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FEBRUARY 24, 1958

TEN CENTS

SPOT-LIGHT

AFL-CIO Calls March Recession Conference

The Executive Council of the AFL-CIO is urging all affiliates to send representatives to an economic and legislative conference in Washington D. C. to be held on March 11-13. Such a conference had been urged in a resolution passed by the United Auto Workers' special convention in January, and the proposal for it was made to the AFL-CIO high command by Walter Reuther.

The purpose of the conference is to arouse the Congress and the nation at large to the emergency measures necessitated by the recession. The eight point program which will be presented by the AFL-CIO leadership to the conference includes: a stronger military position and bigger foreign aid program; higher wages for workers and protection of consumers against rigged prices; federal standards for unemployment insurance; a federal monetary policy that stimulates economic growth; federal aid to distressed areas; higher individual exemptions under the federal income tax; federal aid to school construction and more federal housing; a \$1.25 minimum wage with extended coverage, and improved social security benefits.

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THE CONSCIENCE OF MANKIND

The wanton bombing by French planes of the defenseless Tunisian village Sakiet-Sidi-Youssef on January 8 was an act of barbarism which has shocked the world. With all mankind, we mourn the seventy nine men, women and children who fell victims of this atrocity, and cry out against the cynical imperialists in and out of uniform who planned and ordered it, or who seek to apologize for it.

As Americans, we hang our heads in shame that the government of our country has condoned by its silence and abetted by the financial, military and political support it has rendered France, the military struggle of which Sakiet-Sidi-Youssef is but a bloody episode. As socialists, we are doubly shamed by the participation of socialists in the government which is prosecuting it. All the more reason for us to raise our voices once again in the demand for an end to the hopeless and inhuman war France is waging against the people of Algeria.

The same American government which but a few weeks ago extended an enormous loan to the French government without a murmur about its Algerian war has now sought to offer its "good offices" to mediate the dispute between France and Tunisia. It is common knowledge that this is but a frantic attempt to keep the issue of the Algerian war off the floor of the United Nations, where a debate is bound to prove embarrassing to America's ally, and hence to the United States and the coalition which it heads.

Throughout the length and breadth of Algeria there are a hundred Sakiet-Sidi-Youssefs. The atrocities of the French forces, fighting a hopeless war for the defense of a dying system, have revolted

decent opinion in France itself to such an extent that publishing the truth about them has been made a criminal offense. These horrors have been hidden from the eyes of the world to a certain degree by the French government's ability to maintain the fiction that Algeria is an integral part of France. And in the United States, where the press takes special pride in its freedom and independence, the true story of the war in Algeria has been all but suppressed by hypersensitivity to what is considered the national interest.

It is the destiny of those who wage wars for the purpose of holding back humanity's surge toward freedom at some point to over-reach themselves. A hundred atrocities may go unnoticed, unheralded, unmourned except by the relatives and comrades of the victims. And then, another village bombed or burned, or the execution of even a single brave or innocent person touches the imagination and the conscience of millions, and rallies them to the cause of democracy, of freedom.

It was the sad fate, and the glorious destiny of the humble men, women and children of Sakiet-Sidi-Youssef to serve as that prick to the conscience of mankind. It is up to every socialist and genuine democrat in America to see to it that real political consequences follow from the shock which ran through American public opinion when its eyes were opened to the true significance of the distant and obscure war in Algeria.

The minimum demand which can be insisted on in this country is: not a dollar, not a gun, not a plane to France as long as she wages war against the people of Algeria!

The Venezuelan Revolution — I

The Background — The Bourgeois-Military Phase (January 1-10)

By JUAN PARAO

The Venezuelan revolution, which has overthrown the bloody dictatorship of General Marcos Pérez Jiménez, was one of the most heroic and all-embracing liberation struggles of recent times. In as much as the revolution was fought and won by the people, and particularly by the working class, almost without organized military support, international socialists should be interested in analysing the phases of this struggle and in pointing out its lessons.

I. The Background

The present stage of Venezuela's development in class terms, is that of the passage from feudal to bourgeois predominance.

Until the outbreak of World War II, feudal relationships predominated virtually unchallenged in Venezuela. In alliance with the foreign petroleum companies, the Venezuelan landowning class and the commercial, importing Venezuelan bourgeoisie (both of whom

LABOR ACTION here proudly presents the beginning of a two-installment article on the Venezuelan Revolution. We have not seen anything approaching this article in scope or in detail in the American press to date.

The author, Juan Parao, is a member of the Democratic Action Party of Venezuela, and participated actively in the events he describes. Although we do not necessarily agree with all aspects of his analysis and program, the heroic events he describes should prove instructive and inspiring to socialists everywhere.—Ed.

profited from foreign economic colonization) ruled over a vast mass of sharecroppers and agricultural workers, and over a relatively small modern proletariat, which was made up mainly of the petroleum workers. In order to keep the peasant and proletarian masses in absolute subjection, foreign capital and native feudalism supported despots of the type of Juan Vicente Gómez, who ruled for 27 years, and whose record of murder, torture and robbery was one of the worst in the history of mankind.

During World War II, Venezuelan oil exports grew enormously. The consequent inflow of dollars enabled the commercial bourgeoisie to expand its wealth and

importance and a part of it began to invest its earnings in the creation of light industries. The feudal aristocracy followed suit, and established a policy of investment in non-agricultural means of production.

Thus the feudal aristocracy gradually transformed itself into an urban, commercial, industrial and financial aristocracy. As a consequence of the accumulation of native Venezuelan capital, the proletariat grew very rapidly. At the same time the small middle class, or petty bourgeoisie, was stimulated into more intense economic and social activity. Small native industrialists, as well as lawyers, physicians and members of other liberal professions came to constitute a militant bourgeoisie, which resented the privileges of the feudal-financial oligarchy and of the commercial importing bourgeoisie.

In political terms, the feudal-financial oligarchy supported the most reactionary military and dictatorial tendencies. In this attitude, it was supported by a large section of the commercial bourgeoisie, which saw in military despotism a means of safeguarding foreign economic domination, by which they profited, against attacks from the nationalist and protectionist native small industrialists. Another section of the commercial bourgeoisie, however, has always tended to support liberal and even democratic tendencies, out

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Chrysler Wages War of Provocation Against United Automobile Workers

An Associated Press dispatch from Detroit dated February 18 states that 5,000 workers were sent home from the Chrysler plant, and 2,100 from the Plymouth assembly plant that morning for "failure of trim department employees to perform regular assignments." This was the sixteenth straight day, according to AP, on which work had been "interrupted" in the course of the current struggle over work standards.

This is part of the war Chrysler is conducting against the United Automobile Workers. Read Jack Wilson's front-line dispatch on the struggle below.—Ed.

By JACK WILSON

Detroit, February 15

In the context of an economic recession in which 320,000 Michigan workers are unemployed — 200,000 of them in the Detroit area — two significant and tragic developments are taking place.

More than 7,000 workers are exhausting their unemployment benefits each month. No one expects the auto industry this year to pick up enough to make a dent in this terrible situation.

TAKE ADVANTAGE

Taking full advantage of this situation, the weakest of the Big Three, Chrysler corporation, has taken the UAW head-on, challenging it to strike in the face of Chrysler's speed-up drive that has resulted, among other things, in the firing of over 60 workers for "failing to meet production standards." Thousands of Chrysler workers at Dodge, Plymouth and Chrysler divisions are sent home early for not meeting work standards imposed arbitrarily by the

corporation which has by-passed or ignored all previous negotiated agreements on production.

Every Chrysler Local has taken a strike vote. At Dodge, workers are sent home daily after an hour or so of work, on the company charge that they aren't working fast enough. This is true of the other plants too.

The situation in the Chrysler plants is so incredible that when it is described to other union men, in other parts of the UAW, the usual reaction and comment is "fantastic."

Never has the UAW been taken on so brutally, so directly in an obvious effort to provoke the union into a strike, which would solve exactly nothing, and which both local union leaders and the international union are determined to avoid, since Chrysler is begging for a show-down.

HOSTILE RELATIONS

The Chrysler situation reflects the real state of the union and the hostile relations between the UAW and the corporations, no matter how often Walter Reuther denies that there is a class struggle in auto.

The impudence of Chrysler is emphasized by the fact that they just announced the biggest profit in the history of the corporation for the year 1957. Just two years ago, L. L. Colbert, president of Chrysler, spoke at a UAW Chrysler conference, at the invitation of the UAW, and he made his big pitch for better work standards to keep Chrysler in business.

Last spring a Chrysler official praised the UAW for its cooperation in helping the company make efficiency, a story that the UAW vigorously denied, but which many autoworkers believe to have been true.

It remains to be seen what action the forthcoming Chrysler conference of the

UAW takes to meet this tragic situation in which all Local Unions find themselves, and which is bound to be the number one topic at this conference.

GM CONFERENCE

This past week, 400 delegates to a General Motors conference, showed their concern over working conditions by unanimously turning back to the resolutions committee a set of proposals improving the work standards clause in the GM contract. The delegates felt the international union approach was inadequate, too mild in its recommended changes.

In the Chrysler crisis, the UAW international executive board announced it would pay the lost wages of the discharged workers, as a gesture of international union interest and solidarity in the fight. The idea of paying the workers, no matter what the cost to the union, until they are rehired originated at the local union level.

Unlike the UAW special convention, which was a public show of unity and support for the top leadership—since no union man wants to do anything to give the companies any ammunition—the conferences of delegates, which are closed sessions, are far better reflections of the real attitude of the autoworker's leaders on the secondary levels. They are far more important in terms of real bargaining demands and they play a decisive role in negotiation decisions.

We Need Your \$\$\$

The facts of life for LABOR ACTION readers are: The maintenance of LA depends entirely on your contributions to the Fund Drive. We have no angel. Make out checks to Albert Gates and send them in.

ISL FUND DRIVE

The Fund Drive Needs Your Support!

By ALBERT GATES

The annual fund drive of the Independent Socialist League, while familiar to many of our readers is particularly important this year. We have always pointed to the fact that the fund drives alone made possible the maintenance of our press, LABOR ACTION and the *New International*, and that this alone justified the appeals we made to the ISL and its friends as well as to the readers and supporters of LA and the NI.

Had it not been for the existence of this press little or no information on the very important case of the ISL against the attorney General's list would have reached public notice. LABOR ACTION has kept its readers and the labor and socialist movement completely informed on the development of this extremely important civil liberties case and printed many of the documents is-

suing from it.

The case is now reaching a most important stage in its progress toward a legal test of the list itself. Several weeks ago, LABOR ACTION published the brief of the ISL presented to the attorney general challenging the recommendation of the hearing examiner appointed by the head of the Justice Department. In its last issue the paper published another vitally important document sent to the attorney general by our attorneys Joseph L. Rauh, Jr. and Isaac N. Groner, which called attention to the precedents in the Supreme Court ruling in the *Jencks* case as it related to the testimony of James Burnham in our hearing where the government refused to divulge the reports and discussions which this chief government witness had with the FBI.

It would be a pity if the case were in any way handicapped by lack of funds, or if our press could not appear regularly to comment on the political life of our times for the same reason.

The fund drive is therefore doubly important this year. It will not only

supply the means of maintaining the press for another year; it will also contribute significantly to the prosecution of our case in its pre-court stage.

It should be of some interest for our readers to know that the case of the ISL, sponsored by the Workers Defense League, has been financed largely through the efforts of that organization and the ISL itself, without support from any other sources.

We therefore call upon all our friends, members and sympathizers of the ISL, readers and supporters of LABOR ACTION and the *New International*, all people interested in social justice and civil liberties, to support the 1958 Fund Drive of the ISL and help us to put it over the top in the same way that we have done it in the years gone by.

CONTRIBUTE TO THE ISL FUND DRIVE

Independent Socialist League
114 West 14 Street, N.Y.C.

Enclosed is \$.....as my contribution to the ISL's Fund Drive.

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY STATE
(Make checks out to Albert Gates)

A POUM Statement:

No Atom Bases For Spain!

The following statement on American military bases in Spain was adopted at the beginning of the year by the Executive Committee of the Spanish Party of Marxist Unification (POUM) in exile in Paris.

The military agreements that were signed in 1953 between the Washington authorities and the Franco government have been fulfilled scrupulously. The armed forces of the United States are already deployed in three great air bases on Spanish territory: that of Torrejon (Madrid), of Moron (Seville), and of Valenzuela (Zaragoza). Shortly they will complete the work of constructing the gigantic air-naval base at Rota (Cadiz), essentially designed for the American Sixth Fleet, stationed in the Mediterranean. Important elements of the Sixteenth Force of the Strategic Air Command (aviation for atomic reprisals) have been installed in several points in Spain.

In reality, the airplanes of the Strategic Air Command, loaded with atomic and thermonuclear bombs, patrol the sky of our country. As a result, as has been recently revealed by the English journal *The New Statesman*, these patrols can have terrible consequences for our country. The dropping of only one thermonuclear bomb, by accident, would make a veritable desert of and contaminate a zone of more than 150 square kilometers.

Franco, who has annulled the independence of our country, having authorized the installation of multiple Gibraltar in the peninsula, has really exposed the Spanish people to extraordinary dangers at the very moment when the progress achieved in the production of self-propelled missiles has revealed the vainness of the military forces that the Pentagon has in the Peninsula.

But there is still more. Within the last few days, Mr. Foster Dulles, secretary of state of the Washington government, disembarked in the American base of Torrejon (an act whose symbolic significance it is not necessary to underline) in order to inform Franco of the agreements of the recent NATO Conference and in order to demand the installation in Spain of self-propelled missile launching platforms.

For the moment the consequences of the Foster Dulles-Franco conversations will be ignored. But it is altogether permissible to predict that the falangist jackals will have to give proof of an absolute docility if Washington will continue to give them its political support, and, above all, if they will augment their economic aid.

In the same Conference of NATO the leaders of the various countries of West Europe opposed the installation of self-propelled missile launching platforms. The people of Europe are opposed to the prosecution of the insane arms race, a race which can only lead to destruction of the entire Old Continent.

The falangist despotism makes and will continue to make a serious mistake about the sentiments and aspirations of the Spanish people. Without a doubt, they are speaking out clearly against the dangers of the moment and raise a great campaign against the design of transforming Spain into a military base for American capitalism.

The P.O.U.M. which has maintained, political opposition to both military blocs (NATO and the Warsaw Pact) during the whole period of the cold war declares itself for the evacuation from Europe of all American and Russian military forces in order to satisfy the aspirations for independence and peace of the popular masses of East and West, and to assure conditions that would permit the march toward the United Socialist States of Europe.

January 1, 1958
THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE P.O.U.M.

CHICAGO DEMOCRATIC SOCIALIST FORUM

Friday, February 28

8:00 p.m.

NORMAN THOMAS

and

MAX SHACHTMAN

What Program for Democratic Socialists?

32 West Randolph St.

Only Democracy Can Wipe Out Racketeering

By BEN HALL

One union president, last month, went to jail for a year, convicted of selling jobs to members. That was C. T. Atkins of the Masters, Mates and Pilots of America (AFL-CIO). Two weeks later, another union president resigned under pressure. That was William E. Maloney of the International Union of Operating Engineers. He and his delegation had dutifully voted to expell the Teamsters at the December AFL-CIO convention, but in vain his day of reckoning came nonetheless. He was summoned before the Senate Committee. When the Ethical Practices Committee quickly after decided to look into his union, he saw the end of the road at hand. A rough few weeks for presidents! Perhaps Mr. Maloney sees now that crime does not pay; here at the summit of his career, only 77 years old, having amassed only a minor fortune and all nipped in the bud!

On Feb. 7, the AFL-CIO Executive Council set April 15 as the deadline for compliance with its ethical practices code and Meany announced that any union that failed to take steps to enforce the codes would face expulsion from the federation. But here again in the cases of the Operating Engineers and the Masters, Mates and Pilots, the labor movement has lost an opportunity to take the initiative. So far, it has not been able to act decisively before sensational governmental exposures of racketeers in unions.

It Began in 1953

It began in 1953 when the AFL expelled the ILA. The Federation, then minus the CIO, was impelled to act after national and state investigations. Significantly, the Masters, Mates and Pilots alone voted to support the ILA. The Teamsters and all the others were silent, expecting that it would all blow over.

Last year, the united labor convention expelled the Teamsters, Laundry Workers, and Bakers. Again, labor lagged behind the Senate Committee. Early in 1957, Maurice Hutcheson president of the Carpenters Union was called to testify before the Senate Roads Committee in an investigation of highway land frauds in Indiana and pleaded the Fifth Amendment. In November, the Senate Committee subpoenaed the union's files to begin an investigation. The AFL-CIO leaders have turned their eyes away. Will they act belatedly here too? The Hod Carriers union is dominated by the same men who ran it when James Bove, vice-president became a power and went on to cooperate with Joe Fay in one of the most notorious racketeering cases in recent times. (Bove recently died in prison serving time for extortion.) Will the labor movement be late here too?

Meany explains that the Federation lacks the powers of government; it cannot subpoena witnesses; it cannot muster an army of investigators or compel private institutions to make records available; it cannot hold a jail threat for perjury over false witnesses. All, obviously true. But it falls flat; The real explanation lies elsewhere but in an area so sensitive that Meany himself, yes, even the blunt-spoken Meany, shies away from it.

There are no lack of documented facts lying about for any private citizen to pick up at will. All that is necessary is the ability to read English or to hire someone who can. To demonstrate that simple truth, let us turn precisely to the two most recent cases: the Operating Engineers and the Master, Mates and Pilots, with special attention to their presidents. Here are facts gathered without the aid of a single shiny detective badge, facts that have been known for a long time:

The Simple Case of the Masters, Mates and Pilots

That C. T. Atkins, International union president, was selling jobs came as a surprise but other phases of his career had been spread on the public record long before. The case was reported in detail by the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists and sketchily in the regular press; there is a long court record; scattered stories were printed in LABOR ACTION, too, over the years. It is not difficult even for mildly interested people to get the basic story.

* *Fall of 1952:* Elections occur in New York local 88. Atkins, the same, is president of the local too. An opposition slate is formed to run against the local Atkins administration; it is headed by the following candidates: Robert A. Liddy for president; Bernard Madden and Richard J. Polachek for vice-presidents. Atkins and his supporters are re-elected after a vigorous campaign on both sides.

* *Early 1953:* Liddy and Madden, for the opposition, announce the formation of a permanent opposition caucus: the American Mariners Association. Its declaration of purposes states, "In America we have a two-party system—Republican and Democrat—and our country prospers and freedom is protected. Is not such a system desirable and possible in Local 88? We believe that two parties within the Union, working for and in the interest of the union and the membership will be a good and healthy thing for our local. . . . For this purpose we have formed a group called the American Mariners Association of the National Organization of Masters, Mates and Pilots of America. . . . Such an Association cannot and will not be permitted to be a dual union. It must never speak in the name of the union, seek to handle grievances or union jobs, deal with the employer or propose or seek to cause the membership to ever disaffiliate from local 88."

February 25, 1953 and after: Suppression came quickly. Local president Atkins requested an opinion from attorneys retained by International President Atkins, (the same) and they advised local Atkins that action against the opposition would be perfectly proper. *Local 88 News*, official local paper edited by editor Atkins attacks critics of local Atkins in a banner headline "Dissidents Start Dual Union Within Local 88" in letters as large as the lie they proclaimed. At a local meeting on February 25, chaired by local Atkins, charges were inspired by complainant Atkins against Liddy and Madden. A trial committee, whose composition seems rigged (according to a court decision of May 1957) is chosen. Later, Liddy and Madden and other supporters are expelled. Having been expelled by a local meeting, their recourse was to the local Executive Board headed by Atkins; and, from there to the International Board headed by Atkins (the same). Postscript: their appeals were not successful.

The Courts: Finally, Liddy, Madden and others go to the courts. After a long and tedious career, their case reaches the Appellate Division of the New York Supreme Court which, on May 6, 1957, rules in their favor and orders them reinstated in the union. The full record of suppression is spread out for all to see. But so far, their victory has been in vain. On Feb. 5, this year, Murray Kempton reported that they had not been reinstated and that the Brooklyn Supreme Court found the local officials to be "willful, deliberate and contemptuous" in their disregard of the court's decision. In any case, for five years the opposition leaders have not been able to work at their trade.

And Now: In an unrelated case, defendant Atkins (the same) is sentenced to jail for one year, convicted of selling jobs.

Question: Where is the Ethical Practices Committee in this case? Answer in a moment.

The Sordid and Devious Case Of the Operating Engineers

The story of corruption in the International Union of Operating Engineers goes back so far in one continuous unbroken line that it is difficult to find a convenient starting point for current events. It is undoubtedly champion in its class.

In 1940, at the AFL convention in New Orleans, David Dubinsky spoke out for action against racketeers; later, at a convention hotel bar, he was slugged by Joseph Fay. Fay was a vice-president of the Engineers and dominated the union in the New York area. In 1937, Norman Redwood a local president of the Hodcarriers opposed Fay's domination of the Building Trades Council; Redwood was murdered. In 1945, Fay was convicted of a huge extortion racket and began to serve a seven and one-half to fifteen year prison term from which he emerged on probation in 1956. During all this time, he remained a power in his union and his wife remained on the union's payroll as an "adviser." In 1953, the murder in New York of Thomas Lewis, president of local 32E of the Building Service Employees Union, led to an investigation of rackets in welfare funds. It was revealed that the then Republican leader of the State Senate, Arthur H. Wicks, had visited Fay in Sing Sing to settle strikes! Wicks was forced to resign.

These are not obscure facts; they were blazoned all over the front pages. Surely, Meany is acquainted with them for he, too, visited Fay in prison. But, perhaps this is ancient history and perhaps some novel statute of limitations renders AFL-CIO jurisdiction inoperative. Consider then some more recent ramifications:

* *The new president:* Former president Maloney resigned when the flames of publicity came near. Now there is a new "reform" president, Joseph J. Delaney. Delaney was a vice-president; he was the man appointed to succeed Fay when the latter went to jail. When the New York State Insurance Department was investigating welfare funds in 1953, it subpoenaed Delaney who promptly disappeared temporarily on

"union business" and reappeared only when the investigations were completed. Testimony revealed that he had received \$13,650 in the 14 months before the murder of Thomas Lewis for fictitious services as "labor consultant" to a phony agency controlled by the murdered man. Delaney's assistant, it was said, received \$9,100. This worthy successor of Fay now becomes the successor to Maloney!

* *Local 138:* In 1954, the president of Engineer's Local 138 in Nassau County New York, William C. DeKoning, went to prison for extortion. When he died recently, he left an estate of \$300,000 in known assets. Now, the local is headed by his son William C. Jr. who carries on the tradition. In 1956, the NLRB declared that the local was dominated by employers, citing the fact that contractors and their supervisors were allowed to have union cards and vote at meetings. The NLRB trial counsel referred to "this duality, this overlapping directorship between union officials and management." There is nothing novel here, at least not in the Engineers Union. We cite it only because an opposition group rose within the local and demanded action by the AFL-CIO Ethical Practices Committee.

By 1954, a group of young unionists began a fight for democracy and reform in their local. One leader, Peter Batalias was beaten and thrown out of a local meeting in January 1955. Oppositionists were suspended and denied jobs. In 1956, the reform group sent two representatives to Washington; they picketed the headquarters of their International; they protested to Meany who referred them to Al Hayes of the Ethical Practices Committee. They got to see Hayes' assistant who expressed sympathy but nothing happened. A week later, they picketed Federation offices to dramatize their case. Then, they took a trip to Forest Park, Florida where the AFL-CIO Executive Council was meeting. They managed to see Meany and Reuther. Reuther told them he was "1000 percent behind what you people are trying to do. . . . Whatever you do, don't stop fighting."

They didn't. But in all this time, for a year and a half they have been waiting for action from the Ethical Practices Committee. Nothing moved. But five minutes after the Senate Committee began hearings on the Engineers Union, the AFL-CIO Committee announced that it was about to begin its own investigation.

Democracy is the Key

We know that Meany and other Federation leaders want to get rid of racketeering; we know, too, that they would like to clean house without waiting for government intervention and laws controlling union activity. Yet, they wait. They have not yet been able to seize the initiative. When they do move, it appears that their hand has been forced by the pressure of public scandals. The appearance, in this case however, is deceptive. And yet, they do wait.

Meany's public excuse, that he lacks investigatory powers, cannot be taken seriously. We have given only a hint of how much was known long before the Senate Committee entered the picture. (In the case of the Masters, Mates and Pilots, the Committee has not even expressed interest yet.) When the CIO decided to act against unions dominated by the Communist Party, its ability to discover facts and make a decision based upon them was adequate. The united Federation has no fewer powers today. The underlying causes of delay lie elsewhere.

The labor movement today is wracked internally by a great convulsion which for the first time is destroying the decisive power of the racketeering, and ultra-conservative elements. It is a continuation, in the context of 1958, of the great transformation that began more than twenty years ago with the CIO. When AFL and CIO united two years ago, many radical and socialist commentators took a gloomy view. In their opinion, the insidious influence of the rackets would now be extended everywhere, even into the CIO unions. But it happened quite differently. Instead, one racket after another has been under attack; but although the power of racketeering has been mortally stricken it is far from destroyed. A shift in the power balance occurred at the summit of the labor movement where the ultra-right rackets were reduced to a minority. But one notch below there has been only minor change.

It required a two-thirds vote to expell the Teamsters at the AFL-CIO convention and the final vote was 10,400,000 to 2,200,000. But the Teamsters and other unions with about 1,500,000 votes were suspended and could not vote; if they could, the decision would have been in doubt. And that, after a mighty roar in the press and unprecedented revelations of widespread corruption spread before the Senate Committee. It seems clear: at that stage, if the Executive Council had tried to take the initiative against the Teamsters, before the Senate revelations, it would not have been able to win its two-thirds! The balance was so close, the influence of the racket-ridden unions so vast, and their apologists so numerous that Reuther and Meany did not have the strength to strike them down merely from above. They had to wait for the Senate Committee to come to their aid when their opponents realized that the corrupt cause was hopeless before the bar of public opinion.

Consider this: In the two unions we have been discussing, (the Engineers and the MMP) rank and file unionists are denied elementary democratic rights and have no recourse within their unions. Imagine now that their cases come before the Executive Council and the

(Turn to last page)

BOOKS ABOUT LABOR

By BEN HALL

AFL in Time of Gompers

THE A.F. OF L. IN THE TIME OF GOMPERS, by Philip Taft. Harper. 1957. 508 pp. \$6.75.

Mr. Taft has dug through a mountain of old American Federation of Labor records and letters of leaders dating from the origins of the Federations in the 1880's to 1924, the year Samuel Gompers died. Out of this material, much of it newly available, 40 years of labor history passes before us, reflected in the official actions of the AFL's Executive Board, its conventions, and the opinions and works of Gompers. Taft is more than a mere admirer of Gompers; he is virtually an uncritical one and presents an unevaluated account of his hero's career except for a brief demurrer at the occasionally extreme character of Gompers' anti-governmentalism.

Thus, we are presented with a very interesting chronology of events but with little new insight into the nature of the American labor movement and its history. Together with Selig Perlman in 1935, Taft wrote the *History of Labor in the United States, 1896-1932*. There, he sharply criticized the course chosen by Gompers and the AFL Council in the critical steel strike of 1901 when one of the most important unions of the day, the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers, was defeated by U. S. Steel and ultimately destroyed. Now, on the basis of a newly discovered, but not important, fragment of a fact he reverses his opinion and fully exonerates his subjects in retrospect.

But Mr. Taft is a diligent scholar and when research reveals significant events, he records them. For example, he recounts the intensive activity and wide influence of the socialist movement of the time inside the AFL. Elsewhere, private letters and old minutes document the opposition of Gompers and the Council to the high-handed drive of John L. Lewis to wipe out the influence of socialists and progressives in the Kansas District of the United Mine Workers Union.

Gompers' Autobiography

SEVENTY YEARS OF LIFE AND LABOR, An Autobiography by Samuel Gompers Dutton. 1957. 334 pp. \$5.00.

Gompers tells his own story in *Seventy Years of Life and Labor*, the autobiography he finished shortly before his death in 1924. This edition is revised and edited by Taft and John A. Sessions. In his introduction, Mr. Taft runs quickly through the history of the period, using, in condensed form, the material which constitutes the substance of his own work. These two books, taken together, present a detailed defense of the policies of Gompers and an approach to the historical record from the standpoint of those policies. There is no serious effort to draw up a balance sheet; no serious weakness discovered in the past; only a thoroughgoing defense all down the line.

There is value in having at hand a brief for a point of view and an assemblage of the facts around it. But something more is necessary for a rounded picture of the rise of the labor movement.

In its time, the AFL served to hasten the independent organization of the working class. By its insistence upon the separate organization of labor unions oriented directly and unambiguously toward day-to-day problems of workers, the Federation helped to free the unions from dependence upon petty bourgeois reform movements and utopian panaceas, and to turn it into a working class movement. Gompers was its outstanding leader. But

there were others; others, who shared the same objective but at the same time held out broad social and political perspectives for the newly organized movement, in particular the socialists who were active by the thousands as union builders. Now, socialism has dwindled; its voice is barely audible inside today's labor movement; but that in itself constitutes neither a refutation of socialism nor a vindication of Gompersism.

For the old AFL never could organize the majority of the working class. After the First World War, it was pounded backward as millions were driven out of unions in the Open Shop campaign. In the twenties, it became moribund; the long prosperity saw no corresponding rise of unionism. In the thirties, it failed utterly to rise to new opportunities even standing in the way of organizing the unorganized. Finally, it was necessary to break away from it and found a new labor movement, the CIO, in order to unite the working class. Not until our own time, and then only by reuniting with the millions in the CIO, was it possible to break the power of those corrupt elements who disgrace the labor movement and those ultra-conservatives who hold it back. That, too, is part of the record; and the program, policies, and philosophy of the old AFL has to be weighed and assessed with that, too, in mind.

Union Democracy in ITU

UNION DEMOCRACY, THE INTERNAL POLITICS OF THE INTERNATIONAL TYPOGRAPHICAL UNION by Seymour Martin Lipset, Martin A. Trow and James S. Coleman. The Free Press. 455 pp. 1956. \$7.50

It is a pity that this book is presented as a sociological treatise and is priced so high; for it makes worth while reading for any union man. But you can make your way through it with profit by selective skipping. The authors are at their best when they leave their statistical tables far behind and devote themselves to straightforward analysis. They come right to the point at a decisive juncture: where oppositions are proscribed, hindered, denied access to the membership, there democracy is limited, at best. They know what exists in most of our unions and they are pessimistic about the future of democracy within them. What attracts them to the ITU is its free internal democratic life, a union which is unique by virtue of the permanent two-party system that dominates its affairs. If it is possible in the ITU, perhaps it is possible elsewhere.

Union members are often berated: "if you took more interest in your union affairs and came to meetings you'd get more democracy; you only get what you deserve." The following lengthy passage is typical of the author's treatment of such arguments, pointing up their arguments with the two-party system of the ITU:

"Students of internal union politics almost invariably observe that 'the members don't attend union meetings.' Usually the low attendance at union meetings is seen as both symptom and cause of oligarchic control; if only the members would bestir themselves, show some interest, and avail themselves of their union rights, so this argument goes, they could increase the measure of democracy in trade union. . . . In the majority of unions which are more or less firmly controlled by their incumbent officers, union meetings offer the ordinary member very little reward for attendance. Apart from special mass meetings called in connection with some crisis, union meetings are dull sessions which deal with matters of routine administration rather than union policy. The ordinary member who attends can hardly feel himself a significant participant in any decision-making process, nor does the meeting itself, as a spectacle, usually possess any interest or human drama.

"The presence in a union of a legitimate organized opposition changes the character of the union meeting. First, it increases the relevance of the matters discussed on the floor and the importance of the policy decisions made. Second, and of equal importance, the presence of an organized opposition ensures that a spectator will see and hear a clash of interest and sentiment, Conflict

Jewish Organizations, Civil Rights And the Equality of Man

It is not too often that we can agree with the statement of a clergyman. We therefore make haste in endorsing an important sentiment expressed by Dr. Hillel Silver at the opening session of the 26th General Assembly of the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds. Dr. Silver said that any violation of the constitutional and human rights of American citizens "is, in a special sense a threat to the security and stability of the American Jewish Community."

There has been some discussion in Jewish circles that questions the sensibleness of national Jewish organizations taking a stand on the issue of civil rights in the U. S. These organizations have an excellent record in the fight for civil rights for all in the U. S. and especially for civil rights for America's largest minority, the Negroes. The American Jewish Congress has issued joint reports with the NAACP. National Jewish organizations have cooperated with Negro organizations and jointly initiated court cases, sponsored anti-discrimination bills, etc.

Pressure to stop such activities has come from a number of sources. (1) From those who make an ideology of Jewish "separation." Some of these ideologists who so proudly proclaim the moral

superiority of the Jew over the non-Jew refuse to come to the defense of other minorities. They judge the moral worth of non-Jews by the attitude toward Jewish rights, a not unworthy criterion. But what applies to Peter applies to Paul. The most common reason given is that the Jews have their own problems and that the Jews are too weak and in too exposed a position to stick their necks out.

The second and by far greater pressure has come from some Southern Jewish communities. Under the pressure of their surroundings they have made it known that they would thank the central organization for not taking a definite stand on what is termed "controversial issues."

Dr. Silver's declaration will help the national organizations to continue to hold fast to their line. The status of the Jewish and other minorities rests on the general acceptance of the principle of the equality of men. Wherever and whenever that principle is denied or broken, a blow is dealt to American Jews.

FREEDOM OF SPEECH!

The secretary of the Bulgarian communist party, Todor Zhivkov, said in a speech on November 25, 1957 that every hand raised against the regime would be "cut off by the sword." An article on "freedom of criticism" published on November 21, 1957 in the party paper *Rabotnichesko Delo* states: "Above all, in a Marxist-Leninist party, there can be no freedom for views hostile to Marxism-Leninism. There can be no freedom for people who criticize and slander the party. On the basis of this Marxist-Leninist conception of freedom of criticism, the party has been taking stern measures against the hostile voices which in various places have been trying to exploit justified criticism of the shortcomings of our State. . . . The party will oppose all those who try to abuse freedom of criticism to bring about a change in the party's policy. Freedom of criticism in no way means freedom to doubt the correctness of party policy, party decisions and party tasks. In reality freedom of criticism means the duty to assess the nature and value of party decisions and to allow them to sink deep into the consciousness."

From ICFTU Spotlight

RED MENACE?

If They Would Only Keep Their Freedom Theoretical: "Some Americans," the *Wall Street Journal* reported (Jan. 28) from Venezuela, "fear the taste of political freedom now being savored for the first time in many years may be translated into tougher union demands." . . . In Venezuela, as in Hungary, the first victims of the uprising, when workers and students rose against the dictatorship, were the secret police. Apparently, a police state is a police state, whether run by a Communist bureaucracy or a monopoly capitalist tool like Jimenez: the same terror, the same abuses, the same resentments, and the same lynchings of the hated plainclothesmen when the prisons are opened. . . . So far the Venezuelan revolution, in the shadow of the U.S., is faring better than did Hungary, in the shadow of the USSR. . . . But we're waiting to see whether a Red menace will suddenly be discovered there by our oil companies. . . .

From I. F. Stone's Weekly

ISL's "Forum" Discusses Vital Issue: Socialism and the U.S. Labor Movement

The Independent Socialist League has just published an issue of its discussion and information bulletin, *Forum* which concentrates on the question of the relationship of socialists to the labor movement. The issue of *Forum* opens up, and is itself a part of a discussion on this vital topic in which we hope all members and friends of the ISL, as well as socialists in general will participate.

The *Forum* begins with a re-print of a section of a document entitled "Socialists and the Labor Movement" which was tabled for further discussion at the last convention of the ISL. Accompanying it are a series of amendments presented at the time of the convention, and a draft resolution presenting a different

point of view which had also been presented to the convention. Articles by H. W. Benson and A. Winters argue some of the issues presented in these documents. Among them are the proper attitude and approach of socialists in the labor movement today; the problem of "industrializing" the socialist movement; problems of electoral policy; issues of opportunism and sectarianism in connection with such problems, and the like.

In addition to these documents and articles are a piece by Frank Harper on "Ideas, Personal Relations, and the All-Inclusive Concept," and one by Paul Germain on "National Communism in Transition, a Discussion of Right Trends in Gomulka's Poland."

Copies of this issue of *Forum* may be obtained by mailing 15¢ to ISL, 114 West 14th Street, New York 11, N. Y.

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Independent Socialist Forum
Friday, February 28
Amer. Socialist,
Monthly Review, etc.
Speaker: Sam Bottone
8:30 p.m. at L. A. Hall, 114 West 14 Street, N.Y.C.

The Princeton "Eating Clubs" Case Dramatizes the Problem of: **FRA TERNITIES AND DISCRIMINATION**

By A. S. KNOB

"Being tall and athletic isn't everything. But the club looks at you that's all they see. That and you're Jewish . . . an intellectual . . . and don't have money. Now I like my roommate. He likes me. But neither of us got a bid so we're rejects in everyone's eyes. That's the way things are."

Thus Joel Davidow, a Princeton sophomore, bespoke the anguish of the latest twenty three victims of that cruel social order known in Nassautown as the "eating clubs," on most other campuses as the fraternity system.

Princeton's President Robert Goheen is the prototype of most university heads in his manifestly liberal public utterances. But when the push comes to shove, and his campus is beset by a particularly potent harbinger of discrimination, Goheen continues the pattern set by his contemporaries and quietly withdraws into an academic corner after self-righteously asserting that "the seriousness of these allegations (re discrimination) has been unfortunately exaggerated by several individuals who sought to impose their wishes on the clubs." That for the president, marked the end of the matter.

Princeton thought it had its social problem solved when in one post World War II year, four fifths of its sophomores had signed a petition refusing to join a club unless all of their classmates were chosen. A "bicker week" (i.e. 14 days for upperclassmen to interview and bid the sophomores) was set up, supposedly insuring bids for all second year students.

For nine years the system has sputtered along, hampered by the development of "second-rate" clubs. Finally this year the social dissatisfaction boiled over as 23 Princeton sophs refused the empty consolation of joining the catch-all cooperative club Prospect. A large number of the students signed a statement stating "I feel I have been discriminated against because of race or religion."

Joel Davidow pinpointed the tormenting agony of rejection by one's peers. "You have to care. This is the social system at Princeton. If you're not in a club . . . you know you're not wanted. . . You've got a stigma attached to you."

PRINCETON'S SCAR

Princeton's scar is duplicated in one way or another on most campuses across the country. Today, the struggle against social elitism is the exception. The lines are more often drawn on the question of racial and religious bias.

Here the fight is only beginning. But

the roots can be traced back to the middle of the nineteenth century. Early fraternities found no need for bias clauses, for practically all students in colleges and universities were white Protestants. Then with the influx and competition of students of other creeds and nationalities, in large part caused by immigration from foreign lands, these fraternities felt it necessary to insure their religious and racial status by the use of exclusive bias restrictions.

Racial and religious discrimination by fraternities was ushered in during a period in the middle 1800's which was marred by such powerful bigotry-spawning organizations as the anti-Catholic and anti-immigrant, Know-Nothing Party and secretive American Protective Association.

Alfred McClung Lee, in his study "Fraternities Without Brotherhood" suspects that even the Ku Klux Klan was "an offshoot of the fraternity system in the South." Professor Lee, an expert in sociology and anthropology who has taught at Brooklyn College, Yale, Kansas, NYU and Michigan, believes that the initial origins of the Klan can be traced partly to "the desire to keep alive the horse play, hazing and camaraderie of the truncated college days of the members." Those who recall that even within the past few years fraternity hazing "pranks" have been responsible for kidnappings, serious accidents and even deaths will recognize the truth in Lee's remarks.

SOLUTIONS

Various solutions to these religious and racial bars have presented themselves. One, of course, was the formation of all-Jewish or all-Negro fraternities. But most fraternities formed by minority groups followed the lead of the first Negro Greek-letter organization, Alpha Phi Alpha (started in 1906 at Cornell) which limited its membership to Negro students. Thus these fraternities, although created as a reaction to exclusiveness on the part of white Protestant organizations, were guilty of the same discriminatory policies as their counterparts.

The next step was the formation of all-inclusive Greek letter societies such as Pi Lambda Phi, begun at Yale in 1895 as a social refuge for those students, mainly

Jewish, who found the doors of the big houses on campus closed to them. However, the dominant Jewish milieu and membership of the group has in effect excluded the pledging of non-Jewish brothers.

The problem of most all-inclusive efforts has been similar. Fraternities have been unable to maintain their intellectual attitudes in the face of the dominant religious or racial character of the group. In addition, there are economic barriers. A largely Jewish fraternity (for instance Zeta Beta Tau or Tau Epsilon) whose members might usually be of middle or upper class backgrounds, would probably necessitate too great a financial burden for the average Negro student. Phi Lambda Phi still exists on some forty campuses but its role as an all-inclusive racial and religious body has long since vanished.

COMMONS CLUBS

The American Association of Commons Clubs, formed in 1917, has been unsuccessful in terms of numerical growth but has achieved actual racial and religious integration and in addition has realized a principle of social equality which Pi Lambda Phi never had as a basis for its activities. The Association, which from its start aimed "to make democracy a living reality on campus" eliminated the blackballing system, permitted its members to resign freely and what perhaps is most important, held operating costs as low as possible in order to avoid economic discrimination. Unfortunately however, the Association has shrunk to clubs on five small campuses.

The sole answer to fraternity discrimination is a harsh but viable one. It necessitates removing from the campus those fraternities in which bias is not eliminated in practice as well as in theory. This solution however is not simple. For it involves not only the virulent opposition of most fraternities on a national and local scale but, in many cases, the passive if not openly active resistance of administration authorities.

The great majority of pressure against fraternity bias has come from the student bodies and organs of student expression such as the college newspapers and student government. The method used in most cases has been the setting of a deadline for the removal of the clauses. It took a referendum of the Columbia University student body in 1952 (in which an overwhelming majority voted to eliminate biased fraternities) to convince the administration that a deadline was needed at that school. The University set a deadline for 1960, eight years. In 1956, the administration, undoubtedly moved somewhat by the plight of such struggling organizations as Sigma Chi, and probably swayed to some degree by pleas from fraternity alumni, pushed the deadline back to 1946. Despite claims by student leaders that eight years was certainly time enough to determine the possibility of removing the bias clause nationally and to consider leaving the national organization if such action proved impossible, the administration stubbornly gave these powerful outposts of bias more breathing space. Columbia students are wondering what the year 1964—and greater alumni pressure will bring to the campus in the way of more procrastination.

At Michigan, as at numerous campuses across the country, the pattern was repeated. In February, 1951, the Michigan student council proposed a deadline of 1956 to the administration. President Alexander Ruthven vetoed the proposition, asserting that fraternities have the

right to determine their own membership standards (a conception denied by the New York Supreme Court in 1954). The Michigan Daily, the undergraduate newspaper, lambasted Ruthven's "placing of property rights above human rights . . . an indefensible stand for a university aiming to be worthy in all respects of a greater democracy."

Dartmouth was the exception to administration procrastination. There, as well as at Wayne, Chicago and other schools, deadlines have been imposed. But while certain local fraternity chapters have been cooperative, their nationals have been vituperative and ruthless in their counter-attack. "We have a war on our hands" said Lloyd Cochran, president of the National Interfraternity Conference in 1954.

Fraternity charges of Communist inspiration for the anti-bias fight are fairly common. Fraternities have expelled their locals immediately for violation of the bias codes (e.g. Theta Xi, Phi Alpha, Phi Gamma Delta at Amherst, Alpha Sigma Psi at Middlebury, Beta Theta Pi at Kenyon suspended etc.).

DANGEROUS REACTION

But the most dangerous reaction of fraternities has been the adoption of or reversion to "gentlemen's agreements" or restrictions in the ritual. Beta Theta Pi for instance is bound by the constitutional provision that "no action which might be detrimental to the best interests of the fraternity may be taken." The statement of the National Interfraternity Conference at its last convention that we have "the good old American right to select our friends" and the assertion of Princeton's Interclub Committee of "the right of private organizations to be selective" is being implemented by such provisions as that which binds Sigma Alpha Epsilon to pledge only "socially acceptable" students.

Pamphratia, at Columbia, criticized the National Inter-Fraternity Conference for its aforementioned attitude but refused to demand that all Columbia fraternities state that they are not bound in any way to discriminate. Until this, the only way to even start eliminating de facto discrimination is adopted, the anti-bias fight will be stalled indefinitely.

Young Socialist CHALLENGE

organ of the Young Socialist League, is a regular section of Labor Action but is under the sole editorship of the YSL. Opinions expressed in signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent the views of the Challenge or the YSL.

THE AIM OF THE YSL

The Young Socialist League is a democratic socialist organization striving to aid in the basic transformation of this society into one where the means of production and distribution shall be collectively owned and democratically managed. The YSL attempts to make the young workers and students, who form its arena of activity, conscious of the need for organization directed against capitalism and Stalinism.

The YSL rejects the concept that state ownership without democratic controls represents socialism; or that socialism can be achieved without political democracy, or through undemocratic means, or in short in any way other than the conscious active participation of the people themselves in the building of the new social order. The YSL orients toward the working class, as the class which is capable of leading society to the establishment of socialism.

—From the Constitution of the YSL

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A Compilation of Statements from European Socialist Parties

Social Democratic Foreign Policy

The questions of peace negotiations, disarmament, control of nuclear weapons are at the center of political interest all over the world.

The line followed by the various Communist parties can pretty well be deduced from the latest Moscow communique. The only variation, from country to country, stems from the particular situation of each land, and from the degree to which its bourgeois parties are independent from the policy of the American State Department.

But what positions have the various Social Democratic parties in Europe taken toward the Kremlin's "peace" offensive and the American reaction to it? This is surely a matter of first-rate importance for American socialists in

assessing the political potentialities in the current situation on an international scale.

Since the beginning of the year, Socialist International Information, published by the Socialist International in London, has reproduced a series of resolutions by European socialist parties on speeches by authoritative spokesmen of these movements, on these matters. In seeking to present a broad picture of the approach of the Social Democratic parties of Europe, LABOR ACTION is compelled to excerpt the most significant paragraphs from some documents, while printing others in full. Our main concern, where excerpting or condensation has been necessary, is to give as full and accurate a picture of the position of the given party as possible.

Belgium

The annual Congress of the Belgian Socialist Party met in Brussels on December 21-22, 1957. It must be born in mind that in Belgium the SP is in the government, and Victor Larock, a member of their Executive Committee is Belgian Minister of Foreign Affairs. The Congress' resolution on Foreign Policy.

A. Security

1. Defence against aggression imposes close solidarity among the Western democracies within NATO.

2. The Congress takes note of the foreign minister's statement according to which there is no question of setting up launching sites in Belgium for long- and medium-range missiles or of stockpiling nuclear weapons for aggression.

[The next three points deal with strengthening the Atlantic Community culturally, politically and economically in addition to its military strength. It then goes on:]

6. In the political field, security demands:

—Loyalty to the principles written into the U.N. Charter, with willingness to respect and impose respect for U.N. decisions;

—The political strengthening of European institutions. . . .

—With respect to the Soviet bloc: an unceasing search for peaceful and just solutions and, in particular, the elaboration of a regional system of international guarantees to permit the reunification of Germany following free elections and the restoration of freedom to the peoples of Central and Eastern Europe;

—With respect to the countries of Asia and Africa: a permanent effort at collaboration directed towards the economic and social development of their peoples.

B. Strengthening of Peace

1. The Socialists denounce the danger inherent in an acceleration of the arms race. . . .

2. They demand the suspension, with controls, of nuclear and thermonuclear tests. They demand that a stop be put to atomic production for military ends, and that, with the setting up of an effective control system ensuring respect for agreement, existing devices be converted to peaceful uses.

3. In accordance with NATO decisions, they demand that everything possible be done in order that the disarmament negotiations may be resumed and any concrete proposal, even if incomplete, considered.

4. As regards the Near and Middle East, the consignments of arms must be stopped by both sides. The independence and territorial integrity of all the countries in this area must be guaranteed by international agreement.

C. Cooperation With All Peoples

1. The Socialists will never identify the peoples with the regimes under which they live.

2. The Congress requests the government to take the initiative in recognizing the Peking government in agreement with the other Western nations which favor a similar course.

3. Every occasion must be taken to increase contact with peoples, whatever their regime, by way of economic, social, scientific and cultural relations.

France

The following are extracts from a speech by Christian Pineau, foreign minister of France and a leader of the French Socialist Party, delivered in the French National Assembly on January 22, 1958.

"The danger for us is not that the Soviet Union today possesses rockets which can reach France, but that our country does not possess the same weapons as a possible enemy. No national defence is possible for a country which deliberately allows itself to be out-classed in the sphere of armaments. . . .

France is not opposed to the prohibition of nuclear tests provided the production of fissionable materials for military purposes is also prohibited. Without fulfilment of this condition those countries which have already advanced sufficiently would be allowed to accumulate stocks of atomic weapons. This would mean the establishment of a club open to two or three powers and closed to all the others who would then be obliged to integrate into one bloc or the other. . . .

There remains the idea of partial disarmament, limited to certain weapons and certain countries. The Rapacki Plan is a proposal of this kind. It seems to belong to the broader framework of the settlement of the German problems. The Russians wish to extend this plan to other countries.

In the military sense, the atom-free zone would be a zone from which no missiles could be launched but where they could fall. These regions, because they would be undefended, would not necessarily be sheltered from attack.

In the political sense, the proposal has other significance. We cannot hand-over to the Soviet Union a means of disintegrating the defensive system of NATO, of discouraging America's presence in Europe, of initiating the progressive neutralization of Europe and the resumption of the chain reaction of subversion.

On the other hand, it is not impossible for the West to agree on counter-proposals not subject to the same risks yet calculated to further the relaxation of tension. . . .

On the question of the Middle East, NATO has proclaimed that its members support the independence and sovereignty

of the states in that region. Here, it seems of use to me to make France's position clear: we are utterly opposed to any change in frontiers, specially those of Israel. Indeed, we believe that to start on this road would arouse such appetites and evoke such controversies that peace in that region, already precarious enough, would be seriously endangered.

I have merely tried to trace the main lines of French foreign policy. They may be summarised as follows:

—The defence of Algeria in all fields where it might be endangered by international interference;

—Strengthening of the Atlantic alliance and, with due account taken of present scientific progress, of national security;

—At the same time, attempts to reach agreement between East and West on disarmament and the principal problems of world policy;

—Continuation of the effort for European unity.

Great Britain

The following is taken from an interview with Hugh Gaitskell, chairman of the British Labor Party, which appeared in Reynolds News, London, for January 12, 1958.

We should say "yes" immediately to Marshal Bulganin's invitation to Summit talks and put forward our own positive proposals for peace as our contribution to the agenda. . . .

Support for the conference does not mean that we must sign on the dotted line to everything the Russians have proposed. But surely we can agree to discuss their proposals. At least three of them are, in my opinion, welcome so far as they go. But we must add to them and to the agenda our own positive plans.

We should say "yes" to the proposal to suspend nuclear weapons tests for a period, but we should go on to say that the meeting must discuss as well the even more fundamental question of stopping under international control the production of all nuclear weapons. This is vital. Without it the threat of war remains and mutual trust cannot be established.

We should say "yes" to the proposal for an atom-free zone in Europe. But this, too, does not go far enough.

We should put forward our own plan for the withdrawal of all foreign forces from East and West Germany, from Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary, the establishment in this area of a control over national armaments, a mutual security pact to guarantee the frontiers of all these territories (underwritten by the Great Powers), the reunification of Germany on the basis of free elections, and, finally, an understanding that, if all the other conditions are fulfilled, the reunited Germany withdraws from NATO while Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary withdraw from the Warsaw Pact.

In short, we should endorse and put forward the neutral belt proposals originally put forward by the Labour Party over a year ago and now widely supported everywhere.

We should say "yes" to the Russian proposal to discuss plans for ending tension in the Middle East.

We might go on to propose as a start that the nations represented at the conference should jointly support plans for economic development of the whole Middle East, partly financed out of oil revenues, partly through the United Nations.

We should insist that the conference seek means of settling the Arab refugees and ending the misery of these thousands of homeless people. We should put forward plans for controlling the supply of arms to the area.

We should urge that the Great Powers, including Russia, should guarantee

not only the independence but the territorial integrity of the existing frontiers of all the states in the area.

We must get away from the idea that talking with the Russians endangers our security. It is the present diplomatic deadlock which is so demoralizing to the democracies. . . .

West Germany

In the foreign affairs debate held in the Federal Parliament on 23 January, the German Social Democratic Party proposed a motion asking the Government:

1. To demand that nuclear tests be suspended throughout the world—possibly unilaterally for a limited period—without linking any political or military conditions with this demand;

2. To attempt to prevent the armies of further countries from being equipped with atomic weapons;

3. To declare that the Federal defence forces will not be equipped with atomic weapons and that, on the German side, there will be no participation in the further development of atomic weapons and of medium-and long-range rockets;

4. To adhere to its obligation not to permit the production of atomic weapons and means of biological and chemical warfare in the Federal Republic.

The motion was defeated.

Netherlands

From an editorial in Het Vrije Volk, Amsterdam socialist newspaper on January 23, 1958.

"The Russian idea of a top-level conference with as many participants as possible is not acceptable to the West. The aim must now be to persuade the Russians to agree to business-like talks through diplomatic channels and to consider all suggestions, old and new, in preparation for more public conferences.

"The world is even less in need of propaganda and rousing speeches than were the Russians in their talks with the Polish leaders which they kept very secret. The Russians know full well how to distinguish between propaganda and business-like talks when it suits them."

Norway

The following is from a speech by Norwegian Socialist leader Finn Moe delivered at the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe at Strasbourg on January 16.

I believe we can take it for granted that, in the course of this year, negotiations between East and West will be started and the most vital question today is, therefore, in what spirit these negotiations will be prepared and conducted. It is of decisive importance that they should be serious, and by that I mean that both parties must do their utmost to achieve positive results. If negotiations are entered into with the attitude that nothing will come out of them, this is, in fact, the best way of making sure that there will be no positive results.

Some of us believe that there is a reasonable chance that certain problems will be settled in such negotiations. Others hold the view that it is impossible to say anything about this beforehand, that only the negotiations themselves can show whether the Soviet Union is in earnest this time. But even in the latter case, the only way, in my view, of testing the other side's intentions is to be in earnest oneself.

A gradual solution of the outstanding problems is the only way. We must try to advance step by step and begin with those questions on which it may be easier to obtain agreement, for example the establishment of an atom-free zone consisting of Poland, Germany and Czechoslovakia.

As long as atomic rockets and even tactical atomic weapons remain stationed near the Soviet frontier, the Soviet Union will refuse to loosen her ties with Eastern Germany and the other satellite States in Eastern Europe. For this reason, I believe that an acceptance of Rapacki's proposal might lead to a lessening of East-West tensions.

The Venezuelan Revolution

(Continued from page 1)

of opposition against its feudal-financial rivals and overlords.

The liberal section of the commercial bourgeoisie generally lent its support to the Christian Social Party (COPEI), led by Dr. Rafael Caldera. The rising industrial bourgeoisie and middle class tended to be radically nationalist and democratic. It supported the liberal and progressive government headed by General Isaiás Medina Angarita, from 1940 to 1945. After Medina's downfall, it found its political expression in the Republican Democratic Union (URD), headed by Dr. Jóvito Villalba.

The urban proletariat, as well as the peasantry and petty bourgeoisie (small shopkeepers, etc.) came to be represented by the semi-socialist Democratic Action Party (AD). AD was led by resolute leftists, some of whom were Marxists while others were not. The moderate leaders held a position similar to that of European Social Democracy, while the most radical ones proclaimed themselves followers of "Marx, Engels, Lenin and Rosa Luxemburg," which was intended to mean that they were revolutionary Marxists, independent from both Stalinism and Trotskyism.

The party stood for complete political democracy, land reform, the construction of a strong trade union movement, nationalization of mineral resources, progressive labor legislation, vast public and social works, centralization and expansion of education, direct progressive taxation, confiscation of the lands and property of notorious reactionaries, supervision of the government and the public administration by the trade unions, and other radically democratic measures. The Marxists within AD saw this democratic program as constituting merely the first, bourgeois-democratic step toward the eventual establishment of a socialist regime based on workers' councils.

The Stalinists

Leadership of the working class and peasantry was also claimed by the Stalinists PCV (Communist Party of Venezuela). The PCV remained relatively uninfluential, however. Its dependence on the USSR, and its tendency to support the nationalist bourgeoisie and to postpone the class struggle, prevented it from gaining the confidence of more than a minority of the working class. AD, and not the PCV, became the mighty mass party of the exploited.

The liberal Medina government, which had represented the struggle for power of the liberal-commercial and the nationalist-democratic bourgeoisie, was overthrown in 1945 by AD, with the help of the young officers of the army. AD felt that the time for a radical democracy and for the definitive destruction of feudalism had come.

AD carried out many social reforms and built up a large and strong trade union movement. It brought the masses into active political participation. As a consequence of the pressure of the foreign petroleum interests, of the feudal-financial oligarchy, and also of the liberal bourgeoisie (COPEI and URD), the AD government was overthrown in 1948 by the same group of army officers which had brought it to power. AD was outlawed. So was the PCV, one and a half years later.

The military Junta which succeeded AD was made up of three men: Carlos Delgado Chalbaud was relatively liberal, and intended to re-establish a bourgeois parliamentary democracy, from which the Marxists would be excluded. The other two, Marcos Pérez Jiménez and Luis Felipe Llovera Paéz had become instruments of the most extreme reaction. In 1950, Pérez Jiménez actively or passively connived in the assassination of Delgado Chalbaud. Two years later he made himself president of the country, through a fraudulent election. He arrested and exiled the opposition candidate, Jóvito Villalba, and outlawed the URD. He intensified the terror against the working class. Trade unions became virtual state organs. Freedom of speech, of the press, and other bourgeois freedoms were suppressed at least as harshly as at the time of the bloody Gómez.

Political Police

Thousands of political prisoners were tortured and cast into dungeons or concentration camps by the secret police led by the infamous Pedro Estrada. Estrada, a sadistic gangster sprung from the lumpen-proletariat, became one of the most influential men in Venezuela, next to Pérez Jiménez. The real tactician of the regime was the minister of the interior, Laureano Vallenilla Lanz, who constituted the link between Pedro Estrada and the reactionary groups of the oligarchy and army. Vallenilla Lanz advised Pérez Jiménez on all "electoral" and propaganda matters.

The dictatorship served the interests of the old alliance of foreign capital and the native feudal oligarchy. The oligarchy, which was moving more and more toward modern methods of capital investment, needed healthy and efficient workers. To fulfill that need, Pérez Jiménez organized an excellent public health service and succeeded in virtually eradicating syphilis and malaria. He concentrated the proletariat in gigantic housing blocks with modern conveniences. The physical benefit which the working class derived from the measures was counterbalanced by the suffering which

resulted from the repressive and brutal methods which the government used in carrying out these technical advances and social changes. The working class became partly demoralized as a result of the terror and suppression of the trade unions, and a small portion of it developed into a desperate, hate-racked, semi-criminal lumpen proletariat. This lumpen proletariat was to play an important part in the revolution of January 1958.

To keep wages down, and to contribute further to the disintegration and demoralization of the working class, Pérez Jiménez and Pedro Estrada used foreign immigrant workers as strike-breakers and at the same time as scapegoats. Italian immigrants, desperate with need and bewildered by the foreign surroundings, were put to work at incredibly low wages, so that the whole national level of wages was kept from rising. Those European immigrants who had a fascist or criminal background were used as informers, jailers or torturers by Pedro Estrada's secret police.

In addition, European adventurers and scoundrels set up shady businesses in collusion with Pérez Jiménez and his henchmen, and helped to bring corruption to a level which it had never reached before in the whole gloomy history of Venezuela. Bribery, and thefts from the public treasury became the *raison d'être* of the government. The frantic construction of capitalism which the oligarchy carried out under Pérez Jiménez' rule, in cooperation with foreign investors, was not only bloody and brutal, but also unnecessarily wasteful and corrupt. Many splendid buildings and roads which were built during those years were specially useless, inasmuch as they served only as monuments to the glory of the despot and as pleasure haunts for the oligarchy and its henchmen.

The conscious or unconscious collaboration of immigrants in these things produced violent hatred against foreigners, and especially against Italians, on the part of the demoralized sections of the Venezuelan working class. Pedro Estrada worked to encourage the anti-foreign feeling. By inciting Venezuelan and foreign workers against each other, the dictatorship hoped to render the proletariat incapable of revolutionary action.

An Anachronism

The construction of native capitalism under the rule of the dictatorship had the effect of making the bourgeoisie the economic ruling class. The feudal oligarchy was incapable of directing the new economic and technical forces which had come into being. More and more, the rising bourgeoisie displaced or absorbed the oligarchy. Finally a point was reached at which the feudal-fascist political regime became an anachronism, in relation to the capitalist-liberal economic structure which had grown under the former's aegis. The bourgeoisie, after becoming the economic ruling class, was ready to wrest the reins of political power from the hands of the feudal robber barons, whose rule was in contradiction with the new forms of production.

By the end of 1957, the atmosphere of terror and corruption which prevailed in Venezuela under the "New National Ideal," (as Pérez Jiménez called his system), had become unbearable for all classes, with the exception of some of the most reactionary members of the oligarchy, the representatives of foreign corporations, and certain foreign residents who had been assigned a privileged place in the national economy and who claimed that "such a primitive people as the Venezuelan is not ripe for democracy."

The Catholic Church, which had supported the dictatorship during its first years, openly condemned Pérez Jiménez methods. In a public sermon, the Archbishop of Venezuela stated that the dictatorship was corrupt and that it carried out public works projects merely for the sake of its own prestige, while it failed to improve the lot of the poor. Pérez Jiménez retorted by imprisoning a number of priests and outlawing the COPEI. The COPEI's leader, Rafael Caldera, and many party members went to jail, and later, into exile.

The Church's turn against Pérez Jiménez reflected a general desire on the part of the conservative and bourgeois groups to free themselves from the rule of a group of robber barons and to take the control of the nation into their own hands. To achieve this end, they were willing to share political power with the lower classes, without whom the dictatorship could not be overthrown. They established contact with the resistance movement.

The resistance groups, composed of men and women of AD, the PCV, URD and COPEI, had been drawn together in the course of their common struggle. A "united front from below" had come about automatically, in spite of the divergencies which continued to divide the party leaders in exile. A united democratic front, called the "Patriotic Junta" was formed.

The Patriotic Junta

The Patriotic Junta was composed of men and women of all democratic and left-wing tendencies, from COPEI to AD and PCV. It was in contact with liberal young officers of the army, navy, air force and internal security forces. The left wing of the Patriotic Junta was led and organized by the students of Venezuela. Throughout the Pérez Jiménez period, the students had staged an impressive number of strikes and protest

demonstrations. The students took the initiative of "going to the people," and establishing contact with the working class. The clandestine "University Front" thus became the link between the workers and the bourgeois democratic wing of the Patriotic Junta.

On December 15, 1957, Pérez Jiménez offended the whole nation by prolonging his "constitutional presidential term" through a "plebiscite" in which everyone was to vote "yes" or "no." Well-organized police terror forced the majority of the nation first to sign humiliating "statements of support" of the dictator, and then to vote "yes." Employees were told that they would have to keep the "no" ballot and show it to the secret police after the plebiscite, to prove that they had put the "yes" ballot into the urn. Italian workers were herded together and taken to vote over and over again all day long. This political conscription of the Italians was carried out by one of Pérez Jiménez' "business friends," the "entrepreneur" Gagliardi, and was condoned by the Italian ambassador, Count Giusto Giusti di Giardino.

With the vast majority of the nation gnashing its teeth with anger at this ultimate humiliation, the Patriotic Junta decided that the situation was ripe for a revolution. The Junta wanted the revolution to be popular and democratic while the liberal army officers could only conceive it in the form of a putsch.

II. The Bourgeois-Military Phase of the Revolution

In the night of the New Year, the air force and the garrison of the city of Maracay rose against the government. Simultaneously, a military uprising was to have broken out in Caracas. But the officers of Caracas failed to carry out their part in the insurrection. Maracay was left to fight alone. The workers of Maracay and other towns in the state of Aragua rose to support the National Liberation Army, as the insurgent officers called their forces. They formed fighting groups and asked for arms. The NLA retorted by asking the people to keep quiet. . . . Sabre Jets and Canberra bombers of NLA flew over Caracas and bombed and strafed Miraflores, the presidential palace.

As the hours went by, and the dictatorship prepared its counter-offensive, Radio Maracay frantically began to call on the people of Caracas to rise against the tyrant. But the people were not ready to revolt. The working class was unprepared. No attempt had yet been made to organize the revolution from below, from the proletarian rank and file level. The workers were unwilling to fight under the leadership of bourgeois army officers.

The airplanes which soared across the sky of Caracas, impersonal and individualistic, were symbolic of the lack of contact which existed between the liberal-conservative knighthood and the democratic, anti-capitalist masses.

In the evening of January 1st, four government army columns marched forth from different parts of the country to encircle Maracay. By midnight, the government brigade commanded by Colonel Casanova was at the outskirts of that city. A few hours later, the NLA surrendered unconditionally. Casanova established a regime of white terror in Maracay. A number of soldiers and workers were shot. Twelve hundred officers and n.c.o.'s were arrested and imprisoned in the infamous fortress of Puerto Cabello. A regiment which had risen in revolt behind Casanova's back, in the city of Los Teques, was forced to surrender at noon on January 2nd.

Limits of Military Putsch

This first uprising showed clearly that a bourgeois-military putsch is only as effective as the men who organize and lead it. This lesson showed that the "line" of the Patriotic Junta and of the University Front was correct: the revolution must be prepared carefully, and it must become a mass revolution.

Nevertheless, the January 1st movement was important and useful. It proved to the nation and to the world that the bourgeoisie, or at least an important part of it, was an enemy of the dictatorship. The people saw that the iron front of vested interests, which had oppressed it till then, was broken, that the dictatorship was tottering, and that the time to arise had come. The weakness of the dictatorship became obvious through the fact that on January 10th the cabinet was reshuffled. Liberal members of the military hierarchy pushed Pérez Jiménez to dismiss Vallenilla Lanz and Pedro Estrada, and to seek to buy off the revolution through a liberalization from above. The dismissal of Vallenilla and Estrada only encouraged the revolutionaries and the student agitation increased instead of lessening. As a consequence, two days later Pérez Jiménez changed the cabinet again, sending into exile the liberal new minister of defense, General Rómulo Fernández, and taking the command of the armed forces into his own hands.

(In the following installment: *The General Strike and the Democratic Phase of the Revolution . . . The People's Military Tactics . . . The Fall of the Dictatorship . . . The Revolution Continues . . . Dangers to the Revolutionary Order . . . Future Perspectives.*)

SPOTLIGHT

(Continued from page 1)

The statement issued by the AFL-CIO Executive Council which calls for this conference refers to the "calamitous business decline," and states that "we are convinced this wasteful and needless recession can be ended. America can and must be put back to work."

From these words, and from the location and publicity already afforded this conference in the labor press, it is clear that it is intended as a powerful and dramatic demonstration of the political solidarity and power of the labor movement. In that respect it harks back to the Washington conference which decided to pull all labor representatives out of Truman's war boards during the Korean war.

CALAMITY?

But the relative mildness and "gradualness," so to speak, of the program shows that the labor leaders themselves do not yet believe in the "calamitous" dimensions or potential of this recession. If every one of their proposals were adopted, immediately and in full, it is doubtful whether they would have an appreciable effect on the economy for at least several months. Even then, just what their impact would be it is hard to tell.

As a matter of fact, the program they propose could and probably would be the legislative program of the labor movement for this session of Congress even in the absence of any recession at all. While (aside from the implications of its military section) it might be a good, though modest enough, program for an America riding along at the top of a boom, it does not appear to be a program likely to inflame the public imagination as the answer to a deepening recession.

The real significance of the March conference, however, will be determined less by its formal program and the plans made for it by the AFL-CIO leaders last month than by the way the economy behaves between now and then. Each week the recession continues to deepen, each additional hundred thousand of unemployed, each additional drop in the business and production indices, increase the political pressure which the recession exerts on everyone, including the labor movement.

It is impossible, of course, to tell just how much the pressure will have built up by the middle of March, or just what the political reaction to it will be. The conference could be just another one of those legislative pressure things, or it could signal a significant change in the political climate.

It will bear watching.

Un-American Racket Rides Old Trail Again

The House Committee on Un-American Activities, and the Senate body which has established jurisdiction in the same field got their appropriations again this year without a fight, without an argument, and with only a couple of silent dissenting votes.

Following this annual ritual, the House Committee issued a report of its last year's "work" if one can use that term. Like the appropriation, the report follows well-known, and well-worn lines. The "red menace" is greater than ever before, say these Congressmen who have spent hundreds of thousands of the taxpayers' dollars in order to become informed in these matters. And since they have discovered absolutely nothing of interest during this past year, let alone anything of value, they have followed the further rule of the public relations man: stretch out the nothing you have over a maximum number of news releases. Thus the famous average man, who is supposed to read nothing but the headlines, will get the impression that something really has been going on.

It works to sell soap. Why shouldn't it work to sell "un-Americanism," the commodity on which these committees thrive? Since there are not enough Congressmen with enough guts to really fight this senseless expenditure of money, it would appear that they are right.

Day after day during the past weeks the Committee's public relations men released their "reports" to the press. We followed them in the New York Times with avid interest. One must assume that in such matters reporters excerpt the most startling, sensational material from their press releases. If the material printed in the Times represents the highlights of the Committee's findings for 1957, we shudder to think what the rest of it must have been like.

INFILTRATION

"Red Infiltration of Industry Seen" was the headline one day. Since it would appear that there was nothing concrete to report under this imposing headline, the "report" appears to have beefed up the record with such philosophical gems as: "The degree of success which the Communist party achieves has no direct relationship to the size of the party itself," and claims that the Committee's hearings had "highlighted the growing use of the Communist technique of colonization of industry by small cadres of highly trained, disciplined party members." That the "cadres" have been small, there can be little doubt. How highly trained and disciplined they have been lately, one can only conjecture. That the Committee had no real, fresh, lively evidence to offer on the whole

matter, of that one can be pretty sure.

By the end of the week, even the Times got tired of this transparent game. From the first inside pages, the item had shifted back to about page 54, and had shrunk to no more than three inches of type. "Red Danger Asserted," reads the brave headline, but it is in the smallest type used by the Times for headlines. Under it, the sub-head would seem to call for a little more prominence, if anyone believed it were true: "House Unit Says Saboteurs Infiltrate Communications." It appears that the researches of the Committee's staff had turned up the startling information that the American Communications Association has been certified by the NLRB as collective bargaining agent, and its workers "service key communications lines of a number of vital United States Government agencies, including the Department of Defense."

The Un-American Activities Committee is one of LABOR ACTION'S regular subscribers, and we have no desire to unnecessarily knock anyone who is so unvaryingly prompt in re-subscribing and paying for their subscription. But hasn't it ever occurred to the congressmen and the staff of this committee that the time has been reached when this bilking of the public treasury for the purpose of raking over the dying embers of a political movement has become obscene, as well as "un-American"?

I. F. Stone's Weekly (January 27) draws our attention to the fact that 61 prominent Chicagoans have signed a petition to Congress calling for the abolition of the House Un-American Activities Committee. The petition quotes at length from the Supreme Court's decision in the Watkins case in which the vagueness of the Committee's mandate and various abuses of civil liberties by the Committee were castigated.

In an article accompanying the text of the petition, Stone warns that the move to ditch this committee may grow, but that Congressman Walter and others are thinking of a slick way of keeping in business for a while longer: changing the name of the Committee, or abolishing it only to set up a joint Senate-House Committee.

Though it appears that the life of these outfits has been continued for another year, everyone who really stands for civil liberties should work to make it their last one.

The Schwartz Probe: The Stink Will not Die

The stench rising from what will no doubt go down in history as the "Schwartz investigation" in Washington is so powerful that the concerted forces of government and a good portion of the press seem unable to deodorize the proceedings.

After firing their chief investigator for too great zeal in the conduct of the investigation, the congressmen who head the committee put him on the witness stand to try and discredit him. He was forced to testify purely from memory, and without aid of any documentation. Nevertheless, he spread clearly on the record the well-known fact that men of power and money have ways which are closed to the poor and powerless of reaching the ears of public officials.

Sherman Adams, "assistant president," had a nice, friendly, informal chat with the head of the agency which regulates airlines, on the suggestion of a friend who happened also to have been retained by an airline whose vital interests were then in the hands of the agency. Did Adams influence the final decision? Congressmen angrily demanded that Schwartz present proof. While he mildly pointed out that the subcommittee's action in curtailing and publicizing this phase of the investigation had made the

production of proof unlikely, if not impossible, the issue was made plain enough for anyone who cares to read the record.

To Schwartz, a professor of political science, the idea that the rich and powerful have back-door access to the "independent" regulatory agencies was contrary to political theory and morality. (All citizens are equal before the law). To the members of Congress, it is one of the facts so ordinary, so assumed, so "essential" to the operation of government in a capitalist society that the idea that anyone could really question it was beyond them.

But what was all the outcry about the "influence-peddlers" and the "5 percenters" in the Truman Administration, much of it coming from congressmen?

Some of it was purely partisan in character. But added is always the element of outrage against the crass, cash-on-the-line operator who violates the prescribed rules of social acceptability. It is akin to the outcry of a society which considers marriage for wealth and position a natural and acceptable part of sexual morality against the street-walker or call-girl.

Democracy -

Ethical Practices Committee. Shall the labor movement listen to complaints of groups that have been victimized by their own union officials? In all the turmoil, neither the Executive Council nor the Ethical Practices Committee has afforded such a recourse. And it is understandable. If rank and file Engineers and Pilots can appeal against their leaders, why not Carpenters? Hod Carriers? Steel Workers? Who knows who else. And in the bureaucratic spirit that has prevailed for so long in the American labor movement, no one dares to offer such a forum for democracy within labor.

Reuther and Meany can get their two-thirds because the pistol of public opinion and government intervention is pointed at the heads of some reluctant officials. They have their majority on top. But the Teamsters are still under the domination of old officials. The Engineers officialdom, too, remains. And there are others.

To wipe out the racketeers, the spirit of democracy must be stimulated and aroused everywhere. For every Peter Battalios who is beaten; for every Madden and Liddy who is expelled there must be an outcry everywhere from decent elements in the labor movement. But for such a spirit of democracy, there is no two-thirds majority on top. And, until there is, our labor movement has a long way to go. What must come is a real crusade to destroy the racket principalities root and branch. Right now, that seems remote. It waits upon a new wave of democracy in labor.

FLASH!

As we go to press, the newspapers report that the three highest officers of the International Brotherhood of Carpenters have been indicted on a charge of conspiracy to bribe a state official in Indiana in a land-profit deal.

Indicted are President Maurice A. Hutcheson, Treasurer Frank M. Chapman, and O. William Blaier, vice president. Involved are some \$80,000 in purchase and resale of nine lots along the Tri-State Expressway in Gary and one lot in Wayne County near Richmond.

The courts alone can determine whether Hutcheson and his colleagues are guilty of the legal charges. But does the AFL-CIO have to wait till they have finally acted before looking into the whole question of this union's officers' activities in this field?

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