts, the newspapers and all branches of the government know that every blow delivered at the miners is a lash on the back of every thinking unionist in America. And that every unionist will remember till he dies whose hand held the whip handle.

The miners can win this fight

if the unions get behind them. There is no force in the land This is no time to hang back, or which can defeat the united be mobilized quickly and brought into the battle.

The miners must not be left in the lurch by the rest of the labor movement!

Let the union in every city form a council for the miners' defense-AFL, CIO and independents together. Let these councils send delegates to a national conference, immediately. Such a mass demonstration of the united will of the American labor movement -banded together without regard to organizational divisions for the defense of the miners, banded together not to plead with employers or whine to "friends of labor" in office but to DEMAND that the government call off its dogs and to plan wavs and means to make this demand effectivethis would lend the miners a strength which would be irresistible

Four hundred thousand miners have said: Enough! Let the rest of the labor movement answer: Brothers, in your hour of trial, we are with you!

NATIONAL COMMITTEE Independent Socialist League

the small Progressive Miners of America in Illinois, also on strike now, coal production is a bare Big UAW Locals Call for Help to Miners; **Union Pays Medical Plan for Chrysler Men**

By WALTER JASON

DETROIT. Feb. 27-At long last ment of such coal to start to a there is visible evidence, and more buyer in Pittsburgh and then be significantly, splendid action withrerouted to Cleveland or some in the United Auto Workers (CIO) other city when another broker during the past weekend to show that the importance of the coal miners' fight for all labor-above all, for the Chrysler strikers-is understood by the active ranks of the auto workers' union.

Briggs Local 212, in line with the kind of militant tradition it has long established, has voted to send the coal miners \$1,000 a month in food, during the remainder of the coal strike.

Another important act of union solidarity, the kind that built the CIO, was taken by Ford Local 600. the biggest local union in the world. By unanimous action of its general council, President Thomas Thompson made a radio address All this must be done while tions Sunday, in which he called veterans of the 1937 days left in was paying the Blue Cross monthavoiding state and local police, on the UAW locals to join Ford the UAW for the ranks to forget ly payment of all Chrysler strik- ducting the elections, and charged and generally is. State police es- Local in sending truckloads of the great debt that the UAW owes ers. While this will cost around that thousands of workers were

the UAW to join in similar support of the coal miners.

The contrast between these actions and the silence of the Reuther leadership, as of this date, on the coal miners' situation has created quite a stir in UAW circles, with many very sharp and unfavorable criticisms of the Reuther leadership being made-and not anti-Reuther factions.

QUESTION ON REUTHER

The idea is permeating the UAW ranks that unless the coal miners win, neither the Chrysler strikers today nor the General Motors tomorrow stand much of a chance over one of Detroit's largest sta- of winning. There are far too many

Thompson's plea was very ef- mendous support in the crucial come expenditure. It shows the fective because he spoke as a for- sitdown strikes. Or to forget that rest of the UAW where some of mer coal miner. Ford Local 600 the first contracts obtained at Gen- the strike assessment money is bealso sent letters to every local in eral Motors and Chrysler were negotiated by John L. Lewis.

Time and again the question is asked: Why doesn't Walter Reuther speak out on the coal miners' strike? A very good question!

As the Chrysler strike goes into its fifth week and the tensions caused by hardship and the redtape procedures of city welfare irritate more and more strikers, the just by the remnants of the old UAW faces a period of critical reexamination of its policies, and the link between the length of the Chrysler strike and the coal miners' fight becomes clearer and clearer

> Last week the UAW leadership did one thing which was the first important action to win approval among the strikers. The international union announced that it

ing spent and it relieves the anxiety of hospital bills for most of the strikers if personal misfortune should hit the family.

The mood of the UAW ranks was not helped any last week by the announcement of General Motors that it was cutting wages two cents an hour, under the provisions of the contract which permit this action when the cost-of-living index of the Bureau of Labor Statistics shows a decline. GM sought to cover up this profit - making move (it made \$600,000,000 profit in 1949) by also announcing an alleged car price cut, which no one takes seriously.

UAW militants are watching closely the results of the NLRB elections for a union shop among GM workers. The UAW denounced the method of the NLRB in conpecially have tried to guard scab food to the coal miners. the coal miners' union for its tre- \$200,000, it is a necessary and wel- deprived of their right to vote. The

contract.

ler strike. -

March 6, 1950

Refuses to Suspend Cop Who Murdered Negro Vet

By GEORGE WHITNEY

AKRON, Feb. 24-The city chief of police, Thomas Lynett, yesterday refused point-blank to suspend the two cops, Don Pohl and Robert Wilcox, who murdered a Negro veteran on the 10th of this month.

The refusal came as a direct and formal reply to a written request for their suspension made jointly by the local chapters of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Frontiers Club. The request had been submitted by three representatives of the joint committee formed by these two groups, attorneys W. Howard Fort and Rufus Thompson and the Rev. U. S. Munerlyn, president of the Akron NAACP.

The victim of the police murder, Ernest Fenner, as reported last week, had become hysterical as the result of nervous disorders. but had been subdued by a 17year-old neighbor boy; when an ambulance arrived later, Fenner, still hysterical, broke its windshield with a stick. A police car came with the two cops named. As Fenner advanced toward the squad car, Wilcox shot him twice while he was still six to eight feet away, the fatal bullet entering his body through the back.

Reuther Tells Program for **GM** Contract

By RALPH STILES

ELIZABETH, N. J., Feb. 26-In a speech climaxing a three-day New Jersey area conference of Region 9 of the United Auto Workers, President Walter Reuther said that the UAW will ask for a \$100a-month pension plan and a wage increase from General Motors when contract negotiations start in April.

He also stated his opposition to the wage-escalator clause under which GM workers just received a two-cents-an-hour wage cut. Claiming that the clause got into the contract because of the bad situation the union faced as a result of the corporation united front against wage increases in 1948, Reuther said that the union would attempt to eliminate it in the next

The IJAW president predicted that in the GM negotiations the union will regain the two-cent cut and gain "a few cents on top of that." The pension demands from GM will be the same as those now being contested in the Chrys-

The next step, he said, after the UAW has won adequate pensions and medical health plans from the auto corporations, is the guaranteed annual wage. "C. E. Wilson has a guaranteed annual wage of \$258 an hour. It is not too much to ask that his auto workers have a guaranteed annual wage of \$1.70 an hour."



4 Court Square Long Island City 1, N.Y. has since issued an official verdict of homicide, declining to label it either justifiable or unjustifiable. He told reporters, however - as carried in the Beacon Journalthat he could not honestly call it iustifiable.

Lynett, Mayor Slusser and County Prosecutor Alva Russell have all refused several times to authorize the suspension of Pohl and Wilcox on the ground that such action "might prejudice the patrolmen's rights" when their case goes before the grand jury on March 6. The average citizen will no doubt be surprised to learn that the arrest of a murderer before indictment by a grand jury is prejudicial to the rights of the murderer! But such is the view of the Akron authorities - when the murderer happens to be one of their own cops.

As a matter of fact, the police chief's refusal means that he wants to prejudice the grand jury IN FAVOR of the killers. He hopes that refusal to suspend them from the force (much less arrest them for murder, as should be done) during the month-long period before the meeting of the grand jury will convey the impression that the chief himself does not consider the homicide as anything outside the realm of duty. The same can be said for the county prosecutor and the mayor.

MANSLAUGHTER LIKELY

There is little doubt in the mind of most interested observers that the grand jury must of necessity bring in some sort of indictment This is also appreciated by Lynett. His aim is probably to obtain an indictment merely on a manslaughter charge, rather than first or second-degree murder.

This tactic now represents the greatest danger to the successful prosecution of justice in the case and appears to enjoy the greatest NAACP and the Frontiers Club.

County Coroner C. I. Martin likelihood of going through though neither indictment for outright murder nor complete dismissal of the case can be dismissed as possibilities.

In this case the likelihood is that Wilcox and Pohl will get off with nothing more serious than permanent dismissal from the police or, at the worst, a light sentence of perhaps six months for Wilcox (the actual killer). We mentioned last week the Akron case of ten years ago of two cops. Yingling and Coburn, who blackjacked an intoxicated young rubber worker to death inside the city jail and were brought to trial on manslaughter charges. This openand-shut case merely brought the two men dismissal from their jobs and a six-month sentence for Coburn, who later had the good taste to commit suicide.

A large section of Akron's population has become aroused over this brutal killing. The NAACP and the Frontiers Club held a mass meeting last Sunday evening filling the Wesley Temple AME Zion Church to capacity; scores of people could not get inside. A full report on the case was made to the audience.

It is important again to emphasize that the organized labor movement of Akron has a duty to join in the fight to end the stormtrooper role of the city police and their obvious contempt for the life of a Negro.

Attorney W. Howard Fort, in presenting the suspension demand to the police chief, told him that he was speaking not for the Negro population of Akron alone but for the entire population regardless of color. The correctness of that statement ought to be evident to every workingclass militant, who should get his organization officially to throw its weight into the fight for justice alongside the

OHIO LABOR NOTES UAW Wins Demands at Pesco

By JOE HAUSER

CLEVELAND, Feb. 19-A twoweek strike was settled at Pesco Products in Cleveland this afternoon when the membership of Local 363, United Auto Workers (CIO), voted unanimously to return to work. The union had won practically all the demands over which the strike was called.

This was the first strike, outside of a one-day stoppage in 1948, in the history of the company. Probably the most outstanding fact is that the strike was called over what are essentially minor issues, and did not include a demand for a general wage increase or basic demands for all the members. Pension and union shop demands had been raised, but had been postponed until patterns were set by major auto manufacturers, although the reopening time was an issue.

The solidarity of the members will no doubt leave a lasting impression on a management well known for its stalling tactics. It also proved to a membership not experienced in such action that they had a fighting union.

Issues won included an increased vacation program, better night shift premium, a 21-cent wage

increase for timekeepers who had just joined the union (this will encourage other office workers to sign up), and rate increases in about 20 classifications.

RENT DECONTROL BACKFIRES

Advocates of continued rent control were armed with further ammunition by observing events at Pepper Pike Village, a Cleveland suburb. The village council had recently requested Governor Lausche to lift rent ceilings, and he agreed to this action. The first greedy landlord to respond to this situation was . . . the owner of the Town Hall!

Rent before decontrol was \$25 monthly. Rent from now on is \$1000 monthly. Passing the rent resolution cost the village fathers a mere fortyfold increase!

One would think such people might have learned a lesson and reconsidered their action, fearing that landlords might take simila action toward other tenants. Not so these worthies; they are now proceeding to appropriate the property for village use. This might stymie their own landlord. but hardly offers relief for other tenants

IUE-CIO Swamps CP-Led Union In NLRB Vote at 5 GM Plants

The International Union of Electrical Workers (IUE-CIO) won GM Delco Appliance, Rochester, smashing victories over the Stalinist United Electrical Workers in five General. Motors plants last N. J., IUE 297; UE not certified. week. These are the first GM locals in which the NLRB has held a vote taken at Wagner Electric collective bargaining elections in St. Louis among production since the split of the UE from the CIO last fall.

Results are as follows: Local 801. Frigidaire, Dayton, Ohio: IUE 10,-860. UE 1.416. Local 755. Delco. Davton: IUE 5.098: UE 762: Local 717. GM Packard Electric, Warren,

Ohio: IUE 3,237, UE 215. Local 509, N. Y.: IUE 1.639, UE 135, Local 416. GM Delco Remy, New Brunswick.

In addition to these GM locals workers gave the IUE 2,816, UE 1,788, IAM 514 and no union 45.

Although victories in these plans were confidently expected by the IUE, the size of the swing of the workers to the CIO was unexpected.

FUND DRIVE NEAR 25% IN SECOND WEEK

BV YETTA BARSH Fund Drive Director

FEB. 27-Five branches of the Independent Socialist League and one unit of the Socialist Youth League have made their first Fund Drive contributions this week. Youngstown's \$70 places it at the head of the list. "We'll have the rest of our quota next month," writes our Youngstown correspondent.

From St. Louis, now in second place: "We accept our quota and expect to exceed it. I think we should fulfill it by March 15 at the latest. Enclosed is \$55 to start off with."

Streator enters the drive with an initial \$11 and writes: "We the record of past performances, hope to send in the balance of it is safe to predict that the Chi-As we anticipated last week, our in record time. Los Angeles comrades came

age to 45 per cent. We have been informed that the tentative New York SYL quota is \$125, which means that it has already achieved 40 per cent of its quota.

YOUTH IN STAR ROLE

However, the Chicago SYL continues to make news. Not only has it realized 100 per cent of its assigned \$100 quota, but we are informed that "the Chicago SYL has passed a resolution raising its quota to \$200." If we are to judge by our quota within two weeks or so." cago SYL will fill its new quota

New York continues to maintain through with a substantial \$106. a good stride. Its contributions for "It pleases me to report that Los last week total \$380, raising its Angeles will do all right and may- total to 37 per cent in a period of be a lot better in the drive," 12 days. Newark too seems to be writes the Los Angeles Fund Drive **proceeding with great speed**; its director. "I now have pledges on \$20 remittance this week brings



hand totalling \$585." Baltimore its total up to 50 per cent. sends in its first \$8 with the prom-Pittsburgh sends in another \$5. ise that its \$75 quota will be Receipts under the head of "General" include \$10 from a Minnesota raised. comrade who thinks that he may easily." The New York SYL sends in be able to "comb another \$40 out \$50, thus raising the SYL percent-

drive over ahead of schedule," and \$3 from a Chicago "Reader of Our receipts for the week

up to \$2684 (22 per cent). The Chicago ISL Fund Drive director, who has not yet sent in his first remittance, writes:

have collected \$700 on the Fund

Drive. . . . We have set a goal of

two-thirds of our quota to be col lected and sent in to you by March 6, and from present indications we will be able to make it

We have yet to hear from our Seattle and West Virginia comrades. We hope that they too are working on a speedy realization of their quotas.

Readers of LABOR ACTION: Do your share! Help us hit the 100 per cent mark early. Send us vour contributions immediately. Make your checks payable to:

> Yetta Barsh 4 Court Square

Long Island City 1, N. Y.

Fund Drive Box Score

Branch	Quota	Received	Per Cen
Youngstown		\$70	70
St. Louis		55	55
Newark	\$250	125	50
Streator		11	44
Socialist Youth League		150	43
Buffaio	1000	400	40
New York City	4000	1502	37
Boston		-25	. 33
Reading		25	25
Cleveland	300	69	23
Los Angeles	500	106	21
Akron	200	25	13
San Francisco Bay Area	500	59	12
Baltimore		8	11
Philadelphia		31	- 8
Pittsburgh	1.50	10	7
General		13	1
Chicago		0	0
Detroit		0	0
Seattle		Ö	0
West Virginia	50	· O	Ō
Fotal	\$12,000	\$2684	22

of the ice bank to help put the Labor Action. amount to \$705, bringing our total



Reading from Left, to Right

THE CASE OF THE NATION, by David K. Berninghausen. (American Scholar, Winter 1949-50.)

The Cooper Union professor here gives an excellent review and refutation of Superintendent Jansen's pretext for banning the liberal Nation from New York City school libraries .. The first point he highlights is interesting especially from the point of view of New York's reputation for liberalism.

The Nation ban was possible because the school libraries are limited in their choice to an "approved" list and cannot get anything not on the list except by a cumbersome special process. The Nation was knocked out by the simple expedient of leaving it off the list, i.e., censorship at the very source of procurement.

Now, is this procedure common in other cities? A survey by the committee to protest the ban shows that it is not. Of 18 high schools in New York State replying to a questionnaire, not one uses any type of permissive list. Thirty-four large cities throughout the country also replied; only four of these use a permissive-list system similar to New York's. Prof. Berninghausen, shows that the device cannot be justified as an

of covert censorship.

AND FORBID THEM NOT, by Iris V. Owens. (The Crisis, February.)

The NAACP's magazine highlights the interracial experiment in a West End Cincinnati Protestant church where Negroes and whites have been successfully combined in the congregation and at the church summer camp. What may stand out in the mind of the reader unacquainted with the forms of racial segregation in this country is its spotlight on the sway of Jim Crow in the churches:

"The national pattern of racial segregation is more evident in our Christian churches than even in our public schools. So complete is the acceptance by many in the church of this segregation pattern that fellowship between white and colored Christians is usually awkward." "Of the approximately six and a half million Protestant Negroes in the U.S. less than one per cent worship regularly in churches with

bacon

Christians of other races."



Cold War Within Cold War: Struggle Over Markets Back Again

For some years after the war people were prone to forget all about that pesky problem, competition for world markets. So much of the world, depleted or destroyed by the ravages of the war, was out the running, rebuilding and rehabilitating, that the United States and other undamaged countries could dispose of almost everything they had to sell.

During those years what we were reading about was how fast or how slow this or that wartorn country was reaching the pre-war level of production, and hardly a word did we see about the hidden worry among the powers as to what would happen when England, France, even Germany and Japan, once more entered the international fight for markets.

Today there is a change, and what a change!

Most of the war-battered countries have reached or almost reached the pre-war production levels, and some have surpassed them. Their products are now on the world market — a market so greatly restricted by the limited buying power of the masses of

Now the newspapers report, in important front-page articles, on the clashes between "allies and friends," about the surpluses each wants to dispose of in the other's market, about the resulting demands for tariff restrictions, about attempts at embargo.

THE OIL BATTLE

States and Great Britain is most prominent, and more particularly has oil been poured on the troubled waters. England was all set to place a total embargo, throughout the sterling area, on dollar-oil; namely, on oil from United States companies. But the National Petroleum Council of this country kicked up a tremendous fuss. It upbraided the State Department for being a softy. Senator Connally, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, sided with the oil companies, proclaiming Eng-

the British markets, leaving 9,000,-000 tons of dollar-oil that these

But the American oil companies are far from happy; they realize that with the end of the Marshall Plan in 1952, the English may see

fit to extend the embargo. The farm-support levels are definitely claim of the latter that its embargo stems from its need to close the dollar gap-a need admitted by the State Department, by ECA and even by the oil companies-is not considered weighty enough against the necessity of the oil surpluses of eggs too, and also of companies to dispose of their own

products. There are surpluses of oil, dollar late frightening stocks of wheat oil and sterling oil-though mil-s since the European countries get lions of people suffer the hardships of winter with insufficient heating farming, from the East European fuel

In many other ways the renewed commercial rivalry between the United States and Engy lous United States, on a competiland shows itself. At the Commonwealth talks in Ceylon, England attempted to get the Asiatic countries to continue a cut of 25 per cent in dollar imports through 1950. Also the insistence of ECA that the European monetary agreement, which it is pressing the Marshall Plan nations to effect, be not restrictive of trade is a manifestation of the same competition. Primarily ECA does not want American farm surpluses excluded from the West European market in favor of food produced in sterling

England in turn raises its voice in protest against United States practices. It claims that this country will not receive imports on a competitive basis and cites the famous Seattle incident. British firms made "better than competitive" bids for the installation of electrical generating equipment, and England claims a type of em-bargo was used when its bius were turned down. It also points the finger of accusation at this country for restricting, in favor of the American product, the imports of butter from New Zealand and from Denmark, in both of which England is interested financially. From a group of islands on the other side of the world, namely,

Japan, American businessmen begin to feel the effects of competition. Manufacturers of artificial pearls, of textiles, of gloves, of sewing machines, of chinaware, complain about cheaper products from reviving Japanese industries. American businessmen also look with worried eyes at the smoke reappearing from Germany's in-

dustrial plant, anticipating that with less of a tax burden and with a lower standard of living for the workers, German capitalists will re-enter the world market on a very favorable basis.

Even that traditionally northern neighbor of the United States, Canada, gets hostile glances thrown its way. With mountains of potatoes going begging here, Canadian potatoes at prices below

The Third McGrath

Editorials

We recently carried an editorial headed "The Two McGraths," on the monstrous statements of New York Corporation Counsel John J. McGrath regarding loyalty purges of teachers ("guilt by association," etc.) in relation to the witchhunt organized by federal Attorney General Howard McGrath.

By coincidence, a third McGrath has gotten into the same picture. On February 8, Dr. Earl McGrath, U. S. Commissioner of Education, in his annual report, came out for the principle that "members of the Communist Party should not be employed as teachers."

His was the Sidney Hook approach, tempered with warnings against "hysteria," "police state," etc. But it adds up to the same thing. For one thing, it is not Dr. Earl McG. who will be doing the purging "without hysteria"; he is merely lending his sanction to the witchhunters who will do the job.

For another, as far as the press report went, he neglected to point out (though he raised the question) just how an inherently undemocratic course of action is going to be carried out "and at the same time safeguard traditional rights of academic freedom and freedom of speech." It's more like the Shakespearean problem of how to cut the pound of flesh without shedding a drop of blood.

For a third thing, he admits that CP teachers are not alone in being interested in "dogmatic indoctrination," but does not propose any action to safeguard the innocents against these unnamed others.

The third McGrath may have better intentions than the other two, for all we know, but he is lending his authority to a course which is the death of whatever liberal intentions he may have. Such is the impasse of degenerate liberalism in our day.



The article deals with the positions of the

leaders and party organizations prior to

1917 and relates their conceptions to the

revolution itself, comparing these with the

views set forth by Wolfe on Bolshevism,

Trotskyism and Stalinism.

YOU and ICIENCE

The Federation of American Scientists

By CARL DARTON

The most important and promising of the post-war organizations of politically and socially conscious scientists is the Federation of American Scientists, with national offices at 1749 L Street, Washington. The present chairman is Hugh C. Wolfe of Cooper Union.

The federation was formed on January 6, 1946 by 30 delegates, representing 14 organizations of scientists which had sprung up independently and spontaneously at the various wartime research centers on atomic energy, radar, rocket and biological warfare. These scientists felt deeply the need for a well-informed public opinion to serve as a basis for a national policy on atomic energy. They became actively involved in political action when late in 1945 they dispatched relays of enthusiastic emissaries to Washington to oppose passage of the War Department-sponsored May-Johnson atomic energy control bill.

Soon after its formation the FAS set up a Committee on Foreign Correspondence with the purpose of strengthening bonds of friendship across national barriers and in order to "encourage development of a concerted attack on the difficulties which stand in the way of peaceful international control of atomic energy."

In the following years the FAS has continued to be interested and active in the problems of atomic-energy control but has also become involved in the issue of civil rights for scientists. Its testimony was helpful in the Condon case, the Atomic Energy Commission investigation and students' loyalty oaths.

The FAS said recently: "We have worked constantly to safeguard the freedom of American science. In these times of suspicion and fear, we have found it necessary to study dispassionately and to report on the many individual wrongs and the often undemocratic procedures which are damaging to genuine American democracy in the name of narrow military secrecy.'

The federation has also campaigned actively for a national science foundation as a means of eliminating the dependence of scientific re- By SUSAN GREEN search on the military. This foundation is seen as an agency of the federal government to be charged with the task of reviewing, evaluating and financing the national science effort and to make recommendations for coordinating public and private research.

INVOLVED IN IMMEDIATE PROBLEMS

The FAS issues a periodic newsletter as well as informational bulletin and press releases. A rather effective lobbying service is maintained on issues of interest to scientists. Although there has been no departure from its original perspective of "promoting the welfare of mankind and the achievement of a stable peace," there has been increasing involvement in the more immediate problems facing the scientific profession.

Today the FAS claims only 1500 dues-paying members, marking a rather sharp decline in the past several years. Recently constitutional changes made the basic unit in the federation the individual member rather than the chapter. This corresponds with the reality that many of the original local units have been disbanded or have become inactive as war-research units have undergone radical changes in personnel, location and organization. It is to be hoped that the FAS will solve its organizational difficulties, will continue its activities and gain in membership and influence.

One of the serious weaknesses of the Federation of American Scientists has been the lack of a publication of its own in order to shape public opinion. However, it has made efforts to use various other publications, such as the Scientific American, Science and particularly the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, to publicize its aims.

Members of the FAS usually subscribe and contribute to the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, which is published by the Chicago Educational Foundation for Nuclear Science. It has maintained a high technical standard and interest level. Recently an issue was devoted to the Lysenko genetics controversy in Russia and a later issue directed just as sharp an attack against the curbing of scientific freedom here in the United States under the loyalty purge program.

The activities of the FAS, as well as of other progressive movements and events of political and social significance on the scientific scene, will be followed in future issues of this column.

What is INDEPENDENT SOCIALISM?

For information and literature about the Independent Socialist League, write: ISL, 4 Court Square, Long Island City 1, N.Y. LABOR ACTION Independent Socialist Weekly Vol. 14, No. 10 March 6, 1950

Published weekly by the Labor Action Publishing Company, 114 West 14 Street, New York City 11, N. Y. GENERAL EDITORIAL AND BUSINESS OFFICES: 4 Court Square, Long Island City 1, N.Y. Telephone: IRonsides 6-5117. Subscription rate: \$1.00 a year; 50 cents for six months. (\$1.25 and

65 cents for Canada and Foreign.) Re-entered as second-class matter, May 24, 1940, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1874.



Opinions and policies expressed in the course of signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent the views of Labor Action, which are given in editorial statements.

the world.

The discord between the United land's plans as "an act of hostility

to our economy." The stick in the hand of the Marshall Plan was brought into action, and England backed down. The embargo has gone into effect to the extent of only 4,000,000 tons a year of the 13,000,000 tons United States companies sold last year in

markets will still take.

areas. EACH AGAINST ALL

mined to rebuild their land along democratic socialist lines. What better plan has anyone offered anywhere for the ending of capitalist anarchy than the socialist reconstruction of society? Is there any plan that goes to the root of the evil as does that to make the means of production the property of the working people, controlled by them, for the production of the things the world needs, breaking down the limits

set by money and markets? The Stalin regime of police terror offers no solution. To limit the production of consumer goods to a minimum in favor of production to maintain the power and to ex-- tend the world hegemony of the rulers: to make human beings expendable in slave-labor camps; to feed a whole nation into the bottomless maw of a bureaucracythis is not what people think of if they want a better world.

March 6, 1950

Page Five



economy measure and can have only the effect

' not wanted by American potato growers: they talk in terms of em-⁵ bargo. In this country there are also tremendous surpluses of dried eggs and dried milk, in fact \$125.-000,000 worth; in Canada there are

Both countries begin to accumusupplies from their own revived markets, from Argentina. Canada would like to dispose of some of its surpluses in the more poputive basis. Naturally the American farming industry can't see things that way.

WHAT BETTER PLAN?

There is nothing new in the outlines of the picture presented above—the picture of capitalist production for sale to a world whose buying power is far less than its productive power and than its consumption needs. Perhaps what is new in today's picture is that the inherent contradictions of American capitalism vis-a-vis Russia are highlighted. In the cold war against Russia American capitalism financed the rebuilding of the Western Euronean industrial plant and at the same time it was financing the creation of the competition it now confronts

The chain of capitalist anarchy surpluses for export to markets that do not exist while people suffer for lack of elemental necessities: the constant threat of crisis and unemployment --- these evils could not be ended by the Marshall Plan. They could be ended if the European workers deter-



Saragat's Lawyer

Prime Minister De Gasperi of Ernest Bevin, British foreign minister and Labor Party leader, on February 1.

Bevin was in Rome on his way home from the Commonwealth in Ceylon. The Italian anti-socialist leader took the opportunity to raise the question of the split in Italy between the right-wing Saragat socialist and the new Unitarian Socialist Party, which split a majority of the movement away from Saragat mainly on the issue of participation in the cabinet. The international conference of Socialist Parties recognized the Unitarian Socialists as the official SP in Italy.

Says the press report of De Gasperi's conversation with Bevin: "Premier De Gasperi would greatty appreciate it if the committee would reverse itself and recognize the right-wing Socialists instead of their rivals, the Unitarian Socialists, as the official Italian Socialist Party.

A nice, toothless, housebroken SP is a convenience in any country, de Gasperi knows, but it's so much more useful if it also has enough coloration to catch a few workers' votes.

Free-Enterprise Item

Canada has been having its own monopoly exposés, with the publication of the post-war reports of Combines Investigation Act Commissioner F. A. McGregor. He has spread on the record private letters among the big corporation heads in all fields, organizing conspiratorial evasions of anti-trust restrictions

For example, a circular of June 18, 1947 to division managers of Quaker Oats read: "In writing to Italy had a little favor to ask of our men I don't think we should ever refer to agreements or associations because in this day and age there is altogether too much talk about combines, cartels and big business not doing the right thing."

Free-Press Item

A scandal has broken out in Portland, Oregon, when a large department store pulled all its advertising out of the Portland Oregonian and piled it into the Portland Journal instead. The store, Meier & Frank, had been found guilty of unfair labor practices in a dispute with the AFL Clerks, and the Oregonian printed a full story on it. The Journal printed only a brief item

Foreign Agitator

A Michigan state representative has raised the proposal that city dwellers should be deprived of representation in the state government because he believes "city folk are too dumb." They're too dumb because they absorb too much "foreign thinking" from labor leaders. That's Rep. Alphaeus Decker of Deckerville, who in 1937 introduced a bill to outlaw strikes and in 1945 put in one to hang all war plant strikers. This reactionary fossil's ideas on who and what is "foreign" are also shown by his declaration that only persons born in Michigan or who came to the state early in life and were educated in Michigan schools should be allowed to make laws for Michigan.

British Faced with Resistance Struggle by Gold Coast People

gress of Peoples Against Imperialism has drawn the attention of the British government and people to the serious situation which is developing in the Gold Coast (Africa) as a result of the acceptance by the government of the recommendations of the Coussey Commission, an undemocratically appointed body whose recommendations were unacceptable to the people.

The people of the Gold Coast, having failed to achieve their just political demands, have now resorted to a nationwide movement of civil disobedience whose main objective is the achievement of self-government now. According to our information. this moveand planlessness; the injustice of ment has succeeded in paralyzing of the country.

The only response from the Brit-

The London center of the Con- proclamation of a state of emergency and the arrests of Kwame Nkrumah and the leaders of the Convention People's Party.

The London center of the Congress of Peoples Against Imperialism, together with the Africa League and the London University Union of Labor Students demands most strongly that the arrested leaders be released immediately and that the emergency regulations be lifted, including the ban on the Convention People's Party press

They also express their sympathy and solidarity with the struggle of the Gold Coast people and the Convention People's Party and give full support to their demands for a democratically elected Constituent Assembly, which shall de-

They call upon the people of

AMERICAN CITY

FINDS HONEST POLITICIAN: IT CREATES A SENSATION

By GEORGE WHITNEY

This is the story of an American city. It could be any American city. It happens that this particular story is about Miami Beach, Fla. It seems that down in Miami Beach in the last city council election. a fellow named Melvin Richard ran on the pledge that he was going to do everything in his power to clean up the town and eliminate gambling. It was the usual thing; his campaign promises sounded just like the next man's; he gave out with all the standard business that every good politician hands out in the pre-election period.

So how was Harry Plissner to know that Richard really meant it? Poor Plissner is a respectable dealer in gambling equipment like . punchboards. He had given candidate Richard help, advice and encouragement, and he didn't mind the anti-gambling pledges because). that's how a guy gets elected, isn't it?

So Plissner's candidate, Richard, wins the election and then what happens? It's one of those things you can't foresee. How's anyone to know in advance that this chap is going to go straight on you? His campaign promises were just the usual thing, weren't they? Who could guess that out of the thousands of politicians who run for office at each election, with the odds ten thousand to one against it, a guy without a sense of humor, a guy who meant it all the time, is going to bob up right smack-dab in the middle of the gambling paradise of the southland, Miami Beach?

Well, that's what happens, and Plissner finds he has bet on the wrong horse. Here he is, a dealer in gambling equipment, in the position of having helped jockey a fellow into office who intends to drive even punchboards out of Miami. It makes him look like a prize chump.

"Gambling Raids" for the Suckers

Now it seems that this Harry Plissner is no eagle scout. He's been around a bit himself. He's got a few credentials to show if anyone doubts it: Springfield, Mass., 1935, \$75 fine for promoting a lottery; Baltimore, 1938, indicted for operating a gambling device; another indictment, same place, same charge, 1942; a few pinball machine setups and the like around Fort Meade, Md. So he isn't figuring to have anyone from the Epworth League work him over.

Consequently he has a little chat with Richard. He tells him that the things he said during the campaign were OK but that to try to enforce them is ridiculous and will lead to his removal from office and to a worse situation than he was in before election time. He tells him to go along and he will become an important political figure

Richard refuses. Clearly this is becoming a costly error and something more than a joke. Well, all a chap can do is grit his teeth; so Plissner again has a chat with Richard.

He tells him that if he will agree to let a group of four men (including Plissner) operate the punchboards in Miami Beach exclusively, he will be cut in for one-fourth of the net take, estimated at \$750,000 a year. He will receive his \$200,000, or thereabouts, through previously arranged lucrative real-estate deals and the like. This will protect him against charges of having been paid off.

More than that, he will be allowed to continue his public oratorical attacks against the gambling syndicates unabated so that the suckers won't wise up. Even more, he is to be allowed to indulge himself in periodic planned raids on gambling joints to further enhance his prestige with his constituents. Here are some of Richard's own words concern ing what he was told:

"I would ride with the chief and several police officers in a squad car on certain occasions and we would raid certain important gambling locations. He assured me these raids would be highly dramatic, and there would be glowing newspaper reports and that the public would be satisfied that I was bending every effort to keep my campaign promises."

Now it seems that after all this Richard still refused and now there is a move afoot to recall him as councilman. Petitions are being handed in every day. The first one was filed by Harry Plissner himself. It appears that if Richard doesn't contract a bad case of .38 caliber skin abrasions first, he stands a good chance of being recalled.

The Money-Oiled Machines—on All Levels

The average man may say: What the hell-what's the difference whether they have punchboards or not—I like a quarter's worth of punches myself once in a while.

We ourselves are not getting excited over the gambling side of this tale. It's a question of how the government apparatus operates on all levels in the country.

The Miami Beach situation gives an insight into the way city maines are built and how politicians are bought and sold from th time they enter politics as wardheelers right up the ladder to the job that every red-blooded American boy has a chance to hold some day.

Everyone is familiar with some of the more highly publicized political machines-Hague, Tammany, Crump, Pendergast (beg pardon, Harry), and so on. Behind them rules wealth and power. Not merely the piddling few dollars that some punchboard operator can offer-that's the kind that does get exposed every now and then-but more important, the wealth and power that is big business. Compared with the rewards that big business can offer to the candidate who plays the game, the punchboard operators and their like are crude small fry.

Anyone who doubts this need only examine the record of how some of the highest officers in the land got where they are, beg pardon, Harry). It is this money-oiled machine system which serves as the motive force for both old-line capitalist parties, controls the type of justice that will be dealt out in the courts, freely issues injunctions against workers' organizations when they try to better the lot of their members, chooses the windbags that will sit in Congress, turns out Taft-Hartley Laws, etc.

It is one of these machines, headed up by Harry Truman of the old Pendergast camarilla in Missouri, which has been hung around the neck of the labor movement by the CIO and AFL leaders. For this they have stifled the genuinely progressive movement for a real labor party:



N. Y. LABOR ACTION FORUM-Modern Arms, Modern Armies: **Their Impact on World Politics**

William Sutherland James M. Fenwick 🖝 War Resisters League Independent Socialist League

Speaker from World Federalists to be announced

DATE: Sunday, March 19 at 8 p.m.

PLACE: Labor Action Hall, 114 W. 14 St. Admission 25 cents

the industrial and economic life cide the future of the country.

Britain and particularly the labor ish Colonial Office to this dem- and trade-union movement to join onstration of a popular demand for in supporting the just claims of democratic rights has been the the people of the Gold Coast.

LABOR ACTION

Stalinists Lengthen the Leash at Second Convention of Progressive Party — The Wallaceites Try It Again

By R. L. FERGUSON

CHICAGO, Feb. 27—How long a future the Progressive Party has is very much in doubt following its second convention here this past weekend. Faced by what must have amounted to an ultimatum from Henry A. Wallace and his "progressive capitalist" supporters that this convention record itself formally as being in slight measure critical of Russian foreign policy, the Stalinist-line forces dominating the party permitted passage by the convention of two disputed paragraphs in its policy statement.

The only *political* explanation for this acquiescence by the Communist Party elements lies in two factors: (1) the Kremlin thinks it can nevertheless still utilize the Progressive Party to try to capture the growing "peace" sentiment in the United States; and (2) Henry Wallace, by his complete non-attendance at the convention, except for the brief time it took to deliver his radio-broadcast keynote address, held a possible threat of repudiation of the convention unless the Stalinist elements actually carried through a previously agreed-upon deal.

The "fundamental" controversy in an otherwise dull and mostly unanimous convention centered on these two paragraphs:

"The Progressive Party recognizes that while the United States and the Soviet Union have both made mistakes in foreign policy, these two great countries can rise above their respective shortcomings, to work together fruitfully for international peace and cooperation.

"We are not apologists for Russia, but in so saying we want it understood that our supreme objective is one world at peace, and to that end it is essential that an understanding be reached between the United States and the Soviet Union."

CPer Gives the Line

Only a handful of "No" votes met the final ballot on these paragraphs, after a lengthy discussion, in which embarrassed pro-Stalinists bore down heavily on their less enlightened brother Stalinists, who insisted that the phrases "the U. S. and the Soviet Union have both made mistakes in foreign policy" and "We are not apologists for Russia" be rewritten.

Leon Straus, representing the Bronx County ALP organization and the Fur and Leather Workers Union, stated amid applause that the statement as a whole "gives a good basis for progress. . . A couple of sentences are unfortunate; nothing can be gained by reflecting even for a moment on the USSR. It doesn't need any apologists.... Wallace and others are critical; many of us respect their rights but prefer formulations on which we can all agree on a positive program for peace. . . . In this united front we must act together.... While many of us cannot go along with every word, we do go along in a spirit of unity

Although the Resolutions Committee reporter withdrew another criticized phrase (which merely mentioned that the Truman Doctrine, etc., had failed to "contain Communism") on the ground that this was not a matter of substance, other delegates continued to press for sending back the two objectionable phrases to the committee for rewriting. Their pleas were met by the Reverend Melish, who considered it more important not to quibble about words; by Delegate Born of the Farm Equipment Workers Union, who urged that despite "the concessions made under pressure," the whole gave a "basic minimum position which all can go out and organize for."

Wallace Asks to Remove Stigma

Just before the vote Charles Collins, vice-president of the New York City Hotel & Club Employees, Local Union 8, spoke very briefly to the effect that Vito Marcantonio, Henry Wallace and Elmer Benson were "associated with this formulation" and agreed with Leon Straus that "no good purpose" would be served by recommiting the statement to committee.

And so the 1950-convention accepted the Wallaze ultimatum hurled in his keynote address the

night before, in which he had demanded that the stigma of being "apologists for Russia and Communism" be removed.

He had said vigorously: "We inadvertently gave enemies ammunition to shoot at when the Progressive Party turned down the Vermont resolution at our founding convention. That resolution stated: "Although we are critical of the present foreign policy of the U.S., it is not our intention to give blanket endorsement to the foreign policy of any nation.'... We must not allow anyone the slightest legitimate reason for believing that any working member of our party puts Rome, Moscow or London ahead of the U. S."

Poor Capitalism!

In this same speech Wallace had correctly stated that "the United States and Russia stand out today as the two big brutes of the world. Each in its own eyes rests on high moral principles—but each in the eyes of other nations is guided by force, and force alone." However, in the context of Wallace's ideology, this criticism of the two main camps of world imperialism, American capitalism and totalitarian Stalinist collectivism, takes on only the character of Christian pacifism at best. At worst—and this too is deliberately calculated by him—it represents part of his strategy for "forcing" upon both governments a rapprochement through which they would peaceably agree to divide the world between them, thus permitting "progressive" American capitalism to develop its sphere of interest unmolested and bring a presumed wider democracy at home and abroad.

At no time did Wallace criticize the Stalinist regime *inside* Russia; he did not even make spe*cific* criticisms of its foreign policy! He himself even apologized for Stalinist policy in this speech in the words "We believe in civil liberties in Eastern Europe but we recognize that except in the case of Czechoslovakia there has been no democratic tradition on which to build."

In a word, Wallace's whole philosophy, as he stated it, "is not based upon the principles of Marxism and Leninism. Our program is not a communist, nor a socialist program-it is the only program that can save capitalism from itself." Poor capitalism, with only such a warrior to defend it, and with such companions as the Stalinists to aid him!

Prepared Both Ways

In his speech Wallace made one enigmatic reference, which found no public repercussion whatsoever in the convention: "Our policies are not determined and controlled by anyone who owes his supreme allegiance to any other party and we do not-and will not-permit any organized factions or groups within our party."

It would be superfluous to berate the cynicism of this statement. The whole convention represented nothing more nor less than the working out of the immediate tactics of two not-so-clandestine *factions* which the whole world knows exist within the Progressive Party. These allied groupings, Wallace indicated, "must overcome a backlog of discredit built up through a combination of unjust malice and its own mistakes." Now that Wallace has, according to press statements from Des Moines, where he went to sit out his party's convention, found that the policy statement passed by this convention is okay, will he attempt to rid his party of his collaborators of the Stalinist faction? Or will he enforce the opposite line—also specifically contained in the same speech-"We will not attempt the purge of any individual because of past or present labels"?

No one knows, yet. In any case, Wallace has insured himself against both contingencies.

On the Israel resolution, former Congressmen Leo Isacson of the Bronx, led a successful fight against the Stalinist faction to approve the new government as a "true democracy" and condemn the internationalization of Jerusalem. This required two referrals of the resolution back to committee. When the Communist Party people wanted to show their teeth, they could and did -to the degree required by Stalinist strategy.

O. John Rogge's speech emphasized no "namecalling, of any kind." His auditors sat in stony silence when he said, "We shall not bend backward in order to attempt to justify the conduct. of the Cominform toward Yugoslavia." The Stalinists did not open their mouths in reply to this or similar references such as "The bullying, threatening, coercion or unequal treatment of a smaller nation by a greater one is a potential threat to peace—whether done by the U. S., Great Britain or the Soviet Union.

In calling for the repeal of and putting an end to prosecutions under the provisions of the Smith Act, the Stalinists kept silence on that section of the policy statement which demanded: "Grant unconditional pardons and restore civil rights to all persons convicted under these provisions.' This now permits the liberals in the Progressive Party to press further for unconditional pardons to the 18 Trotskyists sentenced during the war under the outrageous Smith Act.

"Make Us Respectable!"

Again, while the case of the legless veteran. James Kutcher, discharged from his Veterans Administration job because his party is listed as "subversive" by the attorney general, did not receive specific mention, the convention approved ending the vicious and sweeping "loyalty program" and reinstating all those dismissed because of their political opinions or associations.

Rogge concluded his speech on the final day of the convention with an appeal to "all those who place human rights first, whatever their party, whether it be within the ranks of ADA or any other group: You say we are Communist-led. We deny the charge. But in any event come on over and make us respectable. Come on over, non-Communist progressives, and take charge of your own Progressive Party."

• This "challenging call" was immediately answered by an ADA statement reading in part: "No one should be fooled by the obvious attempts" being made at the convention to whitewash the organization. The Wallace movement is still dominated by the same Communist Party liners who have had control of it since its birth. The Communists have allowed the Progressives to say they are independent, but will not allow them to act independently.'

That much of this ADA statement is true is beyond question, yet roughly speaking the Wallaceites have approximately the same amount of "independence" from the Communist Party's foreign policy that the ADA has from the capitalist politics of Truman!

The Strings Are Still There

Typical of the out-of-this-world nature of the documents, reports and discussion of this convention is the fact that the CIO-PAC and AFL-LLPE were never mentioned at all, even to be sold a good case for themselves as leadcondemned. Just ignored. This fact suggests the kind of political acumen possessed by the Progressive Party, if nothing else did. For all its appeals to aid the miners and denunciations of the bureaucratism of the official labor movements, the convention indicated no understanding of the necessity of appealing to the ranks of labor for independent labor action. It could not, since it bore the heavy weight of two millstones -reactionary Stalinism and "progressive" Wallacian capitalism.

In the political field of the 1950 elections the party will give support to those Republican and Democratic candidates who come somewhere near some of its ideas, concentrate on re-electing Marcantonio and defeating Taft, and in "selected areas where candidates of the old parties offer no real choice" enter its own candidates.

The Progressive Party is still too tarnished with the Stalinist brush at the close of this convention to outgrow the "narrow range of support" Wallace says it now has. It did not "make it clear that there are no concealed strings manipulating us." 111

and opposition opinion is tolerated. the CIO. Either a union goes along

with the political policies established, or it is out. The AFL is a little behind the

CIO in these matters, but already one instance has cropped up in which it is trying to ape this new "principle" established by the CIO. In the recent election in New York City the International Ladies Garment Workers Union supported the Republican-Liberal candidate, Newbold Morris, for mayor, while the Central Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York supported his Democratic rival, O'Dwyer. After the election the Executive Board of the Central

Labor Council expelled a delegate from the ILGWU on the ground that he hadn't supported the council's policies. David Dubinsky, president of

March 6, 1950

Latest CIO Expulsions Plus Similar Case In AFL Throw Spotlight on Purge System

By GORDON HASKELL

The Executive Board of the CIO has expelled four more international unions. The newly expelled unions are the Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers, the United Office & Tobacco Workers, and the United **Professional Workers**, the Food & Public Workers.

The sole charge against these unions was that they are dominated by the Communist Party and that they followed Stalinist policies. The unions were expelled after hearings before boards appointed by the Executive Board.

Of course, everyone who has been following developments in the CIO expected these expulsions. At the last convention of the CIO in Cleveland, the Murray leadership, without opposition from any group except the Stalinist - controlled unions themselves, had resolutions passed which empowered the board to take this action. Once it was declared the policy of the CIO to expel any union which refused to follow the political policies adopted by CIO conventions, and in particular such

unions as had followed Stalinist policies over a period of time. it was clear that the Executive Board could refrain from expelling these unions only by itself reversing the policy laid down by its own convention

It is interesting to note that from the statements issued by the CIO to the press, no attempt was made to show that the Stalinists had imposed their policies on the expelled unions by force, fraud or ing cheek by jowl with them is to denial of democratic rights to the memberships.

In the case of the Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers, it appears that evidence was given by ex-Stalinists that policy for the union had been decided in a top Stalinist caucus in consultation with CP leaders who were not members of the union. According to this testimony, such policies had then been taken to a "progressive caucus" of the union and invariably adopted by it. They were then brought before the official bodies of the union (presumably Executive Board meetings, conventions and so forth) and adopted as union policv.

political program, regardless of their occupation.

The CIO has started down a false path in its growing political consciousness. Its leaders realize their new political power, and they want to make the most of it. But they are allied with the Democratic Party and its administration, and at least one of the reasons for their action against the Stalinists after long years of livcurry favor with the administra-

So this step has been taken. But that is not going to settle the matter of what to do about political disagreements in the CIO, for they will crop up again. If Harry Truman brings the troop out against the miners, who is to say that ALL CIO leaders will support him again at the next election? Who can promise that some day the UAW or the Textile Union or some other one will not decide that to continue to support a foreign policy which rests on the hydrogen bomb is madness, and will break its allegiance with the Democrats?

And will such a union then also be expelled? That is the road to destruction. Right now it is doubtful whether the CIO will be able to salvage much from the unions which have been ousted. They are

having trouble enough in the electrical industry, where there existed a healthy rank - and - file anti-Stalinist movement.

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The democratic way is the only way for the labor movement. Political power must be sought through debate and convincing the rank and file, not through expulsions. And in the long run the problem of the political functioning of the labor movement can be esolved in a healthy way only through the creation of political organization which rests on, but is not identical with, the labor unions. This would have to be a voluntary, democratic political party

The Militarization of America—IX **PENTAGON PROPAGANDA** IS AT NEW HIGH IN COST

Stalinism Can Be Fought Democratically The Stalinist cancus had com-

plete control over the union's newspaper, paid staff and union offices. No effort was made, it seems, to prove that this control was used in any way different from Philip Murray's complete control over the same facilities and institutions in his own union. The report simply says that such control "enabled the Communist Party to conceal its dictation of union policy and thus to maintain its

power over the union's affairs." In the case of some of the other expelled unions, no effort was made to prove any organizational Machinery through which the Communist Party as such conered sufficient to demonstrate that the officers of the unions had at all times adhered strictly to the line of the CP on all questions.

LABOR ACTION has always been in favor of destroying the CIO leadership, and the reasoning by which this method is justified, is almost as dangerous to the the disease of Stalinism itself.

We have attacked Stalinism in the labor movement on two main counts. It is a malignant force, representing the interests of the ruling class of Russia, and it employs every bureaucratic and totalitarian device it can seize on to keep itself in power. We have insisted that the labor movement can and must rid itself of this disease by exposing the political ideology of Stalinism to merciless criticism, and by rallying the ranks of the labor movement to throw - off the bureaucratic voke and return these unions to the democratic control of the ranks.

But the CIO bureaucracy is either unwilling or unable to use such progressive tactics in its trolled the union. It was consid- struggle against the CP. To meet Stalinist ideology in the field and conquer it, one must have superior ideological weapons.

That is, one must prove that the policies supported and advocated by the anti-Stalinists are better political and organizational power than the CP's policies-that is, are of the Stalinists in the labor move- more in the interests of the workment. But the method used by the ers of America and other countries. But that is no easy job for men who have tied themselves to the chariots of the American war health of the labor movement as machine and are its servants in all parts of the world

AFL Faces Same Problem with ILGWU

Further, to rally the ranks of cil. His protest stated that the the Stalinist unions in democratic AFL constitution does not give the struggle against their false lead- AFL "the power or the right to ership, one must have clean hands compel uniformity of political in the running of one's own union thought and action by all council ffairs But neither Joe Curran, member nor Phil Murray, nor any number The AFL has appointed a comof other CIO leaders could make mittee to hold hearings and make

a report and recommendations on ers of unions in which minority this matter. We doubt very much whether they are going to throw So they have chosen to kick out the ILGWU out of the AFL bethe Stalinists by establishing a cause this union has formed its new rule of political unanimity in own political machine and uses it according to its own policies.

This whole question has been discussed in LABOR ACTION before, and it will have to be discussed again. The American labor movement is going into politics in a big way. This is a certainty. And it is also well known that political parties of all varieties have to demand discipline of their members if they are to be effective. But the labor unions are not political parties, and if they try to act like political parties they endanger both their own proper functioning as well as the democratic rights of their members.

They are and must be composed of all workers in the industry or trade of their jurisdiction, regardless of political belief. A political party, on the other hand, is properly made up of all those who freethe ILGWU, has protested this ac- ly and voluntarily band together tion to the AFL Executive Coun- because they agree on a particular

group of "high ranking officers" they must "work to sell the army to the public" [Cong. Record, July 28, 1948], he was simply promoting military policy, for the army has an elaborate program for getting the public ready to do what the army wants.

James Forrestal, when he was secretary of defense, also emphasized the importance of the armv's propaganda program when he told a group of 300 military publicity men, in the words of the newspaper reporter, "that it has become as imperative for military commanders to think in terms of the public as of the troops under

them." [N. Y. Times, Aug. 5, 1948.] During the fiscal year 1948 the army and air force employed 810 full-time and 431 part-time military men in public activities. In addition there were 557 full-time and 197 part-time publicity positions held by civilians in the employ of army public relations.

This personnel is engaged in the preparation of materials for newspapers and periodicals, the distribution of press releases, in interviewing the press, preparing material for broadcasting, producing motion pictures and other similar activity. None of the personnel is engaged in preparing material for internal use in the government, nor is any of the personnel engaged in recruiting activities or in answering correspondence from the public.

SCRIBES IN UNIFORM

The total spent on salaries alone for army publicity was \$3,959,580. When approximately four million dollars is spent for salaries, it is fice. In addition to such "leaves of papers and magazines to promote obvious that additional millions would be required for the equipment and materials like that involved in movie production and for travel and other expenses. Rep. Adolph Sabath on June 15. 1948, mentioned the sum of 15 millions as being spent by the military for propaganda. [Cong. Record. June 15, 1948.]

It is interesting to note that most of the important army gen- zines of national circulation" erals have public relations employees attached to their staffs. For example, the commander-inchief for the Far East has, in addition to civilians, 135 full-time military personnel engaged inpublic relations work; the commanding general in the European theater has 107: the commander of the First Army Area in the vilians in publicity work. (These addition to the army-air force fig-

ures just cited. An Armed Forces Information

When General Bradley told a School set up on August 4, 1948, as the successor to the Army Information School, plays an important role in training soldiers and officers to be effective publicity agents for the military. The military has already worked out a plan whereby soldiers selected for publicity work will be detailed to a newspaper or radio station for 90 days of experience. Each will be treated as a member of the newsnaper staff working under the supervision of the editor, but being paid by the army

> Not only will this give the army an effective publicity agent on the staffs of newspapers and radio stations, but they "will have had the advantage of working intimately with editors and reporters" [Infantry Journal, Sept. 1948] whose friendship may be of later help to them in promoting the army, ,

The army has also called upon some leading members of the press to work as an integral part of the national military establishment's publicity program. Since the persons thus invited to work with the military simply take a leave of absence, after which they expect to return to their newspapers, they also become effective interpreters of the military point of view.

MILITARISM ON THE AIR

Among those serving in this capacity are Robert Bruskin of the Washington Post, who was granted leave of absence to become chief of the news division in the army's publicity setup; and Har- the institution in the picture." old Hinton of the New York Times. who was asked to organize the tary attempts to mold public opinmilitary's Public Information Of- ion is the encouragement of newsabsence" the army recruits "qualified men direct from civilian life New Yorker for August 21, 1948, for training in all phases of jour- stated: "We have a letter from nalistic, radio and public infor- Hoyt S. Vandenberg, chief of staff mation work." [Ibid., July 1948.]

A part of the military propaganda program is what the army calls "prestige advertising" which lic as well as the possible enlistee." This began to appear in "magashortly after the army hired "the services" of "one of the largest advertising agencies" in the country.

"To advance the public relations aspect of the campaign, stress was laid upon community relations. A series of luncheons, dinner meetings and similar affairs was arranged for influential representaties of the press and radio, civic, United States has 28, the chief of educational, religious and similar staff has 44 military plus 113 ci- organizations throughout each service command. The purpose of figures are supplied by the army.) this effort was to gain the whole-The navy has its own public re- hearted support of these civic- to outstep it. Therefore, however, lations staff and appropriations, in minded citizens and the large number of people whose thinking they influence." [Army and Navy Journal, Aug. 14, 1948.]

One of the most effective approaches to military publicity is the conducting of expensive radio shows. Beginning January 18, 1948. Mutual Broadcasting Company's more than 400 stations offered a weekly "Air Force Hour" featuring the 65-piece U. S. Air Force Concert Orchestra, a 35-voice soldier glee club called the Singing Sergeants and talks by air force personnel, aviation experts, etc. A newspaper columnist described the military radio show as follows:

"The current Variety, adding up the score, finds that the military is now 'radio's No. 1 music sponsor,' playing, as Variety puts it. 'a \$6,000,000 parlay at rut-rate.' The \$6,000,000 figure is Variety's estimate of what the various military shows would cost on a radio timeand-talent basis.'

Another aspect of the army's propaganda program is the use of the movies to enhance army prestige. The August 4, 1948, New York Times, in reviewing a new movie, stated: "The United States Military Academy needs recruits and 'Beyond Glory' which opened last night at the Paramount, is a manful effort to extol the martial virtues and to defend the Academy against its detractors.'

Earlier, the Times of July 29 in a news story from West Point, reported a statement of a group of cadets "that 'Bevond Glory' was good publicity to give the people 'on the outside.'" One cadet added, "'I wish this place were like

Still another illustration of mi the military point of view. The of the United States Air Force. telling us about Air Force Day on September 18. The theme of the day is 'Air Power Is Peace Pow-"was directed to the general pub- er' and the general wants this magazine to help publicize the theme.'

> In the case of the New Yorker, a rare exception among periodicals, the army program boomeranged, for the editor added about the slogan:

> "The trouble is, we don't believe a word about it. Air power, like any other sort of fighting power. is victory power or defeat power but not peace power.

"... the mere existence and growth of military power are a sort of provocation to other nations whose governments feel either the obligation or the desire pacific the intentions of the nation wielding it, air power is a part of the general ferment that results in war.'

Close Race in Bri

(Continued from page 1)

000 people went to the polls who had not voted in 1945, in an outpouring of balloters unprecedented in British history (84 per cent of the eligibles).

One thing is unanimously confirmed: the British working people still voted solidly for Labor. While there was and is discontent on the left, this discontent with the Labor leadership's pace and policies did not take the form of voting for labor's enemies.

Labor's solid phalanx of support was not cut into. And while absolute figures do not change the percentage picture or its effect on parligmentary representation, it is still of intense interest precisely from the point of view of the claim of a considerable rightward swing. More FEOPLE voted for Labor than ever before.

Class Lines Keyed the Election

Why then did the Tory vote rise even more? With all the qualifications necessitated by the scarcity of relevant information, three factors can be suggested as having weight:

(1) Sections of the middle class and rural population, which had swung over to Labor for the first time in 1945 in the first revulsion against Churchillism, swung back to the Tory column after their initial unaccustomed crossing of the party line. The class character of this election was so outstanding that even the U.S. newspapers predominantly discussed it in such (for them) unusual terms.

These elements, for whom the Labor program was not so immediately of interest as it was for the working class, were more susceptible to the Churchill cries about "controls," taxation, housing, "queuetopia," etc.

It must be remembered especially by U.S. observers that the Tory program in the election was, on paper at least, to the left of the Fair Deal in this country. The Tories promised all the benefits of welfare minus the "nuisances" and perhaps should be glad that they were not put into office (and on the spot) to try to carry out such a purely demagogic combination of promises.

Labor Kept Mum on War and Peace

(2) Impossible to assess fully as to its effect was the fact that only Churchill raised the question of foreign policy and peace, nine days * before the election. He called for a "talk with Soviet Russia at the highest level" to reach an atomic agreement and to end the cold war. While differing in no significant respect on foreign policy and Western imperialism, he could afford to do this as an "out" with no governmental responsibility and with the election odds against him.

But the Labor leaders never raised the question of peace and war at all, staying carefully away from the whole question and offering nothing but continuation of the cold war at the side of Washington and capitalist imperialism against Russian imperialism. This, as LABOR ACTION has said before, is one of the main sources of discontent with Labor on the left.

While it did not lead, and should not have led, to labor left-wingers voting against their party in this election, it could well have had an position under its own steam it will neither placate its opponents nor important effect even on middle-class wavering elements, who are not blind to the fact that the question on which Labor disgracefully kept mum is today basic to the fate of the human race. Attlee and Bevin's firm imperialist tieup with Washington did not help them with the British people.

(3) As we have pointed out, it is not a matter of flatly accounting for a loss on one side and a gain on the other, but for the differing proportions of gain out of the influx of additional votes over 1945. As far as the figures show at the present time, it may be that the decisive difference was the way in which the 3,666,000 additional votes went, rather than changes in votes. A tentative calculation indicates that the Conservatives got around two-thirds of these votes, spread over the country, and this could account for the result.

Who were the voters who had not been stirred to go to the polls

They Need Your Help!

Local New York of the Independent Socialist League has been regularly mailing packages of food and clothing to needy workers in Europe. The relief committee has especially urgent need for clean, wearable clothing for children of school age, particularly in the 12-14 age group. Please bring or send your contributions to the city center of the ISL, at 114 West 14 Street, 3rd floor, New York City.

WIRE-RECORDINGS FOR SOCIALIST EDUCATION

Branches of the Independent Socialist League and Socialist Youth League may obtain, from the Chicago SYL, the following wire-recordings for use in educational programs. They may be borrowed free of charge, except for mailing costs, for short periods of time. First come, first served. One set at a time to each borrower. Please order well in advance. Specify the exact date on which you wish to use the wire-recording, in case more than one branch wants the same recording at about the same time. Write to: Socialist Youth League, 333 West North Avenue, Room 3. Chicago.

"Freedom Under Capitalism and Socialism"—A Debate Max Shachtman vs. Frederick Hayek

(Debate for Politics Club, U. of C., February 3, 1950-21/2 hrs.) "The International Significance of the Tito-Stalin Split"

by Max Shachtman

(U. of C. SYL Forum, February 5, 1950-2 hours) "New Economic Trends in American Imperialism" by Hal Draper

(A class session at the SYL summer school, Sept. 1949-2 hrs.) "New Political Trends in American Imperialism"

> by Hal Draper (Ditto-2 hours)

"Lessons of the Russian Revolution" by Max Shachtman (Ditto-3 hours)

in 1945 but did come out in 1950? There is as much reason to suggest that the majority were traditional Tory voters as there was for the Tories to fear bad weather on election day on the ground that it would have a greater effect on their typically less activist supporters than on the Labor voters.

The above considerations bear on the question of the claimed extent of the "rightward swing," and also bear on the semi-moral question of Labor's "mandate" as raised prominently by the Tory press and its U. S. echoes. As put by the London Times, the argument goes:

"If the Labor government has not yet been defeated, socialism certainly has. The verdict of the electors by a majority of 2,500,000 of the popular vote is flatly against it. To pursue a socialist policy now would be to fly in the face of democracy."

Does Labor Retain Its Mandate?

This is primarily an attempt to bring "public opinion" to bear on potatoes are selling for five cents the Labor leaders to dump their own program, though it makes little logical sense in view of one fact alone: in 1945, when no one raised the question of Labor's "mandate," the "verdict of the electors by a majority . . . of the popular vote" was also against it by the same reasoning, since the Labor Party did not get a majority of the popular vote.

Americans will have even greater difficulty in seeing the Tory point -leaving prejudices aside-in view of Governor Dewey's comment on the British ballot:

"It's a curious thing," he said on Monday, "that Mr. Attlee won`by the same margin President Truman did in 1948. Yet it was regarded as a defeat for the Labor Party. [Dewey has been reading the editorials.] Actually Mr. Truman got about the same percentage of the popular vote as Mr. Attlee did." No one has raised any moral question of Truman's "mandate" to try to carry out his program.

And this mandate is exactly the most important question posed before the reorganized Attlee cabinet. Put more sharply, it is: Will the Laborites give up their program and merely act as caretakers for the capitalist state, carefully avoiding any clash with the defeated Conservatives—which means, in effect, adopting their program?

If this happens, as is far from improbable, given the reformist character of the Attlee-Bevin leadership, the Labor Party may well ss goodbye to its chances for a strong comeback at the next test.

If, however, its more left-wing elements can stop a scuttling of its program (unconfirmed reports say that this is the line advocated by Aneurin Bevan) then it is certainly possible that the cabinet may fall sooner than otherwise, but it will then fall on the basis of offering a of \$85,000,000 a year to support bold. meaningful fight with a chance of recapturing power when disillusion with the Tory alternative mounts.

The other policy means to stagger along for a somewhat longer period, alienating working-class support and offering no strong lead to anybody else—and then falling between two stools.

The Conservatives may be in a parliamentary position to stop the coming nationalization of steel, but if the Labor Party surrenders this satisfy its own supporters. The impracticality of faint-hearted compromise of this sort has been demonstrated to congenital reformists before, but has rarely been learned by them. Left-wingers in the Labor Party have the job on their hands.

Hot Potato Problem: The Consumer Gets **Rooked Twice Over**

By JESSIE KAAREN

The best brains in Washington can't figure out how to get rid of potato stocks choking the government warehouses. They talk of dumping them in the ocean and of refusing Canada the right to sell potatoes in the United States. The Department of Agriculture begs farmers to cart the stuff away for fertilizer.

At the same time in the yeartable stores of New York, baking apiece.

This is the so-called price support program. The government pays the farmer for stocks the farmer cannot sell on the market because the price is pegged so high as to make it impossible for many consumers to buy in the stores what is rotting in government warehouses.

The consumer pays two ways once in the form of high taxes and once in the form of high prices, while millions of potential consumers abroad and at home

are denied the food they need. Potatoes are only one of the items choking government warehouses and spoiling. At the end of 1949 the government had on hand in dried form some two and a half billion 1948 and 1949 eggs. According to Assistant Secretary of Agriculture Knox T. Hutchinson: "In the past four years, the government has spent an average the price of eggs. And consumers have paid out an estimated \$125,-000,000 to \$200,000,000 more for eggs than they would have if the support program had not been in existence. Thus in reality the public has shelled out from \$200,-000,000 to \$285,000,000 a year for egg support."

Meanwhile the giant agricultural interests stay in the big monev



have the power to make final decisions carying fines or entailing imprisonment. Thus the bill is universally described as a "voluntary" measure and is scarcely more than a pious statement of good will.

The commissioners under the McConnell bill could investigate thoroughly, propose fines up to \$500, sue in the courts and recommend. That is, if even this bill gets any further.

CUTTING THE HEART OUT

One of the published amendments says that when two or more persons, one or more them being members of minority groups, are seeking employment, then full consideration shall be given whether all are thoroughly qualified to perform the job in question. Alabama Democrat Sam it, with even Representative Ranfor this amendment as being to prevent the hiring of a man "simply because of the color of his skin." The implication would seem to be that Hobbs is afraid of discrimination in FAVOR of Negroes—as if that is a problem!

Another amendment exempts direct and subsidiary employers of workers on Atomic Energy Commission contracts. The presumed purpose of this is to prevent the hiring of foreignerseven though the development of atomic energy was largely the work of "foreigners." Another amendment excludes from application Communists or members tee and the Finance Committee, of Communist front organizations as listed by the attorney not yet known. So far as the Sengeneral-another espousal of the principle of "guilt by association" and recognition of the gov- passage of even a voluntary bill ernment-by-decree principle of is very much in doubt. the attorney general's list. An-

are found to be all whites, all action yet on making lynching a Jews, or all Negroes. In many cases the existence of these very facts constitutes prima facie evidence.

The shamefully ridiculous antics of the Southerners included cries that enforcement legislation would penalize those employers who preferred to employ "only Congressional Medal of Honor war heroes, red-headed women. only Negroes, only Chinese, or only men having one leg." (N. Y. Times)

Advancement of Colored People. the substitute is weak and ineffective is the fact that the Southern Democrats went down the line for the McConnell substitute in place of the original bill, for Rankin and the rest of the Southern Democrats were in the "against" column in the final tally.

weakened some of the provisions that would help eliminate discrimination against women and disabled persons in employment.

DEMOCRATS CAN'T DO IT

This anemic voluntary measure has still a couple of hurdles in the House, the Judiciary Commitso that its final fate even here is ate is concerned, the usual fillibuster can be expected there, and

essary evidence of discrimina- gram and the only part which has scuttling is being done right now.

tion if the employees of a factory been contested. There has been no federal crime, barring the poll tax and ending racial segregation in interstate travel.

> The Democratic Party is unable to secure passage of the progressive side of its program. It was unable to defeat the Taft-Hartley Law. On the measures which affect the labor movement, the Negro people, the minorities, the underprivileged, it is not delivering the goods.

For the Democratic Party, es-According to the New York Post, pouser of the Fair Deal slogan Roy Wilkins, acting secretary of and the welfare state, is not a the National Association for the homogeneous grouping. While the Republican Party has become charged that "The best proof that pretty thoroughly identified with reaction and big business, the Democratic Party runs the gamut from the left-of-center types through the extreme right, the Hobbs explained his motivation kin voting for it." This vote, how- social fungoids of the Southern ever, must have occurred only in wing. The latter-and they musthe preliminary jockeying to force ter more votes than the Northern: Democrats-in coalition with the Republicans are playing hob with the legislation labor wants passed. After six years of agitation for the passage of an FEPC bill The mangled FEPC bill also in Congress and fifteen years' alliance of the labor movement. with the Democratic Party, the best that could be achieved is this. fake FEPC.

This is reason enough to break the labor-Democratic alliance. Let labor get on the high road of independent political action and cease the politics of compromise and defeat! The line of labor and the leaders of the Negro people is to depend on the "friends of labor" in the Democratic Party. They reason that to break the alliance with the Democrats would give the reactionaries a The FEPC bill is only one part free hand to scuttle progressive other provision says it is not nec- of the Truman civil-rights pro- legislation. A pretty good job of

(Continued from page 1)