

LABOR ACTION

Independent Socialist Weekly

SEPTEMBER 15, 1952

FIVE CENTS

RUSSIA'S SLAVE LABOR CAMPS

... page 6

The "Dark" Continent

... page 7

Stalin Purges Satellites

... page 4

"New Look" of UAW-CIO Unveiled At Stevenson's Labor Day Meeting

By WALTER JASON

DETROIT, Sept. 7.—The "New Look" of the UAW-CIO in the national election campaign was unveiled for all the world to see at the Labor Day parade and rally featuring Governor Adlai Stevenson, Democratic Party candidate for president.

His speech, which said that the Taft-Hartley Law was not a slave labor law, did not attack the Republican Party or General Dwight Eisenhower by name, but it did proclaim anew his independence from labor. It was hailed as a fighting, constructive speech by CIO leaders.

That it failed to arouse any enthusiasm and drew scattered, small applause was of small moment to the CIO leaders. It simply means they will drive harder to sell him to the ranks.

The approach of the UAW toward the campaign was illustrated best, perhaps, by the beautiful float of Briggs Local 212. It carried two main slogans, "Don't Let Them Take It Away," and "Vote Straight Democratic."

Such a policy, of course, signifies not only support of those "old-line" Democrats whom the CIO had opposed in other years in Michigan. It gives the UAW local unions in Texas, as a case in point, the unenviable task of supporting such an individual as Martin Dies.

PARTY BOSSES DOMINATE

It may sound paradoxical, but in Michigan today the UAW has the greatest organizational strength it has ever enjoyed in the Democratic Party since it virtually controls the party. For all of that, the union has less political influence than in other years.

At the recent state convention of the Democratic Party, the CIO, and in particular, the UAW, had nearly one half the delegates present there. Yet the slate for state offices was handed down to the convention by Governor G. Mennen Williams, without even the participation of the CIO in top caucuses. For the major dominating voice now is Governor Williams, and the UAW trims its political sails to meet his demands.

In Wayne County, the main base of the Democratic Party in Michigan, the UAW has around one-half of the 1,400 precinct delegates, and yet on such a simple issue as picking a candidate for drain commissioner it bows to

the regular Democrats who ignore the CIO choice.

Even on a local basis, the UAW finds itself unable to control selections of district chairmen, although its members are the life-blood of the Democratic Party in Detroit. Such a front figure as Nicholas Rothe, a UAW attorney, is defeated in his attempt to retain chairmanship of the 14th district, one of the largest in America.

Many CIO delegates lined up with a small AFL bloc to select as chairman, Bert Donlin, a UAW dissident, who is chief steward of Chrysler Local 7, and whose reputation is that of a conservative. He is one of the men bucking CIO (Continued on page 2)

Liberal Party Nominates Counts

Dr. George S. Counts, state vice president of the New York Liberal Party, a leading spokesman in the progressive educational field and Professor of Education at Teachers College, Columbia, has accepted the nomination for candidate for the U. S. Senate for the Liberal Party in a three-way race against Republican candidate Irving Ives and Democratic candidate John Cashmore, Brooklyn Borough President.

The Liberal Party, which exists only in New York and is virtually unique in the country as an important third party based upon the liberals and a section of the labor movement, has leaned toward the Democratic Party in the past, occasionally supported a Republican and has sometimes run independent candidates. Its

major campaign on an independent basis came last year when it ran Rudolph Halley for President of the City Council against its will and as a result of its failure to effect a compromise with the Democratic Party. In that campaign, the Liberal Party added to the serious injury it dealt the Democratic Party an unusual insult: it not only defeated the Democratic candidate, but proceeded to elect its candidate, Halley, against both Democrats and Republicans.

Even as the Liberal Party did not want to run an independent candidate in the city election, the maneuvers leading up to the selection of Dr. Counts demonstrated its current unwillingness to run a candidate against the old-line parties. The Liberal Party

wanted to compromise on a joint candidate, Averell Harriman, together with the Democratic Party. Harriman did not indicate an acceptance at first, but prior to the Democratic state convention, indicated a willingness to be the candidate if the Democrats would go along. This they did not do, putting up instead the hack picked by the machine bosses for whom everyone is hard pressed to make a strong argument other than party regularity.

DEMOCRATS IGNORE LP

The Democratic politicians never took time out to listen to the Liberal Party proposal to draft Harriman as the type of administration spokesman who would be calculated to make the

(Continued on page 2)



and all candidates selected in Republican primaries. When asked repeatedly if that included the

(Turn to last page)

Is the Two-Party System Sacrosanct?

By ALBERT GATES

"I am in favor of the two-party system," said Governor Stevenson in his Portland, Oregon, speech before American newspaper publishers. "I think it is indispensable. And I think we have a pretty healthy two-party system at this moment." Stevenson went on to lament the development of a "one-party press in a two-party country."

The discussion of the two-party system in this presidential campaign has been raised by the Republican Party and the overwhelming majority of the nation's press in the form of the slogan: "It is time for a change." If the Democrats win again, they say, the two-party system will be endangered. Maintenance of the two-party system has even been used as an argument for support to the Republicans. This call for a change is not based on any lofty

principles, as the Democratic candidate so well pointed out, since it is motivated by no larger principle than to give the Republican Party, out of power since 1932, a chance at running the country.

But if no large principle motivates the GOP and its press in demanding a change (in order to save the two-party system), no larger principle motivates Stevenson's defense of this political tradition. For the two-party system is perfectly acceptable to Stevenson and his Democratic colleagues, provided it means that their party remains in political power. What the two parties are really interested in is the two-party system in which one of them remains permanently in office and the other out. They are united only in a common opposition to a new third party, or multiple parties which could threaten their own monopoly of political

office.

But the two parties and the press are not alone in their respect for the tradition of the two-party system. Behind them is a long line of historians, journalists and college professors, who view with alarm the possibility that the two-party system might break down and give rise to a third party or multiple parties. For some unargued reason, such a development would signify to these ideologists a breakdown of the democratic system by creating political confusion!

In a rather lengthy treatment of the question in Sunday's New York Times, James MacGregor Burns, chairman of the Political Science Department at Williams College, presented a rather disconcerting point of view. The reader cannot be sure whether the good professor is proving that the two-party system is good or bad, for while

arguing for its maintenance, improvement and extension, he records that it has resulted, in Congress at least (it should be added, on a state and local level too) in a multi-party system, in factional log-rolling, obstructionism, bickering, delays, confusion—above all, in deadlock and inaction."

A multiple party system might well result in "deadlock and inaction," but it would do so under far broader democratic conditions and hasten a popular intervention. The two-party system perpetuates deadlock and inaction.

WHAT MAKES IT SO

What then makes the two-party system sacrosanct? Tradition, and tradition alone? In part, yes. The two-party system corresponded to the specific peculiarities of national development. Its tradition is, therefore, a long one, but it is a tradition that now stands as an

obstacle to the future progress of the American masses—the tradition has become reactionary. Moreover, it is a tradition that is not quite a hundred years old and is not characteristic of political history from the beginning of the United States.

Professor Burns knows this very well. He writes, quite correctly, that "we have not always had a two-party system." The nation began with a one-party system which sought to contain the conflicting interests of the groupings in early American society within the confines of the Federalist Party. Two- and three-party systems followed, but after the Civil War two main parties survived. Other parties came and went and they were many. History records the existence of the Greenbacks, Populists, Anti-Masons, Prohibitionists (now many

(Turn to last page)

Liberal Party Candidate — —

(Continued from page 1)
 best campaign against the GOP's candidate, the incumbent Senator Irving Ives. Ives is generally held to be a "liberal" Republican on the basis of his record in office, generally voting for administration proposals, and having a liberal stand on civil rights. He has attempted to read into the GOP plank on civil rights what it does not say: federal compulsory fair employment legislation. He has voted for the Taft-Hartley Law.

From a purely practical, vote-getting point of view, aside from the lack of appeal of the wheel-horse, Cashmore, the Democrats ignored the importance of the Liberal Party in New York. In the 1949 Senate contest between Herbert Lehman and John Foster Dulles, Lehman won with 2,853,000 votes to Dulles' 2,384,000. But included in Lehman's total were 427,000 Liberal votes. To indicate the strength of Ives, it may be recalled that in 1946 he defeated Herbert Lehman, who had both Liberal and Democratic support, by 251,000 votes.

and unity which have emerged do not indicate anything very attractive or healthy. Quill wanted to carry the fight for endorsement to the floor. The compromise effected, "apparently" a victory for the group led by Louis Hollander, state president of the CIO, was deferment of the endorsement to the executive board. CIO peace-maker Allan Haywood had a hand in the decision.

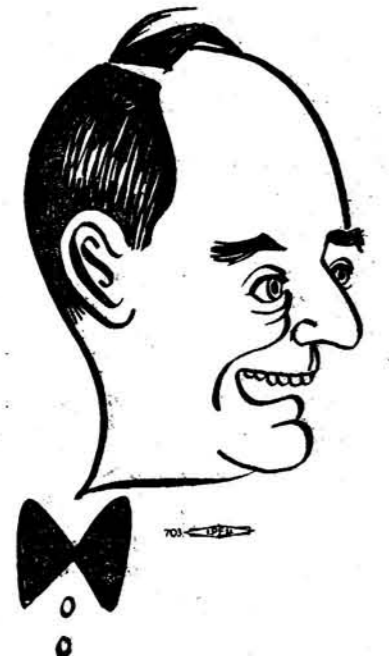
According to the N. Y. Times, the convention appeared "united" on one issue. "That was the feel-

UAW's "New Look" — —

(Continued from page 1)
 moves to "capture" the Democratic Party and his selection was quite a blow to the top leadership of the UAW which had marked Donlin for a purge. He was "removed" as vice-chairman, to be sure, but only because he was elected overwhelmingly as chairman.

What is happening, of course, is that hundreds of UAW activists, finding little room for activity and advancement in the UAW, are placing their energies in the Democratic Party. They find that playing ball with regular Democrats under the leadership of Governor Williams gives them elbow room for maneuvering and getting "ahead."

WHO CAPTURES WHOM
 It raises the question of who is capturing whom? Is the UAW winning the Democratic Party here or is the Democratic Party capturing the UAW? For the next immediate period this inter-



esting question will be subordinated to the election campaign. Victory or defeat, the question is bound to be raised in sharper form.

The "line" by which the UAW hopes to arouse its ranks—and it certainly will succeed among the older auto workers who have acute memories of the great depression—was indicated in a UAW communication calling for a city-wide rally this week.

It said, "Labor and Liberal forces must mobilize the force of the people to block the 'Wall Street Crusade,' back to Hoover, depres-

WEEK by WEEK . . .

LABOR ACTION screens and analyzes the week's news, discusses the current problems of labor and socialism.
A sub is only \$2 a year!

Leon Trotsky's "STALIN"
The definitive biography of the Kremlin's master
 This book is out of print, but we have a number of copies available for \$6.00
 Labor Action Book Service
 114 West 14 Street, N. Y. C.

ing that the Democratic Party once again had handpicked a candidate without consulting labor and without caring what labor thought." The Times also reported that the Quill faction felt that without a fight, the convention might have taken a neutral position. However, neither Hollander nor Quill could find anything very laudatory to say of the candidate they apparently favor. Quill is reported as saying, "I am for Cashmore because I know his record and so does Louis Hollander."

stion and mass unemployment. The stakes have never been higher and we in the UAW-CIO must make a supreme effort to make our maximum contribution toward the mobilization of our members so that the people's will can be expressed at the ballot box in November.

As for the younger generation of workers, the vast number of veterans of World War II and the workers' housewives, the question of how they vote is moot. Although Detroit registration is the highest in all history, the predominant union areas show the poorest results. In some cases only 50 per cent have registered. How this can be overcome in the few weeks left for registration is a problem worrying the CIO leaders.

Another illustration of how delicate the tasks ahead are for the CIO leaders was the failure of Senator John Sparkman, vice presidential candidate, to be even mentioned during the Labor Day rally. Although Senator Sparkman was in Michigan a week ago, speaking at an Amvets convention at Grand Rapids, he pointedly skipped Detroit in his itinerary.

At a recent union symposium on the Democratic Party convention, the extensive quotation of Senator Sparkman's views as published in the *United States News and World Report*, was a source of considerable embarrassment to the CIO spokesmen.

Sid Lens Writes on Review of His Book

To the Editor:
 There is one printing error in your review that I'm afraid distorts one thought. In dealing with the fact that 30,000 people flee East Germany monthly while a few hundred youth go the other way you end with a quote: "The 30,000 people represented the small elite trying to secure some privilege, education or a good job." Actually this should read: "The 30,000 people represented the great mass trying to flee the general poverty; the few hundred represented the small elite trying to secure some privilege, education or a good job."

The linotypist evidently took his eye off the page and skipped from one "represented" to the other.

However, no matter. I don't think it detracts any from the review.

Sid LENS

WEEK by WEEK . . .
LABOR ACTION screens and analyzes the week's news, discusses the current problems of labor and socialism.
A sub is only \$2 a year!

ANVIL and STUDENT PARTISAN
In this issue:
 Debate on American Foreign Policy
 Faulkner's Writing and the Southern Myth,
 by Irving Howe
 God, the Devil and Jean-Paul Sartre
 Can Asia Avert Totalitarianism?
 plus other articles and student reports
 20 cents per copy Order bundles now
ANVIL and STUDENT PARTISAN
 247 Lexington Avenue, New York City

IUE Hands Stalinists Defeat In Westinghouse NLRB Election

By GERRY McDERMOTT

PITTSBURGH — The IUE-CIO has dealt a major blow to the Stalinist UE by winning an NLRB election at the huge Westinghouse Local 601, in East Pittsburgh. The local is the largest in the Westinghouse chain and the victory demonstrates that the IUE has come a long way in learning how to fight the Stalinists on a sound trade union basis.

Local 601 has been in the hands of the IUE since the split in the UE. However, in the NLRB election two years ago, the IUE won only by a mere handful of votes, and then only after a run-off election. The UE retained control of a smaller Westinghouse plant in the area and also maintained an active hard core in the main plant. After two years of harassment, demagoguery and irresponsible sniping, the UE petitioned for a new election. This time, they were beaten by a healthy two thousand votes.

It was apparent to informed observers before the election that the UE would, in all probability, be defeated. The local UE leaders must have realized this from the start. Certainly from the point of strategy both locally and nationally, it was a stupid thing for the UE to petition for an election which they were almost sure to lose. The fact that the UE did so anyway underlines again the fact that UE union policy is sacrificed to Communist Party political policy. The Stalinists are so anxious to widen their severely reduced base that they took the gamble and pushed their captive union, into a serious defeat.

The task of defeating the Stalinists is not the end of union-building, it is the beginning. The UE still received a sizable vote in 601, a fact which can be attributed only to conservative and inept IUE leadership in the past. With the UE problem greatly reduced the Stalinists will continue their sniping but the militants in Local 601 will have both the possibility and the necessity to do some real union building.

Although the IUE leadership in Local 601 has been far from outstanding, their campaign in the recent election (carried on under the close supervision of the International) avoided almost all the errors of the earlier campaign. In the earlier campaign, the IUE was aided by Catholic priests speaking from the pulpit; by American Legionnaires handing out anti-Communist material at the plant gates, and by more than a few staff members of the Steelworkers. The main issue was simple red-baiting. Naturally, the rank and file resented all the outside interference and were more than skeptical of the allies of the IUE. Father Charles Owen Rice, Chaplain of the Pittsburgh Association of Catholic Trade Union-

ists, directed much of the strategy of the early campaign.

In the more recent campaign, none of the earlier factors were in evidence. Neither religious leaders nor the American Legion played a part. No staff members from other CIO unions were in evidence. The anti-Communist angle was played down. The IUE campaigned primarily on the basis of its national record in winning impressive increases and other benefits in the past two years. It was the UE this time which worked with swarms of imported organizers, a factor which reacted to their detriment.

It was apparent to informed observers before the election that the UE would, in all probability, be defeated. The local UE leaders must have realized this from the start. Certainly from the point of strategy both locally and nationally, it was a stupid thing for the UE to petition for an election which they were almost sure to lose. The fact that the UE did so anyway underlines again the fact that UE union policy is sacrificed to Communist Party political policy. The Stalinists are so anxious to widen their severely reduced base that they took the gamble and pushed their captive union, into a serious defeat.

The task of defeating the Stalinists is not the end of union-building, it is the beginning. The UE still received a sizable vote in 601, a fact which can be attributed only to conservative and inept IUE leadership in the past. With the UE problem greatly reduced the Stalinists will continue their sniping but the militants in Local 601 will have both the possibility and the necessity to do some real union building.

Get ALL your books from LABOR ACTION BOOK SERVICE

We specialize in books and pamphlets on the Labor and Socialist movement and Marxism.

Write for our free book list: all the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky; labor history; socialist fundamentals; economics of capitalism; Stalinism and Stalinist Russia, etc.

LABOR ACTION BOOK SERVICE

114 West 14 Street New York 11, New York

FOR A SOCIALIST EDUCATION
Get it EVERY week!
A subscription to LABOR ACTION is only \$2.00 for a year

Opening Forum of the Season:

"REVOLUTION IN SOUTH AFRICA"

Speaker: GEORGE HOUSER

Secretary, Americans for South African Resistance
 Exec. Director, Congress for Racial Equality
 National Staff, FOR

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 17 8:30 P.M.

at
 Labor Action Hall
 114 W. 14th St., N.Y.C.

AUSPICES:
 Independent Socialist League, Local New York

South African Resistance Movement Grows

Over 3000 South African people were arrested by the end of August of this year in the non-violent resistance campaign against Prime Minister Daniel F. Malan's new race-segregation laws which would disenfranchise 50,000 half-caste voters. Non-Europeans and non-whites have taken to the streets in mass demonstrations to defy the new law, which has already been voided as unconstitutional by the Supreme Court.

The struggle between the mass of the population of non-whites and the Nationalist Party government has grown more intense despite the arrests and court actions which have caned many "offenders" and jailed hundreds. Leaders of the non-violent resistance movement now face trial for their struggle against the "apartheid" laws on the charge of "encouraging achievement of the objects of communism."

Stalinism, as we have pointed out so many times before, has no better ally than the reactionary bourgeois world, and the South African situation is the clearest example of this fact. For, if universal democracy, if universal rights, is an object of Stalinism, then there is no reason why the colored peoples, the majority of the world's population, should support the capitalist West. All that the Malan government is saying to the world is that segregation, inequality, discrimination and autocratic rule, are the hallmarks of this declining Western capitalist world.

Behind the fight of the Nationalist Party in South Africa against the majority of the people of that country is its determination that nothing should occur which threatens the rule of a minority white population whose well-being rests upon the brutal exploitation of more than 8,000,000 natives and Indian residents.

While the Western powers lamentably point to Stalinist activity among the millions of Blacks in Africa, the United Nations refused to consider the case of South Africa when it was demanded that the actions of the government be reviewed by the world organization.

By their own actions, the reactionary rulers are saying that the fight for genuine democracy, equality and decency, belongs to Stalinism. Is it any wonder then, that Stalinism does make headway among the most oppressed peoples of the world? Stalinism needs to do nothing at all but stand by and watch the Malans, Rhees, Dais, and in the U. S., the Shivers, Rankins, and McCarthys, do the job for them.

The Nationalist Party, however, has not taken the decision of the Supreme Court with any kind of grace. It immediately called Parliament together to sit as a "High Court of Parliament" and overruled the decision of the Supreme Court, which had invalidated the Voters Act removing colored (mixed-blood) voters from the electoral roll.

This "High Court of Parliament" is in reality an extra-legal weapon of Malan's government against the Supreme Court, and seeks its own legal standing through the majority which he succeeds in this maneuver, it will be possible then for Parliament, with a Malan majority, to pass on the constitutionality of its own laws.

The Supreme Court is now to rule on the constitutionality of the "High Court of Parliament." Whatever the ruling of the Supreme Court, the struggle cannot subside, so long as the reactionary, racist government persists in its course, and that is what it intends to do.

The meeting of the "High Court of Parliament" was merely another stage in the struggle for "apartheid." Malan's government is looking ahead, however. His party now demands that the present South African Constitution be scrapped and that he "proclaim the nation a republic outside the British Commonwealth." If the

present actions of the government have produced such severe struggles between it and the British and non-white population, severance of all ties with the British Commonwealth and the establishment of a "republic" of the Dutch rulers, would unquestionably lead to an open conflict of a more violent nature. The British population would fight vigorously against separation from the home country as would the native population which breathes life under an independent "republic" of the Boers.

Only Malan's hesitation has prevented the execution of this step. Malan understandably fears the results of such a proclamation, in view of the fact that the Boer population of the country numbers 1,500,000 as against 1,100,000 English speaking people and 8,000,000 non-whites against

whom the racist laws are directed. Malan told a group of Australian journalists, according to Albert Pick in the *New York Times*, that "there must be sufficient support for a republic among the people to make it safe." The reader should bear in mind that when Malan says "among the people," he has in mind only Afrikaner and the English speaking population, now in opposition to his rule. The non-whites do not count in the minds of the ruling party.

The mere posing of the question of an independent republic under the rule of the Boers, or Afrikaners, has made more serious a threat of secession from Natal. Should the Nationalist Party press its proposal for an independent republic, the struggle in South Africa would break out into the clear.

Meanwhile, the current struggle

LONDON LETTER

Trade Union Congress Faces Wage Issue

LONDON, Sept. 2.—The 84th Trade Union Congress is now in session at Margate, a holiday resort on the South coast. The immediate problem facing the Congress is now not the Bevan issue, but the wages issue. Or, to be more precise, at the time of writing, the Bevanite unions (such as USDAW) have not tried to link the two issues together.

On Sunday night, the great engineering wages dispute came to a head. It is this, rather than the Bevan issue proper, which has overshadowed the Congress. The dispute arose as a result of the rejection for the third time of the £2 a week wage claim made by the 38-member unions of the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions. The 30 leaders of the Confederation have now recommended that, (1) the member unions shall bar all overtime work in engineering; (2) end all piece-rate working; and (3) switch to a 44-hour week on a time-rate basis.

The actual date from which the union members are to put these recommendations into effect is to be decided at a meeting of the

executive of the 38 unions in York on Sept. 10. It is interesting to note that only 3 out of the 30 leaders voted against the ban, insisting that they wanted a move for arbitration first.

How the unions are to make up part of the loss involved by the piece rate and overtime ban is part of the problem the Executive will have to face. Skilled pieceworkers can earn up to £15 a week. On time they would get only £6-9-0. No less than 60 per cent of the 3,000,000 engineers and shipbuilding workers affected are on piece rate. A switch back to time rates would mean halving their output as well as their earnings.

Sir Walter Monkton, the Minister of Labor, is trying to intervene in this most serious crisis in employer-trade union relations for many years. The TUC General Council itself is also very concerned with the deterioration of relations between employers and the trade union leaders, for they know full well that they alone can halt the move for higher wage claims.

The failure of D. C. Thomson

over the Voters Act continues. Dr. James Moroka, leader of the African National Congress, was committed to trial on "a charge of furthering and promoting the objects of Communism." Moroka was one of the organizers of the present passive resistance movement against the Government's racial policies and laws. Thus Malan is doing more for Stalinism than it could accomplish for itself with even heroic expenditures of effort.

Even though the Nationalist Party demands that the outside world keep its nose out of South African affairs, events there have an even stronger repercussion than when the Voters Act was passed. The Indian delegation went before the Asian-Arab bloc to ask support for a move to put the South African situation before the Assembly on October 14. It is taken for granted that this

bloc will endorse the Indian proposal and may get support even from Latin American countries.

The mechanics for placing a question on the agenda are somewhat involved, since any item not on the official agenda requires consideration first by a 14-member steering committee, and thenceforth must have a majority of the 60 member assembly.

Although the South African situation was brought up before the UN once before, it was shunted aside on the insistence of the Union of South Africa that its national affairs were none of the business of the UN. This time, however, the Asian-Arab bloc is expected to insist that the racial situation in South Africa is of worldwide import and a "threat to peace."

The next few weeks will be interesting ones indeed.

Builders). The defeat of the arms cut amendment by 5,597,000 votes to 1,450,000 shows how difficult it is to distinguish between Bevanism and Stalinism on the trade union plane. Arthur Deakin and Sir Vincent Tannon both cleverly tied up those who supported a reduction of the arms program with the Stalinists who are opposed to the program, lock stock and barrel (to the greater glory of the "Red" Army).

The fact that no one raised the issue in a clear and consistent fashion made it easy for the trade union bureaucrats to steamroller the left wing again and again. The "level" of rearmament, though itself of considerable importance to the Trade Union Movement, is not the fundamental issue. The left wing unions would have found it easier and more logical to oppose not rearmament as such but capitalist rearmament. No less a person than Mr. John Strachey admitted in his pamphlet, "The Just Society," that as a result of the arms program, the redistribution of income achieved by the Labor Government had been largely nullified.

The rearmament program ran into strong criticism not only from the Bevanites but also from the Stalinist unions (such as the ETU and the National Union of Vehicle

"In 1938, after taxes had been paid, only £39 out of every £100 of personal incomes went to wage earners and £24 to salary earners. In 1950 the share of wages had gone up to £47 out of each £100. The share of salary earners was about the same at £25." This important redistribution of income was made void by the gearing of the "welfare state" to the wheel of the capitalist arms program.

In other words, the arms program benefited not the wage earner, but the capitalist. Had the arms industry been nationalized, the crushing weight of arms expenditure would not have fallen only on the backs of the working class—the capitalists themselves would have "shared" the burden, "shared" the sacrifice.

Undoubtedly, serious socialists in the trade union movement must learn the lessons of the successive defeats of Bevanite and Stalinist resolutions on the arms program. It is not armament per se that the socialist opposes (as the Stalinist does in a capitalist country), it is capitalist rearmament that he takes exception to.

The decision of the TUC Council to discontinue the London Trades Council (Stalinist dominated) received overwhelming support. Despite the attempt to refer back this decision by Mr. R. H. Edwards of the Vehicle Builders and S. E. Maitland of the Electrical Trades Union, it was overwhelmingly defeated—primarily because the reference was Stalinist inspired. The absolutely bureaucratic sledge-hammer method used by the TUC General Council in dealing with Stalinist controlled bodies, reminds one forcibly of the methods employed by the CIO and AFL in the U.S.A.

(Continued on page 5)

The ISL Program in Brief

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

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

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

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

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

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

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!

INTERESTED? Get Acquainted

Independent Socialist League
114 West 14 Street
New York 11, New York

I want more information about the ideas of Independent Socialism and the ISL.

I want to join the ISL.

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY ZONE.....

STATE TEL.....

HANDY WAY TO SUBSCRIBE

LABOR ACTION

114 West 14 Street
New York 11, New York

Please enter my subscription:

Six months (26 issues) at \$1.00
 One year (52 issues) at \$2.00

NEW RENEWAL
 Bill me. Payment enclosed.

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY APT.....

STATE

ZONE

YOU and SCIENCE

THE FIGHT FOR RACIAL EQUALITY

By CARL DARTON

If a scientist should desire proof that Negroes are not given equal treatment and opportunity in our society he need not take a trip to the deep South nor even to visit the colored ghettos of our cities. He need only to glance around the research laboratory or the engineering department where he is employed. There will be hundreds of white faces but probably not a single dark one. Comparatively few Negroes have the opportunity to acquire a technical education at college level and most industries refuse to hire those few available. Colored universities and the U. S. Government are the largest employers of Negro scientists and engineers. Driven by economic necessity some progress can be noted in the employment of such personnel by industry.

Less than five years ago, The United Office and Professional Workers (then part of the CIO) tried unsuccessfully to obtain employment for several Negroes in the Engineering Department of the Radio Corporation of America in Camden, N. J. Job opportunities evaporated when a colored applicant appeared. Since that time RCA, favored by government war contracts and plagued by a shortage of technical help, has had a change of heart and employment policy.

On Sunday, August 17, the New York Times reports that RCA "is a large concern that has been a pioneer in achieving equality of opportunity for Negro engineering graduates. . . ." In the three and one half years that RCA Victor has been scouting the Negro colleges for engineering talent on the same basis that it scouts white and non-segregated colleges, it has hired sixteen Negro graduate engineers, nine of them this year."

This employment record of RCA is not yet the pattern of American industry. At a recent conference other personnel managers termed the RCA record "unique" and awarded praise to that corporation as having done an outstanding job in opening up industrial opportunities for Negro engineering graduates.

Negro scientists have felt keenly the discrimination that exists everywhere in their field—not only from the employer. For example, a Negro mathematics professor at Fisk University wrote a letter on this matter in the August 10, 1951 issue of Science. It read in part:

"One aspect of scientific life that seems to our department to require more general notice is that of eliminating discrimination against Negro scientists. Such discrimination occurs in many ways.

Even when individual Negroes succeed in breaking through the barriers of economic, political and academic discrimination sufficiently to acquire scientific training, they find employment opportunities severely restricted. In mathematics, at least, most qualified Negroes who find employment commensurate with their qualifications teach in southern colleges. In attempting to participate in scientific life by way of scientific societies, they become discouraged at numerous restrictions, placed on participation and in most instances, soon desist.

It is our view that the scientific societies with their talk of the international character of science must recognize its interracial character and put an end to discrimination practices at meetings."

The above was accompanied by a letter to the American Mathematics Society & the Mathematics Association of America, from four members of the Mathematics Department at Fisk University which requested the societies to insert in their by-laws protection of all members to participate fully, freely and equally in all affairs of the organization without regard to race, creed or color.

They also requested that meetings, receptions, dinners should be held only in hotels where there is no discrimination. This has already been done by the American Psychological Association. That need for such a by-law is illustrated by incidents which occurred at a mathematics meeting in the southeast recently.

The official program of the meeting announced a dinner at which the national president of the association would be the speaker. Tickets were requested 5 days in advance but were cancelled when a telephone inquiry revealed that the four men were Negroes. The statement was that no tickets would be issued to Negroes. The Association could not have the excuse that there was a state or city law which prohibited interracial dinners, as there were none. Other hotels in the same city had held non-segregated functions.

We hold no brief for any scientist or any scientific group which fails to practice equal treatment of all fellow scientists of every color, race, and creed. However, we recognize that the greatest barrier to Negroes in the fields of science (as in every field) is discriminatory employment. There is not yet equal professional opportunity and the main blame lies with the employers. We have personally seen the most belligerently socially ignorant scientists work side by side with Negroes—at first because they had to, and eventually, because they wanted to.

WORLD POLITICS

HOW STALIN PURGED THE SATELLITE COMMUNIST PARTIES

(The columns of LABOR ACTION have regularly reported on the purges in Russia's satellite states. These purges reflect the Stalinist determination to cleanse the governments and parties of these countries and to insure their fidelity to the ruling power of the Russian coalition. We are indebted to Asoka Mehta, for his compilation of the following list of those purged, which appeared in Janata, organ of the Indian Socialist Party, on Aug. 3, 1952.—Ed.)

- 12 Ministers
- 3 Deputy Ministers
- 3 General Secretaries of the Party
- 10 District Secretaries
- 6 Commissars and Chairmen
- 7 Army Generals
- 9 Departmental Heads
- 7 Members of Central Committees of Parties
- 7 Holders of Important Offices, like Mayors, etc.

The process of the Russification of the regimes of the satellite countries resulted in the purge of 71 governmental and Communist Party leaders in 1951 alone. This is not the first time that purges have occurred in these countries, nor will it be the last. As a matter of fact, 1952 has had its fair share. It is characteristic of the Stalinist totalitarian regime that no one is beyond suspicion, no one can be trusted, nor can mistakes be left unpunished, for mistakes question the infallibility of the regime and party. No differences are tolerated because differences, in the totalitarian lexicon, mean opposition, opposition means treason (usually described as working for the enemy), and treason must be liquidated—physically, of course.

"Purge" and "liquidation" are two words, Mehta points out, that were unknown in the working class movement until Stalinism made them indispensable to modern political language. It is impossible to speak of Stalinism without the repetitious use of the two terms.

Readers of LABOR ACTION are fairly familiar with the history of Stalinism in Russia and the rest of the world over the past 25 years or more. It is the logic of such a regime, as Trotsky pointed out so many years ago, that once violence is employed against party leaders and members over differences in policy and method, one purges and liquidation becomes the answer of the ruling faction in political disputes, violence and extra-legal methods must become the normal procedure and replace any and all forms of democratic process in the solution of state and party problems.

In the Stalinist counter-revolution, these methods became the answer to all problems. What other means exist for the totalitarian regime? In the absence of any form of democracy, and in the case of the parties, in the absence of congresses or conventions, authoritarianism is the method of rule.

So far as the satellite countries are concerned, we have witnessed a steady and progressive Russification of their political regimes and military arms. The GPU dominates these countries, and the purges represent a "natural" Stalinist process of consolidating power and making these countries as "safe" as it is possible to make them.

Previous devotion and service to the Kremlin are no guarantee of one's safety. So much depends upon the demands of the moment, the whims of the leadership and its constantly changing perspectives and plans, upon the "biography" of the leaders, as to make life under the Stalinist dictatorship an extremely tenuous thing. The need of scapegoats for the ever-disfranchised masses is also ever-present. To survive politically in this completely reactionary and reprehensible atmosphere takes on the aspect of an art of abjection and duplicity. The will to survive makes it thus. Even so, life is indeed precarious, as you will easily see from the list of notable Stalinist agents who have been removed and whose lives are

not worth very much—indeed, if there is much life left among those purged.

Of the 71 government and party leaders purged in five satellite countries, during the period mentioned, the following were the victims of Stalinist reward for services rendered:

- 12 Ministers
- 3 Deputy Ministers
- 3 General Secretaries of the Party
- 10 District Secretaries
- 6 Commissars and Chairmen
- 7 Army Generals
- 9 Departmental Heads
- 7 Members of Central Committees of Parties
- 7 Holders of Important Offices, like Mayors, etc.

The charges against the individuals purged bore one. They are as dull as the "great leader" who invented them: betraying State secrets, being an agent of the West, engaging in activities hostile to the State, sedition, sabotage, spying, Trotskyism, Titoism, etc., etc., ad nauseum.

Country by country, the 1951 purges reached the following numbers in each at the summits of the regimes:

Czechoslovakia: Twenty-five, including Dr. Vlado Clementis, Foreign Minister; Rudolph Slansky, Deputy Prime Minister and Secretary of the Communist Party; Jarmila Taussigova, Member of Central Committee and Control Commission, Secretary of CP in Karlsbad; Ota Sling, Secretary of the CP in the Brno district; Marie Svermova, Deputy General Secretary of the CP; Bedrich Reicin, Head of Military Intelligence; Dr. Gustav Jusak, M.P.,



Chairman of Slovak Council of Commissars.

Poland: Ten, including Wladyslaw Gomulka, General Secretary of the CP, Deputy Prime Minister; Generals Tatar, Mossor, Kirchmayer and Hermann; Mari-an Spychalski, Deputy Defense Minister; Jan Rozycski, Head of Transport Commission in Cracow, Director of Central Office for Road Construction; Joseph Putek, Postmaster General.

Hungary: Nine, including Gyula Kallei, Foreign Minister; Kanos Kadar, Minister for the Interior; Sandor Zold, successor to Kadar, member of Central Committee of CP; Ferenc Donath, Secretary to Mathias Rakosi, head of the government and the party; Dezzo Barta, Secretary to the Chief of the Political Bureau.

Romania: Six, including Alexandru Moghioros, Member of the Central Committee of the CP and its Secretariat; Alexander Bui-can, Deputy Minister of Education; Nicolae Profiri, Minister for Transport; Gheorghe Vasilichi, Minister for Petrol and Coal industries.

Bulgaria: Eleven, including Manol Sekelarov, Minister of Construction and member of Central Committee of the CP; Petko Kunin, Minister of Finance; Titko Tshernokolev, Minister of

Agriculture and candidate for the Politburo of the CP; Ivan Maslarov, member of the Central Committee of CP; Todor Semerdshiev, candidate for the Central Committee of CP; General Slavtsho Trunski, leader of the Partisans and Cols. Borimetschahata and Srepolski, former leaders of the Partisans.

Since the great wave of purges in 1951, a new one struck at the highest party and state leaders in Rumania, catching in its net the notorious and despicable Ana Pauker, presumed to have been Stalin's personal choice for leader in that country. It included two other party and state leaders, Georgescu and Luka.

Unquestionably, these three were among the most unpopular of the Stalinist leaders. As head of the party and Foreign Minister, Pauker engineered the economic and political subordination of Rumania to Stalinist Russia; her assistants, Georgescu and Luka, were directly in charge of economic measures that produced new hardships for the people. Thus, in order to ward off hatred for Russia, the main enemy of the Rumanian masses, the Kremlin used its ample supply of scapegoats (no individual is too great or too small to be sacrificed in the interest of Great Russia) as a concession to the people, as well as to strengthen an "authentic" Rumanian government!

Behind this action, however, is one of the most vicious of the Stalinist policies: anti-Semitism. Having employed individuals of Jewish descent in executing its policies in the satellite countries, Stalinism then sacrifices them to the basest prejudices of people who have long been nurtured on anti-Semitism. Without employing the blatant, direct anti-Semitic methods of a Hitler, the Stalinist nevertheless subtly achieves a result that is just as effective for its political purposes.

The purge of the satellite leaders of Jewish descent is sufficient to emphasize the point to the masses: things are bad because most of these leaders were responsible and they were all Jews.

Review of Foreign Affairs, issued out of Belgrade, points out that in the case of Rumania, the regime made it amply clear that Pauker, Luka and Georgescu were Jews. The same was true in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria and Hungary. Thus the purges encompassed not only the "agents of the West," the "saboteurs and disruptionists," but the "cosmopolitans" as well. By the "cosmopolitans," it has been observed long ago in the Stalinist campaign inside of Russia, were meant the Jews who lacked sufficient nationalism and hence could not be trusted as faithful supporters of the regime.

The world Jewish organizations have already protested, and in vain, against the treatment of the Jewish populations in the satellite countries. In Russia, the Jews, who were truly liberated after the revolution, have been the worst sufferers from Stalinism. The fact that there are few or no Jews in the leadership of the Russian state and the Russian Stalinist Party, is of lesser importance beside the fact that the rights of Jews to have papers, schools and cultural activities of their own have been all but obliterated.

It should be clear to all but the most blind and faithful (to whom Stalinism is a salvation or new religion) that Stalinism is not just wrong on this or that political question, but that the whole system is reactionary, nationalist, anti-socialist and therefore, rotten and corrupt. It is an unending struggle against it an indispensable in the struggle for human freedom.

Youth and Student Corner

SYL Holds Successful National School

From almost every point of view, the SYL National Educational Institute turned out to be a success. Conducted over three days of the weekend of September 5th, it attracted a total of over forty members, sympathizers and contacts of the SYL, about one third of them from outside of New York City. About twenty persons attended all of the sessions regularly as full students, with the rest participating in one or more sessions. The serious character of the classes was demonstrated alike in their prompt beginning and the stimulating discussion which almost always followed a lecture.

In two lectures on the Marxian Theory of the State, Max Shachtman, National Chairman of the ISL, developed this theory and compared it with other conceptions. He compared the Marxian position with the anarchist, social democratic and Stalinist theories of the state, distinguishing the political conclusions which can be drawn from each of them. In an inspiring portrayal of the Marxist goal of the abolition of the state, Comrade Shachtman contrasted this with the growth of the bureaucratic regimes of capitalism and bureaucratic collectivism.

In a second lecture series, Albert Gates, Secretary of the ISL, discussed the major tendencies in the economic development of American society. Beginning with an analysis of the economic forces promoting the Civil War of 1860, he described the growth of industry in the post-war years, with particular attention to the process of concentration and trustification, and the efforts made to restore it. He constituted a major part of a second lecture, together with an analysis of the factors promoting and retarding the growth of the American labor and socialist movements. A final session was devoted to an analysis of the economic roots of the Second World War, a discussion of some economic consequences of the war on the international and domestic planes, and an outline of some of the major tendencies of the permanent war economy.

Hal Draper, the editor of LABOR ACTION, gave a third series of lectures on the historical questions connected with the nature of Bolshevism as a Russian and international tendency. Devoted primarily to analysis of the Bolshevik view of the nature of the party Comrade Draper showed by an exhaustive analysis of the pre-World War I history of the Rus-

sian bolshevik tendency that contrary to common misconceptions, the distinguishing feature of Bolshevism on the question of the party consisted in advocacy of the free development of tendencies within a single party, subject to the condition that the majority shall decide policy. Two subsequent lectures were devoted to analyzing the alternative policies followed in the early period of the Communist International, when independent parties were formed by splits of the left wings from different Social Democratic parties. Comrade Draper outlined

the conditions under which this took place, pointing out how the role of Social Democracy made such a break inevitable and mandatory. At the same time, he pointed out how the failure of left-wingers to organize on behalf of their own views previously left them in a position of being unable to capitalize upon the betrayals of the Noskes and Scheidemanns of the Second International.

An unscheduled but nevertheless highly rewarding discussion on Socialist Election Policy was also held in place of one of the regularly scheduled lectures. The

different positions which socialists might maintain were discussed by SYLers from several different units around the country.

The three-day series of classes and discussions was closed by a Saturday-evening dinner where the SYLers were treated to a sumptuous banquet in the Chinese style. This, together with the almost continual social and sports activities (ping pong, anyone?) which accompanied the Institute made the entire affair a pleasurable as well as educational milestone in the history of the SYL.

THE FIGHT FOR DEMOCRACY on the HOME FRONT

The Television Horrors

By MEL HACKER

The New York Post reports that the Journal of the American Medical Association has taken a crack at some of television's crime and horror programs, noting that they could endanger the health of children. One TV magazine survey showed that in one week Los Angeles stations carried 852 major crime incidents in addition to innumerable saloon brawls, slappings, assaults and other "minor" acts of violence. Seventy-five per cent of the crime deluge was on programs for children.

The study showed that in the group of 53 children subjected to horror movies and radio shows, 76 per cent showed increased nervousness, 85 per cent suffered from sleeping disturbances, fears were increased five-fold in 94 per cent, and 51 per cent were found to be nail-biters. "Up to the age of 12, common reactions included retreating to the mother's bed for comfort and reassurance, screaming, pulling the bedcovers over the head, burying the head under a pillow or diving under the covers—there to spend an uneasy night plagued by vivid recollections," the Journal said.

The study showed that children so exposed also suffered from lack of appetite, scholastic difficulties and increased irritability. "As early as the seventh year it was noted that habitual exposure often produced a callousness and the suffering of others and an atrophy of sympathy and compassion toward those in distress." The Journal reported that there is more to the problem than the response of one congressman to the demand of an irate mother that he do something about television: "Did you ever think of turning the damned thing off?"

Unfortunately the callous "keep your own nose clean" attitude or mere indifference toward the problems and suffering of others is not merely a children's television problem, it is part of the very warp and woof of American culture. A devoted and competitive individualism and its apathy toward others has contributed to a tolerance of brutality and injustice—in race relations and also in the area of civil rights. The constant repetition of brutality hardens a person against its real meaning and significance. We should not turn our backs or our children's backs to this stupidity but neither must we be continuously subjected to it. A parallel of this apathy and indifference appears in the acceptance of the bombing of entire populations, unthinkable not too many years ago, now complacently accepted as part of the natural order of things—and the human becomes a brute. The constant display of brutality on television which desensitizes the minds of the very young must be opposed lest we be-

come unaware in all these matters.

Negroes will eat side by side with whites at lunch counters in all Washington dime stores for the first time as the G. C. Murphy Co. last store to hold out, finally capitulated to a campaign against discrimination. The change in policy was announced by the Coordinating Committee for the Enforcement of the D. C. Anti-Discrimination Laws, which picketed the store for sixteen weeks.

Victory at Murphy's brings to an end the campaign launched by the committee two years ago on the 87th birthday of its chairman, Mrs. Mary Church Terrell, noted Washington educator. All the major chain dime stores abolished Jim Crow through the committee's efforts. Mrs. Terrell observed, "The decision of the G. C. Murphy Co. to cease discrimina-

tion against the 300,000 colored citizens of Washington and to treat them as first-class citizens is a wonderful victory over race prejudice and a triumph of justice which is truly of historical value."

Originally organized to fight for the enforcement of two 19th century anti-discrimination laws, the group has also persuaded more than 50 downtown restaurants to end Jim Crow practices.

This column invites the correspondence of readers of LABOR ACTION. If there are violations of civil liberties, of the civil rights of persons in your college or in your area, please write to us about the incident and any comments you may have on the matter. Newspaper and magazine clippings will be welcomed. Write to Mel Hacker, Labor Action Hall, 114 West 14 Street, New York 14, N. Y.

First Round in Passport Fight

(Continued from page 3)

tion, the "anything" will most certainly occur. That is why, even though the fight on the passport question, should be based on the inherent democratic right of a citizen to receive a passport on application to travel abroad freely, the court decision offers an individual the opportunity to challenge any ad-

verse action by the State Department.

Bearing in mind some of the outstanding cases of passport denial, one must smile at the comment of a departmental spokesman, as reported in the New York Times, "we are in the business of issuing passports, not denying them." Well and good. We will see what the performance is like.

Haskell Tour On

By the time this issue of LABOR ACTION reaches you Gordon Haskell's tour for the ISL will have begun in Los Angeles. Meetings in that area will be reported in subsequent issues of this paper.

The Bay Area reports that several meetings have been arranged by the ISL and SYL for Haskell, as well as a social and an organization meeting.

Haskell will remain on the West Coast until the first week of October at which time he will begin his swing eastward. One switch has been made in the schedule. He will omit his stop in

the Kansas City area and will go instead to Wisconsin on those dates.

The SYL units along the route are planning a variety of meetings, debates and socials for the speaker. Together with ISL meetings, Haskell's schedule will be a full one. It marks the opening of the fall season for ISL meetings and affairs.

Readers of LABOR ACTION are advised to watch for local announcements or reports in the paper so they may be able to attend all the activities arranged on this tour.

The schedule appears below.

Los Angeles	September 15-21
Bay Area	September 22-28
Seattle Area	September 29-October 5
Kansas City	October 6-7
Chicago Area	October 10-15
Detroit Area	October 16-19
Cleveland Area	October 20-22
Pittsburgh	October 23-24
Philadelphia	October 25
Reading	October 26

BOOKS and Ideas **An Excellent New Book on Slave Labor**

Stalin's Concentration Camps

A WORLD APART, by Gustav Herling, New American Library, 256 pages, 35 cents.

By SAM ADAMS

The list of books on Stalin's slave camps is indeed a long one. It could not be otherwise since it reflects the mass character of these camps and their existence as a deliberate state policy.

Though death is almost certain in the slave camps, their very size, the millions that compose them, make it inevitable that one or more individuals, especially if they are foreigners, escape that final end, and tell their stories. That is what happened in this instance.

While it can be said that this young Pole's book adds nothing fundamentally new to the subject, it is one of the better books on the subject and adds considerably to our detailed knowledge of the Stalinist system. Herling's case in general follows much the pattern of others. He was a young Polish student at the time the war broke out and, upon Poland's defeat, endeavored to go abroad to continue the fight against the Nazis. He was picked up crossing the Russia-Lithuanian border after the Germans overran Poland. And then it began.

When translated into Russian, the name Herling became Gerling, there being no H in the Russian language. Since he was wearing high leather boots which his sister had given him, he became a Polish officer in the minds of the Stalinist police, and worse, a relative of Field Marshall Goering. The accusation, Herling records, read "Polish officer in the pay of the enemy." Perhaps it would be better to let Mr. Herling tell us briefly what happened:

"But fortunately it did not take me long to convince the interrogator that these accusations were quite without foundation, and we were able to dispense with them entirely. There remained one undisputed fact—when arrested I had been trying to cross the frontier between the Soviet Union and Lithuania. Then: 'May I ask why you were trying to do that?'"

"I wanted to fight the Germans."

"Yes. And are you aware that the Soviet Union has signed a pact of friendship with Germany?"

"Yes, but I am also aware that the Soviet Union has not declared war on France and England."

"That has not the slightest significance."

"Then, how, finally, does the indictment stand?"

"Attempting to cross the Soviet-Lithuanian frontier in order to fight against the Soviet Union."

"Could you not substitute the words 'against Germany' for 'against the Soviet Union.' A blow in the face brought me back to my senses. It comes to the same thing, anyway, the judge consoled me as I signed the confession of guilt which had been placed in front of me."

What sense it made for a lone and insignificant Pole to cross into Russia in order to fight that totalitarian and atomized police state, only a GPU agent would try to explain. In any case, from then on begins Herling's "adventure" in the land of the Good Father, Joseph Stalin. It is a picture of the utter wretchedness of life of the victims of Stalinism, the foreigners, Stalinist and non-Stalinist alike, socialist and non-socialist inhabitants of the Russian Empire, state and party functionaries, and ordinary workers and peasants.

Conditions in Prison

There are the endless waiting for trial, the endless interrogations, the endless violence, sleeplessness, terror, and, finally, even persecution at the hands of the "bezprisornye" (the homeless and wandering young criminals who

have become agents of the secret police in the prisons and camps). There is the movement from prison to prison under the most abominable conditions of existence, where the individual, accused of crimes he could never commit, is at the mercy of the jailers and their stool-pigeons in the cells.

Prison conditions are always unbearable with thousands crowded into cells meant for hundreds. This is the period of "indoctrination" and "preparation" for the more wretched life in slave labor camps. The Leningrad prison alone housed forty thousand prisoners at one given period. The Kresty prison with a thousand single-person cells, held about thirty people in each. In his own prison, Herling says there were ten thousand prisoners and in cell No. 37, built to hold 20 prisoners, he shared space with 70 others.

Russian political prisoners have always been acutely sensitive to their surroundings. It is a tradition that has come down from Czarist times. They learn to communicate with each other under the most severe prison persecution. Despite the worst kind of terror and supervision, at which the Stalinist police have become the world's outstanding specialists, prisoners develop great power of intuition as to their own disposition and their own world. Thus, without the opportunities and facilities of the outside observer, they have been able to make a reasonably close estimate of the number of slave labor victims of the Stalinist state.

Every cell, says Herling, has at least one statistician, "a scientific investigator of prison life, engrossed day and night in assembling a complicated jigsaw puzzle of stories, scraps of conversation overheard in corridors, old newspapers found in the latrine, administrative orders, movements of vehicles in the courtyards, and even the sound of advancing and receding footsteps in front of the gate; from these disjointed observations he manages to construct a composite picture of surrounding reality."

It was at Leningrad that Herling first heard the hypothesis that there were between 18 to 25 million prisoners, deportees and slave laborers in Stalinist Russia. This figure corresponds fairly closely to the best estimates made by analysts with far better opportunities for observation than a prisoner in a Russian jail.

It was during his prison shifts that Herling chanced upon an "Intourist" prison, which he suggests was probably the jail visited by Lenka van Koerger, who wrote an enthusiastic book about the Russian prison system! Herling describes this jail as a beautiful, modern and luxurious building with large windows and shining corridors which marked a "fantastic change from the monastic decay characteristic of most Russian prisons (the best wing of the Peresylka)." There were large grilles, sliding on rails, which took the place of doors. These gave the illusion of complete "internal freedom and of that particular self-discipline which men isolated from the world evolve in order to forget their loneliness."

The cells were empty when he saw them, but they were exceptionally clean, the beds had sheets on them, there were family portraits on bedside tables, clothes hangers, tables with

books, newspapers and chessman, radios, washbasins, and . . . the inevitable picture of Stalin. But this prison is reserved for full citizens of Russia, serving short sentences not exceeding 18 months for crimes of "petty theft," "impunctuality for work," "hooliganism" and other offenses against factory discipline. The prisoners work, get wages, receive visits from their families. One prisoner calls it "our Winter Palace." But, this was a prison for short-term, petty criminals who could always be counted upon for subservience to the state. For the "politicals," prison life was another thing entirely. And all this the petty-criminal fully understood.

The Urka System

These petty criminals, called bytoviks, are distinguished from the "urkas," the hardened criminals. They are an important part of the camp administration. Herling writes:

"Although in the labor camps it is possible to come across bytoviks whose sentences exceed two years, yet in the hierarchy of the camp these occupy an exceptional position, nearer to the privileges of the administrative staff than to the status of the average prisoner. A bytovik becomes an urka only after he has served several terms. An urka seldom leaves the camp at all, but merely enjoys a few weeks' occasional freedom, time enough to see to his most urgent affairs and commit his next offense. The measure of his importance in the labor camp is not only the amount of years which he has spent wandering from one camp to another and the seriousness of his offense, but also the size of the fortune which he has collected from the black market, theft and frequently even the murder of 'byelorutchki' as political prisoners are called (the word means 'white hands'). . . . The urka is an institution in the labor camps, the most important person after the commander of the guard; he judges the working capacity and the political orthodoxy of the prisoners of his brigade, and is often entrusted with the most responsible functions, assisted if necessary by a technical expert without the urka's camp experience. . . . To these men the thought of freedom is as repugnant as the idea of the labor camp to a normal person."

Herling himself was sent to the Yerevo section of the Kargopol labor camp near Archangel. The prisoners of this lumbering area containing a large timber industry, had more than enough work to do. Work began at five-thirty in the morning and lasted throughout the long cold day for at least eleven hours a day, the official work-day in this camp, but usually twelve hours. All of life in this camp as in the hundreds of others, is under the supervision of the GPU, which not only runs the camps, but insures a continuous supply of laborers through its special section.

Life in this camp as in all others consisted of an endless labor, a starvation diet and brutal supervision, which meant death to so many inmates. The labor supply is always renewed and there is a constant cycle of coming and going (to their death) of prisoners.

Herling himself finally was freed because Hitler turned on his erstwhile ally and Stalin became a great warrior for freedom and democracy. He was released from the camp after the signing of an agreement between the Polish government in London and the Russian, made his way from beyond the Urals to Russia, joined up with a Polish unit and finally found himself crossing the Caspian Sea to Persia and freedom from Stalinist Russia.

Two Stalinist Liars

Two interesting appendices close the book. One is a protest against the charge that slave labor camps exist in Russia by none other than Mr. Alexei Stakhanov, the man who set the pace for the murderous speed-up of the Russian workers. Mr. Stakhanov attacks Herling by denying outright the latter's charge of slave labor, saying he is one of the slanderers who "revive

(Continued bottom of next page)

THE STRUGGLE FOR AFRICA

The "Dark Continent" of Africa is no longer a secret, unknown area of the world—the subject of exotic, mysterious and fearsome movies. For some years now it has been known that this great land mass, almost as large as North America and Europe together, contained enormous natural resources of almost incalculable wealth. While the imperialism of the capitalist powers opened up the Continent in the last century and the early decades of this one, it took the demands of two world wars to assess the true value of Africa. For the big powers in their insatiable hunt for strategic raw materials and new riches to exploit have found Africa a seemingly inexhaustible supply-source.

The powers are engaged in a hasty program of exploitation and the "Dark Continent" is quickly becoming as well known and thoroughly explored as any other. No wonder, that *U. S. News & World Report* writes that: "Africa, south of the Sahara, is caught up in a dazzling economic boom. Skyscrapers are rising in new cities within earshot of the tom-toms of the jungle savages. Modern railways and ports are being built in a hurry. There is a rush to invest billions of dollars in the development of Africa, a rush in which the United States is playing a major role."

The following chart conveys better than any writing why this boom has occurred with such intensity and haste. The continent of Africa contains:

100 per cent of the world's Pyrethrum
99 per cent of the world's Columium
98 per cent of the world's Industrial Diamonds
90 per cent of the world's Uranium
80 per cent of the world's Cobalt
75 per cent of the world's Sial
70 per cent of the world's Palm Oil
69 per cent of the world's Cocoa
66 per cent of the world's Chromite
52 per cent of the world's Gold
25 per cent of the world's Manganese
20 per cent of the world's Tin
20 per cent of the world's Copper

It should be immediately apparent that in this atomic age, any land containing uranium would be coveted by the powers preparing for a new war. Cobalt is of almost equal importance, since it is used in the manufacture of jet propulsion engines. And the same is true of such strategic materials as industrial diamonds, columbium and chromite, and the vast stores of copper, manganese, tin and iron ore.

The presence of this great wealth explains the present feverish economic activity and the struggle for control of Africa. This struggle produces a political complex that is fraught with great danger for the Western powers. As matters stand now, Great Britain, the United States, France, Belgium, et al. have a strong advantage over Russia and its satellites. But it is an advantage that is extremely tenuous since political factors—a mass revolt of the native population of 150 million Negroes for freedom and independence—could well destroy that advantage. And that is why the present course of the Malan government in the Union of South Africa has caused so much concern to the Western bloc.

It will be hard to fasten blame for any difficulties in Africa upon the more extreme racist policies of the reactionary Afrikaners. For as *U. S. News* points out, ". . . the boom in Africa is a white man's monopoly. . . . Negro Africa is a strange mixture. Millions of natives have self-government and are to get full independence. Millions more still live in abysmal poverty with no political rights at all under the law of 'white supremacy.'"

Stalin's Concentration Camps — —

(Continued from page 6)

the old tale about forced labor in the USSR. . . ."

This denial which appeared in the British *Tribune* in 1948, was followed by another in the Manchester Guardian in 1949 written by A. Trainin, D.Sc., "Honored Worker of Science, Corresponding member of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, Vice President of the International Association of Democratic Lawyers," who asserted, quite in contradiction to the naive and ignorant Mr. Stakhanov, that

"Sentences of from three to more years are service in CORRECTIVE LABOR CAMPS." This shows that only persons serving sentences or more than three years for grave offenses are maintained in camps (this of course is untrue—S. A.). . . . In the USSR the entire penitentiary system REVOLVES ON LABOR. LABOR IS A NECESSARY ELEMENT IN THE CAMP CORRECTIVE SYSTEM. NATURALLY, A TERM IN THE CORRECTIVE CAMP MEANS DEPRIVATION OF FREEDOM. . . . IN THE CORRECTIVE LABOR CAMPS WORK IS COMPULSORY ONLY IN SO FAR AS THE RE-EDUCATION AND CORRECTION OF THE OFFENDER IS COMPULSORY. LABOR

Is it any wonder that a reactionary, totalitarian, but anti-capitalist movement like Stalinism makes headway in Africa as well as other parts of the world, where the native, colonial world is heightening its struggle for national freedom and independence? The racist policies of the West only in part explain the hostility of the Negro peoples of Africa. Behind this strong factor are even more power-economic causes for dissatisfaction and rebellion. The indignities which the native population suffers at the hands of white overlords are made worse because they are accompanied with severe economic exploitation and the enrichment of foreign oppressors and usurpers of the continent.

The picture, of course, is an uneven one. Some of the countries are better off than others; the conditions of the Negro populations therefore differ too. Each country reflects a specific type of foreign exploitation and varying internal economic, political and social conditions. Nevertheless the community of interests of the African peoples asserts itself in an overriding desire for national freedom. *U. S. News* provides us with a once-over lightly digest of conditions in these countries. Even such a treatment provides a sufficient picture of an Africa under imperialist domination.

The Belgian Congo: This country is described as representing the "middle way" policy between outright freedom and outright repression. "It is a paternalistic bright spot in Africa," says *U. S. News*. Why? Only because the powers step gingerly in a country containing the world's largest deposits of uranium ore. The United States, which takes most of the output, pays well and provides the means for a higher share of the country's wealth to the natives. The Congo also contains three-quarters of the world's cobalt, and it has vast reserves of diamonds, manganese ore, tin, copper and zinc.

In the vast exploitation of the country, producing as it does such enormous wealth, and in the fear of native dissatisfaction and rebellion, heightened by the successes of the colonial peoples in other parts of the world, the Belgian rulers are careful to increase the share of the natives in the current prosperity. Officially, there are an 8-hour day, the highest minimum-wage law in Africa, housing projects, and a policy which bars the import of white labor that would quickly displace Negro workers. The Belgian Congo is the "bright country," but even so: "There are no political rights for the 10 million Congolese, some 90 per cent of the population."

French Africa: This area south of the Sahara is 14 times as large as France and contains 30 million people. There is great wealth in this country that is as yet largely untapped. The French, notoriously vicious colonial rulers, are a little more careful in Africa. Any revolt could well destroy French holdings, since the imperialist power has already shown in Indo-China that without American help, she could not carry on the war to maintain her empire. Here French policy is "based on the assimilation of a native elite." Educated in France, this elite loses its contact with the native population, and the calculated policy of the French rulers falls short of the mark. The increase of French investments to develop the economy of the country has not stopped the native population from "clamoring for the kind of economic benefits enjoyed by the Congolese and the political freedom given natives in British Nigeria and the Gold Coast."

Nigeria and the Gold Coast: Nigeria alone is larger than Texas and Oklahoma combined. Both countries have enormous natural wealth. They supply half of the world's cocoa beans. Gold Coast is rich in bauxite, necessary in the manufacture of aluminum, while Nigeria contains high-grade uranium deposits "second to that in the Congo." The latter has almost all the columbium in the world, indispensable for an alloy of steel in jet engines and gas turbines. Both of these countries have native

governments and a fair measure of political rights, though colonialism still dominates the areas. British policy here, in contrast to other areas of the continent, is predicated on maintaining close ties with these rich countries, in preference to a complete loss of them through rebellion. The British hope to remain on good and close terms with Nigeria by a policy of a "friendly end of colonialism." *U. S. News* quotes one British official to the following effect: "British imperialism is quietly slitting its own throat in West Africa. There will be trouble. The natives lack experience. But, in the end, we will keep friends we could not hold by force of arms." There, in a nutshell, is the explanation for British policy here.

All of British Africa is "a hodge-podge of protectorates, territories, trusteeships and colonies in various stages of self-government and the lack of it." They make up an area two-thirds the size of the United States and with 57 million people exceed the population of Great Britain by a third.

These countries are also rich in resources. The British have endeavored to develop them separately. In the more favorable climate for whites in East Africa, British settlers have become gentleman farmers who rule the areas. Thus, the "top problem for Britain in Africa is political," thinks the aforementioned review. There is good reason for this partially correct estimate, as we shall see.

British East African Territories: "Some 200,000 whites of British origin," says *U. S. News*, "own the land and run the mines. The 25 million Negro natives have few rights and share little in the current boom. Former Prime Minister Clement Attlee has just visited East Africa to look into the desire of its white rulers for confederation and self-rule, limited to whites." Not yet strong enough to reach out for independence, or capable of achieving it presently, the natives here "are opposing self-government for the whites." They apparently prefer to take their chances for the time being with the protection of the British Colonial Office rather than the exploiters and oppressors at hand.

Portuguese Africa: Portugal, like France, offers citizenship in the home country to an elite. "But, as in French Africa, the elite are few. Government is managed by whites. Profits from sisal, coffee, sugar, palm oil, chrome and asbestos go to whites. Native living standards are low in both Portuguese Angola and Mozambique." Remember, too, low on an African standard and not a European or American!

The situation in the Union of South Africa is better known and there is no point in going into that situation here (see article in this issue of LABOR ACTION). In any case, it is easy to see the economic and political factors at work in this immense continent, weighed down by imperialism, foreign exploitation and political rule. With the most general social progress produced by current economic developments, the desire of the native population for national freedom, economic and political, will surely develop into a tremendous groundswell that cannot but end in a smashing of the imperialism of a dying economic order. Stalinism, no doubt, will do its dirty work of exploiting the African situation, but those making that possible are the imperialists now looting the continent.

Indignation from the Western powers will be unavailing, for the conditions in Africa require no agitators to awaken the native peoples. Their restiveness, their rapidly growing demands for national economic and political freedom is as natural to these conditions as the climate to their land.

Africa is a fitting answer to that large body of "thinkers" who have discovered that imperialism, as a result of the Second World War has either disappeared or taken on such new forms as to require an entirely new designation, as though the term meant only the violent suppression of colonial peoples and not the whole complex of economic, political, social and military oppression of hundreds of millions of people. It would perhaps be an idle dispute to argue this question in New York City or London. But we are certain that the natives of Africa would give these theorists a fitting reply on the meaning of imperialism.

A brilliant study of labor leadership and the labor movement —

"THE UAW AND WALTER REUTHER"

by Irving Howe and B. J. Widick

\$3.00

A Random House Book

Order from:

LABOR ACTION BOOK SERVICE
114 West 14 Street, New York City

Is the Two-Party System Sacrosanct? — —

(Continued from page 1)

decades old), Republican Progressives, Socialists, Farmer-Laborites and Stalinists. None of these parties, whether permanent or temporary election organizations, made an important mark in national elections and did not seriously threaten the precincts of the two major parties.

Why has no minority party—or parties—developed into a threat against the two-party system? "The answer lies mainly," said Prof. Burns, "in the nature of our electoral system, which relentlessly keeps third parties out of power." Given this electoral system, third parties have faced three alternatives, "to be swallowed up by a major party, to go on merely as a propaganda group, or to fade away."

PARTIES DIFFERENT TODAY

The reason given, however, does not happen to be the main reason. In saying this, there is no intent to underestimate the significance of the above analysis. Yet, though the electoral system in this country has hardened into an obstacle to future democratic progress and become the means of the monopolization of politics in the hands of the two main parties, the original reason for its perpetuation lies elsewhere. If the period of the Reconstruction had created conditions for the development of a third party representing the interests of the broad masses of the country, the electoral system would have been altered by the people and by the inexorable pressure of political events.

tered by the people and by the inexorable pressure of political events.

The Republican Party arose as the party of progress in the United States when it led the struggle against slavery. Under the leadership of Lincoln, it secured the premises for the future and astounding capitalist development of the United States and destroyed forever the slavocracy as the obstacle to economic, political and social advance. Thus it embraced all the classes in the North and appeared before the country as the party of the future.

The Democratic Party remained in the hands of the Southern ruling class, and after the Civil War reached its lowest depths because it was identified in the minds of the great majority of the people as the party of reaction and retrogression.

However, in the prodigious advancement of modern capitalism in the United States, from 1870 onward, which began almost immediately as a ruthless, monopolistic system, the Republican Party became the unconcealed representative of the new and powerful exploiting and oppressive bourgeoisie and the beginning of the revivification of the Democratic Party was assured. The Democratic Party thus reappeared in strength on the basis of a coalition between the tradition-bound Southerners and the people of the urban centers of the North.

The Republican Party won almost every national election from 1860 on (the Democrats elected only two presidents between 1860 and 1932), not because it was innately superior to the Democratic Party, but because it rode the waves of unending economic progress of American capitalism. It is true that under its political leadership this capitalist development was ushered in and once the cycle commenced it was sufficient to carry this party of mediocrities onward. Prosperity stood as a barrier to Democratic victory, though the party itself recouped a great deal of its strength.

BRITAIN AND AMERICA

The same forces which barred the way of the Democratic Party to political power more certainly precluded the development of a powerful radical third party in opposition to the existing two. Even though there was no lack of minority parties during this extended period, the situation was somewhat analogous to that of Great Britain, where the Conservative and Liberal Parties battled it out for some years before the Labor Party arose as a powerful force. In Great Britain, however, the decline of capitalism, which resulted in a sharp delineation of class interests, dividing the country into a reactionary conservative bourgeoisie and a dissatisfied, militant working class, saw the gradual eclipse of the Liberal Party, and the emergence of a two-party system of sorts. The difference between Great Britain and the United States, however, is more clearly established by the fact that while the two parties in the former are separated by class lines, by conflicting social and economic programs which bear on the social order itself, in the United States both parties are capitalist, the one conservative, the other a peculiarly constituted reformist coalition.

In any case, the possibility for the emergence of a successful third Labor Party in Great Britain was more favorable because the British electoral system is a far more democratic one than the American. Even so, a mass Labor Party in the United States could force an electoral reform by its very power. For if there is nothing really sacrosanct about the two-party system, there is certainly nothing sacrosanct about the obstructionist electoral laws instituted in the last twenty to twenty-five years by a combine of self-seeking and self-perpetuating politicians of both major parties. The point is, that no matter how

difficult such a task would be, it could be done. Undoubtedly, traditional and emotional obstacles stand in the way. It is only necessary to get rid of the idea that abolition of the two-party system is something alien or un-American in order to begin this long overdue task.

As matters stand now, the two major parties are something quite different from what they once were. The Republican Party has long ceased to be the party of progress in the United States. It is the conservative and reactionary party of American capitalism. The Democratic Party is a contradictory coalition of the reformist and sometimes radical elements of the North, "internationalist" capitalists and the most reactionary elements of the nation, the professional politicians of the Southern ruling class.

If the story is true that Roosevelt and Willkie once met in Washington in 1944 to plan a realignment of forces by the creation of a new party which would include the progressives of both parties so that a genuine division would be created between the two political streams in bourgeois politics, this only illustrates the main contention of this article.

The world and national objective conditions are gradually but unmistakably forcing a more accurate political division in the United States. It may take the form first of a division between the conservative bourgeoisie and the reform elements backed by labor and the lower middle classes. It can take the form of three major parties, paralleling the British experience. Or, it can, given certain economic and political developments here and abroad, take the form of a sharp class division in political parties.

REALIGNMENT INEVITABLE

The slow pace of this development, the fact that labor finds itself more firmly than ever in one of the two capitalist parties, may blur the objective tendencies in American life, but it cannot efface them. For, if class, sectional and economic conflicts, indistinct or sharp as they may have been, expressed themselves through the two major parties up to now, we are swiftly moving toward objective conditions which will no longer make that possible. The future of the two major parties is identified with capitalism and imperialism: the future of the overwhelming majority of the people is identified with socialist progress. There is nothing in the history of this country, or the history of politics, that guarantees the existence of either of the two major parties. Major parties have gone down to hopeless defeat before; they can again.

The point to bear in mind is that a lasting, decisive and principled political change of genuine progressive (in the last analysis, socialist) character in the United States cannot take place within the two major parties. Such a change can and may begin inside one of the parties, but its development and success depends upon a genuine independent development of American labor politics as the first step toward social emancipation. This is recognized not only by the conservative labor bureaucracy in this country, but by the most able of the bourgeois politicians. That explains to no little degree why such heavy emphasis is placed upon the tradition of the two-party system and why such vigorous and really vicious propaganda is carried on against the very idea of a third, independent party of labor.

Leaving that aside for the moment, the fact is that the two-party system as a conception is fundamentally reactionary because it presupposes that economic, political, social—and therefore ideological—differences must by some law of nature be confined to two parties and no others. It is in essence undemocratic because it opposes the formation of and seeks to prevent the growth of new parties by oppressive election

laws and by a confining electoral system. The argument against a multiple party system is bureaucratic and narrow. New parties arise not because of malevolent politicians. They express the surge of powerful social forces and of political need, either of broad and relatively permanent significance or extreme forces of the moment.

FOR A LABOR PARTY

Prof. Burns writes that "we need not mourn their [third parties] passing. The two-party system offers many advantages. The chief of these is the power and stability it can impart to government." Although this virtue is somewhat cancelled out later by the professor's description of the impasse of the present two-party system, what he says is in part true. But the advantages of the system and the power and stability it imparts rounds to the advantage of the interests which the two parties represent and to the security which it conveys to its leaders and functionaries. Certainly not to the final interests of the people, with which the system is so often in conflict.

The monopoly of political power by the two-party system parallels

the monopolistic character of American capitalism. Just as totalitarian tendencies are inherent in monopoly capitalism, so they are in monopoly politics. We ought to remember that Hitler and Mussolini and Franco denounced multiple parties as the expression of an excessive and rotten democracy. The distance between a bureaucratic conception of politics and a totalitarian one is not great. All that is required to push them together is a complex of social events such as existed in the fascist countries.

A new party, a labor party, would certainly imply a break with a certain kind of tradition. What of it? The New Deal was a break with tradition. The election of Willkie would certainly have violated a long tradition of Republicanism which gave this country such uninspired inferiors as Grant, Garfield, Hayes, Harrison, McKinley, Harding, Coolidge and Hoover. When tradition becomes reactionary and a brake on progress, it is necessary to alter that tradition. The formation of a labor party in the United States would begin a new tradition that could only lead to the progress of society and the elevation of man in the social changes that it must inevitably initiate.

Ike Helps McCarthy — —

(Continued from page 1)

two-bit hooligan senator from Wisconsin, Eisenhower answered, yes. To mollify many of his horrified supporters, Eisenhower then proceeded to defend Gen. Marshall against the attacks of McCarthy, and his friends. The New York Times, however, remained shocked by this rather base piece of politics.

The worried McCarthy quickly took advantage of the endorsement by Eisenhower. He immediately announced that he was going down the line for the General and would support him all the way thus riding the Eisenhower bandwagon among GOP voters.

Many "progressive" Republicans had hoped that when Eisenhower spoke about carrying out a great "crusade" for the highest office in the land, he meant also that he would carry the fight against the most reactionary elements in the party, and specifically, Senators McCarthy, Jenner, Kem, Ecton, Bricker, et al. The McCarthy endorsement should have disillusioned them. But they apparently die hard. In any case, following the McCarthy affair, an ever-loving peace pact was arranged with the Taft machine in Ohio, though not yet with Taft, and a great camaraderie established between Ike and Bricker.

This week, Eisenhower moved into Indiana to urge the GOP voters to support every Republican candidate in the state asserting that he would ask "voters to support the entire Republican ticket from top to bottom at every stop in every state I visit." The entire Republican ticket in Indiana, for example, included the notorious Senator William E. Jenner, who is having a tough fight for re-election. Jenner has been called Indiana's Joe McCarthy. If there is any difference between the two it is that Jenner is less influential, if not more vile. It was he who called Eisenhower's friend and military sponsor, General Marshall, "a living lie." But with the customary display of great principle, which marks his crusade, Gen. Ike has swallowed Jenner and apparently likes it too. Jenner, who opposed almost everything the General advocated, now gave a promise in advance, that he would support every proposal that Eisenhower, if elected president, would make to Congress. No man has a right to expect any greater devotion.

And so it will go, as the campaign becomes more intense and we get closer to Nov. 4th. By that time, it will be clearly revealed

that the anti-Taft Republicans who engineered the nomination of Eisenhower, bought themselves a pig-in-the-poke. For the difference between him and Taft is that he is less able, less knowing, and less certain. He outdistances the Ohio senator only in that he is a more confused man, utterly without experience or qualification.

The campaign thus far has revealed that Eisenhower did not quite understand what he meant by carrying on a "crusade" on the basis of "hard principles." The crusade and the hard principles have been revealed as being merely the overweening ambition of an unqualified politician to become the president of the United States.

Beyond the Mississippi River, Governor Stevenson, suave, witty and sarcastic, is making a heroic attempt to become known to the voters of the country. He is trying, as are his likes, to keep the campaign on a "high level" of a discussion of issues. These he spells out largely in the tradition of the New and Fair Deals, with some peppery additions of his own. By the tenor of his remarks on Labor Day, to the farmers of Minnesota and to the voters of the West, he may earn the title of the middle-of-the-road or square dealer.

The campaign will undoubtedly get a little warmer as the days go on. Eisenhower now threatens to name names! Stevenson announces that his patience is being tried by the unfair attacks made on him as a candidate. If the two candidates have not yet removed their gloves, they are unbuttoned and sliding off their hands. There will be angrier voices and the campaign will begin to resemble previous ones.

Marxism in the United States

By LEON TROTSKY

35 Cents Order from

Independent Socialist Press
114 West 14 Street
New York 11, N. Y.

LABOR ACTION BOOK SERVICE

114 W. 14 St., N.Y.C.

The Fight for Socialism—Max Shachtman	\$1.00
Socialism, Utopian & Scientific—Engels	.75
Marxism in the U. S.—Trotsky	.35
Plenty for All—Erber	.25
Principles & Program of Independent Socialism (LA special issue)	.10
Independent Socialism & War (LA special issue)	.10
Marx as Economist—Dobb	.15
Reform or Revolution—Rosa Luxemburg	.50
The Accumulation of Capital—Rosa Luxemburg	\$5.00
Studies in the Development of Capitalism—Dobb	3.50
From Hegel to Marx—Hook	4.50
Theory of Capitalist Development—Sweezy	4.50
New Data for Lenin's 'Imperialism'—Varga & Mendelsohn	2.25
Social Revolution—Kautsky	.95
The Evolution of Property—Lafargue	.95
Materialist Conception of History—Plekhanov	.20
Role of Individual in History—Plekhanov	.25
Karl Marx—Otto Rühle	1.00
Lenin on Agrarian Question—Rochester	1.75
Anti-Dühring—Engels	3.00
Materialism & Empirio-Criticism—Lenin	2.75
Theory of Marxism—Lenin	.15
Living Thoughts of Karl Marx—Trotsky	2.00

History

Religion & the Rise of Capitalism—Tawney	\$.35
Bolsheviks & the World War—Gankin & Fisher	6.00
Intervention, Civil War & Communism in Russia, 1918—Bunyan	4.50
Ancient Society—Morgan	3.50
The Bending Cross (E. V. Debs)—Ginger	2.00
History of Supreme Court—Myers	3.00
American Empire—Nearing	.35
Ten Days That Shook the World—Reed	1.25