

# LABOR ACTION

Independent Socialist Weekly

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FIVE CENTS

## AFL-CIO MERGER CAN BE STARTING-POINT OF NEW SURGE FORWARD BY UNITED LABOR

By BEN HALL

For the first time in history, American labor stands as a unified class force. This is the deep significance of the AFL-CIO merger at the joint convention in New York on December 5.

To achieve this unity, nothing had to be surrendered; the achievements of the past spearheaded by the CIO are maintained. This historic fact, with all the consequences which must in time flow from it, overshadows the details and technique of the merger.

The AFL once enjoyed a virtually unchallenged dominance over the nation's union movement, but it never effectively and permanently enrolled more than 3,000,000 workers. It enrolled the union movement but *the union movement was only a minority of the working class.*

The AFL in turn was dominated by an even smaller minority: the skilled crafts, especially in the building trades, occupying a privileged position in light industries. But the main sections of the working class were unorganized and helpless. Unionism in mass production had been crushed, brutally and violently, first by a concerted union-breaking campaign spearheaded by U. S. Steel at the turn of the century, and then in a new open-shop drive after the First World War.

But that era is done with. The American working class has fought its way up from below.

The powerful and wealthy corporations are unionized: in auto, oil, glass, rubber, steel, chemicals, packinghouse. Basic industry is organized; the decisive sections of the working class are organized.

**The majority of American workers, despite their political backwardness in other respects, have acquired a fundamental union-consciousness, the first step, under purely American conditions, toward class-consciousness. And now, the united labor federation will enroll, at the outset, 16,000,000 men and women.**

Another 2,000,000 unionists, principally miners and rail workers, remain unaffiliated; but in time they will join. Together, organized workers and their immediate families compose no less than 20-25 per cent of the nation's population.

Before the working class could be united, the old exclusivist AFL had to be split. It was the CIO that led the way.

It brought unionism to the heartland of American industry. It reawakened even the old AFL unions and swept them along in the crusade of the '30s.

After the CIO broke the back-

### To the Unity Convention in New York

bone of employers' resistance in mass industry, the AFL crafts entered the factories behind the fighting battalions of auto and steel workers. By now, the CIO has placed its stamp upon the whole labor movement. Unification symbolizes its fundamental victory.

#### VICTORIES

The terms of unity demonstrate this fact in detail:

● **The CIO was forced out of the old AFL because the crafts refused to surrender jurisdiction in mass-production industries. Now, all CIO unions, without exception, big and little, weak and strong, enter the new federation with full rights. Old jurisdictional claims are ignored.**

● In the old AFL, craft unionism was the basic form of organiza-

tion, permitting only minor exceptions. Now, craft and industrial unionism are recognized as equal.

● The CIO gets strong representation on the new ruling council; it chooses the director of organization.

● The CIO maintains, within the united federation, a national council of industrial organizations as a separate department. Former AFL unions are eligible to join.

● Industrial unions can form their own local industrial-union councils.

● Political action, deprecated or ignored in the AFL at the time of the split, becomes a primary task.

The CIO was created in a mass upsurge. Its greatest gains are recorded in history; the march forward slowed down and is now stalemated. But it wins a *new tri-*



WALTER REUTHER

*umph within the labor movement itself, where unity means a new realignment of forces.*

AFL unions do not constitute a homogeneous group, far less so than the CIO. Up to now, the AFL was dominated by a narrow craft wing, linking together in a loose alliance ordinary conservatives, simple time-servers and chairwarmers, and even corrupted elements and racketeers. Their rally-

(Continued on page 7)

### In Ireland Too Rival Labor Centers Are Merging

By M. M.

Dublin, Nov. 16

Moves are afoot to unite the two trade-union centers—the Trade Union Congress (TUC) and the Congress of Irish Unions (CIU). Next January, delegate conferences of both centers will discuss a joint unity document after ten years of separate existence.

The political and psychological conditions attendant on the split in 1945 are now virtually non-existent. The political monopoly of De Valera from 1932 to 1948 has been broken.

Lemass, De Valera's lieutenant, when faced with a political radicalization of the workers in the early war years, exploited a bitter personal quarrel in the leadership of the TUC. It is assumed generally that Lemass conspired with right-wing leaders to break away, by promises of political patronage, in their aims to snatch the membership of the so-called "English" unions. The substance of this claim is that the 1941 Trade Union Act gave the Irish unions legal powers to put comparable "English" unions out of business. Therefore those elements who connived with Lemass needed some "principled" justification to start member-snatching.

It was obvious that to exploit their position under the law, Irish union leaders with unscrupulous designs on "English" union members had to leave the TUC. This is where the justifiable "principle" enters. The chauvinist slogan of "Irish unions for Irishmen" was calculated to start an avalanche of members from the TUC, which was overloaded with "English" unions.

However, the break was confined to the Irish Transport and General Workers Union (led by an "Irish Gompers" if there ever was one—William O'Brien) and several small craft unions with ambitious officers.

As an organizational maneuver, the secession was a dismal failure. The only attempt by an Irish union to use the legal device was defeated by a High Court decision handed down to the National Union of Railwaymen in 1947, decreeing that the relevant section of the act was unconstitutional.

The following year 1948 set the seal on the decline of the CIU. In that year De Valera's 16 years of uninterrupted rule was ended by his defeat in the general election.

From there on, the life of the CIU has

been characterized by several splits-off into the TUC, and a rapprochement by sections of the CIU leadership with the TUC-based Labor Party. With the declining fortunes of De Valera's Fiann Fail (Tory) party, the CIU bureaucracy finds it difficult to peddle its political wares profitably. Hence the move toward unity.

Another consideration in this question of unity is the needs of the Labor ministers in the government coalition. Norton, the senior Labor minister, is charged with "making the economy work," but is hampered by the militant wage-happy mood of the union ranks.

Added to this, the leaders of both congresses are sensitive to the competitive uncertainties of separate existence. A wage movement initiated by the smallest affiliate of either congress is pounced upon by its opposite number in the other congress and a whole pattern of wage demands unfolds. Union officers dare not concede the militant initiative to their opposite number. Union organizers still count heads for a living.

In this climate, Norton hasn't an earthly chance of getting top union agreement on wage restraint.

(Continued on page 2)

## ELECTRICAL WORKERS

# Gloves Are Off in the Westinghouse Strike

By GERRY McDERMOTT

Pittsburgh, Nov. 27

The CIO electrical union's strike against Westinghouse in East Pittsburgh is now well into its sixth week. A seven-day truce on public statements or advertisements, during which negotiations were moved from Pittsburgh to New York, failed to move the company. Since that time, negotiations have returned to Pittsburgh and are now again in New York as this is written.

Actually, Westinghouse and the IUE-CIO were in the middle of a two-year contract which still has a year to run. It was supposed to be reopened this year only for wages. As a result of a month-long strike this summer over time-study grievances, the corporation had also agreed to negotiate this question.

However, IUE signed a five-year contract with General Electric this summer, and Westinghouse also demanded a five-year contract. The catch is, however, that although Westinghouse claims that the five-year contract they offer is equal to GE's, it actually is far inferior, and the union has gotten that point across pretty well by now.

In the process of this strike, the pattern of industrial relations in the electrical industry is being broken. Because of the long reign of the Stalinist UE in the industry, the corporations are used to riding roughshod over the workers.

The Stalinist leaders of the UE were always so interested in preserving Stalinist domination of the union that they never developed any real, broad leadership in the shops. They could not afford to let an opposition or potential opposition develop because the twists and turns of their line would have catapulted such an opposition into power sooner or later. Therefore, the UE leaders were the jackals of the CIO, getting their contracts by undercutting the Auto Workers, Steelworkers, and others.

## PROLONGING THE STRIKE

The corporations developed the habit of simply issuing an ultimatum to the union, which was accepted. This is how GE got its five-year contract this summer. Significantly, there was a good deal of opposition within the GE locals to the contract, but it was the huge Schenectady local led by ex-Stalinists which caved in.

When Westinghouse tried the same tactic this fall with a contract much inferior to GE's, the roof fell in on them. The IUE in Westinghouse is no longer the "right-wing" union it was at its outset. The ACTU followers, the American Legionnaires, and the company men have fallen by the wayside.

Under the impetus of a prolonged company attack on union standards, the IUE in Westinghouse has developed a new leadership in the locals which is militant, principled, and has won the confidence of the members by fighting for the workers in the departments on day-to-day grievances.

The strike is being prolonged for reasons having to do with politics within the corporation. Several top executives have staked their career on being able to break the strike; now they are fighting for survival. Westinghouse already stands to GE in about the same relationship as Chrysler to General Motors, and Westinghouse is falling behind.

Westinghouse management is so bad

that it is being panned by *Time* and *Business Week* for its conservatism, and by congressional committees because of faulty performance on government contracts. Westinghouse's gross sales are down, profits are down a third, common stock has plummeted from 83 to 55, and lost time due to labor disputes for the first part of this year was 20 times the average rate in manufacturing in the U. S.

Management is now trying to make the workers pay for their mistakes through speedup. That is the real cause of the strike.

## CO. PRESIDENT WHINES

Gwilym Price, corporation president, inadvertently presented a fascinating insight into the company mind when he went on TV recently to alternately whine and threaten. He recalled the day several years ago when IUE President Carey invited him to speak to an IUE convention, and praised him from the platform. (Carey must regret that bit of labor statesmanship.)

Price went on to claim that Westinghouse had helped the IUE to defeat the Communist-dominated UE. The implication was that, because of Westinghouse's "help" (which consisted of petitioning the NLRB for a representation election, and was probably done to set one group of workers against another), the IUE should now get down on its knees to him. Instead, Price whined, the IUE has been engaged in a contest with UE to see who could denounce the company the most.

While union and company had agreed to issue no news releases for seven days, the company sneakily took advantage of the blackout to try to launch a back-to-work campaign while the union was muzzled from replying. Foremen were sent to homes to call on employees from their department and urge them to accept the company package. The attempt failed miserably.

If anything, union solidarity is increasing as the strike goes on. Carey is on the scene and in charge personally, and is conducting a militant and hard-hitting strike.

## TO A SHOWDOWN

The gloves are off. The key issue has boiled down to speedup. Carey has charged that Westinghouse intends to give a piddling raise, and then take it back and a lot more besides through "inhuman speedup." This message—which goes to the heart of the labor-relations problem—is being put across through newspaper ads, radio speeches, TV shows, and the strike newspaper, the *Westinghouse Picket*, which is mailed to every striker's home. The AFL, the Steelworkers and the UAW-CIO are helping to finance the publicity campaign.

The union is demanding that the corporation agree to impartial arbitration of grievances arising from rates of pay, time studies, of reclassification, and the like. At present, Westinghouse will not arbitrate these questions (or any questions, for that matter), which means that the union must strike over every unsettled grievance or else give in. This absence of arbitration is the major reason why Westinghouse has had 95 work stoppages so far this year. (The fact that the IUE should now be engaged in a bitter strike to win something that other CIO workers have taken for granted for years shows how really crummy the old Stalinist-run UE was, that it had never won such an elementary right.)

The latest back-to-work attempt of the company in East Pittsburgh really backfired. About 175 workers, supposedly launching a back-to-work movement, met in a local hall and demanded that leaders of Local 601 "explain" the continuing strike. By the time Paul Carmichael, 601 representative on the conference board, had finished speaking, the meeting had turned into a rally for the strike, with only two people voting for a return to work.

## ON THE JIM CROW FRONT

# Virginia Court Ruling a Setback To Racist Plans in Education

By BETTY PERKINS

Virginia racists took a setback when the Virginia State Supreme Court declared unconstitutional the payment of public funds to private schools.

This has been one of the most frequently suggested ways of avoiding the desegregation of public schools, as ordered by the U. S. Supreme Court.

At the same time, the Virginia court ruled that public funds could not be paid to parents or guardians if used to the benefit of private schools, and placed religious schools under the same ban.

The ruling of the Virginia court made impossible the payment of tuition for Negro students in out-of-state universities. Virginia had customarily refused to allow Negro students to enter its white universities and had not set up "separate but equal" facilities for them, so it had paid their way to out-of-state schools such as Howard University in Washington. Last year 580 students were so educated.

Immediate agitation for a constitutional amendment to allow such payments was begun by racist die-hards. However, such an amendment would eventually have to be passed upon by the U. S. Supreme Court, and would probably be thrown out, given the pressure that the Negro people and the labor movement have brought to bear on the segregation issue.

The U. S. Supreme Court sidestepped another important Jim Crow issue when it threw out a decision of a Virginia court invalidating a marriage between a Chinese and a white woman. The Virginia court's decision upheld a state miscegenation law. However, the decision was thrown out on technical rather than

legal grounds, and was remanded to a circuit court.

Laws invalidating or barring interracial marriage are in effect in 28 states. A declaration that they are unconstitutional would be a heavy blow to the racist advocates of "white supremacy."

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, aroused as never before by the recent Till case, held its Mississippi State Conference in Jackson, the state capital, with an attendance of 2500 persons.

Thurgood Marshall, chief counsel for the group, added to the tension in the city and state by declaring that the NAACP was going to force open the doors of the University of Mississippi to Negroes.

Marshall's announcement caused tremendous excitement in the streets and in the newspapers since the actual issue of desegregation has not as yet been raised by the NAACP in the Mississippi courts.

The NAACP has been banned by Swift and Company from soliciting memberships from employees within the company's Chicago plant. Other organizations are permitted to do so by the company.

Officials of Local 28 of the CIO Packinghouse Workers declared that this was in line with other anti-Negro and anti-union actions of Swift. Swift will not hire Negro office workers, although their competitors do so, and violates the non-discriminatory hiring clause of its contract in other ways.

"By attacking the NAACP," union officials declared, "Swift and Company hopes to undermine the Negro-white unity which has made our union strong."

# Ireland: Merger — —

(Continued from page 1)

Norton also hopes that in a united congress the corrupt right-wing CIU elements will hog-tie any potential threat from the very critical elements in the TUC, who at the last Labor Party conference came out sharply against the coalition's economic policy which was being touted by Norton on the conference platform, a policy amounting to recommending laissez-faire to the unions. Straw in the wind: a proportionately higher number of CIU bureaucrats have been placed in the several non-elective adjuncts to the elected administration.

If I credit Norton with this grandiose strategy it is because he is the arch-Machiavelli in the government ranks. The capitalist ministers are universally hated by the working class, and unless Norton can circumvent the growing critical mood of the workers the government's days are numbered.

But Norton is sowing dragon's seed. A united congress of labor will command tremendous prestige and might well upset the balance of forces inside the Labor Party. For purely mercenary and personal reasons, many new aspirants to Norton's position may emerge. In any event a tremendous impetus will be unleashed politically by the industrial unity of the working class.

In this period of organizational flux, solid gains can be made for the erection of a socialist left wing in the Labor Party.

## MPs IN JAIL

At Westminster last week, Tory-Unionists Beatty and Grosvenor were presented to the House of Commons as the "members of Parliament" for the Mid-Ulster and Tyrone-Fermanagh divisions of North Ireland. The quote-marks are used because these Unionist interlopers were seated by a judicial decision which set aside the democratic majority decision of the nationalist voters in these two areas of North Ireland.

Messrs. Clarke and Mitchell, Irish Republican Army activists who are serving 10 years in Belfast jail for their part in the raid on a British military barracks in North Ireland were the ones actually returned to Parliament (Mitchell on two occasions), with substantial majorities, as abstentionist MPs.

According to a British law introduced 100 years ago to deal with essentially the same situation, any person serving a sentence for treason-felony is ineligible

to sit in Parliament, but, according to the same law, not ineligible to offer himself for election.

Ironical jeers of "Here come the members for the Queen's Bench division" were shouted at the Unionists from the Labor benches. "Queen's Bench" means, of course, the legal fiddle.

Three IRA activists were sentenced to life for their part in the raid on Arborfield Barracks in Berkshire, England. The viciousness of the sentence was aimed at deterring others from pursuing the same line of action.

How stupid is the logic of the British security blimps! Punitive measures like these are the emotional mill-grist of the IRA. Martyrdom for Ireland was always calculated to swell the ranks of the IRA with young fearless militant cadres more determined than ever that direct and violent action was the only arbiter.

## DUBLIN LABOR RESTIVE

The economic crisis has broken and exposed the bankruptcy of the ruling government coalition, Labor and all. In the teeth of the inflationary spiral, the only advice offered the workers by their erstwhile cabinet representatives is: Take it up with your unions.

They have indicated their unwillingness either to control prices, or to cushion the impact of these rises on the workers' standards by subsidies. The declared policy of the government is: The lid is off; let the economic grouping fight it out, and the devil take the hindmost.

The Dublin Trades Union Council representing 40,000 union members has gone on record protesting the cynical sidestepping by the Labor ministers of their off-declared intention to put teeth into the price-control machinery when canvassing party support for participation in the cabinet. During the Council debate on the protest motion, repeated demands were made by the delegates that the Labor ministers quit the government.

The Labor ministers are becoming so discredited that in order to cling to office, attempts are being made to guy the Dublin Trade Union Council, which is the only significant working-class body that has consistently exposed the corrupt and opportunist character of the Labor Party leaders' coalition policy, from a socialist standpoint. Norton, Labor's senior minister, who is as venal a labor-faker as ever graced any social-democratic party, is known to be preoccupied by the outspoken critical role of the Council.

Orwell's personal account  
of the Spanish Civil War

## HOMAGE TO CATALONIA

by  
George Orwell

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# Now, the Biggest Blacklist in the World . . .

By GORDON HASKELL

The federal Civil Service Commission has told the Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights that it maintains a card-index file with the names of 2,000,000 persons "allegedly affiliated with some sort of subversive organization or activity." According to Philip Young, commission chairman, the names in this file have been compiled from newspapers, congressional hearings, and other, unspecified sources. The file is maintained as a basis for checking people who might apply for government jobs.

As with all such files, this one contains what the experts in keeping such dossiers refer to as "unevaluated information." Young admitted that the Civil Service Commission makes no attempt to check on the reliability of the information in its files. To put it bluntly, one must say that any old dirt, from whatever source, will do to get a person on this file.

Naturally, the CSC also does not attempt to "evaluate" the information on any individual. They just pass it on to the head of the agency considering the employment of someone listed on their file. It is up to him, presumably, to decide whether (a) the person is "guilty" of the charges against him; (b) whether, even if he is "guilty" of them, this makes him unsuitable for federal employment.

As with other aspects of the "loyalty and security" program, the person whose name appears on the CSC's special subversive index does not know it. He does not know that he has been charged with anything, let alone who has charged him, and with exactly what. Since an individual who has not yet been hired by the gov-

ernment has no right to a job, he can be turned down without ever finding out that his name has appeared on the index. Unlike a person already in government service, he need not be presented with any charges, he has no hearing whatever, he has no right of appeal. He is effectively blacklisted from federal employment. Period.

As to the employing officer, just put yourself in his place. If you could choose between two people, one whose name does not appear on the index, while the other one's does . . . no matter how vaguely . . . what would you do? Even if you had every facility at your disposal to conduct a thorough and searching investigation of the reliability of the information in file, and in addition were willing to spend the time and effort to try to "evaluate" it properly, why should you? How much safer and "cleaner" and less bothersome it would be to simply hire the man who appears to be "clean as a hound's tooth," than to take the risk and responsibility of seeing to it that some stranger gets a fair shake with regard to government employment!

The CSC says its file contains two million names, and proudly affirms that it is second only to the files of the Federal Bureau of Investigation in this respect.

Far from being an idle file of dusty documents, it is a source of "information" in which there is a bustling, land-office business. According to Young, it may be referred to as many as 5,000 times per day in connection with government security investigations, and this despite the fact that access to it is limited to "accredited government security agents."

In addition to this special index on "subversives," the CSC head says his agency has a "central security index" that lists 5,000,000 government personnel investigations dating back to 1939.

As with every other similar unevaluated index of unchecked charges, the CSC's can be expanded without limit. Every close relative of every name on the index is automatically suspect. Once all the close relatives and friends of those now on the index are added, the road is open to add their relatives and friends, in ever-expanding circles.

## MUST BE CHALLENGER

Chairman Young told the Hennings committee that the CSC's list contains the names of persons "allegedly affiliated with some sort of subversive organization or activity." In the Independent Socialist League's efforts to get off the attorney general's "list of subversive organizations," it has become clear that the government itself recognized that the term "subversive" is so difficult to define for legal purposes that it has dropped it as a special category in pursuing its case. The category "subversive activity" is even vaguer and less subject to legal definition, if possible, than "subversive organization." Chairman Young himself

admitted to the subcommittee that he does not know how to define "security risk."

But the CSC's list has not been designed for legal purposes, and if the government can help it, will never be subjected to a legal test. It is one of those "administrative" tools of blacklisting and intimidation which exists in a realm where the application of the principle of due process is exceptionally difficult, if not impossible.

Developments in the past few months give reason to believe, however, that this blacklist may not be as immune to contest as its builders think it is. The State Department once thought that its arbitrary power to refuse people the right to travel abroad was unchallengeable. In the Shachtman and other cases, it found that it was mistaken.

The Justice Department's "subversive list" also seemed at one time quite outside the realm of law, and hence of any recourse by its victims. But even though the ISL had to wait eight years to get a hearing, and is still being kept dangling on the hook of administrative delays and evasions, its patience and persistence and determination, and that of all who are supporting its fight in the interest of democracy, will surely prevail in the long run.

The Hennings committee is doing yeoman service in exposing this along with many other abuses of the "security-loyalty" program. Every person really concerned with civil liberties and democratic rights in America should utilize the information this committee is bringing to the light of day to inform and rally wider circles of the population to the fight.

## SPANISH MOROCCO: HOW FRANCO RULES

Condensed from the liberal anti-Franco magazine Iberica (Oct. 15).

By GEORGE DENNIS

On the surface, Tetuan seems to enjoy considerably more freedom than does Madrid, Barcelona or Bilbao. Newspaper kiosks openly sell items prohibited in Spain such as *Franc Tireur* and *France-Observateur*. . . . There is an Arab newspaper, *Al Umma* (The People), published by the *Istiqal* (Reformist) Party, the local branch of the *Istiqal*, which is not submitted to censorship. Most incredible of all, an ambulant book vendor on one of the city's principle streets displays a stock of publications by various Spanish communist and anarchist parties. . . .

But in reality Spanish Morocco is, of course, no more a part of the "free world" than is Franco Spain itself. American newspapers, news agencies and senators notwithstanding. Just as in Spain, you can do any amount of talking—and even some writing—but the police state takes very good care that you do not do anything. . . .

One good clue to the situation in Spanish Morocco is that Franco shares its rule with the High Commissioner. The holder of this office has always enjoyed a certain amount of independence vis-a-vis the home country.

The present incumbent, General Rafael Garcia Valiño, is a comparatively young man who is credited with political ambitions. It is widely rumored that he would not be unwilling to become Franco's successor . . . he has been in office well beyond the average term and he certainly tends to regard the Spanish Zone as his *feudo* or feudal territory.

Moreover, General Garcia Valiño has inherited the fruits of his predecessors' policies. Spain has not had an easy task in Morocco. Her zone has the poorest lands and the toughest tribes. The conquest cost Spain a drain of blood and money that she could ill afford. But once the zone was pacified the Spanish army began to reap considerable benefits. The generals found hundreds of thousands of born fighters ready to take orders from them in return for a pittance. They also found freedom from political control. And for the nth time in history Morocco became a base for the conquest of Spain.

Furthermore, the Spanish colonization has enjoyed certain advantages compared with the French. Spain has long-standing historical links with Morocco. The aristocracy of Tetuan and Larache is largely descended from families of Moriscos whose sentimental attachments

to Spain have survived even the manner of their expulsion.

There are no colons in the Spanish Zone. The land cannot feed the tribes, let alone the Spanish settlers. So the Spaniards live in towns. Ceuta and Mililla are legally part of metropolitan Spain and are really transplanted Spanish towns. They have only small Moroccan minorities. Tetuan, Xauen, Larache and other cities of the Zone proper have, indeed, a Spanish and a Moroccan quarter, but there is no real separation of peoples. Poor Spaniards live among the Moslems, and Moroccan evileés among Spaniards.

Nor has there ever been a general ban on political activities among the Moslem population, partly because of a tacit bargain between Franco and his Moroccan supporters. Moroccans can rise to the highest posts in the Spanish army: General Mohammed ben Mezian is now captain general of the Canary Islands. And political groups like Moroccan Unity and the Green Shirts have always been tolerated, if only to annoy the French.

What has not been tolerated is any kind of threat to Spanish rule in the zone, although even in this respect there has been a surprising amount of flexibility of late. . . .

## PARTIES

The chief Moroccan political party, the *Istiqal*, is almost as strange a concoction as the Falange. It originated with the Green Shirts of Abd-el-Khalek Torres, a Moroccan who had a Spanish mother, and who obviously was inspired by the Falange. But possibly because he offended one of José Antonio's choicest commandments—"We wear only one dress: the blue shirt!"—he had to spend quite a few years in exile in Egypt.

Now he is back as Minister of Social Affairs, in which post he has talked a lot and done nothing. He has become completely discredited and lately has been under attack by Radio Cairo as "a Spaniard." His return was certainly one of General Garcia Valiño's masterstrokes. Torres' party, in the meantime, has become a thinly veiled branch of the *Istiqal* in the Spanish Zone, which has made his leadership a farce.

The other two parties are not much to write home about. The only interesting thing about Mekki en Nasiri's organization is its name—Moroccan Unity—which is aimed at Franco rather than at Spain. And there also is a small group called Maghreb al Horr whose position toward the Zone government cannot unfairly be described as "more Catholic than the pope." And so it is not surpris-

ing that its views are liberally quoted in official publications.

A final thing to be noted regarding the Zone's Moslem politics is that the often proclaimed intention of instituting a zonal government is closer to reality than most people realize. Actually, a zonal government already exists in embryo, with Abd-el-Khalek Torres and the Ministers of Justice and Education, two young Moroccans who take their jobs more seriously than does the old maestro.

The third important population element of Spanish Morocco, the Jews, have concentrated on economics rather than on politics. When I tried to get confirmation of the story that Franco's 1936 venture got going solely because of freely offered financial contributions by Tetuan's Jewish community, I was told that the contributions were very much in the nature of "spontaneous demonstration." There is no question, however, that the Jews of the Spanish Zone have enjoyed full immunity from anti-Semitic measures, even at the height of Hitlerism. Still there is now a feeling abroad in the *miellah* (Jewish quarter) that this immunity is about to end—partly because of the events in Palestine and their repercussions in the French Zone, but probably also because of a trend which to me was one of the biggest surprises of my visit to Spanish Morocco.

## GERMANS POPULAR

When I got off the bus at Tetuan a twelve-year-old boy shouted to me: "Deutscher, Araber — Bruder, egal. Fran-os, nix gut." ("German, Arab—brothers, equal. French—no good.") I played up to him and became a German for the duration of my stay in Tetuan. From the boy and his friends I discovered that Germany is an easy winner in the Moroccan popularity stakes.

Quite a few of the boys had been to Germany and one of them had worked under General Faupel, the Nazi who was the inventor of *Hispanidad*. Others were influenced by the local Germans—one is a big landowner and a pillar of the Falange; another acts as an unofficial consular agent of the Bonn Government—or by German tourists, who certainly treat them with less *hauteur* than the British, French or Americans. But the most serious thing about it all is that Germany has become for the Moroccans a kind of dream country. The German is a big brother who is expected to set things right; one or two even expressed a yen for a new Hitler to free them from the Spaniards!

On the other hand it was disturbing to discover that Americans are none too

popular. At one time there was talk about an American base in Larache, but with Rota offering a far better site only ten flying minutes away the project was abandoned. Direct impact of America has, so far, been slight and the main source of unpopularity seems to lie in Washington's North African policy. The 100 per cent support of French colonialism proclaimed by the U. S. Vice-consul in Algiers made American stock sink almost to zero. Another black mark for America was the treatment given a boxer from the Spanish Zone, Ben Barek, who was thrown out of an American restaurant as a "colored man." But, all in all, Tetuan does not feel too deeply about America.

## FRANCE AS RIVAL

And what about France? . . .

What is much more serious is the undoubted fact that the Spanish Zone supplies the terrorists in the French Zone with arms and with a ready-made refuge in case of trouble. The Arabic programs of Radio Tetuan yield hardly anything to those of Cairo in spreading anti-French propaganda. And it was with some irony that one of my Tetuan informants told me that it was quite in vain for the French government to have closed down the Spanish Republican transmitters in France and to have sent the Baron de la Tournelle to Madrid "to kiss the priests' hands," as he put it, to try to get the situation reversed. "Appeasement does not pay," he concluded.

Meanwhile, Tetuan is showing her hand quite clearly and with full backing from home. The official Spanish view is that France had no right to depose Mohammed ben Youssef without consulting Spain. And Franco makes the most of this. . . .

Franco Spain has proclaimed itself time and again to be the official protector of Moroccan nationalism, indeed of all Arab nationalism. The *Istiqal* leaders who have not gravitated to Cairo and Damascus live in Madrid. Spanish consular agents are at hand whenever an *Istiqal* speaker addresses a meeting in America. But rather than quote official speeches I would prefer to describe a map of Spanish Morocco which can be seen all over the Zone. It is of the medieval type of mapmaking, decorated with inscriptions such as: "The darkness of modern materialism is pierced only by the lighthouse of Spanish-Arab civilization," and "No international bargain can cut in two the soul of a nation." And between the two zones there runs a "provisional frontier."

## ARGENTINA: DISCUSSION

# Aramburu Goes After The Labor Movement

By JUAN REY

Santiago, Nov. 15

A classical phase of the revolutionary process is going on in Argentina, denoted by the replacement of the Lonardi regime by General Aramburu.

The government of General Lonardi, immediate successor to Peron, was a transitional regime. It represented the unity of the anti-Peronist forces in Argentina.

The military uprising against the Peronist tyranny was the result of a popular rebellion against Peron and of his regime's loss of a popular majority. All of the old anti-Peronist parties participated—the conservative democrats, the Radicals, the Socialists, the anarchists, and the old trade-unionists. There were also the Catholic hierarchy, the generals, and the admirals. Of course, the armed forces were decisive, because only they constituted an organized force in the semi-totalitarian regime, after political opposition was annihilated by the Peronist police.

After the victory of a political revolution like this, there begins the process of internal conflict among the different social groupings which participated in the liberation. This is now going on in Argentina.

The transitional Lonardi regime, set up on the basis of anti-Peronist unity, declared a political amnesty and liberated the political prisoners. It organized a political council of representatives of all political current tendencies except the Peronists and the Stalinists. Without any doubt it was a bourgeois government; the Argentine revolution was so far, only a bourgeois-democratic political revolution, whose task was the destruction of the Peronist regime.

But the Lonardi government also had to face questions of economic policy and currency reform. It proclaimed a return to a liberal policy, and devalued the national currency. The cost of this operation had to be borne by the workers and the exploited people, as elsewhere. The working class was waiting for other manifestations of government policy.

## TRADE-UNION ISSUE

The other big issue was the liquidation of Peronism, in the political movement and in the Peronist trade unions. It seems that General Lonardi wanted to solve this problem without provoking resistance by the working class. But the pressure of the Argentine capitalist class was very strong. Under cover of the political liquidation of Peronism, the reaction sought to liquidate the working-class movement.

On the other side, the pressure of the workers on the government was growing stronger and stronger. Under the dual pressure, the Lonardi government cracked.

A new president, General Aramburu, was installed, hailing from the air force. The political council of the parties is backing him. The Argentine Socialists endorse his democratic spirit and demand the political liquidation of Peronism and the Peronist unions.

I am afraid that the Socialists falsely identify the reactionary attack on the unions as the destruction of Peronism. The Socialists hate the CGT labor federation because it took the place of the old free unions which used to be led by the Socialists. But right at this moment the CGT is the only union structure which the working class possesses to defend its interests against reaction. Therefore the destruc-

tion of Peronism should not be confused with the annihilation of the CGT.

If the Socialist want to rebuild the free unions, they should do so by collaborating with the existing CGT and not by destroying the CGT; the latter course might only push them over to the side of the reaction, and thus completely deliver the political revolution to the capitalist right wing.

This is the greatest danger that threatens the Argentine revolution. General Aramburu gives assurances that he will take a democratic-revolutionary course; but does he distinguish between the Peronist movement and the CGT? The next period should tell.

## RIDING A TIGER

What was Peronism?

The Stalinists always claimed that Peron represented the march of the bourgeois-democratic revolution in Argentina; that it was therefore progressive and should be supported by the workers. Was then, the fall of Peron a disaster for the industrial bourgeoisie, and a victory for feudalism and the clericals, as Peron claimed?

No. Peron's regime was a peculiar design for class equilibrium, at the beginning of Argentina's industrialization—a modern bonapartist regime in which the bourgeoisie was the owning and economically ruling class but not the class which governed directly. Peron gave an impulsion to the industrialization of the country, with the support of the industrial bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie, by state-capitalist methods, and with the support of a popular majority to begin with.

When his popular majority wasted away under the contradictions of his economic and social policies, he was defeated by a military uprising backed by popular revolt. The bourgeoisie now feels itself sufficiently strong to govern the country directly, but in the transition period the military government must continue the policy of social equilibrium.

But the Argentine bourgeoisie, industrial and rural, has forgotten to take account of the working class, which has grown through the process of industrialization and acquired its own political experience. The working class profited from Peron's social policies, but it did not identify itself with Peron, as the course of the revolution proved; Peron was defeated when the working class refused to back him. Lonardi had to go because he was exposed to fire on both sides.

The revolutionary process in Argentina is deepening. The fight is going on between right and left, between reaction and the workers. The Aramburu government has mounted a tiger.

## SP Stand

In connection with this discussion of Argentina, readers will also be interested in the following comment, which we excerpt from a letter received from an Argentine socialist now abroad. Comrade Di Tella's article on the fall of Peron recently appeared in LA.—ED.

...At present [under the Lonardi government] the situation in Argentina is quite confused and I believe the attitude of the Socialist Party [of Argentina] toward the new government is equally confused. The new regime seems to go on patterning itself after the Italian Christian-Democratic one (not the Spanish regime): a coalition of right-wing "liberals" (not in the American definition but the European) and conservatives, plus some Falangists [Franco fascists]. But these latter I don't think have anything like control. Even some members of the Socialist Party have been appointed for such jobs as the reorganization of Buenos Aires University (J. L. Romero). This explains why the attitude of the party is ambivalent. They pin their hopes on the existence of a politically liberal government. But as this is bound to be very conservative on the economic side, it would be an extremely short-sighted thing to support it, as some in the party seem to want to do.

TORCUATO DI TELLA

# Washington Land-Grab Scalping the Indians

By VICTOR HOWARD

"We want to keep our land and our people intact. We want to keep the good way of life that we have known for thousands of years."

This is the answer of the Taos Pueblo Council to the infamous directive of May 16, issued by Glenn L. Emmons, commissioner of Indian Affairs. The directive is another foul blow in the campaign to strip the Indians of (in the words of the National Congress of American Indians) "their last remaining lands."

The memorandum, in complete disregard of tribal consent, seeks to undermine Indian social structure and economic life by:

- Instructing area directors of the Bureau to put on a patent-in-fee or alienable basis the land allotment of any "competent" Indian requesting it.

- Specifically instructing area directors to do this even if it is not in the interest of the tribe, and even if it adversely affects the management (conservation, grazing, irrigation) of the tribe's land base as a whole.

- Divesting area directors of the power they once had to help a tribe by declining to permit alienation (sale to whites) in certain cases where extreme hardship might result. Directors are instructed to refer such cases directly to the commissioner, whose known policy is to bring about the destruction of Indian communities and the atomization of Indian society.

If the land to be patented and sold out of Indian ownership contains the only entry to tribal grazing lands, let the herds go unpatented. If the tribal land-base is destroyed, let the Indians stop being Indians.

## UNDERMINING THE TRIBES

Last year more than 500,000 acres of Indian land were taken out of trust status, under duress, and thereby opened to alienation, and that was before the Bureau of Indian Affairs took this new step to persuade Indians to put personal interest before tribal welfare, this new measure to pit man against tribe.

In a joint statement issued last June, the new policy was denounced by four national organizations concerned with Indian welfare: the Association on American Affairs, the Indian Rights Association, the Friends Committee on National Legislation, and the National Congress of American Indians.

The statement declared:

"Both the federal government and the Indian tribes of the country have spent millions of dollars in recent years to consolidate their grazing and timber lands. This effort and expenditure is endangered by a change of policy recently stated by the commissioner of Indian Affairs, Glenn L. Emmons. . . . This policy violates basic principles of land use and conservation. . . . [it] has been adopted without consultation with, let alone the consent of, the Indian people. . . ."

"Indian individual trust allotments had been carved out of the land originally owned by the tribes. As the beneficial interest had been given to individual Indians without charge, it has heretofore been the policy of the government to require that where an individual sells his interest, the results of his action for the tribe had to be considered. . . . The bureau's new fee-patent policy will do great harm to the overwhelming majority of American Indians living on allotted reservations."

The history of the problem goes back to 1887 when the government proposed to break up the communal society of Indians through the General Allotment (Dawes) Act. Many tribal lands were carved into uneconomic units of 160 acres and allotted to individuals, with the right to sell to non-Indians after 25 years. "Surplus lands" were immediately opened to whites, making no allowances for Indian population growth, which has since occurred. The allotments, on the death of the holders, were divided among numerous heirs, leading to pitifully fractionated tracts which could not be economically operated. By 1934 a hundred million acres of land were alienated and occupied by whites,

leaving 100,000 Indians landless. The Wheeler-Howard Act of 1934 stopped this disastrous trend by ending further alienation, adding to tribal lands by purchase and addition from the public domain, by establishing loan funds to aid tribal resource development schemes, and by recognition of tribal councils.

## PROTESTS RAISED

The present policy, aided by a series of congressional acts, is to whittle away those gains—by relocation of Indians to cities; by freezing tribal funds in order to force them to accept termination of trust status; by virtually choking the loan program; by alienating lands; by transferring health, education, and agricultural extension services from the Indian Bureau to other agencies not qualified to handle them; by undermining the authority of tribal councils by making reservations subject to state laws and state taxes; by exercising a veto over the selection of tribal attorneys; by bureau lobbying in favor of more bills to dispossess the Indians.

It is the tribes of the great plains whose right to survive in Indian communities is in immediate danger, for most of their land was allotted long ago. Unallotted reservations, particularly in the Southwest, and such special cases as the Foxes of Iowa, are not immediately threatened by the new land patent policy.

Resolutions of protest have been adopted not only by the four organizations mentioned, but also by numerous tribal councils, including those of the Oglala Sioux, the Shoshone-Arapahoe, the Ojibway of Keeweenaw Bay, the San Carlos Apache, and Taos Pueblo.

But the Indians need more support from the non-Indian public which seldom hears of their plight.

## READERS TAKE THE FLOOR

## Booboo

To the Editor:

Priscilla Cady in her article criticizing *Look* magazine in its selection of "authorities" commenting on Africa, does a creditable job until she comes down to Ernest Hemingway. She writes: "Hemingway's earnest little contribution, being totally without social or political content, is of little interest for this review, but we cannot resist complaining that he is becoming unbearably precious, and that if he thinks that loving the country is like making love to the one unique woman he can go away and ponder the beauty of his metaphor."

... If Miss Cady has paid attention, she would have noted that the Hemingway piece was excerpted from his *Green Hills of Africa* which was published in 1935; so that shows how perspicacious our Miss Cady is, for she realizes without noting the date, that "Earnest," to make a play on words, was "becoming unbearably precious" as far back as twenty years ago. . . . Come on, Miss Cady, fess up that you made a booboo.

NORMAN JOHNSTONE



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## In Violation of Church-State Separation, They're Sneaking Religion into the Curriculum

By RALPH HODGES

One of the consequences of the cold war has been a kind of religious revival in America. Unlike previous religious revivals, however, this one is not concerned with particular sects or churches but rather with religion as a "value" common to all of the American people.

More correctly, religion has become a symbol of conformist values and actions. People are exhorted from political platforms, in schools, movies, popular songs, to go and get religion—any religion.

Religion, we are told, is a bulwark against Communism, internally and externally. The American people, it is added, are a basically religious people and this country was founded upon religious principles. Examples of this public piety are very common: Fox West Coast Theaters urge their patrons, by means of a sign flashed on the screen of the theater, to "Go to the Church of your Choice on Sunday," popular songs extoll the virtues of the bible, and congressmen, senators and other officials stud their speeches with references to religion.

The best example of this rush by public figures to "get right" with God and religion was the recent bill passed by Congress to add the words "under God" to the Pledge of Allegiance. Just a question of making it official, of course.

The president, getting in on the act, said of the addition of two words to the Pledge: "From this day forward, the millions of our school children will daily proclaim in every city and town, every village and rural school house, the dedication of our nation and our people to the Almighty. To anyone who truly loves America, nothing could be more inspiring than to contemplate this rededication of our youth, on each school morning, to our country's true meaning."

A trifle extravagant, perhaps, but in keeping with the straight-faced seriousness and deep concern with which religious values are nowadays being regarded in American political life.

Under cover of this official piety, a subtle attack is taking place on many of the democratic institutions of society. Basing itself upon a perversion of the classical doctrine of the absolute separation of church and state, the attack has become focused upon the public school system.

The constitutional provisions provid-

ing for the separation of church and state have been traditionally interpreted to mean that while the state guarantees the right of every individual to freely practice or not to practice religion, the state itself remains non-religious and can in no way support any religious function. Religion, thus, is a matter of individual conscience.

### NEW FORMULA

The new formula would have it that the state plays the role of a neutral arbiter among religious sects, but the state (at least, in the United States) is itself based on certain values which are "common" to all religions—these values stemming from the acceptance of the premise that there is a Supreme Being.

The conclusion which is drawn from all of this is that it is incumbent upon the state in its secular functions to act in a manner consistent with these common "religious" values: in particular, it must educate young people in them.

What this reading of the doctrine of the separation of the church and state leads to in terms of increasing the pressure for conformity in American society can be seen in two recent documents, relating to religion and the public schools.

The first of these is entitled "Moral and Spiritual Values and the Schools," and was issued by the Board of Superintendents of the New York City Board of Education, as a "Guiding Statement for Supervisors and Teachers." Starting out with a platitudinous declaration that the "American people are characteristically, a religious people who derive their accepted moral and spiritual values from religion . . . [which values] presuppose the existence of a Supreme Being," the report then goes on to discuss in detail the function of the public school system and the teacher in fostering those "spiritual and moral values" which are common to all religions.

### FALSE APPEALS

The relationship between the public schools and specific sects is dealt with in these terms:

"The contribution of the public schools lies in the enactment of the unique role of serving children from homes of different religious faiths, but of identical moral and spiritual purpose."

"They strengthen and develop the moral and spiritual values common to all their faiths. The public schools encourage the belief in God, recognizing the simple fact that ours is a religious nation, but they leave and even refer to the home and to the church the interpretation of God and of revelation. . . . They teach the moral code and identify God as the ultimate source of natural law and moral law."

Discussing in the most philistine terms the manner in which the teachers can point out the "moral and spiritual" values inhering in "Health and Physical Education," "Science and Mathematics" (the "mathematical structure of the universe" and the "notion of infinity" lead to "humbleness before God's handiwork"), the report proceeds on to the level where "The arithmetic of the home, of banking, or community and the state offers countless opportunities for developing moral responsibilities. Properly taught, arithmetic can point out the dishonesty of living beyond one's means . . . the value of thrift."

As we pointed out before, in order to justify the teaching of "non-sectarian" religion in the public schools, the report is forced to overlook and twist the liberal

meaning of the doctrine of separation of church and state. It does this by a patently false theological rewriting and reinterpretation of American history.

By quoting various historical documents which refer to God (Mayflower Compact, New York State Constitution, Gettysburg Address, etc.), the "spiritual foundation" of the United States is "proved." The fact that many of the leaders of the American Revolution were "free-thinkers" in the tradition of the 18th century French Enlightenment and that in their intentions one of the important meanings of the separation of church and state is freedom from religion or at least from any state-dictated conception of religion, does not deter the writers of the report from establishing the "religious foundations of the United States."

In substance, the report constitutes an attempt to impose an artificial code of "values" upon young people in the public schools. In this era of the cold war in the United States, its only real meaning is as an attempt to mobilize all institutions and commonly accepted institutional symbols to serve the purposes of conformity.

### CONTROVERSY

The evoking of these "common religious values" the "common" character of which is a theological and historical oversimplification to the point of absurdity) has nothing whatsoever to do with religion and is in reality a bludgeon to make people conform. This is demonstrated in those cases where some sects have drawn conclusions from their religious principles which do not conform with official piety. When this happens we witness the congressional investigation of "Communist influence in religion." Thus, partially at least, the attempt is to insure conformity in religion as well as in other areas of life.

To date the successes of the Catholic hierarchy have not been large, although there have been several gains made by it. Under the new "piety" in the country an atmosphere is created in which the further breakdown of the wall between church and state in this country can begin to occur at a more rapid rate.

Needless to say, the report has evoked an enormous controversy among religious and lay groups interested in the public schools. The Catholic Church, as was to be expected, supports the statement wholeheartedly. The Protestant organizations have supported it, but only in a "lukewarm" fashion. The Jewish organizations have come out in full opposition to it.

The reaction of Jewish groups can be easily understood. As a minority group which has had to face persecution for its religious views, Jewish religionists are sensitive to the reactionary implications of a state-church tie-up.

That the reactionary hierarchy of the Catholic Church in this country should support the report also requires little explanation in view of its constant efforts to undo the historic American separation of church and state, and moreover its efforts to impose the attitudes it holds in regard to such matters as divorce, film censorship, birth control, etc., on non-Catholics. Indeed, the Catholic church has just renewed its demands for federal aid to Catholic parochial schools.

These demands are raised in the second document we referred to, which shares, essentially, this outlook on the relation between the church and state in America. This is a statement issued by the Roman Catholic bishops in the United States entitled "The Place of Private and Church-Related Schools in American Education."

### REACTIONARY EFFECTS

The objective of the statement is to rationalize federal and state support for parochial schools—support which is now allowed under present interpreta-

tions of the Constitution. While the object of this latter piece is not the same as the document first discussed above, the argument is couched in the same terms and with the same use of meaningless phrases about common religious goals regardless of "sectarianism." Applied to the practical goal of obtaining public aid for private and parochial schools, the statement illustrates the danger inherent in the promulgation of an "official line" on religion.

The Catholic Church has been endeavoring for a great many years now to obtain public aid for its private parochial schools; it is also one of the leading exponents of the "released-time" program in which all children are released for an hour or two per week at a specific time to obtain religious instruction in the church in which they or their parents are members.

In effect the report destroys the religious freedom of atheists, agnostics and, most important, of the millions of non-church-going American families. Freedom of religion, as we have said before, under the First Amendment, means not only the right to practice religion according to one's conscience, but also to be free FROM religion as one wishes.

Should the Catholic Church succeed in winning federal aid for parochial school education, there will result not only the obvious reactionary consequences in regard to church-state relations, but also there will be created a whole series of reactionary results in an entirely different area. We refer to the struggle for integration of Negro and white children in Southern schools. Southern racists have threatened to convert their public school systems into "private" educational institutions and even have initiated legislation to make this possible.

If this step is taken by the racists and defenders of Jim Crow, a struggle will be waged around the question of the "private" schools receiving federal aid. A Catholic victory in the case of its schools would provide the basis for a similar victory for the Southern racists.

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—From the Constitution of the YSL

## A Man Spoke Up

Academic freedom and efforts to end Jim Crow and segregation are generally regarded as being two entirely different political questions. In the South, however, they have in recent months become intimately related. Some time ago, the editor of a Southern student newspaper was ousted from his position for making public his anti-segregation views.

But after all, that was a student, and it all took place in the Deep South, moreover. One might think that a dean in South Carolina would be fairly safe in uttering a word or two in favor of the Supreme Court position. But it's not so.

Some time last July, Dr. Chester Travelstead, then dean of the University of South Carolina, received a new contract from the university and a raise in pay. Dr. Travelstead, in the meantime, had written South Carolina's Governor Timmerman, stating his disagreement with the governor's attack on the Supreme Court decision. On August 2, he followed this up with a speech before a group of summer session students, in which he stated that "enforced segregation of the races . . . can no longer be justified."

Dr. Travelstead, who explains that he had kept silent on the question for four years, received a curt letter announcing his dismissal on August 19.

## Rough but Ready Guide To a Political Tendency

# THE INDEPENDENT-STALINIST TYPE

By PHILIP COBEN

Notice should be taken of the new Stalinoid front which has been crystallizing in this country from a coalition of several group-lets of independent Stalinists and pro-Stalinists.

The political nature of this tendency is quite easy to define politically; it looks confusing to some, at first sight, only because by its very nature it varies over something of a spectrum.

To elucidate the two fixed ends of the spectrum:

(1) On the one hand, we are talking of independent Stalinists and pro-Stalinists—meaning in this case organizationally independent of the official Communist Party and not under the CP's discipline. We are not here talking about mere CP stooges who pretend to be "non-party" or simply "progressives"; though the tendency shades off into these types at one end.

(2) The fixed end of the spectrum on the other side is set by the minimum-Stalinist political conditions:

(a) In theory: Russia is "socialist," or "socialistic," or a "workers' state," etc. The Stalinist empire is "the socialist world," or "transition to socialism," etc.

(b) In politics: Support of the Stalinist war camp as against the Western capitalist war camp; Russia is not imperialist, heavens no. This shades off into those who do not support the Russian camp as such but who advocate systematic appeasement of it and capitulation to its demands, whitewash its imperialist crimes, etc.

Very naturally there are all possible degrees of Stalinization in-between the outer limits described above, with corresponding degrees of criticalness displayed toward the "defects" of the Stalinist world, up to and including the regrettable "defect" of being totalitarian.

### SPECIMENS ABROAD

This tendency is not uncommon in organized form in some other countries. It takes the most cohesive structural form in Italy, where it is organized strongly in the so-called "Nenni socialists," that is, the organization still called the "Socialist Party of Italy" led by Pietro Nenni.

In France this tendency is also fairly well organized but is divided among different groups, like most other tendencies in the country. There is the *Parti Socialiste de Gauche* (Left Socialist Party, formerly entitled *Parti Socialiste Unitaire*), which arose as a split-off from the Socialist Party. Then there is the *Mouvement de la Libération du Peuple*, which specializes in Catholic Stalinoids. The *Union Progressiste*, unlike the other two, is a participant in the "New Left," which in turn is quite rife with Stalinoid illusions in some quarters.

India has a couple of Stalinoid non-CP groups, and Israel has its Zionist Stalinoids (Mapam and Achdut Avodah). In many other countries this type, however, merely infiltrates the socialist movement, not out of planned design but for lack of a home of their own. This is especially true in England, where they cluster around the *New Statesman and Nation*, and are not uncommon among the Bevanites generally. The feeling that it would be nice to have their own roof overhead—something of their own—was recently manifested by Prof. G. D. H. Cole (see *LA*, May 2).

The organizational blossoming of this tendency is especially, but not exclusively, a post-war phenomenon. The cold war gave it an impetus by making direct tie-up with the CP a drawback. The cross emergence of Russian imperialism into the light of day gave it an impetus by encouraging critical reservations among well-wishers of Stalinism. The ebb of the popular-front tide of the wartime honey-

moon with Russia, in many countries, left stranded popular-frontists on the drying shores, very much annoyed at the new "sectarianism" of the CPs. Perhaps the biggest single subtendency among the independent-Stalinists is made up by the unreconstructed popular-frontists who lust for the good old days.

Titoism gave it an impetus, but its effect was not a one-way thing: for Titoism itself is a form of independent-Stalinism (better, national-Stalinism), and the independent-Stalinists under discussion are, in large part, national-Stalinists of a sort without state power. (For a very early discussion of the political relationship between these two types, see *LA* for Dec. 19, 1949.) Pro-Titoism is therefore not rare in independent-Stalinist ranks.

### LIFE IN THE FRONTS

Before the war, this tendency existed in perhaps as great numbers, but most typically they sought their organizational home in the front organizations set up by and controlled by the CP, as against living in the CP itself—like the symbiotic organisms which make their domicile in the cells provided by the sponge. They had an appreciable amount of freer action in this way, personally, than they would have had in the CP, provided only that they did not challenge the CP franchise in any fashion or get obtrusively in its way.

In fact, one of the functions which the CP-front organizations always performed for the CP was not only to entrap "innocents" but also to provide *lebensraum* and a reason for existence and activity for pro-Stalinists who were not innocent at all but who (for one reason or another, good or bad) could not stand functioning under the direct control of the CP itself. Some of these people were merely cheating the party out of dues; some were genuinely too critical.

In the United States, some Stalinist front groups were more favored assembly-points for independent-Stalinists than others; primarily it depended on how much leeway the CP allowed or was forced to allow. For example, to this writer's knowledge, the Stalinist student movement of the '30s had more than its quota of independent-Stalinist types, first in the National Student League and later in the American Student Union. (But again, differentiate: we are not talking here about the hollow-headed gulls in the ASU or similar organizations who merely followed the Stalinists in a dense fog; we are talking about those who were more or less conscious about their off-Stalinist politics.)

### PRESS ORGANS

With the creation of the Progressive Party under the zombyship of Henry Wallace, the CP deliberately set up a kind of duplex apartment for cohabiting with this species. While effectively controlled by the party men, more than previous structures it attracted independent Stalinoids who objected to party control (rather than accepting it as part of a bargain) and even actively fought it.

The term fellow traveller, often useful, becomes inadequate here: here were some, genuine pro-Stalinists in their ideas, who did not like "travelling" with the CP, certainly not at any rate with the CP as the conductor.

Stalinist fellow travellers became more critical, publicly. Wallaceites who had long swallowed the argument that one must never ever criticize the Workers' Fatherland in public, began to permit murmurs to escape their lips or typewriters. There was the pressure of Stalinist crimes, as we have mentioned, and there was also the pressure of the American cold-war climate. The New York fellow-travelling daily *PM* (succeeded by the *Star* and the *Compass*) gave a certain elbow-room to critical elements like I. F. Stone, one of whose first steps was to support the Kutcher case, i. e., break with the purely egocentric Stalinist conception of civil liberties.

In May 1949, soon after the Wallace

fiasco, the first number of *Monthly Review* came out, under the editorship of two prominent Stalinist intellectuals, Paul Sweezy and Leo Huberman.

This magazine—which enjoys the most uncommunicative title ever conceived in or out of a radical movement, with the possible exception of *One*—was and is an excellent example of a "pure" strain of independent-Stalinism: while ideologically and theoretically it is more orthodoxly Stalinist than Stalin ever was (for instance, Sweezy believes in "socialism in one country" far more fervently than the Genial Father of His People ever could), it is yet genuinely independent of the CP and hints gently at reservations on civil liberties at least as far as an American Stalinist state would be concerned.

It even had the distinction of being attacked by the CP's commissars. But on foreign policy it follows the Kremlin pretty much down the line. It denounced Tito, it supports the Moscow Trials.

With the demise of the N.Y. *Compass*, I. F. Stone set his extensive journalistic talents to work at issuing his own weekly Washington news-letter, *I. F. Stone's Weekly*, which is Stalinoid in foreign politics while critical of Russia (Stone is one who calls it "totalitarian" on occasion). For the connection between Stone's sometimes exceedingly peculiar domestic politics and his Stalinoid bent, see *LA* Nov. 8, 1954, "The Strange Case of I. F. Stone."

A third periodical in this family is the *National Guardian*, a weekly newspaper which arose with the Wallace movement when the Progressive Party bloomed, and which survived the demise of that movement. Its editor Cedric Belfrage was witchhunted out of the United States by the government and was replaced by James Aronson.

### VARIETIES

Another factor: as the CP was weakened under the blows of the government witchhunt, it became less and less reasonable for the dissatisfied fellow travellers to bow to its dictates in their joint operations, as in the American Labor Party. When the Stalinist party line changed and the leaders decided to give up the ALP in favor of infiltrating the Democratic Party, some of the ALP stalwarts were left behind, and refused to keep quiet.

Nearly three years ago a coalition of independent-Stalinists of the varieties we have been discussing got together to form their own civil-liberties organization, distinct on the one hand from the CP's civil-liberties fronts, and distinct from the American Civil Liberties Union, which moreover was making substantial concessions to the anti-Communist witchhunt. This was the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee (for whose founding conference, see *LA* Feb. 9, 1953).

One last general point for this part of this article: Two different motivations of the independent-Stalinist tendency ought to be roughly distinguished, without any claim that they are mutually exclusive or that they definitively make up the whole by themselves.

(1) There are those who approach independent-Stalinism from the side of anti-capitalism—i. e., those who, whatever their criticisms of Stalinism, consider it the only real alternative to supporting capitalism, which they will not stomach.

(2) There are those who, without being opposed to capitalism, drift toward a type of independent-Stalinism out of pro-Russianism in foreign policy—not a "patriotic" type of pro-Russianism like the official-CPer, but one based on the illusion that the Russian leaders are more "peace-loving" or not as imperialistic as their cold-war rivals. Many of the Stalinoid-liberals and Wallaceites fall in this category.

### NEW RECRUIT

Last Monday, November 28, this independent-Stalinist tendency marked

something of a milestone for itself by holding a joint all-in rally in New York City. The occasion which they chose for this demonstration of self-consciousness was the centennial anniversary of Eugene V. Debs, but we cannot stop to express the proper indignation at this affront to Debs' name. What has to be noted at this point is another group which came into the new un-Popular Front. This is not without interest in showing the inexorability with which political logic tends to work itself out.

Joining this independent-Stalinist phalanx was a "Trotskyist" group, co-thinkers in this country of the so-called "Fourth International" led by one Pablo, represented at this meeting by its leader Bert Cochran. This is the same group, publishing a magazine titled *American Socialist*, which originated in November 1953) as a split-off from the Socialist Workers Party (Cannonite), for which story see *LA* Nov. 16 of that year.

The course of this "Trotskyist" group is not quite as weird as might appear at first sight, though weird enough.

Readers may remember, from our reports on this sector of world politics, that the leadership of the "Fourth International" was taken over some years back by those epigones who drew the most extreme pro-Stalinist conclusions from the "orthodox-Trotskyist" theory of Russia as a "degenerated workers' state." From irreconcilable opponents of Stalinism in the tradition of Leon Trotsky himself, these neo-Trotskyists became critical supporters of Stalinism, which they looked on as being the anti-capitalist revolution of our day.

### THE LONG MARCH

This line reached a culmination when the "Fourth International" decided that in countries like France and Italy their groups should liquidate into the CPs, thus making a full circle in the history of Trotskyism. Those sections and groups which found it unpalatable to go this far have since split away to pursue their separate existence with their own "Fourth International," under the ideological leadership of the Cannonite SWP of this country.

The people of the *American Socialist* (so-called Cochranites), however, are those who approved of and went along with the pro-Stalinist wing. They were not in favor of liquidating into the CP in this country only because of its smallness and weakness; but their entire attention is turned to attempting to function in one way or another within the Stalinist movement.

Since their inception they have also displayed another characteristic, not the only one of this sort they have picked up since starting their long march from a kind of Trotskyism to a kind of Stalinism. This is their endeavor to conceal and camouflage their real politics. The *American Socialist* is obviously carefully edited to de-emphasize and mask any evidence of its pro-Russian politics, and to put up the front of being interested simply in good hearty "American" questions. (It is instructive that, so often, it is the Stalinists of various hues who make a big fuss about absorbing themselves in "American" questions, whereas indigenous American radicals have not typically been apologetic about their concern with international politics and policy.)

### CHEEK BY JOWL

The November 28 meeting shows that apparently these new converts have made the grade. The open pro-Stalinists with established standing in the fraternity accepted them as comrades into their own front.

Speakers at the meeting were Leo Huberman (*Monthly Review*), James Aronson (*National Guardian*), I. F. Stone, Clifford McAvooy (ALP), W. E. B. Du Bois (long-standing Stalinist intellectual), and the same Cochran.

The list of sponsors of the meeting took on practically the character of signatures to a manifesto, being a rollcall of well-known fellow travelers, Stalinoids, Moscow Trial apologists, and Kremlin whitewashers, as well as fellow-traveling liberals. (One whole stableful of independent Stalinists and fellow travelers, however, did not seem to be accounted for: that around the *Nation* and Carey McWilliams.)

It would not be a bad thing at all if this independent-Stalinist tendency came out fully into the light of day—into the well-known "marketplace of ideas"—with its own brand of politics, if (let's say) it finds it possible to achieve some organizational unity among its own disparate branches. Their organizationally amorphous state up to now has made it possible for their politics to remain somewhat less than strikingly visible in all cases to everyone, and for them to avoid political commitments which an organized movement would have to make.

# AFL-CIO Merger as Starting-Point — —

(Continued from page 1)

ing ground was "autonomy," a catchword intended not to defend democracy but to protect in magnificent independence everything backward and rotten.

Merger was pushed by a more progressive AFL wing represented first by David Dubinsky of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union and then by the new president, George Meany.

**With unity, the progressive wing of the AFL and the CIO have scored their first joint victory over the conservatives and money grabbers; if these latter were able to dominate the councils of the old AFL, the balance of power shifts in the new federation and they now become a strong but outnumbered minority. They have literally nothing to gain from the merger but are compelled to ride with the wave.**

The leaders of the new federation are aware that the labor movement must be more than united; it must be revamped internally.

## The Three Rs

In public speeches that paved the way for unity, both Reuther and Meany hit repeatedly at the evil 3 Rs that infest the labor movement: racketeering, racism, and raiding. Labor must come before the nation as a strong, clean social force.

Negroes can hardly be expected to cheer enthusiastically for a labor movement which tolerates racial discrimination and white exclusiveness.

The public can only smile cynically when those who appeal for a social crusade are lined up with fake-labor officials busy with assorted rackets, shakedowns, kickbacks, and occasional gang murder.

Unity can hardly lead to strength if self-seeking officials sacrifice the broad interests of the movement to steal a few dues-payers from other unions.

## CIO's Opportunity

The CIO could remain relatively free of these evils. It fought to advance the rights of Negroes. It gave them equal membership rights. It defended industrial unions from being carved up by the crafts.

**But it could do little to wipe out the 3 Rs where they had already become entrenched within the AFL. A fight to clean up the labor movement becomes possible now as the progressive wing of the AFL unites with the CIO.**

In the CIO, only Mike Quill representing the Transport Workers Union opposes the merger terms, insisting that the new constitution must offer stronger bars to the 3 Rs—against racism, racketeering, raiding. He demands specific constitutional clauses to exclude or expel unions which persist in racism, racketeering, or raiding.

However, the actual declaration of purposes and governing constitution of the new union federation bars these evils only in general terms and without providing enforcement machinery. Quill accuses the CIO leaders of "capitulating" and demands a settlement in advance of unity. Week after week, he blasts away at the idea of sitting together in one federation with crooks and racists.

In his anxiety to highlight the need to clean up the labor movement, Quill loses track of the main issue.

The 3 Rs remain powerful in some AFL unions. The CIO has been able to do nothing against them. But the merger is a means of *beginning the fight* for decent unionism against the rackets. In effect, Quill demands a free gift *in advance* of what can come only after years of bitter internal conflict.

## Fay Case

Consider two random examples: ● *Joseph Fay, an official of the International Union of Operating Engineers (AFL)*, went to prison for using his union position to extort huge sums of money out of construction work on the New York water-supply system. His activities proceeded without interference from the labor movement. From prison he remained a power in the local labor movement, dickering in his cell with high leaders of the Republican Party.

That was before unity. If Mike Quill and his union, together with the rest of the local CIO and clean elements of the old AFL, are confronted with a similar affair in the new federation, will they permit similar racketeers to use the good name of the AFL-CIO as a cover for graft? More likely, an alliance of clean progressive unionists will drive such criminal elements out.

## ILA Case

● *The International Longshoremen's Association* was expelled from the AFL for racketeering. (Note: the constitutional authority of the AFL was far weaker than the authority of the new federation; regardless of formal law, the issue will be fought out.) Its expulsion was a temporary victory over racketeering. The glare of the public spotlight was so sharp that those who protect racketeers were silenced.

But what happened to the fight for clean unionism on the New York waterfront?

Two top AFL leaders assigned to break the ILA were Paul Hall of the Seafarers International Union and Dave Beck of the Teamsters Union. The biography of neither of these will record a special propensity for fighting corruption.

While Beck was supposedly supporting the official drive against the ILA, powerful sections of his Teamsters Union in New York were publicly supporting it against the new AFL union. Beck himself soon entered into negotiations with the ILA, culminating in a mutual-assistance pact between it and the Teamsters. While the fight raged, leaders of the AFL State Federation of Labor sent a special committee to intercede with Meany on behalf of the AFL.

In sum: the allies within the AFL of the racketeering ILA sabotaged the campaign for the new AFL International Brotherhood of Longshoremen and assured the victory of the gangs.

## For Clean Unionism

The fight on the New York waterfront was the first and most important drive against racketeering within the labor movement since the formation of new CIO

unions 20 years ago. Where was the CIO? It was isolated and incapable of giving the slightest assistance to the fighters against the gangs.

How would such a fight shape up in a united AFL-CIO? Clean, progressive unionism would fight for control over the campaign, would demand a share in organizing, staffing and shaping the struggle against the rackets.

The CIO, impotent in this field yesterday, becomes a vital force in the struggle to take unionism out of the hands of the gangs and return them to labor.

## Value of Unity

**In the period of initial enthusiasm, unity will prove its worth even from the limited standpoint of its creators:**

● A united front will be presented to employers in negotiations. The workers will become more demanding and more successful in winning contractual gains.

● An intensified organizing campaign will undoubtedly enroll thousands of new white-collar workers in unions.

● Another attempt will be made to organize the South. If it is possible under present conditions to break down the resistance of Southern open-shoppism and industrial reaction, the new union federation will do it.

● In politics, it will no longer be possible to play off one section of the labor movement against the other. The tendency will be for labor to insist on greater consideration from the old politicians.

## From Here, Forward

**But what can be won by unity alone is limited. Labor has been driven toward merger, because its old political policies led nowhere. The power of unity serves only temporarily as a substitute for a new policy.**

**The old political line remains:**

● In political action, the labor movement continues to serve a wing of the Democratic Party, supporting so-called liberals who give in to the demands of reaction; at a time when unions feel the cumulative effects of the Taft-Hartley Law, nothing is heard from Democrats on its repeal. Yet union leaders publicly reject the formation of a new labor party.

● In foreign policy, the labor movement continues to have confidence in the two old parties. While the unions would prefer a more democratic foreign policy they endorse those in both the Democratic and Republican Parties who support reaction abroad: Franco in Spain; Chiang in China; Rhee in Korea.

● Internally, the pervading mood of union government is bureaucracy. Only a few unions, notably the UAW, the Typographers Union and others, permit critical opposition groupings to live. In most unions, the first signs of organized criticism brings down the heavy hand of expulsion and intimidation. Yet it is impossible to defeat gangsterism where it is strongly entrenched without stimulating the democratic spirit of the ranks.

Union members will not risk a knife thrust in the back or a bullet in the belly upon command of the comfortable bureaucrat above. Bureaucracy may be a convenient de-

vice for holding one's own membership in line. It is hardly enough for organizing a fight against thugs and murderers.

## Beyond Unity

With the achievement of unity, labor begins an all-out drive to win objectives that were written into the separate programs of the two federations long ago.

The methods, the policies, the ideology that were "official" before unity remain just as official after. Superficially, the union movement seems unchanged; two sections join together, solemnly vowing to press jointly now what they sought separately yesterday.

But unity is only a beginning; the labor movement cannot stand still. The merger does far more than unite the labor movement as it is; it begins to transform it.

**With unity comes a realignment of forces inside the union movement that will in time make radical internal changes virtually inevitable. It is the starting point for a new advance.**

The final impulse toward unity could be summarized as follows: Unionism is at a political impasse; labor leaders hope to break out of the blind alley, without changing their political outlook, by the mobilization of sheer organized and concentrated class power.

At an impasse? This must seem paradoxical at a time when unionism, enrolling 18 million workers, is at the peak of its strength; when a break-through has just been won in the fight for a guaranteed wage; when union officials lecture in public about the new era of labor-management understanding.

But so it is. Unions are strong enough to deal with the mightiest corporations when they meet as worker and employer on the industrial front. But when labor faces capital across the political front, unionism is driven backward, as it has been continuously for ten years.

## Under Attack

**The economic position of unionism is at an all-time peak; its legal and political position has sunk to the lowest point in more than 20 years:**

● The Taft-Hartley Law cuts the ground under unions when they are vulnerable. Provisions that allow scabs to vote in NLRB representation elections and bar strikers from the ballot have already wiped out local unions. The law maintains the overhanging threat of injunctions in every major strike. Its provisions against so-called secondary boycotts effectively illegalize the solidarity of one union with another. Latest illustration: the Kohler strike.

● In state after state, "right-to-work" laws are passed which outlaw the union shop and restrict union organization.

● The injunction has returned as a strikebreaking device.

● Laws have been passed in some states limiting the political rights of labor, aimed at wiping out PAC and LLPE activities.

## Labor-Baiting

● The National Labor Relations Board has been transformed into

(Turn to last page)

# Tagging the 'Faceless Informer'

## The ISL Program in Brief

The decision of the federal district court (Judge Youngdahl) on the Boudin passport case, rendered November 22, hit the government witchhunt in an exceedingly sensitive spot. Its importance lies in the fact that it threw out of court an administrative decision arrived at on the basis of secret information which was never disclosed to the defendant or to the court.

The sensitiveness of this question was evidenced in a striking way by the remarkable editorial which appeared in the N.Y. Times greeting the decision. Although the editorial purported to hail the court's action as a blow for civil liberties, it carefully and stubbornly avoided indicating, by so much as a phrase, that the central issue involved the use of secret information. This performance is something like writing an editorial backing the court's desegregation decision without letting on that it had something to do with Negroes.

The right-to-a-passport end of Boudin's case had already been taken care of by the Court of Appeals decision in the Shachtman case, which is cited by Youngdahl. What Youngdahl did was to take it a step further toward a determination of the defendant's rights in a "quasi-judicial hearing."

The question of secret information had never been involved in the Shachtman case itself, since the State Department Passport Bureau had never claimed that it had any confidential testimony that bore on the case. But it was otherwise in the case of Leonard Boudin, who is an attorney for the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, as Youngdahl stated:

"In short, there can be no dispute that confidential information was employed; that files were not revealed; and that evidence contained therein could not be, and was not, subjected to cross-examination."

The State Department, conceded Youngdahl, has "exceedingly wide discretion" to deny passports, according to the law.

"This being so, fair play requires that one have the opportunity to challenge the basis of, and reasons for, a denial under this section directly and specifically [the section permitting use of confidential information]."

According to the Passport Office procedure, however—

"Facts which they consider warrant a denial need never appear on the record. Whether, in fact, evidence exists to warrant a denial, neither applicant nor the courts can ever know. The source, quality, or quantity of evidence which has guided the board and been instrumental in its decision can be reviewed by no one. This cannot fairly be held to constitute reasonable regulation. It must be viewed as conferring upon the board limitless authority. Any hearing provided an applicant becomes an empty gesture."

### BLAST AT THE SYSTEM

On this crux of the matter, the heart of Judge Youngdahl's opinion read as follows:

"How can an applicant refute charges which arise from sources, or are based upon evidence, which is closed to him? What good does it do him to be apprised that a passport is denied him due to associations or activities disclosed or infer-

red from State Department files even if he is told of the associations and activities in a general way? What files? What evidence? Who made the inferences? From what materials were these inferences made?"

"To uphold Section 51.170 would grant to the government the right to deny passports in an uncontrolled manner, with virtually absolute authority at any time and in any way it seems it. The right to a quasi-judicial hearing must mean more than the right to permit an applicant to testify and present evidence. It must include the right to know that the decision will be reached upon evidence of which he is aware and can refute directly. . . ."

"Confidential information is of unquestionable importance to executive officers in performing their duties, but it should be confined for use in obtaining factual data which may itself be used of record. When the basis of action by any branch of the government remains hidden from scrutiny and beyond practical review the seeds of arbitrary and irresponsible government are sown. More and more the courts have become aware of the irreparable damage which may be, has been, and is wrought by the secret informer and the faceless talebearer whose identity and testimony remains locked in confidential files."

Hence the decision required the Passport office to hold a new hearing with the presentation on the the record of "all evidence upon which the office may rely for its decision. . . so that the applicant may have the opportunity to meet it and the court to review it."

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!

# Merger as Starting-Point — —

(Continued from page 7)

an anti-union body. In a series of decisions and interpretations, it has given the employers potent weapons against unions.

• The right to picket has been undermined by courts and labor boards.

• Anti-strike violence returns to confront unionism in its outlying sections.

In California, a Teamsters Union organizer is kidnapped and beaten unconscious. In Fond du

Lac, Wisconsin, where a strike at the Rueping Leather Company drags on for four months, the AFL Meat Cutters Union reports: "Rueping threw everything in the strikebreaking book — and some things that had never been written there before." At the Perfect Circle plant in Indiana, UAW pickets are machine-gunned and scabs escorted into the factory under cover of tanks. At the Kohler plant, the company admits to stocking a private arsenal. During the Louisville

and Nashville Railroad strike, Pickets were shot to death.

These are attacks from the employers' militant, extremist wing. But how far will the pattern spread?

"The year 1955," reports Teamsters Local 688 in St. Louis, "has seen a wave of violence directed at labor unions. . . . The political moves made by big business in the past few years have made this wave of union-busting and strikebreaking possible. The new merged federation will certainly mobilize political strength to restore labor's rights—but these little items need attention too."

### Stakes Are High

Unity points up the crying absurdity of American politics. The most powerful class, in numbers and potential influence, the working class, remains without its own party and trims its own program to the taste of bourgeois politicians.

It is argued that the American tradition is not kindly to "third" parties. But America's past makes way for the reality of today: the emergence of a united union-conscious-working class. It will forge its own new party, not as a "third" party but as a major contender for political power.

In uniting, the labor movement takes on a new responsibility despite itself. It becomes so powerful that it must offer new, fresh leadership to the people.

That responsibility, in the long run, can be fulfilled by opening a new political road to a new party; by offering a program for peace and a genuine democratic foreign policy; and by stimulating democracy inside and outside the labor movement.

The stakes are high; labor concentrates its efforts; the working class will of necessity be aroused to new expectations. It cannot be satisfied with trivial results.

# Profits and Dividends Set New Records

The breath-taking earnings and dividend payments of American industry continued their incredible pile-up during the third quarter of 1955 and were heading for even more spectacular heights in the last three months.

The Wall Street Journal's quarterly compilation of profits shows that 428 companies, arbitrarily divided into 24 industrial groupings, boosted profits from \$1,615 million in the first nine months of 1954 to \$2,169 million this year—a hike of 34.3 per cent.

The 369 industrial firms, taken separately, did a little better. Their take went up 35.5 per cent, from \$1,433 million last year to \$1,937 million in 1955.

At the same time the commerce department made public some out-of-this-world figures on dividend payments.

After rising five per cent in the first quarter over last year and 11 per cent in the second quarter, they went up 13 per cent in the third three-month period.

The nine-month totals were \$7,052 million in 1955 and \$6,436 million last year, an increase of 9.5 per cent. September payments were even more sensational, the department's figures show.

They increased 17.5 per cent over September 1954, from \$1,266 million last year to \$1,488 million.

Indications that the profit boom will be even louder in the last quarter include the following:

General Motors declared a year-end dividend of \$1 per share of its new stock, which was split three-for-one on September 23. On a comparable basis, each shareholder will receive \$2.15 in 1955 as against \$1.66 last year.

Chrysler announced nine-month earnings of \$70.6 million, or \$8.11 a share, compared to \$3.7 million, or 43 cents a share last year. It declared an extra dividend of \$1 in addition to the quarterly 75 cents. Sales in this comeback year increased 76 per cent in the first three quarters, the company said.

New Jersey Standard directors voted a fourth quarter dividend of \$1.50 a share, 25 cents more than in each of the earlier three quarters, and announced a stockholders' vote on January 30 on a proposal to split shares on a three-for-one basis. The last split was two-for-one on June 12, 1951.

Goodyear reported reaching the \$1 billion mark in nine-month sales for the first time and said net earnings in the same period soared by 37.3 per cent. The net take was \$43.6 million, or \$4.32 a share, compared to \$31.7 million, or \$2.94 a share, last year.

—Mich. CIO News

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