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LABUR ACTION

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DECEMBER 18, 1950

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U. S. Disaster in Korea: Only Stalinism Gains by Washington's Intervention Line

They Didn't Go For 'Unanimity' At IUE Parley

By JOHN WILLIAMS

MILWAUKEE, Dec. 8-The first constitutional convention of the ed here today but not before the Relegates had shown that they had something to say in this relatively

The International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (CIO) has just ended a vital year of existence with its two main tasks, on the whole, com-

The first and most obvious task was the destruction of the influence of the Stalinists in the basic electrical-industry plants like General Electric. Westinghouse. General Motors and others. After a long and vicious struggle lasting for months, during which the Stalinist-controlled rival (the UE) showed surprising strength, the IUE-CIO emerged victorious in NLRB elections in the majority of the big chains and big independents. During the fight those who had expected the UE to fold up

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The American intervention in Korea, which was a calamity to start with, has turned into a first-rate disaster. in the American government so radical and fundamental in nature The dimensions of the military defeat are exceeded only by those of the political defeat.

The Stalinists were guaranteed a political victory from the very beginning, regardless of the military outcome. This was foreseen and foretold, by us but not by Washington. That they should also have gained such a military victory could have been foreseen by Washington. But it was not, because the government went blindly from an irresponsible CIO electrical union was conclud- adventure to a criminal adventure which threatened to precipitate, almost overnight, the Third World War, a threat which even now is anything but dispelled.

The attempt to place the responsibility for the disaster solely on this or that official, be he in Washington or in Tokyo, is infantile where it is not demagogical. Both Acheson and MacArthur-to take the two most prominent scapegoats of the hour-can no more break out of the limits to which the nature of America's political position confines them than they can break out of their own skins.

THE BASIC CAUSE OF THE DEBACLE

A new secretary of state, whether installed by Truman or by the Republicans, would have no political weapons in the fight against Stalinism different from those that have been at Acheson's disposal. A new general in the field, even if he were less of a reactionary and a megalomaniac than MacArthur, even if he toed the Washington line in foreign policy, could only try with greater or lesser military skill to execute those policies which basically doomed the Korean intervention in advance.

It is the policies of Washington that produced the disaster. These policies are not the product of the whim or error of one man or any group of them. They are basic to the political position of American capitalism in the world today. They will not, because they cannot, be changed in any fundamental respect by any shift in the cabinet or the general staff, or even by a change from the Democratic to a Republican

We are not for the defeat of "Russia," but we are for the defeat

of Stalinism! Military power is only an instrument and function, only one of the functions, of political policy. A political policy that can defeat Stalinism and assure peace and democracy requires a change that it can make an equally fundamental change in the international position of the United States.

Nothing less will achieve the purpose; anything less is utopian. All that the present government (Republicans included along with Democrats) and its policy have proved up to date, and proved conclusively, is their innate inability to conduct a progressive fight against Stalinism.

Korea is only the latest proof of this. The United States has come out of the war in that unfortunate land as greatly weakened as Stalinism has emerged from it strengthened, and that holds in every

Everyone with a political brain in his head knows that the signal for the war in Korea was given by Moscow. It is utterly inconceivable that the Kim Il Sung regime in North Korea would have risked so tremendously important an action as the attack upon South Korea without receiving the permission of the Kremlin. Far more likely, it was the Kremlin that initiated, directed, planned and prepared the

INTO AN IRRESPONSIBLE ADVENTURE

The advantages of the Stalinist position can be summed up in the fact that whatever the result of the military action, a political triumph for the Kremlin was guaranteed. The only course that made any political sense from the standpoint of American imperialism, given the circumstances in Korea and Asia as a whole, which Washington had helped to create by its whole past policy, was not to intervene militarily.

Early in 1950, Acheson had made a public announcement of American foreign policy which excluded Korea from the Pacific area which the U.S. was prepared to fight for; and, again even from the standpoint of American imperialism, this made good sense, for the alternative was so obviously senseless. Given no American military intervention, the Northern Stalinist armies would have swept the Syngman Rhee regime out of existence in a trice and consolidated all of Korea into a single vassal state of the Russian slave empire. Such a victory would have meant a heavy defeat for the Korean people, it is

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Why Truman and Attlee Disagreed

BY MARY BELL

Despite all the official jargon and the protestations of "fundamental agreement" which followed the talks last week between President Truman and Prime Minister Attlee, it was difficult to conceal the real divergences that exist between British and American policy on the Korean war, Chinese Stalinism and world problems of war in general.

Attlee came with disclaimers of "appeasements." even if there was hardly an analogy to stand on, aware of the "Drop the bomb now" cries of the troglodytes of both

parties. But it was largely the president's hapless state- French premier, Rene Pleven, lee's transatlantic trip. If plunged into war. the "police action" in Korea was no question but that use of

ment to the effect that he was a reflection, however pallid, was considering use of the of the very great fears of the European and other nations that A-bomb that hastened Att- the world might be so soon

The talks and the communiqué had brought the world to the published at the end of them, anverge of World War III, there nouncing Anglo-American agreement, nevertheless reveal the the A-bomb would precipitate it. differences between the "tough," Attlee's desire to see the pres- provocative policy of the United tung is not Stalin, and would tive of the sentiment opposed to ident, after a visit from the States officialdom and the anx- oppose any policy calculated to

the Europeans. Acheson, so falsefor being soft on Stalinism, has put forward (with Truman's agreement) the American policy of "limited negotiations," inclusive of Korea but exclusive of Formosa, the Chinese government's seat in the UN, etc. If these fail, then the alternative proposed is "limited war."

ATTLEE'S PRESSURE

On his part, Attlee proposed negotiations to include Formosa and the Chinese government's UN seat, the British having been for the latter in line with their recognition of Mao Tse-tung. The argumentation surrounding this line of policy had much to do with the relationship to total war.

Attlee argued that Mao Tse-

ious desire to negotiate a peace solidarize the two. The Amerand stave off war on the part of icans would equate China and Russia. Attlee feared, in addition, belabored by the reactionaries that any limited war of economic sanctions and boycotts such as the Americans proposed would open the road to Russian reprisals in its own form of limited war by means of armed attacks and possibly to total war. Further, the Americans would throw themselves into the Russian trap, involving them in endless and fruitless war in China, that endless land mass and bottomless reservoir of manpower.

There are others in the UN bloc of Western nations more strongly opposed than Attlee to the American policy, not to speak of India, whose Nehru had earlywarned that the march above the 38th parallel would bring about Chinese intervention. There is no doubt that Attlee, who is far a from the strongest representa-

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CIO Argues Utility Policy; Murray Defines 'Discipline'

CHICAGO-Only on one occasion was the bureaucratic harmony of the CIO national convention, held here recently, disrupted by the introduction of a controversial issue, which actually brought a spirited debate and a considerable number of votes in opposition to the top leadership's -proposals.

This issue was injected by a right-wing group, the United Utility Workers of America, and the debate about its opposition to the proposed resolution on "Principles of TVA" was beclouded by the lack of any consistent left. wing presentation of the issue of nationalization involved.

Nevertheless, this "minor" incident in the convention proceedings is worthy of some note for two reasons: (1) the interest labor has and must increasingly take in the question of public ownership, and (2) the fact that the debate brought from Philip Murray a spelling out of "CIO policy."

President Joseph Fisher of the UWA opened the fight against the Resolution Committee's document on the basis that "the language of the resolution itself is misleading . . . would hurt our organization, other labor organizations and all the people of the country . . . this resolution differs entirely from any adopted in the past . . . proponents made it crystal clear that now the time had come when it was necessary to implement CIO policy to the extent that those principles as enunciated here now be applied to all of the utility industry. looking forward to the eventual nationalization of the industry ... we can never conform," etc.

MURRAY INTERVENES

Chairman John Brophy of the CIO's Regional Development and Conservation Committee replied in part: "This discussion has been long overdue . . . it means that this production must be under union conditions, we will be strengthened, not weakened . . . it is neither socialism nor nationalization; it is a practical approach to the basic problem of

the workers primarily. Delegate Pachler of the Utility Workers attacked Brophy and others for advocating that the government buy out private utilities, saving this has not been previous CIO policy. What are these so-called "TVA principles"? he demanded. "There are a lot of things about TVA that most people don't know anything about-Alcoa leases private dams and plants to the government . . .

Here President Philip Murray ceases his stagy agitated pacing back and forth on the platform to intervene: "Let's forget about the preamble [containing the list- that it applies with equal force ing of TVA principles—the whole heart of the dispute-R. F. S.]; the resolution is but a reaffirmaedly since 1944. . . . It may be true that there are certain inhi- proper occasions: bitions that operate against strikes in TVA, that there is said Murray, "have any disagreesome form of compulsory arbitration established there, but such is what should be done with retrue in 14 states where no TVA exists. We should not raise this bugaboo about compulsory arbitration, and I know it is one, because this organization is not going to support legislation of this character if it comprehends compulsory arbitration. The right to organize, bargain collectively and to strike is inherent in the reso-

Murray concluded with a lordly plea: "I hope that without further controversy and with this understanding we can now cease debate and proceed to vote on the: nobody has ever been gagged in motion, because I have given my interpretation and my under- joy the freedom and the right to

But the Utility Workers were still not mollified. Delegate Straub made it clear they were not opposed to TVA, MVA or CVA, that they could vote for the resolution if one tiny section of its preamble, reading "The management of all electric power . . ., were eliminated. Opposing the committee's alleged desire to see the whole utility industry taken over by government, he complained: "We don't hear anybody talking about the acquisition by government of those huge monopolies AT&T and Steel . . . if and when the time comes that the same people who are proponents of this resolution come out for acquisition by government of these industries, we will certainly go along with them, and then maybe the time will have arrived when we can go along with taking over all of the utility in-

When the government bought out the private utilities for TVA, he states, "we were wiped out by the stroke of a pen; that is what we are primarily concerned about here, the preservation of our union, right to organize, strike and kind of contracts we can get."

President Fisher of the Utility Workers made a statement accepting Murray's interpretation as meaning that the convention was voting on the "Resolve' parts of the resolution and not the Preamble section of the resolution, and that he would therefore vote for the resolution, "reserving the right to question any other interpretation of the resolu tion by anyone." When the vote was taken. Fisher's delegation opposed the resolution, along with numerous other delegateswho, many observers felt, were concerned not with voting to up hold private enterprise against government ownership, but were utilizing this occasion as the only one during the whole convention when they had a chance to vote against something.

In the light of this convention discussion, recorded here because represents the fullest discussion on the problem ever conducted in the CIO leadership, a great many observations could be made, over and above those discussed in Frank Harper's excellent article on the subject in the November 27 LABOR AC-

CIO DISCIPLINE

Finally, the question of "what constitutes CIO policy" arose TVA and other municipal proj- out of this whole dispute, and ects do not have the conditions the definition given by Philip that our top utility contracts pro- Murray in his previously mentioned speech must be quoted at

Murray made this statement in order to appease the right-wing Utility Workers, but it is obvious to left-wing disagreements with CIO policy. Union militants should paste these words in their tion of our position taken repeat- hat, to remind the CIO's bureaucratic elements of them on the

> "If they [Utility Workers]," of the law. ment with this convention about spect to this matter, after the convention has acted upon it, in the exercise of their rights as an affiliate of this organization they can appear before any congressional committee and say anything they want. That's their business. Nobody is bound or gagged in these matters. The only determination that we have made with respect to policies of that description was confined to the legislation? issue of Communism, but in a matter of policy such as this we are not going to gag people, and this organization. If we did not en-

don't believe we would have an

"True, we do expect our people to support our policy, but there is nothing of a mandatory nature which necessitates punitive treatment in the event any of the organizations disagree with any of the policy pronouncements made by a national convention. It may be that it will create an issue There will be a considerable discussion and much controversy, but nevertheless in the end the individual and the organization will exercise his right to speak out, and no one will attempt, so far as I know, to deprive the individual of that right."

The big hole in this declaration is, of course, the CIO's and Murray's "exception" in the case of Stalinists, which means that they reserve the right to apply the gag whenever they see fit. This underlines the reactionary meaning of the anti-CP gag, but even so they would have a hard time going back on their words if, for example, a union follows its own policy on political action.

A Guinea-Pig Shouldn't Eat It ting big plays in the headlines is the investigation being carried

on by the House Committee on the Use of Chemicals in Food. Earlier this month, Jerry Voorhis, a former congressman from California, now head of the Cooperative League of the U. S., told the committee that the milling companies "want the staff of life to consist of white flour, air, water, and as little else as

What's in a Loaf of Bread?

The manufacturers of advertised-brand bread "do not wish to print on the wrapper the meager quantities of nutritious ingredients like milk, soy flour and wheat germ which their products contain. If they did print their ingredients on wrapper, they would not be able to meet the competition of honestly labeled products, despite their huge expenditures for advertising."

· The Cooperative League head also attacked a set of "bread standards" proposed by the Food and Drug Administration which would limit the amount of certain ingredients which may be used in breads of different types. He

the proposed standards, breads the greatest food value would be barred on the strange ground that their food value is TOO high! He quoted a big bakery official, on the other hand. as being enthusiastic about the FDA proposal, saying that the industry likes it because it would protect the big bakers from com-

LABOR ACTION

"If bakers would increase the use of one item alone-dried milk -to 6 per cent in bread." he said, "there would soon be no surplus of milk," instead of the present farm-products surplus problem which is bedeviling the farmers and government.

In earlier hearings, scientists had testified that experiments had shown the results of some of the chemicals used in bread. They told of animals which were fed exactly the same diets, except that ONE group received lard while the other group got a chemical breadsoftener which big bakers use as a substitute for lard. The first group grew normally but the others lost weight and suffered from a variety of illnesses.

Court Slaps Witchhunters

The Supreme Court has reversed the decision of a lower court which had convicted a woman for refusing to answer questions about the Communist Party of Colorado and her employment by it. The decision is a welcome one and especially to be greeted as a slap in the face of the policy being pursued by the Truman administration's witchhunting agencies. The government, it is clear from the court's verdict, is pressing for the scrapping of some of the clearest and most elementary freedom guaranteed by the Constitution

More striking than the decision was the unanimity of the court in declaring it. All eight judges (Clark did not participate) voted for the opinion written by Justice

Nevertheless, it must be said that to think that the vote in this case signifies a stalwart liberal orientation on such questions as the Smith Act and McCarranism is to exaggerate this decision and its implications.

That the court's ruling both a surprise and a relief is a measure of the times we live in. The least the court can do in normal times becomes the most it does in times of crisis.

In the last few years, the judictary has demonstrated, by and Court, for its part, would translate the regime of administrative loyalty oaths into a loyal adminexpected. The court has aptly been called "the court of ultimate conjecture" despite the myth of the certainty and predictability

But there was little conjecture about the fact that the Supreme Court, like its predecessors in other times of crisis, would do its interpretive bit toward war preparations. What then is the meaning of the present liberal decision? Does it indicate a court so wedded to civil liberty that it will defend it at all points and at all costs? Does it mean a turn in the recent judicial rubber-stamping of governmental repressive

The important point about the particular case before the court right to have or express certain rally a part of bourgeois democ-

to the government, but rather the "privilege of remaining silent" about certain activities. The defendant was asked to reveal her activities in the Communist Party. According to the law on the books, the Smith Act, such activities might constitute a "crime." To compel the witness to testify would place her in the dilemma of being convicted for perjury or for violation of the Smith Act, assuming that she was actually involved with the Communist Party. Thus, to force testimony which would immediately or subsequently involve her in violation of the law would be in direct violation of the Fifth Amendment which protects witnesses against self-incrimination.

The unanimous court and the exceptionally brief opinion indicates how compellingly the Fifth Amendment applied. Here was a clear-cut case where a person was convicted for not testifying to her own criminality. To be sure, even a nodding acquaintance with law would indicate that there is no case so clear cut as not to be subject to judicial interpretation into its very opposite. The significance of this case is that the court did not choose to go so far.

And that is something to be thankful for, but above all to understand. It is no small "privilarge, that it will not permit the lege," the privilege to remain niceties of our democratic tradi- silent. Quite the contrary. It is tion to hinder the task of organiz- one of the basic protections of ing for war. That the Supreme liberty, as testified by its absence in totalitarian states where silence is subversion. But the fact that the court did not break down istration of "justice" was also this liberty only marks the present degree in the decline of bourgeois democracy; it does not halt the process.

THE TEST TO COME

It is illuminating that Judge Learned Hand, the outstanding thinker on the bench today, could rule the Smith Act constitutional but at the same time vote to allow the Communist Party leaders their freedom on bail and to reverse the conviction of Judith Coplon on the ground of illegal arrest without a warrant. Two levels of decisions are involved here, one dealing with the idea of "subversion," the other with certain basic strongly rooted rights such as right to bail and protection from arbitrary arrest.

The right against self-incrimination falls into the latter class was that it did not involve the and these liberties are so integ-

opinions which may be obnoxious racy that it will require more than the current pressure of the growing garrison state to topple them. To think that they are fixed and immutable, however, is to ignore the history of their subversion in past moments of crisis and not to grasp the axiom that law becomes increasingly the naked weapon of the dominant class to the degree that that class feels its interests threatened. This does not mean that the law is simply the whim of the fanatics of the ruling class who would wield it as a club wholesale and

The U. S. is by no means yet at the stage where Joe McCarthy reads the Constitution. Capitalist democracy has only begun to strip itself of its democratic "luxuries" in order to get down to fighting weight against its totalitarian enemy. And the first rights to disappear are those which bear most immediately and directly on the kind of war that is impending. It is this that is involved in the Smith and McCarran Acts and the subversive lists, and it is this that will test the courts at the present

Notable and welcome as the Supreme Court ruling is, it is a defense of liberty on a line which, though assaulted by some, is not ain target of the attack. It is too well fortified to be overthrown at this stage. The main battle today is over the meaning and criminality of "subversion" and not over the right to be silent about it. On this battleground, the highest court is more than likely to be shoulder to shoulder with its "liberal" brethren of the lower court.

"Liberalism" in law today, if we can go by the Learned Hand decisions, seems to mean that the struggle against the "subversives" via the Smith Act is constitutional if kept within the bounds of other traditional freedoms such as right to bail, etc. But while this temporary compromise may be possible for some period, the threat to our civil liberties by the totalitarian impulses of a war economy will press far beyond the point which the timid liberal conscience had marked with its finger.

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A TOKEN OF THE 'THIRD CAMP': Revulsion of Peoples Curbed War Drive

In this topsy-turvy world, what is startling about the Korean war is that it remains limited in scope. For a few fateful days, the world teetered on the edge of global war. No one would have been amazed if the balance had been shifted and the blaze ignited.

From the first day of fighting it swiftly became clear that a separate and isolated solution of the problems of democracy and independence in Korea was impossible. The peninsula was turned into a battlefield between two imperialisms and the Korean people into a ravaged prize of war. Any doubts on this score were dispelled by the entry of the Chinese armies into the struggle.

may not have been apparent in

minds of the people were dulled

by saber rattling. It was certain-

ly not immediately apparent in

the American labor movement,

which tranquilly went about its

routine business while every

other 'social force in the world

was grappling with the dangers

But Europe and Asia called

Nowhere had American inter-

vention in Korea inspired real

iness when American troops first

enthusiasm. Everywhere: uneas-

crossed the 38th parallel; grow-

outright opposition to the block-

American troops marched on-

their illusions. Despite their

fears, they felt that perhaps the

war in Korea could be limited to

a "police action"; perhaps it

would not rush toward an open

the United States where the

Over a million armed men swarm over the fields and roads of Korea. These are not the passive guardians of frontier posts or the idle re-serves of diplomacy. They are locked in bloody battle. On the American side, 200,000 to 500,000 soldiers,—accuracy to the nearest hundred thousand is impossible — battleships, aircraft carriers, destroyers, tanks, bombers, and jet planes. On the Chinese side, 300,000 to a million fighters, equipped with the weapons of modern destruction. Where and when have such powerful armies been thrown into battle before? Only in a major war whose outcome is decided not by negotiation and diplomacy but by the destruction of one side by the other, if not by their mutual

annihilation. And yet it now seems possible, even likely, that a general war will be postponed. For how long we cannot say; nevertheless, the miracle is that the third world war has not already begun. The limited war that claims "only tens of thousands of casualties can continue while the big powers remain at "peace," a word which ow signifies not the presence of real harmony but only the absence of world-wide hostilities.

If this war has been staved off mementarily, it is not because the destinies of the United States are guided by sober, intelligent political statesmen who delicatenavigate a safe passage through the savage dangers of social catastrophe. Quite the contrary! For days we heard nothing but the steady beat of war drums. Radio commentators, newspaper columnists, congressmen, all the creators and manipulators of public opinion, were readying our minds for the coming shock, for the looming declaration of war. Against China? Against Russia? It hardly mattered to them so long as the administration retaliated against someone for the military setbacks to American troops. And as Truman hefted the atom bomb, mumbling his clumsy threats to authorize its use in the Korean war, a world war seemed possible only hours away.

We CAN Do it!

But it has not come. The forces that push toward war are too deep-seated and irrepressible to be rooted out permanently without far reaching transformations. But we have won a temporary interlude of peace, or semi-peace. How has it been achieved?

Not by refined and lofty diplomacy but by the embryonic Third Camp whose intervention in holding back the inexorable drift toward war and proves that the peoples CAN influence the course of world events, not merely tomorrow when they are socially unified and politically clear in their aspirations, but TODAL even in their relatively weak, disoriented condition, even before they have made a clean break with

In every country where free expression of opinion is possible, we witnessed a sweeping revulsion against the threatened plunge into universal war. This pendent action is hopeless.

between the United States and China or Russia. But with the entry of Chinese troops, these il-

Universal Outcry

pered their objections to American policy rudely learned that Washington reserved the right to drop the A-bomb when it pleased. And since the explosion of the first atom bomb on Korean or Chinese battlefields could mean the declaration of the third world war, Truman announcement told the world that the United States arrogated to itself the unilateral right to decide when, where, and how this war would begin, a war which would inflict disastrous destruction and demand terrible sacrifices from all nations-but a war which would begin without consultation with them and without regard for their demands desires

They were being asked, in effect, to serve as mere auxiliary troops for the United States; they were being relegated to the role of obedient satellites deferring to Commands from Wash-

ing concern when they marched toward the Manchurian border, This revulsion against war and resentment against dependence ade of Formosa. But despite the upon the United States was exmuttered misgivings of their alpressed in every parliament, in ies in Europe and their benevoevery party, in every group, in lently neutral friends in Asia, every forum, by virtually every public figure in Western Europe and in India. It was a universal The alarm of the non-Stalinist outcry against an American gamble with World War III. countries was lightened only by

Only a few days before, elections in Western Germany had showed an unexpected swing toward the Social-Democracy, even

against the rearming of Germany as part of the Allied camp. This is not to say that Schumacher and his Social-Democratic Party maintained a genuinely internationalist, socialist standpoint, they insisted upon guarantees Nations which had only whisfrom the Atlantic Pact powers that powerful US-Allied armies be committed to the defense of

Germany 'against Russia before

the Germans themselves be committed. Social-Democracy did not really and fully reject participation in a third imperialist war: it reiected an unconditional surrender to the comands of its Western occupiers. The German voters declared that they would not trade German space for Allied time; that they would not agree to sacrifice their country merely to permit the Atlantic Allies to gain a few days for mobilizing their armies in the event of war with Russia. In brief, they were insisting that their needs and their demands as an independent na-

Americans Recoiled

tion be weighed in the scales.

Not a single prominent voice anywhere in the world, not one, was ready to declare to the United States: "We are with you to the end." Every declaration was against war, and sought cannot say. some other way to stop Stalinism. Every ally and potential upon its right to a voice in the right to make its own choice.

Most dramatic in voicing the of the British House of Commons

United States bombed Chinese territory. Spontaneous applause from all sections of the House cheered the announcement of Attlee's trip to confer with Truman. It expressed the desires of the British people for their right to influence world politics, in their case to alter or oppose the Course of the United States.

The people of the United States, too, recoiled from war in their first reaction to the bitter lessons of world politics. The American people are gaining that first faint glimmer of comprehension of the desperately isolated position of a capitalist United States in a world which hates capitalism and which reacts violently against imperialist domination in all forms. Facing the open hostility of millions of Asians and the refusal of millions of Europeans to rally to its support, every strand of bourgeois political opinion in the United States finds its world political and social policy bankrupt and in a state of utter disintegra-

These are only the first lessons of the first major war crisis of the post-World War II world. Many crises, many conflicts will come. How long this uneasy peace will endure or whether tomorrow

But that potential movement of the peoples of the world who American ally was insisting want freedom and independence; that embryonic striving for peace crucial decision, upon its free and progress; that Third Camp, as vet disorganized and primitive, has made its first profound mounting protests against a impact. If that has already hapsuicidal war was the declara- pened, we can expectantly look tion of 100 Labor Party members for its emergence with multiplied effectiveness as world events

Crisis of Paris Government Illustrates — The Paralysis of Will among Europe's Rulers

PARIS-It would be difficult to exaggerate the feeling of opposition and hostility expressed in the European press in general and among the people of Western Europe in particular regarding the events of last week, such as the Truman suggestion that use of the atom bomb is under con sideration, etc.

It is generally considered that the role of MacArthur has been one of pure provocation, that the reaction of the Chinese was not surprising, and that no greater error could be made than to tie the fate of the various European nations to the provocative actions of the American government.

If we leave aside the Stalinist movement, which has naturally made a most effective propagandist use of the American "big stick" talk, it can be stated that there was an almost universal revulsion in all parties and tendencies, sending American "prestige," or what remains of it, to another low point. The roots of this reaction are

varied and widespread. To begin

with, the desire for peace and the fear of war creates an atmosphere most susceptible to Stalinist demogogy which, in the total absence of any independent socialist movement, is enormously successful. The essence of Stalinist strategy in Europe has been, for some time, to have two ideas accepted by the masses: (1) American imperialism is the only "aggressor" and the leading force in creating a war situation; (2) the power of Stalinism, represented by Russian strength, is such that any resistance or inde-

success is undeniable and has resulted in what can only be described as a paralysis of the will affecting all layers of society and all political tendencies, above all in France. A characteristic reaction is that of a middle-class lawyer who, asked about his reaction to the war crisis, responded as follows: "Don't count on me to participate in this collective fury. In case of a conflict everyone will find his individual solution. Excuse me for not telling you mine."

FRENCH SPECTACLE

The truth of the matter is-and all political thought concerning Europe must begin with recognition of this fact-Western Europe lies today utterly helpless and paralyzed before the threat of Russian imperialism. Only in two countries, Yugoslavia and England, can anyone even imagine the possibility of some kind of military response to a Stalinist invasion. This attiude prevails in all government circles and permeates the structure of each country. One might say that it is the bourgeoisie itself which is most helpless and "defeatist" of

Again, France is the best illustration. The spectacle furnished by the French Assembly, which last week almost toppled its feeble government over an obscure and trivial issue (in which the role of anti-Semitism played no small part since the key figure concerned was the social-democrat Jules Moch) was a sight that could occur only under a regime bound for disaster and without any popular support. Need we add that the whole strategy was maneuv- tinental scale, it is largely be-

It must be admitted that their ered by the Stalinists of France, cause little or no effort was made the bourgeois parties fell neatly into their trap?

The simple fact is that the bourgeoisie, in the traditional sense of the word, has ceased to rule and remains in authority only by default. One could cite example after example of this suicidal policy which, even in terms of bourgeois national defense, is beyond belief. For example, a combined militarygovernmental commission is now energetically studying the possibility of reviving the Maginot Line

Russia! Concerning the existing gov ernments, the situation is clear enough: incapacity to mobilize any political, let alone military, support; bankruptcy along all social, moral and political lines: incapacity to offer a perspective for elementary survival. In this sense, Stalinism has been vastly successful.

But the crisis goes far deeper, since it extends into the labor and socialist movement itself. Here we find, on the one hand, the traditional reformist and social-democratic parties with precisely the same position as their respective governments.

APATHY IS THE KEYNOTE

On the other hand, the small groups of leftist tendency have either entirely disintegrated or have become so deeply committed to secondary, abstract and misleading issues (such as the struggle around Titoism) that the burning issues of the day no longer exist for them. If no revolutionary socialist vanguard ex- A sub is only \$2 a year! ists in Europe today, on a con-

while member after member of to develop a clear, consistent political program which, having a positive content, would seem to offer a perspective.

Amazing as it may appear, hardly any discussion about the unity of Western Europe, the unification of the non-Stalinist tradeunion movement: the possibilities of an independent popular struggle against Stalinism, etc., has taken place in the socialist or leftist press of Europe. Is it too late? A foreigner, limited to certain observations, naturally cannot answer this question. But if it is not too late already, it certainly may soon be!

In a sense, the masses of Europe are justified in their attitude of indifference and apathy and bitter hostility towards American imperialism. By this they express their own full measure of rejection of bourgeois solutions and refusal to participate in new bloody adventures which can lead them nowhere. But out of this fundamentally correct reaction can come nothing but fatalism and negativism, if it remains as it is today. How and by whom will this vicious circle be broken?

WEEK by WEEK...

LABOR ACTION screens and analyzes the week's news, discusses the current problems of labor and socialism.

The **ISL Program** in Brief

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

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

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

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

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

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

The fight for democracy and the fight for socialism are inseparable. There can be no lasting and genuine democracy without socialism, and there can be no socialism without democracy. To enroll under this banner. join the Independent Socialist League!

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ON THE HOME FRONT

Big-Business Press in Van of Reaction

In New York City, where the Newsdealers Association has taken apon itself the function of totalitarian press censorship and suppression—it has proposed to ban the Daily Worker from the stands by its own action, at present held up only by an injunction-another newspaper has arrogated to itself the right to censor the television

This is the Daily News, New York member of the McCormick-Patterson axis, which owns TV station WPIX. The station has killed a program of old Charlie Chaplin comedy shorts. The facts are as

After running the first in the series of Chaplin films, a protest came in from a J. R. Fehrenback, head of the Hudson County (N. J.) Catholic War Veterans. The Daily News station said that 25-50 others arrived but the station's program manager admitted that Fehrenback's "was the only one I know of." He canceled the films a few hours after getting it. The same series had been shown a year and a half ago, with no protests.

Fehrenback is also advertising production manager for the American

He based his anti-Chaplin protest on a 1949 report of the California Un-American Committee (a somewhat more unsavory edition of the similar House committee) which said that Chaplin had "followed or appeased some of the Communist Party line program over a long period of time." This is a comparatively mild accusation for the California witchhunters but it was enough for the self-appointed gauleiter from the ABA and CWV, who also boasts of having prevented the showing of Chaplin's "City Lights" in many theaters.

Anti-red hysteria was not enough for Fehrenback; he also went into aesthetic philosophy: "Entertainment for art's sake just does not exist when you talk about Communism." WPIX surrendered.

"Where have we heard Fehrenback's words before?" asked an editorial in the N. Y. Post. "In all the lands behind the Iron Curtain where the commissars proclaim that art must serve the state, artists must year uniforms and all their works shall be judged by their politics. Fehrenback's folly is the highest flattery any misguided American can pay the Communists: the flattery of imitation."

Which makes it sound perhaps like an individual aberration, but imilar imitation of the methods of totalitarianism (in the name of combating totalitarianism) is the hallmark of developments in this

One Thing Russians Did NOT Invent

It must be admitted, however, that the majority of the press is in the vanguard. The big-business newspapers, than whom no one can vell louder for "democracy" when (for example) their right to publish lying ads for harmful products is called into question-"flatter' the totalitarians every other day. Like the N. Y. World-Telegram's (Scripps-Howard's) syndicated pundit-on-the-half-shell Robert C. Ruark, who complained in a column on December 8 about the U.S. Court of Appeals' decision invalidating the arrest of Judith Coplon. 'This is America, the home of the more-than-even break," he laments, and adds: "I still think they oughta shot her." The bad grammar is supposed to indicate that his heart beats at one with the people.

For a ray of murky light on the other side, an unfamiliar note was struck not long ago by a former governor of New Jersey (also former secretary of the navy), Charles Edison, in a speech retiring as president of the National Municipal League. With his guns trained on machine-hatched national politicians who are "nothing more than Third Ward boys blown up to look like statesmen," Edison refused "flatter" the Kremlin by assigning them credit for originality:

"Mr. Edison charged that local machine politicians have copied totalitarian techniques of dictators. He contended that neither Adolf Hitler nor Josef Stalin could claim credit for the invention of 'the big lie' as a political device.

'The truth is that the big lie was a piece of standard equipment in every American political machine long before Hitler and Stalin learned to tell little lies to their parents,' he said.

"The perversion by Communism of the American meaning of emocracy' into Soviet 'people's democracy' should not startle anyone familiar with American machine politics, he declared.

"'Long before the Communists discovered their "people's democracy," the word had been just as badly misused by every American political boss who ever hid his nefarious designs in a shower of crocodile tears over The Pee-pul." (N. Y. Times, Nov. 22.)

NOT IN THE HEADLINES ...

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Reading from Left to Right

THE UNDERTAKER COLLECTS THE INSURANCE."

The UAW-CIO magazine here goes after a little-publicized aspect of the profiteering racket, one that has been veiled by a sanctimonious "respect for the dead." Like other Ammunition fact articles, it is full of them; most striking is the long quote it gives from the testimony of the largest undertaker in Washington, D. C., before a Senate committee. W. W. Chambers had "got religion" and was confessing:

"An undertaker never protects anybody but himself. The first thing he asks is, 'How much insurance have you got, and how much of it can I get?' I am still doing the same thing. . . .

"A \$30 casket is generally sold today for \$150. Do you suppose that I could have come out of a livery stable after watching the operation of these undertakers and seen that it was such a racket, that I had to get into it awfully quick, and make a million dollars out of the undertaking business with an eighth grade education....

"I know the undertaking business. I have the largest undertaking business in the city of Washington, and one of the largest undertaking businesses in the world, and I am pretty

by robbing people completely. I robbed them a little bit, don't worry about that. I wouldn't have got what I got if I had not. . . .

"Let me tell you something, sir: When you can embalm a body for \$1.50, and you can get any tariff that you want for it, and you can take a \$35.00 casket and get \$150.00 and \$200.00, it is mighty inviting, it is mighty inviting. . . .

"I came right out of a livery stable, watching the operations of these undertakers. What appealed to me mostly was when I saw one of them buy a casket for \$17.00 and sell it to a poor broken widow for \$265.00. I said, 'This is awful sweet, I can't let this go.' It had the horse business beat."

Ammanition made a survey of funeral costs for UAW members and concluded: "while death

is fatal to a man, it bankrupts his family. . . . Actually the UAW families surveyed got a financial embalming, you might say . . . there are better ways to respect the dead than to pour money the living need into the pockets of a sanctim

nctimotious profiteer in grief."

Needless to say, the indictment is not directed against all undertakers-just most of them.

WORLD POLITICS

ON THE SOUTH AMERICAN FRONT: PERONISM ADVANCES

SANTIAGO, December-We have seen the fruits of the consistent "bad neighbor" policy of exploitation of Latin America by the U. S. capitalist government, managed by the State Department's Edward Miller.

(1) The victory of Getulio Vargas, which means a Peron-Vargas axis in South America, is the best proof of the disastrous results of Washington policy on the continent. The formation of such an axis will hamper the U. S.'s position under conditions of the war dangers in Asia and the conflict with Russia.

(2) In Chile President Gonzale: Videla has resisted the influence of Argentine Peronism, but now General Ibanez has announced his candidacy for the presidency. Ibanez totalitarian, the counterpart Peron, Vargas, Odria, etc., in own country. He has built around himself a tendency called "Ibanism," parallel to Peronism and "Getulism" (from Getulio Vargas). His victory would signify the expansion of the Peron-Vorange axis to Chile and the end of the Gonzales-Radical Party coalition with the conservatives.

(3) In the high-plateau country of Bolivia the government of Urriolagoitia is coming to the end of its term, and the lists are open for presidential nominations. As we foresaw previously, the probability has increased that Gozalvez will be the candidate, because of the withdrawal of the candidacy of Molinedo, who will appointed ambassador to Washington instead. Tough-guy Gozalvez is, then, the official candidate of the government party; he is also a "very good friend" of Peron, and his victory will mean a setback for Yankee colonial policy in the altiplano of Bolivia and the growth of Argentine influence in the country. Bolivia has a strategic importance in the present pre-war situation because of its tin and wolfram production.

(4) As a result of the Hague World Court's verdict, international importance has invested the case of Haya de la Torre, the leader of the Peruvian APRA (Alianza Popular Revolucionaria), who has gained asylum in the Colombian embassy. Haya de la Torre is the leader of the opposition in Peru, and had to seek asylum after the coming to power of General Odria, who is also a friend of Peron. Odria defeated the powerful APRA party with the cry that it was "Communist." and declared Haya to be a "com-

mon criminal." The reactionary Hague court supported Odria's baud. position, denying Haya's right to

Haya de la Torre is also the victim of U. S. policy, which abandoned him to the good graces of Peron's ally Odria. The only radical bourgeois party on South America's west coast-anti-Peron and anti-Stalinist-was destroyed with the toleration of the State Department bureaucrats. When their representative Edward Miller proposed to intercede for Haya, the Lima Commercia energetically protested "against this foreign interference."

APRA HOUNDED

Without being supporters of APRA, the international workingclass movement and the U.S. labor movement should protest against Odria's totalitarian persecution. Despite all his errors, Haya de la Torre is a symbol of democratic resistance in Latin America against the march of totalitarianism, which is furthered by the reactionary policy of Washington. (5) In Caracas, the capital of

Venezuela, Delgado Chalbaud

was killed. Chalbaud, the president of the military junta, had been a minister in the Betancourt-Gallegos . government of Accion Democratica, a party somewhat similar to the vian APRA. The Gallegos government was overthrown at the initiative and with the support of the U.S. oil monopolies, with the blessings of the State Department. Now the traitor Chalbaud has paid with his life, and terror seized hold of all the South American dictators. But the greatest terror hung over Venezuela; a certain Urbina and his friends were shot without a trial and without any proof of guilt. However, Delgado's successor is now a civilian, not a military man, Suarez. In Buenos Aires, the Peronists are paying homage

to the memory of Delgado Chal-

The domination of the Peron-Vargas-Ibanez-Gomez axis in South America will weaken the position of the independent working-class elements but it could somewhat improve the economic situation of the Latin American middle class and workers; for the dictatorial governments will demand higher prices for Latin American raw materials and "political services" from Washing-

ments correspond more closely to the reactionary policy of the State Department, but economically the U. S. capitalist class will have to pay more to the Peron-Vargas ixis than to their "democratic friends" like Videla, Urriolagoitia, Dutra, etc. The axis will support the U.S. in war against Russia but will demand "better conditions in exchange for its submissiveness. There will also be a little increase in industrialization in Argentina, Brazil and

cialism can gain the economic and social liberation of the small nations from imperialist dependgree of truly international de-

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PERON AXIS GAINS

Perhaps the Peronist govern-Chile with U. S. loans.

There is no hope that Peron will liberate and unify the whole of Latin America from the Yankee yoke,"—an illusion held by many ationalities. Stalinists and also "Trotskyists" (especially, among the last, the group around the Argentine organ Octubre and the POR in Bolivia). These countries' economic dependence on U. S. cap-

Only the victory of world soency; and only an independent policy by the working class, directed against every kind of totalitarianism as against capitalist plutocracy, can attain that de-

by Franz Mehrina

Long Island City 1, N. Y.

BOOKS and Ideas New Book on FBI Lifts Curtain on Federal Thought-Police

THE FEDERAL BUREAU OF IN-**YESTIGATION**, by Max Lowenthal, Sioan Associates; 559 pages,

By SAM ADAMS

A few weeks ago, Max Lowenthal, a corporation lawyer, engaged for many years in government service, friendly with President Truman and familiar with the ways of Washington, published his lengthy, and documented account of the FBI. He traces its origin, development and place in American society.

The picture is not a pretty one. How could it be, since the material deals with a police agency of the government engaged in the primary job of spying on the

populace? Its very nature as a police and spy agency of the federal governnent, and the specific tasks assigned to it make it inevitable that the FBI and its individual agents should always threaten the bounds of legality, even when it does not pass them, which is often enough. It lives in a nether social world of its own; its ways ar devious and dishonest; its objectives are the entrapment of individuals or organizations who may or may not be unpopular.

Yet the FBI is a sacrosanct organization. It is beyond normal

The FBI Claque Throws Mud at Lowenthal

Thus the reception of Lowen- ial on a book, did so in the case

thal's book. Before the book was of "The Federal Bureau of In-

ary Republican from Michigan, pathetic manner, The Telegram

Agency.

The Scripps-Howard New York able review in the same issue of

"What is really important is the Mr. Lerner really know better? status of the FBI itself," writes One would like to believe so, but

be sure.

United States.

No Attempt to Refute Facts in Book

lations job for himself and his agency. That was not difficult since there were altogether too many newspapers, organization individuals, and particular newspaper columnists who acted as self-appointed publicity agents for the FBI and especially for its director. Walter Winchell the country's outstanding scientist-economist-sociologist-politician, book-drama- and cinema critic, philologist, and just plain snooper, has carried on a crusade for years in behalf of his friend Hoover.

It is not difficult then to understand why a documented book on the FBI, which could not be anything else but condemnatory, should evoke a dirty campaign against its author even before the book was published. The reactionary press, with classic selfinterest as a big business and monopolistic combine, joined the conspiracy for obvious reasons. The FBI is a reactionary defender of the economic and political status quo and, in turn, must be defended against its critics no matter what the issues and the facts are. In the case of men like Winchell, who epitomize the prostitution of the capitalist press, there is an adolescent basking in the warm sun of a federal police agency. The slightest criticism of the FBI brings out this horde of venomous truthrapers in a frenzied defense of

vestigation." It protests the

its use of quotations from numer-

ous editorials from the Telegram

which sustain Lowenthal's de-

scription of the FBI. In a rather

reminds its readers that it has

printed many more editorials and

stories favorable to the FBI, at

a ratio of 10-1, as a matter of

fact, and then rises to the defense

of Mr. Hoover, lamenting at the

same time that President Tru-

man did not appoint Hoover

head of the Central Intelligence

Raymond Moley, one-time aid of President Roosevelt, former

New Dealer, and presently col-

umnist for Newsweek, publicly

disowned Lowenthal's praise of

himself as "the first of the Amer-

icans to look deeply into the prob-

lems of police and criminal law

administration" in the work that

he did for the House Judiciary

Committee. Moley does not re-

view the book (there is a favor-

the magazine) but rises to the

One would like to believe so, but

with our liberals one can never

Lerner certainly should know, is

what role the FBI plays in the

social and political life of the

country, particularly in relation

to the political, economic and so-

cial organizations of the labor

movement existing in the frame-

work of class society in the

Lowenthal's book is not a thesis

on this question and we doubt

very much that this is his main

timeless interest in civil liberties

per se, and his book charges that

the Federal Bureau of Investiga-

tion, under its successive attor-

neys general, has violated the

basic principles of democratic

and legal process and has become

the very pernicious spy agency

interest. His is a classless and

The real question, and this Max

"one-sidedness" of the book and

criticism. Director J. Edgar Hoover the agency and its director.

published, Hoover's friends in

Congress began the campaign

against Lowenthal personally.

Nothing concrete, you under-

stand. Representative Dondero,

the notoriously ignorant reaction-

saw to it that the Congressional

Record contained his speech of in-

nuendos against Lowenthal. He

actually knew Alger Hiss . . . he

was the friend of Stalinist fel-

low travelers . . . there is doubt

about his loyalty. Why not? Didn't

he write a book critical of the

FBI? Isn't that reason enough

Dondero's spech found its way

into Winchell's column; it was

printed in hundreds of newspap-

ers and read by millions of peo-

ple who are daily titillated by a

column which tells them which

'celebrities" are getting married

or divorced, who is being courted

by whom, what happened in this

notel and that party, and throws

in . . . the "inside dope" on the

World-Telegram and Sun which

Moley, "the confidence of the pub-

lic in its efficiency and integrity.

who can speak with some author-

ity, as I can, should say, as I do.

that it is by all odds the most

competent police and investigative

agency that this country has ever

seen." You see, it is not the con-

tents of the book, its material and

its documentation which is im-

portant, but "the status of the

FBI itself." What Moley is really

saying is that the book threatens

that status because it tells the

These are sufficient examples

of the opinion of the Right. On

the fence, we have Max Lerner,

well-known liberal and columnist

for the New York Post. He also

thinks the book is one-sided; it

does not deal with the good

things that the FBI has done.

For example, it has practically

bitter truth about the agency.

and the importance that anyone

politics of the world!

to suspect a man?

ments of the book. The reason for this, as we shall show in our next article, is that the material of the book is irrefutable. The FBI has grown from simple governmental police agency into a vast bureaucratic enterprise, with an enormous dossier on millions of people based largely on material supplied by STOOL PIGEONS),

mand for such a police agency to

the campaign against the book by

critics dares to question the docu-

mented material of the book. Not

one of them has found an error

in the book.. Not one of them has

successfully questioned a single

reference in this documented work.

The criticisms of it are general in

tone and defensive of the FBI, ir-

respective of the trenchant com-

Lowenthal is that not one of

The most interesting thing about

fight crime.

informants (properly spelled mous" individuals, hearsay, tapped wires, self-appointed spies, and its own agents. Hoover's own social and political views very often form the basis for the judgment of an individual's "loyalty." Here, employed in the mass raids.

Main Function: Thought-Police Agency

One does not need to go back that far, however, to establish the real FBI. We are not too greatly concerned with the FBI's work against crime. We regard crime as a social problem and criminals as anti-social elements, in the same category as professional spies, stoolpigeons, and the parttime informants. But obviously, there has been no reduction of crime in this country; quite the contrary. Kidnapping has not wholy abated; the punishment for its offense has only been made more severe. Sex crimes have not lessened with the Mann Act or its policing by Hoover's department:

they have increased. Hoovers' organization were primarily concerned with these matters of social crime, we would say little or nothing about it. But that is not its main occupation. Its main activity is policing the economic and political activity of the labor movement in its variegated forms, in setting up standards for political, economic and

cannot be investigated for its vesocial thought, in policing such racity or lack of it.

litical and thought loyalty are set by the FBI and its director, Thus, being a liberal makes one suspect at once as a "soft-headed parlor pink." Opposing Franco and supporting the loyalist government is a "communist," or a "fellow traveler," or opposed to our "great traditions and institu-

umnist for The Nation, once wrote a letter to the State Department protesting "something or other-I forget now what it was, maybe something to do with Spain." One day in 1940 he received a letter stating that his communication had been filed and the contents noted. The reply came from the FBI!

coming review.

fend Hoover against the charge of being a leading actor in the "Palmer Raids" is stupid as well as ridiculous. Certainly, Moley could not have read the book for Lowenthal quotes repeatedly from the instructions of Mr Hoover. Was Hoover merely a "clerk" as Moley declares? Wo are pretty certain Hoover would never accept that description of himself, just as we are certain that Hoover believes himself to

be not an ordinary policeman but

a man of high integrity, great

intellect and considerable knowl-

In the book's documents, at least, Hoover represented himself, during the days of the Palmer Raids which he helped direct. as an authority on Marxist theory and the politics of socialism. I was he who sent directives to the numerous agents of the department on what Marxism is, the nature of the various socialist movements, the conflicting doctrine of the political organizations of the workers at that time, and the manner and means to be

thought, in creating a vast dossies system containing information of a public and private character on individuals which it has no business accumulating, and of opera?ing in devious ways to set itself up as the real censor of the nation

-by methods which are the antithesis of democratic and legal Example: the material of the files of the FBI are unchallengeable. Those supplying information can never be cross-examined. The reason for that is a typically bureaucratic-police reason; it would expose the informant and

thereby break down the FBI Example: the attorney general's list of "subversive organizations" is based on FBI material. Organizations placed on this list cannot challenge it by any legal process because the list is a product of administrative decree and the material of the FBI

as it is, has brought the wolves

out. Even before it was actually

off the press, the FBI had already

inspired attacks on it and its au-

thor. Since its publication, the

campaign has become even more

virulent. For a police agency

As to the more specific reasons

for the discomfort of the bureau

and its directors, we will deal

with them in our review, next

week, and it will indicate, why

Hoover and his reactionary

friends are so concerned.

cannot stand the light of day.

War Brought Out Its Reactionary Role

Example: the standards of pochanged that. The present war situation and the struggle against Stalinism has only served to increase the activities of the FRI and to raise to a new height the sacrosanct, untouchable position of what is after all a subsidiary of in Spain is proof per se that one the Office of the Attorney General, of the Department of Justice. A book on this bureau, critical

Example: "the Observer," col-

Such examples are endless and we shall detail them in our forth-

The point is that the Federal Bureau of Investigation, as a central police and spy agency, cannot but violate the elementary democratic rights of the citizenry in an effort to encompass either the full scope of the powers given to it by Congress or those which it assumes itself. The tradition of the FBI has been reactionary and anti-democratic. It is true that during the height of the New Deal. which the Senate and Congress its role was relatively diminished, wiped out kidnapping! Doesn't of 1908 feared it would when it but the outbreak of war soon

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Have-Nots Give

It's the poor who give most to charity. So the Russell Sage Foundation reports. Four billion

dollars a year goes to charity in this country, and "More than half that amount comes from families with relatively low in-

comes"; less than half is given

much as 76 per cent of the money

doesn't even come out of his pock-

et, but out of the income tax due

Fat-Boy Fraternity

The Senate may become a rich

man's club unless something is

done to curb election spending,

said the chairman of the Senate

sub-committee on election a cou-

ple of weeks after November 7.

Senator Gillette pointed out that

it is difficult for anyone with

"limited means" to run for the

Senate unless he is willing to ac-

cept large contributions from

pressure interests - and, he

might have added, unless the big-

business interests find him a like-

But, of course, as everybody

knows, we have a wonderful de-

mocracy in this country and any-

body can be elected to office-if

he's got enough money. That's

only one of the reasons why so-

cialists refer to it as capitalist

"Few politicians, particularly

when they are new to statesman-

ship, have the invaluable gift of

being able to say nothing force-

fully and convincingly, And even fewer have the sagacity to re-

main silent until they get the

gift. Until he learns to come out

unequivocally on both sides of

wery question, the newcomer to

politics is well advised to confine

himself to answering the ques-

tions of hecklers."-George E.

ly person to give them to.

One Who Knows

And remember that when a

The West Coast Conference of SOCIALIST YOUTH AGAINST WAR

BERKELEY, Calif., Dec. 6—For the first time in over a decade, representatives of three West Coast Socialist youth organizations have gotten together and issued a joint Socialist anti-war

The three groups convened in this city on November 25, speaking for socialist youth as far north as Seattle, Washington, and as far south as Los Angeles. The conference will probably be remembered as the first step toward a real anti-war movement in the Western states.

While the Socialist Youth League of Berkeley initiated and sponsored the conference, three organizations were jointly responsible for its agenda and results. The two other youth organizations represented by delegates were Branch Los Angeles of the Libertarian Socialist League and the Young Peoples Socialist League of Los Angeles, the local youth section of the Socialist Party. All three organizations had one vote on the leading committee of the conference and all decisions as to program and agenda were made

The conference met under difficult circumstances. The Russian-American war in Korea, taking a turn for the worse, was threatening to burst out openly into the third world war. The drive against civil liberties and academic freedom, which has increasingly enveloped the entire country, has taken a more malignant form in California. Here, local "anti-subversive" bills and the vicious state Levering Act have caused real hysteria and fear in the population. The Regents' attack on the University of California created havoc for over a year, and the latest outrage is the firing of eight professors and teachers of San Francisco State College for refusal to comply with the terms of the Levering Act.

Despite the reactionary nature of the present political atmosphere, the morale of the delegates was excellent. They seriously and thoughtfully analyzed the present mood of the campus and the youth, and made plans for intervening more and more into campus life under the banner of the socialist third camp.

Brought Closer by the War

It was obviously the overriding consideration of war which propelled these anti-war socialist groups together. The socialist movement today is divided into an opportunist pro-war section represented by the Socialist Party, the Social-Democratic Federation and all those who look toward these groups for leadership and advice. The anti-war socialists primarily group themselves around the Independent Socialist League.

In the youth movement the situation is more fluid. The Socialist Youth League, the Libertarian Socialist League and a fair percentage of the Young Peoples' Socialist League find themselves in complete opposition to American imperialism. Nationally the various sections of the anti-war themselves around the magazine Anvil and Student Partisan, which is the only real voice against war and totalitarianism on the campus today.

What makes this conference historically important, therefore, is that it signifies an even more close-knit and public cooperation between the various sections of the socialist third-camp forces in America. It has opened the path to-

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LABOR ACTION BOOK SERVICE 4 Court Square, Long Island City 1, N. Y. ward clear and conscious cooperation between anti-war socialists regardless of the differences which separate them on other points. This alone justified holding it.

Keynote: The Third Camp

There are those (and the list is a long one) who find themselves, more or less consciously. with more or less misgivings, defending and advancing the drive for American hegemony over the world. As opposed to the hostile division of many of the students between the two big war camps, this conference and its participating groups were characterized by a consistent hostility to the two world powers which today divide the world into warring and aggressive camps. The basis of the conference, the premise upon which it was founded, was complete and open opposition to both capitalism and Stalinism.

The next most important thing about this meeting was its opposition to "socialist" lesserevilism. There was not one defender, open or concealed, of American imperialism. The keynote speech which laid the basis of the ensuing discussion was not questioned by any of those attending the conference, no matter how much disagreement there was on other points.

The speaker pointed out that those who critically defend American power today will find it more and more necessary to at first defend and then advance the growth and development of the Garrison State in America. They will finally (like the ADA in Congress) find themselves being called into service against the most basic and elementary interests of the American people.

Although the question of opposition to World War III (and to Stalinism) was the premise of the conference, the delegates were not in complete agreement on the best tactics and methods for opposing the war.

Difference on Pacifism

A lively discussion around the question of "socialism and pacifism" took place. Three general points of view were presented.

One was the position of principled pacifismopposition to force or war of any kind. This view did not receive much support in the conference, for it was recognized that socialists have supported progressive wars in the past (such as that of the Spanish Republic against Franco) and that such a view would lead to the Ukrainian underground having to lay down its arms and refuse to struggle against Stalin in the Ukraine.

Another view, more general and outspoken, was that socialists should become conscientious objectors and should refuse to take part in imperialist war in any way, but should, on the contrary, go to jail for their anti-war views. This view was presented as a tactic and was defended as the only method for taking advantage of the inevitable "disgust" which this war will call forth among the masses.

And there was the point of view of the Socialist Youth League: that socialists should cooperate in a friendly and sympathetic manner with revolutionary pacifists, but that they should continue the fight for socialism during the war. This could not be done inside the jails. The pacifist tactic, from this point of view, would merely lead to the best fighters for socialism and the interests of the working class being incarcerated while the leadership of the masses would pass into hands of Stalinism or pro-war liberalism.

No Enthusiasm for War

Despite such disagreements, the conference as a whole established complete accord with the nation that socialists must seek to utilize, in every possible manner, the war and its consequences to work toward the abolition of the capitalist system and to build the socialist movement. The idea "Continue the class struggle" expressed in a succinct manner a profound agreement of all groups and participants on the question of the socialist attitude toward war.

That this fit the circumstances was proved by the series of detailed reports given by the delegates from the various West Coast schools and universities.

There were students from the University of

Washington, Oregon State, Stanford University. the University of California, UCLA and Los Angeles City College. One of the most important questions to be answered was the attitude of youth on the Korean war and on American war

The reports brought out that the first thing which caught the eye was an amazing passivity and cynicism about the war. This was especially striking among Washington and Oregon students, where a certain "isolationism" still holds sway. The youth of the great Northwest consider this "Truman's war" and look upon themselves as spectators in a disaster, not participants in a drive to save the world.

This attitude (in varying degrees) was discovered to be rampant in the other colleges also. At the University of California in Berkeley (and at UCLA), many students are seriously questioning the motives and results of a third world war. Many more have been driven into apathy and indifference by the fear of reprisals and the loyalty-oath drive, but nowhere can anything like a militant pro-war attitude be discovered.

Second Conference Projected

It must be underscored that this is the first time in over a decade that a conference of socialist youth groups has been held. This was mere an exploratory and preliminary conference of third-camp socialists for the purpose of discussing mutual problems and breaking down organizational and ideological barriers. It is all the more amazing, then, that the conference was able to agree on an anti-war declaration which embodies the common political views of all the participants. This declaration (see next page) is the most concrete evidence of the extent of the agreement of the various socialist groups.

It contains not the slightest trace of a chauvinist or nationalistic orientation. It stands in complete opposition to both "Washington and Moscow" and raises the banner of independent anti-war socialism before the students. Around such a declaration, it should be possible to collect all those who are disgusted with both war camps and who passionately desire an end to the blood and slaughter of international imperialist war.

Resolutions alone were not sufficient, however, for this group of active anti-war militants. It was decided that the statement must be published in a folder and distributed jointly and separately to the students of the West Coast and other sections of the country. This is now being done, and the statement will be ready for publication and distribution in a short time.

It was hoped, furthermore, that conferences could be held and statements of the same kind could be drawn up in other parts of the United States, and that this could lead to concrete cooperation between the various sections of the antiwar socialist movement.

Even more important was the fact that cooperation and mutual comradeship was so advanced, and the conference so successful, that a tentative date for another conference was set and passed unanimously by the delegates.

Without making any pretentious comparisons, it was nevertheless felt by all the delegates present that they were carrying on in the best traditions of the then persecuted anti-war socialists who met at Zimmerwald and Kienthal during the First World War.

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Declaration Against War

Adopted by West Coast Socialist Youth Conference

Today, only five years after the conclusion of World War II, a war of atomic annihilation threatens mankind. Twice in one generation the futile struggles between imperialist nations have inflicted untold suffering on the peoples of the earth. The organization and scientific technique of modern industry offer the possibility of peace and plenty French "police action" against Indo-China-all important to mankind. But their utilization for destruction threatens the world with a new barbarism—a world dominated by powerful totalitarian states and wracked by the horrors of atomic, biological and chemical warfare.

Ours is a period of perpetual conflict. Peace has become an armed truce, merely a time for repairing the damages and healing the wounds of past wars while continuing to prepare for future ones. The rulers of mankind have again thrown aside all the treaties, pacts, alliances and promises of the past and have divided the peoples into two huge war camps. Today the competitors for world domination are capitalist America and Stalinist Russia.

The Garrison State in America

The United States is the last powerful capitalist nation remaining in this era of decline. It confronts an expanding Stalinism which threatens the very existence of capitalism itself. Having no positive ideology with which to appeal to the peoples of the world, the U.S. can meet this threat only by force of arms.

Moreover, the domestic economy of the U.S. is so undeficit spending for a war economy. As armament production increases, the question of "guns or butter" will again be answered to the detriment of the working people who have suffered most from wars between imperialist powers.

To wage so unpopular a war the capitalist class must attempt to wipe out all opposition. The militarization and bureaucratization of American life have already resulted in a dangerous attack on all the traditional rights of the American people. Spy trials, subversive lists, legislative witchhunts, anti-labor legislation and red-baiting provide the smoke screen behind which war preparations and military intervention take place. The attack on the campus has assumed unprecedented dimensions. Educators, actors, scientists, writers and civil servants are all compelled to prove their unimpeachable loyalty to the American state.

Those who support America as a "lesser evil" against Russian totalitarianism will find themselves obliged to defend and strengthen the development of the Garrison State. As the war develops they will be called into the service of imperialism against even the most elementary interests of the American people. We socialists oppose the preparations for this war. The present reactionary drive against civil rights and the labor movement is but the first step toward the total regimentation which must accompany the all-out

Stalinism Is Not Socialism

In competition with the capitalist bloc stand Russia and its satellites. The rulers of the Russian slave empire are constantly driven to extend their control over the resources and productive capacities of neighboring lands. To maintain their rule they must encompass the entire world. They use the atmosphere of war crisis to tie the oppressed and restless masses to their backward regime.

The Russian bureaucracy is able to extend its particular form of exploitation only because bankrupt capitalism offers nothing to the peoples of Asia and Western Europe. Yet instead of creating a free, democratic social order, Stalinism imposes a new form of social oppression.

To identify this ruthless social system with socialism is an error. Socialists are the mortal enemies of state slavery. Giving the slightest support to Stalinism aids the destruction of democracy, freedom and socialism.

The War in Korea

The military battle between America and Russia for the control of Korea foreshadows the nature of World War III. The Stalinist regime of murder and terror in Northern Korea complements the corrupt Rhee government. Caught between two powerful and reactionary imperialist nations, the Korean people find their prostrate country ravaged in the struggle for world domination.

Socialists cannot support either side in the Korean war. The Korean people will be enslaved regardless of which power is victorious. Only a militant socialist power in the United States can stop the advance of Stalinist despotism and ensure the fulfillment of the economic, social, and independent political aspirations of the Korean people.

The Failure of the United Nations

The formation of the United Nations in 1945 was widely hailed as a step toward the abolition of war and the reign of international law. Today the failure of the United Nations is self-evident. It has intervened only where the immediate interests of the big powers were not involved. Before the American-Russian conflict it is impotent. American aid to Turkey and Greece, the Berlin incident, the Stal- the government. A poor man's inist coup in Czechoslovakia, the Chinese civil war, the 'gifts come out of his own needs. conflicts have been settled by the big powers themselves.

Now the United Nations stands exposed as an instrument of the American bloc in the struggle over Korea. It has shed its nominal independence. Far from preventing war, it has become an instrument for organizing and directing imperialist intervention.

Socialists have always championed international law in opposition to the unbridled warfare between sovereign and nationalistic states. But the United Nations must be condemned and exposed for its imperialist character. It blocks the way to a real federation of free and equal peoples in a

Socialists and War

The American ruling class, its supporters and apologists, today demand that the American people submit to the all-out race for world domination. Those who refuse to capitulate are silenced by threats, intimidation and reactionary legislation. But the warmakers will discover that apathetic submission is far from wholehearted support. Although the people are bowed today under the tremendous stable that it can be kept in working order only by vast pressure of pro-war forces, the final word has not yet been

We call for support and building of a third force—democratic socialism—as the only alternative to exploitation

We know the people of the world want to abolish atomic warfare, colonial oppression and Russian-American aggression against small and helpless nations.

We reaffirm the militant anti-war tradition of American socialism which, in the name of socialism, peace and plenty for mankind, fearlessly and openly denounces imperialist

AGAINST BOTH IMPERIALIST WAR CAMPS! FOR A SOCIALIST WORLD OF PEACE AND ABUN-

November 25, 1950 Charles DOEHER, organizer Libertarian Socialist League. Los Angeles branch Verne DAVIDSON, organizer Young Peoples Socialist League, Los Angeles Robert MARTINSON Socialist Youth League, Berkeley

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Page Eight

December 18, 1950

Truman and

(Continued from page 1)

that of the U.S., compromised

in the talks with Truman (The

bipartisan statement of Senator

Tom Connally and Senator Alex-

ander Wiley, chairman of the

Senate Foreign Relations Com-

mittee and ranking Republican of

that committee respectively, said

they were satisfied "that the Brit-

substantially closer than would

have appeared a week ago.") But

it is also true that, representing

as he did the pressures against

war of the European peoples, he placed a staying hand on the

clenched fist of American power

policy. This, plus the utter rout

of U. S. forces in Korea, means

a return, however temporary, to

struggles on the diplomatic

Another reflection of European

concern over the course of U. S.

involvement in the Far East was

the discussion over American

stockpiling of vital materials

which has caused shortages and

hampered both peace and war

production in Europe, producing

record high prices. Much of the

discussion between Attlee and

Truman concerned the allocation

of vital materials and the prob-

lem of prices. Behind this too

was the concern for Europe and

its battered economy. American

involvement in the Far East or

the precipitation of World War.

III would soon make the present

austerity resemble a land of milk

It appears that the way has

been cleared for negotiations. The

POSTPONING WAR

plane.

ish and American positions are

Attlee

U. S. Disaster in Korea

(Continued from page 1)

hardly necessary to say. Also, it would have meant a defeat for Washington, but a minor defeat and, in any case, one that was more or less unavoidable

Instead of accepting this choice, the Truman administration decided to risk the major defeat. It plunged into what was an irresponsible adventure; and, by confronting the United Nations with an accomplished fact, dragged its reluctant allies into the adventure. Washington had only a chance of winning a military victory in Korea; a political victory in had no chance of winning, least of all in Asia, as should now be amply

Immediately the U.S. was in a position that aroused the increasing hostility of the Asiatic peoples, a fact which has been more than sufficiently documented even in the American press of the last several months. It appeared in the first place as the sponsor and patron of the Rhee regime, one of the most widely and deeply hated of the reactionary police governments in all of Asia. It appeared at the same time as a foreign invader, which all the peoples of Asia have had centuries of rich and rightful cause to detest as oppressive and exploitive imperialism. This feeling was only deepened by the ruthlessness of the American military campaign, which proceeded to the systematic destruction not only of the industries but of the homes of the Korean people and their innocent inhabitants.

NO GREATER BOOST FOR STALIN

(Continued from page 1)

met a big surprise. Even to this

day the politically trained and

hardened Stalinists remain a force

The second and equally impor-

tant task was the winning of con-

tracts from the big chains, in or-

der to establish the union on a

sound working basis, to keep it in

The union has been run by a

temporary administrative commit-

intra-labor enemy, the UE.

"UNANIMITY" DRIVE

At the time the convention went

into sessions, Carey was in fact

pretty much in control, because he

had control of the purse-strings

and because no other figure of

Carey's general ability had even

to be reckoned with.

But worse was to follow. The blind adventures in Tokyo and Washington paid no attention to the mounting opposition to their course throughout Asia and Europe. Intoxicated by their first military successes, they finally reached the 38th parallel. They had proclaimed its existence so sacred that honor, integrity and peace demanded their armed intervention to maintain it. Many people here and abroad, especially in India and England, entertained the illusion that Washington would, at least at that late date, show a tiny shred of political sense and stop at the 38th parallel, in the hope of recouping by a show of forbearance the political ground it had lost. We admit that the possibility was entertained by us for a while-which will teach us, we hope, not to underrate the stupidity of American imperialism.

Once at the parallel, Washington decided to cross and drive to the Korea-China frontier. Stalin could have asked for no greater favor. He was therewith not only able to stimulate a big Chinese military mobilization against the United States, and explode overnight the puny, purile and ludicrously transparent efforts of Washington to "win" Peiping from Moscow, but also to precipitate an open break between Washington and the Indian government and in general to disrupt the carefully nurtured American bloc in the United Nations.

Taking a leaf out of the American book, the Chinese Stalinists also intervened militarily in Korea. The armed forces of the United States were routed in what has been described, without much exaggeration, as the worst and most humiliating defeat ever suffered by the United States. To find the cause for this in the defects of Mac-Arthur's "military intelligence" is absurd; it lies much more in the lack of any political intelligence in Washington.

The American ruling class and its government do not understand the feelings and hopes of all the oppressed, war-weary and war-frightened people or how to cope with them. They know only that world capifalism has its back against the wall but they do not know how to save it for the very good reason that there is no way of saving it.

Where has the Stalinist victory left Washington? In a blind allev: without a position; without a coherent policy; without firm allies.

For a moment it seemed that the world would be launched into a third world war. If that was prevented, for the time being at least, it is primarily due to the brusque and urgent interventions of such governments as Attlee's and Nehru's which, in this case, only expressed in their own way the hopes and fears of their peoples, above all the will of the people not to be hurled into a war on the side of either American or Stalinist imperialism, a will so strong and irrepressible that it forced a way for itself through official lips. It showed how deep and powerful are the roots of the Third Camp among the people, the camp of independence from Washington and Moscow.

With the road to full-scale world war blocked to it for the moment, Washington is left hanging in the air in Korea, its position hopeless. The adventuristic dream of winning all of Korea is at an end, while the adventuristic reality of the Russian imperialist campaign in Korea approaches closer to achievement. The U.S. has not before been so isolated from the sympathy and support of the poeples of the world in the past fifty years or more.

It has even been maneuvered into an isolated position in its own capitalist world. It has neither the military nor the political force to resume the Korean campaign, and it cannot mobilize such a force from its capitalist allies, big or small. So far as mobilizing the support of the popular masses of other countries for its Korean campaign is concerned, that is completely excluded. The U.S. has simply lost the battle of Korea.

WITHDRAW MILITARY FORCES!

Washington finds it hard to reconcile itself to this fact. It finds it hard to make the decision which is urged upon it not only by reality but even by some of its aliles, namely, to withdraw its military forces and give up any plan to continue a war which has now so obviously become futile from any standpoint, except the criminal standpoint of facesaving and prestige.

Washington, as the spokesman of the only capitalist country left in the world that is capable of playing a decisively independent policy, has again showed the bankruptcy of capitalist politics in the struggle against Stalinism.

Stalinism is a deadly menace not only to socialism and the socialist movement, but to democracy and the labor movement in general. We know this better than anyone else. But we also know that Stalinism thrives on the continuing decay and bankruptcy of capitalism, and thrives on it to the extent that the labor movement ties up its fate with capitalism, capitalist governments and capitalist policies.

Stalinism can be dealt with only by arousing a movement of millions and tens of millions, a movement of hope and progress, of fundamental social change, a movement not allied with or dependent upon Syngman Rhees, Chiang Kai-sheks, Bai Dais, Churchills, Adenauers, Francos, the Vatican and their like.

It is not that American imperialism "does not went" such a movemeant. It CANNOT have it; it cannot mobilize it; it cannot even appeal

The American labor movement, if it broke completely with American capitalist politics and proclaimed its political independence, could inspire and lead such a movement. A world of responsibility rests upon its shoulders. How many more disasters like the Korean does it need before it realizes this historic responsibility and proceeds with its invincible power to discharge it?

and honey.

Big Two agreed to continue to fight on in Korea until forced out, to build up the North Atlantic defenses, to appoint a supreme commander for the latter, to issue a "cease fire" on the 38th parallel and negotiate, with no surrender of Korea, Formesa, Hong Kong or of Indo-China by the French. As part of the compromise, the British agreed to abstain on the question of a seat for Stalinist China in the UN. Both agreed to compromise on a Korea divided at the parallel, occupied by the UN in the South and the Chinese in the North. The five-week-old Russian proposal for Big Four European talks on the unification of Germany is also being warmed over by European diplomats in the hope that broader questions might be included.

Of course, the only virtue of the British policy of Attlee is that it postpones the inevitable. and that is a virtue, however The 75 cent per-capita tax on small, when the inevitable is so locals was passed overwhelmingly. appalling. The absurdity of this type of bourgeois power politics seems to be sensed by James Reston of the N. Y. Times when he writes that "The trouble with" this is that, while everybody is now working on a no-provocation, no-appeasement compromise that will satisfy Washington and London, Paris and New Delhi, there is a growing realization that in this situation a compromise may

> The issues may well be couched in terms of either provocation or appeasement until the nascent anti-war forces, of which Attlee was only a faint and distorted echo, make their voices heard in a new chorus: against both Washington and Moscow, for a third Socialist alternative against world slaughter and against totalitarianism.

quential questions, a public ex- claim that the international did

Fred Kelly, the candidate put up by the pro-CIO forces against the Stalinists at the last UE con- ran into obstacles from delegates vention, had revealed himself as who had learned to stand on their would feel that it had been slipped an incompetent nobody, and had own feet in the course of the strugruled himself out of consideration gle against the Stalinists. DUES ISSUE by his activity in his own Lynn, Mass., local.

At IUE-CIO Convention

condition to resist both the enemy outside, the corporations, and the or so of the union newspaper, the tee headed by James Carey, a former president of the UE (before the split) and at present the secretary-treasurer of the CIO. The fact that the whole year's activity has been financed in the main by a \$800,000 subsidy from the national CIO put Carey in an important up the locals rather than the instrategic position, and he proceedternational. Some were simply ed to use this advantage to the hilt. not informed on the obvious need of the international to operate as

a self-sustaining union. The first two days of the convention saw Carey going after "unanimous" votes on every single question, even to the point of demanding, on the most inconse-

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.

planation from those one or two not need money. They argued that this particular proposal had not negative voters who arose. This pressure for unanimity soon been previously submitted to the membership, and that the ranks

The first real reaction against

The big issue at the convention an artificially "unanimous" conwas the raising of the per-capita vention came on the discussion tax on locals from 50 cents to 75 dealing with the mail-order form cents. The issues on this point had of referendum on the election of been presented in three numbers president and executive secretary.

Paul Jennings of Local 450 IEU-CIO News, although not too raised the question that mailed clearly or ably. Yet, despite this, ballots did not constitute the clear- much voting against an increase many delegates came to the con- est expression of democracy. A as honoring their locals' instrucvention with instructions from central machine could easily contheir locals to vote against the trol it. Other delegates from Disproposed increase. Some took this trict 4, the district which had stand because they felt that pri- licked the Stalinists in their New ority should be given to building York and New Jersey strongholds, joined in the criticism.

Seeing his "unanimous" system wilting, Carey passed some facetious remarks about a District 4 caucus having been held the night before, and at this District 4 delegates and others gave him a warm reception. This did not stop the adoption of a mail referendum for the high offices, but it did break gram. As in the union itself, there ground for a later discussion tion of raising the minimum dues of locals from \$1.50 to \$2.

This proposition had been introduced to placate those delegates who felt that, if the international took 75 cents out of the \$1.50 dues, in the process of development. there would not be much left for the local. The increase, which ion militants are in the main conwould raise the income of the lo- cerned with the consolidation and cal also, would take the heat off building of the union. On that isthe local men, since everyone sue there was real unanimity. As could then blame the international a result of this convention, it is

for the increase in dues. The opposition to the \$2 dues halter will not easily be slipped did not rest their case on any around the IUE-CIO.

The delegates who voted against it declared that they were not so

over on them. They demanded and

won the right for each local to

decide its own dues over and

above the present minimum of

\$1.50. The vote was 1090.4 to 952.6.

NEED FOR LEADERSHIP

tions. Carey had demanded that local instructions be disregarded. Carey was elected president and Hartnett executive secretary.

The convention showed that there is an independent-thinking force in the union which is jealous of its democratic rights. It was born in the struggle against Communist Party dictatorship in the old UE. These men will not easily submit to dictatorship by Carey or anyone else. As yet they have not developed their spokesmen or prois a deep need for top and seconwhich took place around the ques- dary leadership. Inexperience abounds everywhere. There is simply no one outside of Carey who has the necessary training to lead the union. The union itself will grow, and new leadership is

safe to say that a bureaucratic

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be worse than either extreme.

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