

LABOR ACTION

JUNE 30, 1958

TEN CENTS

SPOTLIGHT

A Judge Rules Against Little Rock Integration

The ruling by Judge Lemley which seeks to reverse the tiny degree of integration achieved in the schools of Little Rock is a real set-back to the struggle for equality in America. It encourages every die-hard racist to continue the war against the Negro people. Even if the NAACP is able to prevail by September with its legal moves to restore the situation at Central High School in Little Rock to what it was last year, the idea that determined, aggressive resistance and terror can delay integration will have been revived and reinvigorated.

The Negroes in the South who have stood in the front lines of the struggle know very well just how effective has been the activist policy of terror and boycott of the White Citizens Councils. While the legal battles waged by the NAACP have been of the utmost importance, the final victory cannot be achieved by court battles alone. As a matter of fact, the Lemley ruling illustrates once again the sensitivity of the courts to social pressure, a sensitivity which works in favor of progress or reaction, depending on which way the pressure is more strongly applied.

Despite the valiant struggle of the Negroes in the South, and the great job the NAACP has done in organizing that struggle and mobilizing support for it in the North, the liberal and labor movements' role has been more that of a cheering section than of active participants. While the White Citizens Councils have been terrorizing, demonstrating, legislating and boycotting, the labor movement has passed a few resolutions and contributed a little money . . . and that has been about all.

The Lemley decision proves, if proof were necessary, that that is not enough. The Supreme Court ruling on integration will not enforce itself, and it is clear that the federal government will enforce it only where and when it is compelled to by the determined action of the anti-Jim Crow forces in the country. The labor movement has a duty which it can continue to evade only at its own peril. One of the things which socialists can make it their job to do is to press and urge in all circles in which they can make their voice heard for an active policy in the struggle against Jim Crow.

Another Victory Won For Freedom To Travel

The Supreme Court's 5-4 decision barring the State Department from denying passports to people because of their "beliefs and associations" is another victory in the long struggle to restore freedom of travel as a natural right of Americans. To be sure, the Court majority's decision was made on narrow

legal basis which avoids the constitutional issue. If Congress were to pass some of the bills now before it, the State Department's current regulations with regard to passport applications would be made into law, and then another long and costly legal fight would have to be made to bring a case before the Supreme Court for ruling on constitutional grounds.

Of course, the Court ruling discourages Congress from light-mindedly enacting the arbitrary bureaucratic measures of the State Department into law. Whether it ever does so will depend on the course of political developments in the United States and the world. In the meantime, however, the right to travel is made a little more secure for the whole American people.

It would be well to remember on such occasions, that every such victory won through the courts is paid for by the heavy financial sacrifices of the individual or individuals who make the fight, and by the civil liberties organizations who support them.

G. K. H.

The Sherman Adams Case baksheesh!

By GORDON HASKELL

The disclosure that Sherman Adams, assistant president of the United States, is tied to a New England textile manufacturer with bonds of baksheesh has pretty much boxed the compass between the Democrats and Republicans on the issue of corruption. Although the rumor that General Vaughn has offered Adams a deep freeze in which to keep his vicuna coat during the summer may be baseless, its circulation speaks volumes about the popular reaction to this latest exposé of the relations between the "business community" and the men who run the government in the country which likes to call itself "the leader of the free world."

A political event such as this gives rise to predictable reactions from all sides. The Democrats are having a field day. The zest with which they address themselves to this opportunity, however, varies directly with their distance from public office. Republican officials cry for an immediate sacrifice with which to propitiate the voters. Moralists and theologians have current material for discourses on the innate sinfulness of man, or on the corrupting effect of too much power. And socialists write about the subversion and distortion of democracy inevitable in a capitalist society, as illustrated by the Adams case.

THE OUTSIDER

Though such indeed is the theme of the present article, some inducement must be proffered the experienced reader to follow it to its inevitable conclusion.

"New China" Attacks Tito Heresy

. . . page 7

Which Way To Union Democracy?

. . . page 3

Little Has Changed in Poland

. . . page 6

Price Barrier to College Rises

. . . page 5

Nagy Murder Raises World-Wide Protest

By LARRY O'CONNOR

The judicial murder of Imre Nagy and his comrades has aroused a world-wide storm of protest. Its extent as well as its intensity testify to how deep an impression the Hungarian Revolution made on the consciousness and conscience of mankind; and how slight has been the effect of the Stalinist attempt to slander and besmirch that revolution with the claim that it was the work of American agents and/or fascists.

Protests from the Second International, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, and from the socialist parties and trade union bodies of just about every country in the Western camp were to be expected. But the swiftness and vigor with which they have reacted shows that this is not just

one of those formal occasions for denouncing Stalinism.

Due to their current struggle, the Yugoslav government has got in some telling punches. Since Nagy was induced to leave his refuge in the Yugoslav Embassy in Budapest on promises of safe-conduct and no reprisals, they were in a position to claim a direct governmental concern with the matter. Further, their intimate knowledge of Nagy's activities while in their Embassy has made it possible for them to refute one of the few charges which have emerged from the secrecy of his "trial," namely that he continued to direct the armed resistance to the Russians after he took refuge there.

Beyond that, there has been the strong reaction of Jawaharlal Nehru, the "shock and horror" expressed by Arthur Horner, chief of the National Union of Mineworkers and leading Communist in the British labor movement. This bespeaks the strong reaction which the Nagy execution has no doubt evoked in neutralist and even Communist circles.

Along with the denunciations, there has been widespread speculation as to the motives, or the "meaning" of these executions. People who had fallen hardest for the idea that the Khrushchev regime represents a brand new era of Stalinist "democratization" began to speculate that the Nagy execution portends some shift in Russian foreign policy, or even a shift of power inside the Kremlin.

POLITICAL LOGIC

It is entirely possible that such shifts are in the making, or even that they have already been made. But no such hypothesis is necessary to explain the Nagy executions. They follow logically and inexorably from the nature of the Stalinist regime, and the policies which it has followed consistently since the Hungarian Revolution.

From the point of view of political logic, the execution was a foregone conclusion. The Russians and all their puppets, allies, stooges, and dupes have maintained that the Hungarian Revolution was engineered by the American intelligence service and carried out by fascists. That has been their story, and they have stuck to it. Not to execute the leaders and prime movers of such an uprising would be so incredible as to strain the imagination and the judicial machinery of many a state far less totalitarian than the Russian. In fact, it would have amounted to a repudiation of their own slanderous version of the revolution.

Of course, the Russian leaders know that their explanation for the Hungarian Revolution is a lie. But since they know the truth, they have a reason far more important than the desire to be consistent in the eyes of the world to trample on both justice and mercy in their treatment of the leaders and symbols of the revolution. They want to remind the restless and rebellious peoples throughout the Stalinist sphere that the struggle for freedom and democracy will be put down with an iron fist.

(Turn to last page)

DISPATCH FROM DENMARK

Danes Win Shorter Work Week

By CARL HEINRICH PETERSEN

Denmark, June 1

Throughout the winter and spring negotiations and votes on new contract proposals have been held throughout the entire Danish labor market. June 1 the only agreements remaining to be negotiated were between the big dairies in Copenhagen and the dairy workers and a few others. Agreements in industry, agriculture, small trade, business and transport have been reached by large majorities in votes by workers and employers' associations. In a referendum vote, over 75 per cent of workers voting agreed to new agreements — a larger majority vote than ever before in a general wage negotiation.

The main reason for this is that the new agreements provide for a regular work week of 45 hours (formerly 48 hours) with full compensation for day workers and two thirds for incentive workers. (In some agreements the shorter work week is introduced as of March 1, 1959 while in others the work week is reduced gradually—one hour in 1958, 1959 and in 1960.) And the farm workers have at last got the eight hour day.

SHORTER WEEK

The employers did not oppose this reduction in the regular work week strongly, although for several decades they have categorically refused to reduce the work week from 48 hours. It is certain that work week reductions in several other countries, especially in neighboring lands, has affected the change in the employers' position. On the other hand the employers were very unwilling to grant the claim of the unskilled workers for a minimum weekly wage of 200 kroner (about \$30 in rate of exchange, but about \$70 in rate of purchase) and negotiations were broken off several times because of it. However, finally they were forced to make very important concessions in this area, the workers' claims were almost completely met thanks to the adamance and will to fight of the General Workers Union.

The Danish Communist and the little Left Socialist Party urged the workers to reject the new contract proposal unsuccessfully. However, Communist leaders in both the typographical workers and marine firemen made resolutions for adoption of the proposals.

This new agreement is one of the best the Danish workers have ever known because of the reduction in the weekly hours. It is the first time since 1919 when the 8-hour day was won that a reduction in the regular work week has occurred here, with the exception of the introduction of longer vacations in the 30's and in 1952.

Communal Elections; The "Left Socialists"

Communal elections were held in March throughout the country. The voter turnout was larger than in the preceding communal elections but less than in the parliamentary elections held last

May. Customarily less people vote in communal elections than in parliamentary elections.

If we compare the votes from the parliamentary election of 1957 and the communal election of 1958; it is evident that the Single Tax Party (Henry Georgists) have lost most of their 1957 gain. This loss which should be blamed on their coalition with the Social Democrats will benefit the Liberals and especially the Conservatives in the next parliamentary election.

The decline of the Communist Party vote which followed the Russian 20th Communist Party Congress and Hungary has now stopped and will perhaps show a modest growth in the future accompanying the Soviet Union's technical-scientific triumphs. The relative decline of the Social Democratic votes is also seen as checked.

LEFT SOCIALISTS

The new primitive and confused Left Socialists participated in elections in seven localities receiving a greater vote than expected — in Copenhagen (3100), Esbjerg (1500) and Elsinore (600). In the last two cities the party even got a man elected to the city council; in Esbjerg there were nearly enough votes for two city council members. These vote totals for the Left Socialists must be seen as an expression of dissatisfaction on a part of the workers with the Social Democrats and Stalinists, especially the latter. In Esbjerg and Elsinore where the new party was relatively stronger, the Stalinists lost votes and two city council members.

Organizationally the new party has its base in the provinces with about 600 members of whom 300 are in Esbjerg but only about 80 in Copenhagen. The Party's political life and its theoretical and intellectual level are on the other hand better in Copenhagen than in the provinces—namely because some old Trotskyists gradually have gained major influence in the Copenhagen section. These old revolutionaries have meanwhile, to different extents, introduced part of their old sectarian and ultra-leftist habits and opinions. This, in connection with an almost complete lack of socialist consciousness and basic clarity in the Party's provincial sections, which is shown clearly in the Party's press organ, make the whole party very unstable.

The new Party presents no serious dangers to the two traditional workers'

SCREEN the NEWS
with Labor Action
A sub is \$2 a year—

CIVIL LIBERTIES BRIEFS

Two challenges to the Attorney General's List of purported subversive organizations are attracting special attention among civil libertarians.

One is being made by the Independent Socialist League, which has fought for ten years to have its name removed from the list. A trial examiner has now recommended to the attorney general after long-delayed hearings that the ISL was properly listed and should continue to be labeled a subversive organization. Attorneys for the Workers Defense League have filed a brief with the attorney general, challenging this finding, and questioning the attorney general's authority even to compile and publish the list. The ISL case is expected to reach the courts if the attorney general upholds his examiner.

The second challenge is before the Supreme Court of Washington State.

It deals specifically with a loyalty oath for state employees, but is concerned more broadly with the legality of using the Attorney General's List as a basis for determining loyalty in the state of Washington. By adopting it as a standard, said counsel for two University of Washington employees, the state legislature unlawfully delegated legislative authority to the attorney general, over whom the state government has no control. The state law's definition of "subversive organization" is not an adequate standard or guide, they added, since the attorney general is not bound by state law.

The brief in which this issue is raised was prepared on behalf of Howard L. Nostrand and Max Savelle, who won an injunction against the state loyalty oath in a lower court. The state appealed.

From ACLU Bulletin

parties—not even in an election year. It would take a miracle for this microscopic and confused party with its modest total vote to transform itself to a fairly rational and clear left socialist party. And the time of miracles is surely over.

Socialist Forum Fills Big Need

One of the most important characteristics of modern working class movements is unfortunately their almost complete lack of intellectual life and ideological discussion. Everything has become organized routine, national economics and administrative technique and "Realpolitik"—which in practice has meant political survival based on compromises and reforms without socialist content. What logically follows is that the drive of the rank-and-file is blunted and they become passive while the bureaucracy increases its power and arrogance.

With this background the establishment of a Socialist Forum on March 19 in Copenhagen must be treated with excitement. The initiators are a large group of Social Democrats of the intellectual and lively type, and a minor group of ex-Communists who have been expelled or disaffected from the Communist Party in connection with the

Soviet Union's attack on Hungary in 1956.

FOUNDING CALL

The call to the founding of this Socialist Forum stated among other things "We, the undersigned, feel a strong need for a forum of free and open debate based on socialist and humanist grounds. We feel it important that the ideas of democratic socialism go forward because of the growing conformism (especially that expressed in the United States) but also in high places here in Western Europe; this Forum should be in contrast to Communism which is dominated by dogmatism and regimentation."

About 300 people showed up at the founding meetings—primarily busy organizational people, politicians, journalists, educators, and cultural personalities. The Socialist Forum was founded neither as a regular organization nor a pure discussion club but a work fellowship which will publish books and pamphlets about its ideas.

Prebem Wilmann, a Social Democratic editor, was elected chairman.

The membership has increased slightly since its founding. The large majority are Social Democrats with certain critical and independent orientations. Among the independent members are some neutralists with certain pro-Stalinist illusions. There are no hard Stalinists in the Socialist Forum.

Roughly speaking, it can be said that the best elements in and around the Copenhagen labor movement have joined together in this organization. The founding of this Forum does not mean any decisive and sharp change in the Danish political climate; however, this Forum does provide a field of action for ideologically interested Danish Socialists.

The ISL vs. the Subversive List Court Action Looms

One Hundred and Seventy One days, almost six month have passed since the attorney general received the final briefs and motions in the Independent Socialist League's long battle against the "Attorney General's List of Subversive Organizations." Repeated requests for action on his part have produced no results. As a matter of fact, the Department of Justice has not even had the courtesy to reply to the last letter they received on this matter from Joseph L. Rau, the ISL's attorney.

The long years during which the ISL, backed by the Workers Defense League, has plodded through the labyrinth of bureaucratic delay and obstruction of the administrative procedures have been necessitated by court rulings that in such matters a person or organization wronged by the government must "exhaust his administrative remedies" before he can go to court. In the letter printed below, Attorney Joseph Rau indicates that he believes the arrogant refusal of the attorney general even to reply to a request for a date on which a decision may be expected just about terminates the administrative possibilities. Unless Attorney General William P. Rogers acts promptly, the beginning of a court case can be expected at an early date.

The ISL, the Workers Defense League and their attorneys are determined to fight this case through to a victory, come what may. For this, increased financial support will be needed in the months ahead from all friends of civil liberties. Send your contributions to the Workers Defense League, 112 E. 19th St., New York, N. Y.

June 18, 1958

Honorable William P. Rogers
Attorney General of the United States
Department of Justice
Washington 25, D. C.

Re: In the Matter of the Designation of Workers Party, Independent Socialist League and Socialist Youth League Pursuant to Executive Order 9835

Dear Mr. Attorney General:

On May 6th, we wrote you pleading for a decision in the above-entitled matter. In the intervening six weeks we have not even had the favor of an acknowledgment of our letter.

In the eleven years that the above-referred-to organizations have been trying to get their names off the Attorney General's list of proscribed organizations, they had always believed that they could at least obtain a reply to a letter to the United States Department of Justice. Now they begin to question even this.

The organizations hereby request a response to the letter of May 6th with such statement as you care to make concerning when they may expect a decision. If no such response is forthcoming within a reasonable time, the organizations will assume that they have done everything possible to exhaust their administrative remedies and are free to institute judicial action.

Sincerely yours,
JOSEPH L. RAU, JR.

Government "Heat" Appears To Be Off the Unions But the Question Remains As Urgent As Ever Which Way to Union Democracy?

By H. W. BENSON

When the Senate passed the Kennedy-Ives bill by overwhelming vote, defeating every major amendment, McClellan was momentarily elbowed aside. This, it seems, marks a distinct change in public mood on matters affecting labor. The Bill was accepted as a mild, or "middle-of-the-road," labor law; and, in contrast to measures demanded by the Congressional right-wing, it is actually moderate. Nevertheless, it enacts legislative controls over inner union affairs, a dangerous extension of government interference.

But "mildest" of all was the atmosphere in which it was adopted. Sections designed to prevent pilfering of union funds were not contested by AFL-CIO leaders. Two provisions were deliberate concessions to the labor movement: 1. giving strikers the right to vote in NLRB elections; and 2. permitting union shop agreements in the construction trades. Union leaders had expressed opposition to clauses which prescribed minimum democratic procedures in unions.

But even these regulations were drawn to be enforced against individual officials without penalizing whole unions. For example, Senate proponents of a "tough" law moved to deprive unions which failed to meet the bill's requirements of access to the National Labor Relations Board. This was defeated resoundingly 53-30. There was no open season on labor; there was no "lynch-the-unions" spirit. This was the first broad labor law to come before Congress since the Taft-Hartley law was adopted in 1947; but the climate of 1947 was not there.

Meany Changes Line

At first, George Meany stood foursquare against the measure; Al Hayes, president of the International Association of Machinists, had denounced Kennedy as inspired by dictator Juan Peron. But sobering second thoughts prevailed. On June 18, Meany said "On balance . . . the good in the bill outweighed the bad." After the long and sordid parade of racketeers before the McClellan Committee and the tale of dictatorship and corruption in big unions, the AFL-CIO leaders presumably concluded that this was a small price to pay. They reconcile themselves to a relatively mild measure to stave off a harsh attack. Half a loaf is better than one. As consolation, they had two favorable revisions of the Taft-Hartley law.

The right-wing in American politics is not what it was. Senator Knowland tried in April to seize the initiative in the battle over labor laws. He failed. The Eisenhower administration sought harsher measures; it failed. A new public opinion is shaping up, and congressmen think of it before they vote.

In California, Knowland and his friends pitched his primary fight against the union-shop. But voters piled up big margins against him. Doubtless, there is a critical attitude toward unions among voters. But now they have other worries: the Republican administration is associated with depression; the hysteria against Communism has abated; the Eisenhower foreign policy, if any, offers little to those who want nuclear controls. It is not astounding that voters receive Republican attacks upon unions with indifference. Knowland and his Democratic opponent Edmund Brown ran in both party primaries, under California election law. Brown got a total of 1,180,000 votes to Knowland's 574,000, a big setback for anti-union propaganda.

What Will Labor Do?

If the Kennedy-Ives bill is the legislative outcome of years of public hearings on abuses in unions, it indicates that the pressure on unions is abating. They are no longer under the same outside obligation to end rackets and protect rank and file democracy. What now? What does the labor movement propose to do from within against corruption and for democracy?

All is quiet on the racket front. No new public revelations and no significant moves by the AFL-CIO took place. A shift in the high command of the Operating Engineers, for example, but since then we have heard little.

Meanwhile, the Machinists under Al Hayes renews a mutual aid pact with the Teamsters; and Joe Curran of the NMU meets with the ILA and the Teamsters to iron out matters of mutual interest. Curran and Hayes are both members of the Ethical Practices Com-

mittee. But leave that aside; the campaign to finish off crooks in labor can be long, difficult and devious. The question is: what can be done to alert the ranks of the labor movement; to create a new mood; to encourage unionists to get rid of corrupt officials? For that, it is necessary to stimulate a new spirit of democracy. Who will do it?

In testimony before the Senate Labor Subcommittee, George Meany emphasized inner union democracy. "Thus," he said, "violations of rights and principles established in our Code on Union Democratic Processes are at the same time violations of our Constitution. We are determined, we have the power—and we believe we have shown the capability—under our Constitution, to enforce the constitutional provisions and the codes that implement them to which I have referred."

It is not important, now to pore over the precise legal language of the Code; what is decisive is the spirit in which it is applied. Suppose the public spotlight is turned away. Will the members of our labor movement receive moral encouragement from its leaders to exercise their democratic rights to the full? Will they feel spurred on to organize within unions that are still dominated by corrupt officials and fight to get rid of them? Or . . . ?

A Legitimate Discussion

The public discussion on union democracy has erupted because millions of unionists (a minority, but a big one) were victimized by crooks who ran unions like dictators. Is it a legitimate or proper debate—or, is all the talk about democracy fabricated maliciously by cunning enemies of the labor movement?

If prominent union spokesmen are convinced that the outcry for union democracy is only hypocrisy, they will change nothing. Golden codes of democracy can be fitted out with silver whistles and diamond-studded bells and it will lead nowhere. And that brings us to our sad story of the week.

A. J. Hayes (chairman, we remember, of the Ethical Practices Committee) is not overalarmed at the extent of the rackets. "After five years of intensive investigation into the seamiest side of the labor movement, evidence of wrongdoing—proven or probable—has been unearthed against fewer than 40 individual union leaders." This, and all that follows, is from a speech on April 19 at a conference of the League for Industrial Democracy where he received its award for promoting the principles of democracy in industry.

Fewer than 40! Would he, one wonders, become agitated if "fewer than 40" Cabinet members, Republican and Democratic national committeemen, and other illustrious statesmen were discovered in the direct pay of the National Association of Manufacturers? Hays is concerned with staving off government controls over unions and no one can properly object to that aim. But if the government is to keep out, and we hope it does, what shall union members themselves do and how shall they restore democracy in racket-ridden unions?

No Threat Within

Hayes is not inspired to discuss such matters at the LID. "Democracy in the American labor movement is in dire jeopardy," he relates, "and the threat is not from within, but from without." Is there no other threat, say, in the Teamsters Union or the Operating Engineers, to mention only two unions?

Get Acquainted!

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

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

NAME (please print)

ADDRESS

CITY

ZONE STATE

When Hayes refers to the "threat from without" he is thinking not simply of the reactionary enemies of labor but of others too. "Let us take another example, which is dear to the hearts of a certain segment of our so-called liberal-intellectual group, but which so far—thank goodness—has not reached the legislative drafting stage: that is the proposal that trials and appeals procedures for union members be transferred out of the jurisdiction of the union whose laws and policies are directly concerned, and into some special apparatus to be established within the general labor movement, ending in a sort of supreme court composed completely of persons who have absolutely no connection with unionism."

Hayes can be a blunt man. When liberal-intellectuals are concerned with democracy in unions, he sees at last that they are nothing but "so-called" liberals. No one has proposed to set up any such appeals court by law. But at least one union has deliberately established it on its own initiative and surely Hayes knows of it. The United Auto Workers boasts of it; UAW members can appeal to a board of citizens who are not dependent upon any union officials. This procedure, in itself, is a relatively minor safeguard for union democracy. But it is conceived on the incontestable premise that some union officials may become bureaucrats and dictators. Is Hayes perhaps reprimanding the UAW? But that is off our main point.

Official View

Who will help establish a new moral atmosphere? We turn next to Arthur J. Goldberg, special counsel of the AFL-CIO. In May, the Fund for the Republic sponsored a conference on *Labor in the Free Society* and Mr. Goldberg addressed it on "A Trade Union Point of View." He, too, was eager to convince his listeners that government regulation of union processes was objectionable. In this, we wish him success.

But, alas, what a disheartening line of reasoning! To argue against government controls he maintained that unions were about as democratic as could be. And for that, he expounded a not-very-novel philosophy which minimizes, restricts and undermines union democracy. Of course, he is for democracy in unions; but not the kind of democracy we know in political life.

"The absence of competitive politics, at the international union level at least," he reports, "is regarded as a symptom of a lack of democracy." By competitive politics, he means the right of members to form caucuses and groupings to press jointly for their point of view. And this he thinks is all wrong. "There are serious questions as to the extent to which it is proper to apply the standards of political democracy to internal union affairs." For the union, he argues, is engaged in a constant struggle for survival. "If there is an analogy to political government, the analogy is to a political government which may simultaneously face uncertainty as to its continued existence; i.e. a revolution, and which is periodically at war. The constraints which by common consent we accept temporarily in the political arena when such conditions exist may perhaps explain and justify the existence of similar, although permanent, restraints in the practice of union democracy."

Class Struggle Rages

The trade union is at war! It is enlightening that this appeal to the exigencies of warfare, to "class struggle" if you like, is underlined by labor's official spokesmen (Goldberg is merely repeating an old argument) only when it is a question of justifying the limitation of union democracy. The country is at war! There are some who have demanded under the flag of war, that political parties be ended; that trade unions and other private organizations be abolished. But they are not liberals and democrats. Mr. Goldberg would be appalled at the consistent applications of his own theory.

But let us not get mired in theory. There are important things to do in practice. Members of the Teamsters Union might think, for example, of forming an opposition caucus against the present administration headed by James Hoffa. The AFL-CIO expelled the Teamsters. Would it be right for its members to organize within the union to bring it back? If they are not to do it, who is? Now there is talk of union democracy. If Teamster unionists organized for democracy within their union would they win the plaudits of union leaders everywhere? Or would some of them view with consternation such "competitive democracy"?

There is discussion about union democracy because labor needs a new democratic spirit. One hundred thousand letters poured into the mail boxes of the McClellan Committee in its early months. Seventy-five percent came from trade unionists complaining about their unions! But the right-wing anti-union politicians misread the messages; they assumed that the time was ripe for a popular crusade against "compulsory" unionism. But election returns from California showed that they had miscalculated. If workers want their unions fixed up, they don't intend to turn the job over to labor's enemies. That was in the minds of Senators as they voted on the most comprehensive labor bill since the Taft-Hartley law. The labor movement has another chance. It has the opportunity to return to the task of building a workers movement, clean and democratic. When government investigators lose interest, who in labor will keep that task alive?

Socialists Arrested in New York In Protest Over Nagy Execution

Two leaders of the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation were arrested in New York last week when they attempted to protest the legal murder of Imre Nagy, Pal Maleter, Miklos Gimes, and Joseph Szilagyi to Arkady A. Sobolev, permanent Russian representative to the United Nations.

Irwin Suall, national secretary of the SP-SDF and Bill Lusk, youth secretary were ejected from the headquarters of the Soviet delegation to the UN after they had waited in the lobby for almost an hour with a demand that they be permitted to give their letter of protest to Sobolev personally. Russian officials called on the New York police for help in removing the protest delegation from what is technically Russian territory. A police sergeant and four patrolmen forcibly removed Suall from the premises and arrested him.

Suall said that the Russians had requested that he and Lusk leave, and return later to present their protest. "I told them that Imre Nagy had been told something quite similar," said Suall when interviewed by the press, "but his guarantee of safe conduct turned out to be a death sentence. I told them this kind of guarantee was not satisfactory."

In court later, the charges were dismissed against Lusk, while the case against Suall was continued to July 25. The charge against him: disorderly conduct and obstructing pedestrian traffic.

Next day, under the auspices of the SP-SDF, some fifty pickets solemnly demonstrated in front of the Soviet UN delegation building behind a black-draped coffin. Pickets had black armbands on their sleeves. Suall once again sought to enter the building to present the letter of protest, but was stopped at the door. A secretary accepted the letter, however, presumably on behalf of Sobolev.

The initiative of the SP-SDF in protesting the murder of Nagy and his comrades received wide publicity in the New York press, and national television coverage. Unfortunately, its excellent effect was somewhat marred by the conservative and reactionary Hungarian emigre organizations which picketed the same building on the two following days, and engaged in pointless pitched battles with the police.

The SP-SDF letter of protest read, in part:

"Along with socialists throughout the world, the SP-SDF was shocked and outraged by these brutal sentences. The 'crime' of which Nagy was accused was in fact an act of great heroism on behalf of all people of Hungary, and especially the exploited working class of that country. What is it that these workers and Nagy demanded that merits punishment by death? The program of the Workers' Councils called for withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungarian territory; free elections with the participation of all democratic parties; neutrality of Hungary; the right of workers to strike; and free and independent trade unions. At no time did Nagy or the Workers' Council call for restoration of capitalism. There was a truly socialist and democratic revolution—a great working class revolution destined to take its place in history alongside the Paris Commune, the St. Petersburg Soviet of 1905, and the Viennese fighting of 1934.

"It is to the great honor and glory of Imre Nagy and Paul Maleter that despite their Communist past they threw their lot in with the people of Hungary when that people spoke. We American socialists deeply mourn their death and warn their executioners that they must still face the final reckoning—a reckoning with the conscience of mankind and with the brave people of all those nations now ruled by the Soviet Communist regime."

Racial Discrimination By a Union Invites Government Intervention

A labor union's denial of membership to Negroes, whom it represents in collective bargaining, is being challenged in the United States Court of Appeals for the Sixth Circuit by the American Civil Liberties Union and its Ohio affiliate.

The civil liberties groups have filed a friend of the court brief in the case of *Oliphant v. The Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen*. While the brief is directed to the Railway Labor Act specifically, it may bring to issue the right to membership, on a non-discriminatory basis, in all unions that use governmental machinery for collective bargaining.

In the *Oliphant* case, the civil liberties brief held, to allow arbitrary discrimination by the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen constitutes a serious infringement of constitutional rights under the due process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, and the Railway Labor Act. The statutory bargaining power conferred on the Brotherhood carried with it the duty of equal representation of all for whom the union bargains, the ASCL said, and this only can be achieved by admitting Negroes to membership.

The brief pointed out that the Railway Labor Act conferred a singular legal status on unions bargaining under it by virtue of the exclusive bargaining rights bestowed, comparable in scope to certain types of common law monopolies. The Supreme Court has held that the union, as representative of all workers, must exercise this power fairly and equally.

The only way to implement the duty of fair and equal representation is to read the statute to include the right of full membership in the union as obliga-

tory under the law, the ACLU said. "The statutory scheme of the Railway Labor Act envisions a system of representative industrial government," the brief held. "Unless the worker who is represented has a voice in the government which controls his economic life, the purpose of the legislation will be subverted," the ACLU said.

The ACLU also held that since the Brotherhood's power of action as exclusive bargaining representative is derived from the Federal Government, that power must be exercised according to constitutional standards. Because the power exercised by the Brotherhood is so clearly that of an economic legislature endowed by the government, the similarity of union and governmental action is indistinguishable. When the line between private power and governmental power becomes indistinguishable, constitutional standards apply to the organizations wielding that power, the brief said.

From ACLU Weekly Bulletin

A NEW PAMPHLET, JUST
PUBLISHED IN ENGLAND

Russia from
Stalin to Khrushchev

by

TONY CLIFF

22 pages 15 cents
LABOR ACTION BOOK SERVICE

114 West 14 Street, N. Y. C.

Business-Brass Political Army Seeks To Beat Unions At Polls

The following article is reprinted from the June 20 issue of the Reading Labor Advocate.

By MICHAEL MARSH

A "practical politics plan" to organize an army of businessmen for action in the political arena is currently being pushed with "enthusiasm" by the National Association of Manufacturers, according to the NAM News.

Aim of the drive, the NAM organ indicated, is to "affect the political climate" and to "guide legislators and legislation." Unannounced but obvious was the drive's real meaning: an effort to mobilize the millions of salaried corporation employees into an anti-labor political army.

Expense of training this political army would apparently be paid by the corporations involved. "Cost of the program is relatively low," the NAM News declared. "Its ultimate rewards should be enormous."

The drive has been launched as a "pilot project" in the industrial city of Syracuse, N. Y., the NAM journal reported. It added that this "affords a basic blueprint for the inauguration of similar programs elsewhere." Coordinating arm nationally will be a special "public affairs" department of the NAM, set up a year ago.

TASK FORCE SET UP

The Syracuse Manufacturers Association also began its project about a year ago, the NAM News said. First step in Syracuse was a report on the New York "business climate."

This report denounced the liberal policies followed by Governor Averell Harriman, especially the state taxes on the corporations and the wealthy and the "above average" benefits paid to unemployed and the injured workers in New York.

This report, said the NAM News, "indicated the urgent need for a political action approach to the danger areas outlined." That led to naming of a "special task force" of nine Rochester corporation executives headed by General Electric official J. J. Wuerther.

Then a "political Primer for Management" was prepared, using "research and public relations people from (Syracuse) firms." Next step was a "tell and sell" dinner for "more than 50 of the community's top business and industry executives representing some 80 per cent of the industrial employees in Syracuse."

TOP BRASS

"This (top brass) group," the NAM News continued, "was urged to allocate the services of one upper-middle management person from each company for the third phase of the program—a two-day seminar."

This seminar, said the NAM News, was a "rousing success," with 45 "upper-

"Palpable Reality" Spanish Version

On March 26, 1958 General Franco, referring to the strikes in Asturias, stated in a speech: "The achievements of our regime, the positive well-being which we have brought to all classes, the improvements which we have brought to the national economy, are reflected in every home in a reality which is so palpable that we should all be satisfied." Here is the "palpable reality" according to the figures published by the Spanish Council for National Economy: the average annual earnings of a worker in the province of Granada is 5,613 pesetas, or about 133 dollars. This means 15.5 pesetas or 37 US cents per day. To give readers an idea of the Spanish worker's purchasing power, here are some prices in pesetas per kilogram: beef 50; pork 60; rice 10; milk 1 litre 5.50; eggs, 1 dozen, 33 pesetas.

From ICFU SPOTLIGHT

middle" executives from 27 companies in attendance. The seminar was considered so important it even rated a message from Vice President Nixon. Nixon hailed the organizing skill of business leaders and declared:

"I say to you that you can apply this same drive and ability and ingenuity to the political arena in making your political party a real instrument of action in achieving sound government." Nixon didn't define "sound government."

At the seminar the upper-middle executives were told how, as a next step, they should set up "individual 11-week Practical Politics Seminars with their own companies or their own departments in the larger companies," the NAM News explained.

20 DOORBELLS EACH

These many lower-level seminars are now "well under way," the NAM organ added, including such "outside assignments" as having all the junior executives ring "20 doorbells each to canvass voters."

"As of now," said the NAM paper, "more than 22 companies in the Greater Syracuse area have their in-plant Practical Politics Seminars under way."

The military-style organization of the NAM political plan is clearly apparent. At the top is the board of the manufacturers association (general staff), then come the individual top business executives (field generals); then the "upper-middle" executives (company or regimental commanders); then the junior executives (NCO's) and lastly the voters to be organized (privates).

MILITARY OPERATION

As the NAM News put it, "top management in each company stays right with the program. Reports are relayed through them from middle and junior management people to the Board. All reports are analyzed and suggestions are relayed back on the ways and means to handle or deal with specific problems and do a more effective job."

Thus each junior and middle executive knows that his efforts in the political arena will be brought to the attention of the big boss.

Use of corporations' facilities and payroll in the program is also apparent. This includes the admitted use of company "research and public relations people," the fact that the top brass "allocated the services" of the upper-middle executives and the "in-plant" location of the junior-executive political training seminars.

Federal law forbids any corporation to give money or any thing of value, directly or indirectly, to a candidate for national office. But the NAM plan apparently skirts this law by concentrating on issues and organization and leaving it to the junior executives on their own to tell the voters whom to vote for.

The NAM News, however, makes it clear the real aim is to fight organized labor and its friends at the polls. Businessmen are urged to "get results in politics" in three ways: "First, make sure that those who benefit from business are registered and get out and vote on election day. Second, give financial help to candidates. . . . Third, take an active part in political affairs."

The NAM's "practical politics plan," first tried in Syracuse, shows the corporation executives just how to do these things and thereby "get results."

LABOR ACTION • 19th YEAR

June 30, 1958

Vol. 22, No. 13

Published every other week by Labor Action Publishing Company, 114 West 14th Street, New York 11, N. Y.—Telephone WATKINS 4-4222—Re-entered as second-class matter July 26, 1957 under the act of March 3, 1874.—Subscription: \$2 a year; \$1 for 6 months.—Opinions and policies expressed in signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent the views of Labor Action, which are given in editorial statements.

Editor: GORDON HASKELL
Assoc. Editor: HERMAN BENSON
Business Manager: Mel Slack

Editorial Board:

GORDON HASKELL
HERMAN BENSON
MAX MARTIN
SAM BORTONE

Spiraling Costs Discriminate Against the Poor

The Cash Barrier To a College Education

By A. S. KNOB

The winner of the annual Miss America contest is awarded the financial equivalent of a full college education. Only two months ago the award was raised to \$10,000 for it was felt that the previous sum of \$5000 was insufficient to meet the cost of four years of higher education.

The rest of America's youth, however, must struggle to overcome the ever-spiraling financial barriers which stand in the way of a college expenses are estimated at \$1500 in a recent survey conducted by the New York Times.

LESS THAN HALF

The number of youth prevented by financial need from attending college seems scarcely imaginable in this age of "people's capitalism." Less than 50 percent of American students with high intelligence quotas (this does not even include all those academically eligible to attend) are able to obtain a college education.

Last January, when Columbia University raised its tuition \$200 per year, *Spectator*, the undergraduate newspaper, cried despairingly that "Columbia is well on its way to becoming a rich man's school." There is no truer commentary on the current state of American higher-education than this warning.

COST DOUBLED

Responsible educators estimate that the cost of a college education has more than doubled since 1940 and predict that this process will be repeated within the next twelve years. By 1970 the average family will need \$20,000 to send a son or daughter through college.

The sharpest tuition since 1940 has occurred during the last decade. During this period a whole host of schools have doubled their fees. Among them are some of the top Eastern colleges; including Brown, Princeton, Lehigh, Yale, Radcliffe, Ohio State, Syracuse, Middlebury, University of Michigan, John Hopkins, Georgetown, Oberlin and the University of Illinois. Oberlin, one of the least expensive institutions, has gone up from \$350 to \$700 since 1948.

Furthermore, tuition itself is only part of the burden. Books, board and room are also major obstacles. Estimates of the average overall yearly cost for a full time student living at private colleges range from just over \$2,000 to \$2,500. For students in public colleges, total tuition.

Even in New York, where numerous admission-free public colleges provide a considerable improvement over the rest of the country, only 84 per cent of "gifted" youths and less than 50 per cent of all eligible students receive a college education.

It is from government sources that the storm warnings are sounded with increasing sharpness, although they are considered by the newspapers to be of less import than the Johnny Stompanato murder.

Lawrence Derthick, United States commissioner of education, prophesies that the predicted future increases in tuition will deprive most "academically able but financially needy students of the op-

portunity to receive a college education." Irving Ives, Republican senator from New York, is more optimistic than most when he estimates that 200,000 of this year's high school graduates (100,000 of whom are in the "gifted category") will be unable to attend college for "purely financial reasons." Dr. Comfort A. Adams, known in scientific circles as the "dean of American engineers," is less hopeful in his statement that only 1/9 "of our total youth gets a primary college degree under the present educational system."

SCHOLARSHIPS

The defenders of the status quo in American education are quick to point to the plethora of scholarships existent for students today. True, there are more scholarships available today than we could name in six issues of this newspaper; but they make as much of a dent in the aforementioned financial barriers as a snowball in hell.

For one thing, as numerous as the scholarships are, they are a drop in the bucket when compared to the hundreds of thousands of students who need them. And the majority of scholarships are of such minute amounts as to be practically worthless in financing a four year college education.

There are thousands of local scholarships for small sums of \$25 or \$50. But while the average total annual cost of a college education ranges anywhere from \$1200 to \$3000 (at such schools as Smith etc.), 33 percent of scholarship winners receive less than \$125 a year. Only 9 percent of scholarship winners (who are a small minority of those eligible to attend college) are lucky enough to get as much as \$625 annually. It goes without saying that it is tough to find students who manage to get their full tuition paid.

One additional item. Much is made of

the contributions which big business makes to talented but needy youth. The weight of this aid should be clear from the above description of the scholarship situation. It should also be pointed out that big business contributes less than one percent of all its taxable income. Further, the majority of business scholarships have binding stipulations with regard to course of study and choice of career, so that it is possible for only a limited sector of American youth to even apply for this aid.

The surveys which make estimations of the number of American students unable to get a college education for financial reasons are based largely upon tabulations of scholarship applicants who attempt to hurdle the financial barriers but fail. An official at Rutgers University pointed to the possibility that these surveys might be understating the seriousness of the crisis by failing to come into contact with the "large but unknown number of people who never even consider a higher education because of the cost."

The gravity of this situation is underscored by the fact that America's income has failed to keep the pace set by tuition increases. The government estimated recently that in the last fifteen years, during the period in which the cost of a higher education has doubled, wages have only gone up about 20 per cent.

Today, four years of college come to \$10,000; while 14 per cent of America's families have an income of under \$2,000 (this encompasses over 35 million people) and 37 per cent make less than \$4000 per year.

FEDERAL AID

Obviously, the answer to the crisis is a massive program of federal aid to education, to be used on the college as well as primary school level. Federal aid programs however, are buried under an avalanche of defense spending: money to build new and better methods of destruction, financial contributions to the dictators who can then better defend themselves against the struggles of the people for democracy.

The more neanderthal elements in Congress are quite open about their opposition to federal aid to education, while the Republican and Democratic liberals are free with welfare state rhetoric but

either formulate weak measures which would provide little financial aid, or are content to see more potent measures shelved in deference to the war buildup.

The attitude of the rugged individualist clique in Congress was glibly expressed by Deverue C. Josephs, chairman of the Presidents Committee on Education Beyond High School. Like a ghostly reminder of McKinleyism, Josephs cried out for "more financial support from parents. Tuition fees of \$1500," he said, "do not seem out of line for the return a student will get from his college education. They should borrow money."

Mr. Josephs also remarked that if students paid a greater share of their college fees, "they would appreciate their college course more than they now do." To substantiate this, he observed that throughout the country only a little over 40 per cent of students who enter college graduate, while in Harvard about 90 per cent complete their undergraduate education. One might point out that one of the reasons for this is the inability of thousands of students to financially subsist while attending college at the same time. One might also note that mainly two types of individuals attend Harvard; those who are fortunate enough to have large scholarships (Harvard is one of the few schools in the country to have a sizeable scholarship program); and those wealthy enough to be shielded from the financial worries which plague the vast majority of American students.

INHERENT RIGHT

The answer to Josephs lies in the humanitarian notion that just as it is the right of every human being to food, clothing, shelter—and a primary school education—every human being has an inherent right to a college education. To ask parents to mortgage their future by borrowing money even more than they have already placed themselves in debt, is an inhuman request—to make young people go deeply into debt before they have even begun their careers is the same.

The plight of our educational system is but another commentary on the failure of "people's capitalism" or any other capitalism, to fill the basic needs of humanity. Capitalism in the United States has attained a technical superiority at the price of the maintenance of a brink of war existence. It substitutes money for guns for aid to the unemployed, it arms Chiang Kai-shek and Syngman Rhee in preference to allowing American youth to exercise their right to an education. One might ask whether the construction of a "clean" bomb is the most important task for America today?

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

Put this week on your reserve list—Sept. 1 to Sept. 7

FOR THE

ANVIL CAMP

"a vacation with an education"

at the

HUDSON GUILD FARM

Andover, New Jersey

swimming

volley ball

badminton.

baseball

and a lecture schedule that can's be beat

for full information on rates, travel information, the lectures, etc. write to

ANVIL, 36 E. 10 St., N. Y. 3, N. Y.

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 Trade Union Congress in Warsaw

Very Little Has Changed In Poland

By J. W. BRUEGEL

After repeated postponements, the long overdue Fourth Congress of the Polish Trade Union Federation finally was held in Warsaw between April 14th and 19th. After the bloodless revolution of October 1956 the revolt of the workers swept away the previous Stalinist leadership of the coercive organization which had misused the name "Trade Union Federation." The country lived in the hope that now a new period had opened up in every respect, and not least in the field of the rights of labor. "Just what our new socialism will look like, we do not know yet. But we do know that it cannot look anything like what it has been up till now." Such expressions at the trade union conference in November 1956 by the new leadership which had been installed by Gomulka nourished many expectations that from now on, at the very least the situation would end in which the workers had absolutely no rights on the job and that the trade unions would develop the possibility of defending the rights of the working people against the employer state.

WORKERS COUNCILS

Even at that time, to be sure, it appeared to some that the new authorities were less concerned with satisfying the demands of the workers than they were with utilizing their wrath against their immediate past for the purpose of making more secure the regime of Gomulka which had come to power in October 1956. Be that as it may, the spontaneous institution created by the workers in the days of the revolution, the Workers Councils in the factories, were a powerful factor which could not be ignored. Far more than its immediate practical significance, this institution appeared to symbolize the fact that decisions about the economy and the fate of the workers could no longer be made without them and against them.

Since then, much water has been poured into the wine on which many people in Poland got giddy in October and November 1956. The desperate economic situation of the Polish worker has improved only unnoticeably, a fact which cannot be blamed entirely on the Gomulka regime which received a most unfortunate inheritance in this respect.

But the circumstances that even if the all-too-justified demands of the workers are not met with the same brutality, they are answered with the same arguments, and that the regime has always taken a position against striking workers makes clear how little Poland has really changed at bottom, although—and its importance should not be underestimated—the secret police have forfeited their power.

CRACKDOWN

Events had preceded the trade union congress which gave rise to the expectation that the period of even small concessions to the workers had passed. Thus, the Stettin regional organization of the railroad workers' union had been recently dissolved because it had taken seriously the conception that trade unions exist for the purpose of protecting the interests of their memberships. Imagine the storm of protest if the same kind of thing were to happen in a non-Communist

The following article is translated from the April issue of *Der Gewerkschafter*, published by the Metal Workers Industrial Union in West Germany.

...nist country! But in Poland, where a certain degree of freedom of speech still exists, nothing happened at all. This may have indicated to the regime that it could dare to forge ahead without fear of reprisal.

Thus, the trade union congress was opened by a long speech by Gomulka in which he read the riot act to the working class in general through the delegates of the five million Poles who are supposed to be organized in trade unions. It is a characteristic detail of the popularity contest which is still going on in Poland, that Gomulka claimed to participate in the Congress in two different capacities: as general secretary of the all-powerful Communist Party, and as delegate of the chemical workers, to whose ranks he actually belonged some decades ago.

In his speech, Gomulka began by explaining that in a State in which private capitalism had been overcome, trade unions have a different role than they do where the workers are exploited on the basis of the old concepts. Now they are builders of socialism, the plants belong to the whole nation and hence also to the workers, and the old concepts of "defense of the interests of the workers" have no place any longer in this situation. The socialist state (or that which was referred to by this term by the speaker) already encompasses the interests of the worker; the old contradictions have disappeared.

OLD STORY

Gomulka appears to have felt that the concepts which he was propounding were most original, but there can hardly have been one of his listeners who did not recall having heard all of it repeatedly in the past, frequently in a somewhat sharper formulation. In any event, the Stalinists went to great pains for many years to get the Polish workers to believe all of that. As experience has shown, it was precisely the lie about the so-called identity of interest of the workers and the state—through which the duty is preached to the workers not to defend themselves from the exploitation of the state—it was precisely this lie which had given the last impetus for workers' uprisings against the Communist regimes.

What the workers did not believe about the Stalinists, they will not believe about their less brutal successors. Interestingly enough, Gomulka made an observation in this speech, to the effect that even in "socialist Poland" there are conflicts of interest between the state and the toiling masses, which, however, exist on a dif-

ferent plane. But he neglected to explain what these contradictions actually are. And aside from this he did not forget to direct a few friendly words to the address of the World Federation of Trade Unions, which, as one of the most willing instruments of Communist expansionism enjoys neither respect nor even any degree of sympathy in Poland.

The death-knell for the Workers Councils, the achievement of October 1956, was also sounded in Gomulka's speech. This blow against them appears to have been expected, and produced no visible resistance, at least not for the time being. Naturally, the Workers Councils, whose position and area of authority had been left, not unintentionally, unclear during this whole period received a few words of praise from Gomulka. But at the same time they were charged with having given rise to a good deal of confusion since the false notion had now spread that the factories no longer belong to the state, but rather to their own workers.

NEW SET-UP

These "shortcomings" were terminated by the creation of a new organization in the concerns which received the high-sounding title of "Conference of the Workers' Self-Administration." This Conference is supposed to meet at least once every three months to discuss current problems. The Conference in each concern is made up of the delegates elected by the workers to the Workers Council, plus the trade union leadership, plus the Party leadership. It is thus arranged that the elected representatives of the workers will be swamped by a majority of machine-men, and thus can create no more "confusion." One can say that the Workers Councils, which from now on are merely organs for carrying out the decisions of the Conference have received a first-class burial. That it is a burial can hardly be questioned.

It is characteristic of that which today passes for a trade union movement in Poland, that the report of the chairman of the Federation, Loga-Sawinski (a Communist of the Gomulka tendency), insofar as it did not confine itself simply to a recording of facts, consisted of a mere rumination over the arguments used by Gomulka. Thus, as Gomulka had done before him, Loga-Sawinski took an extremely determined position against strikes by the workers. All conflicts can be resolved justly by the trade unions, he insisted. From the report on his stewardship one can deduce that trade union personnel had been reduced by 55 per cent since 1956. How swollen the machine must have been in the Stalinist era!

DISCUSSION

In the discussion which lasted for several days a large number of delegates took the floor, almost all of whom had only complaints to make. Many of the speeches are very interesting. T. Rudolf, who spoke as a representative of the official youth organization, said that there was a great deal of indifference to the youth. Of the 828 delegates at the Congress, only nine were youth representatives. Josef Kieszczyński, chairman of the smelter workers complained of the low productivity in this section of industry. The responsibility was attributed, in part, to the fact that there are so many women in heavy industry. A result of the precipitous industrialization has been that many workers in this industry regard it only as a supplemental source of income to be used in the periods when they are not kept busy by their primary occupation, taking care of their farms. Safety and health conditions are on a very low level, and the number of accidents is dangerously on the increase.

Dr. Irena Brzozowska, speaking for the physicians' union, had much unfavorable to say about the situation of hygiene in general, and specifically on education for hygiene and preventative medicine. In this sphere Poland, which has one of the highest death rates from diphtheria, still remains very backward.

The kind of remarkably reactionary views which are produced by Communist education were illustrated by the complaint of this physician that health insurance produces advantages for layers of the population who have not really "earned" it. Wealthy peasants or workers in private service should not enjoy the same advantages as others. Absentees from work and drunkards should be forced to pay for medical care, on educational grounds (in non-Communist countries the

curing of alcoholism is regarded as a responsibility of the community!).

Her speech disclosed, further that industrial medicine suffers from the fact that the doctors in the plants do not receive normal salaries, but rather are paid on an hourly basis, and a very low one at that. Such low wages are paid to workers in the health service that they either have to look around for a second occupation, or leave for other professions altogether. No fewer than 50 pharmacies had been closed in the countryside during the previous year because no personnel could be found for them.

T. Wojenski, who spoke for the teachers, complained that the Polish school system does not educate the masses for participation in the cultural life of the country.

PRIVILEGES

Janusz Kasprowicki, chairman of the Metal Workers Union stated that there is absolutely no system in Polish labor law. The regulations, many of which originated in the pre-war period, have been modified in a completely incomprehensible manner. The greatest injustice lies in the rigid distinction between workers and management (*Arbeiter und Angestellten*). An eighteen-year-old girl, without any professional training, who fills out some forms somewhere, is considered to be part of management, and as such has the right to a month's vacation, and a similar period of notice before discharge. An old skilled worker with much experience and a high degree of responsibility does not enjoy the same rights—because he is a worker.

Zofya Daryzak, who spoke in the name of the clothing workers from Breslau, complained of the tendency to cut back the provisions for the care of working mothers—and what mother can afford not to work? She maintained that the existing arrangements are already completely inadequate. A miner from Lower-Silesia, Josef Mikolajczyk, reported on the inadequate safety measures in the mines. He described the mounting accident figures as a grave warning. There are no regulations laying down the basic responsibilities of the mine administration in the field of safety and health measures—and this in a supposedly socialist state!

The number of accidents is further increased by the constant changes in the working conditions. The new machines for coal-mining have increased the amount of dust in the mines. The cases of silicosis and tuberculosis have experienced a startling increase. Some four thousand miners, among them many young ones, have already been forced out of the mines because they fell victims to tuberculosis. The congress of the mine workers union had called for measures to combat the dangers to health in the mines, but no one had paid any attention to these demands. The existing regulations have completely ignored, for instance, the danger of work in the uranium mines.

FREE SPEECH?

A large number of similar complaints could be cited. Do they not indicate, that people can at least express their opinions freely? Similar complaints are common at the trade union congresses of orthodox-Communist ruled countries. In Poland, and elsewhere in the Communist world such criticism is permitted as a matter of course, because the creation of a safety-valve of this kind for the complaints of the workers is regarded as a lesser risk than would be compliance with their demands.

Nevertheless, there is a certain distinction. In Czechoslovakia and Rumania all who have these kinds of criticisms must make them in a closed meeting for the benefit of the Party "which will surely see to it that the right thing is done." The safety valve of the criticism is thus misused to the advantage of those who bear chief responsibility for the conditions criticized. In Poland they do not go that far at the present time. To be sure, the criticism does not lead to elimination of the bad conditions, but it is not prostituted into a propaganda instrument of the regime.

But at bottom the speeches of the representatives of the regime as well as those of its victims at the Warsaw Trade Union Congress show that the nature of the ills from which Poland suffers has hardly changed much since October 1956.

Social Dynamics Behind the Ideological Fireworks

The Attack On the Titoist Heresy

By the Rulers of the "New China"

By MICHAEL HARRINGTON

The Communist world, wracked by recurrent crisis for five years, is in the midst of a new turmoil centering around the attack on the Titoists. But now, there is a new element: the influence of the Chinese Communist Party.

In the *People's Daily* editorial which stated the Peiping position, there was an old and familiar tone, a polemical sharpness which far exceeded the Russian opposition. The Titoist "Draft Program" was characterized as "an anti-Marxist-Leninist out-and-out revisionist program." The names of Kautsky, Hilferding and other theoreticians were invoked as curse words against the Yugoslavs. There could be no mistake that this was a fierce, even a violent attack upon Tito. Why did it take place?

A variety of explanations have already been offered for the Chinese position. In Warsaw, the *New York Times* (which has had unusually good press relations with the Gomulka regime) reported a series of speculations. One line felt that the Russian denunciation had been an attempt to forestall the Chinese which failed. Another saw the development as the expression of a conflict between China and Russia over foreign policy. According to this analysis, Peiping is opposed to a summit meeting without Chinese participation and, since this is not apparently integral to the Russian demand for top level talks, is interested in heating up the international scene with a little conflict. Proponents of this view have also argued that it was China which was responsible for the Russian veto on the proposal for an international air inspection zone in the Arctic.

Still another Polish theory is that the Chinese are in league with a Stalinist clique in Russia which is seeking to overthrow Khrushchev. At the same time, Reuters reported from Peiping that "utterances of Chinese leaders and editorials in the Peiping press" have made it clear that the Chinese Communists are staying out of Kremlin faction fights. Thus this, and the other Polish theories, are clearly of a highly speculative "inside-dopester" character. Any one of these analyses may be true, yet there is no way to check them except to wait and see. And there are other considerations which do allow us to make some safe political generalizations on the Chinese turn.

Titoist Theory

The Titoists themselves have come up with a theory of considerable merit. As reported by Ellie Abel in the *Times*, "Yugoslav Communists feel that Red China is well on the way to becoming a stronghold of old-fashioned Stalinism." The reason: "Present-day China, these men say, stands about where the Soviet Union stood in the late Nineteen Twenties: on the threshold of a forced draft industrialization program that may surpass Stalin's in severity." And Francis Fejto, writing in the May 8th *France-Observateur*, develops a similar point of view: "A classic phenomenon: the remilitarization of the Chinese Party, the strengthening of doctrinal and practical intransigence in domestic matters, is immediately reflected in foreign policy."

This theory—that the Chinese line against Yugoslavia is, in part at least, a reflection of the regime's internal problems—is a useful one. The evidence is sufficiently meagre so that we must avoid any sweeping generalizations. Yet there is quite a bit of information which points in this direction. Let us review it briefly here.

First of all, there is the evidence of the *People's Daily* editorial itself. For here, a link is made between the position on Tito and the internal situation in China. "Speaking like the reactionaries of all countries and the Chinese bourgeois rightists, the leading group of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia has viciously slandered proletarian dictatorship, alleging that it leads to bureaucratism, the ideology of statism, separation of the leading political forces from the working masses, stagnation, the deformation of Socialist development, and the sharpening of internal differences and contradictions." (my emphasis)

These charges, it will be remembered, tally with those made during the brief "hundred flowers" period of criticism which took place in China in the Spring of 1957. It was against such a point of view that the "anti-rightist" campaign was waged. Clearly, the Chinese, who are in the midst of an intensive drive toward collectivization, cannot accept the ideological positions of the Yugoslavs who have accepted a considerable measure of decollectivization. In short, a link between domestic policy and the international attack upon the Titoists does exist and is recognized by the Chinese Communists themselves. This, of course, does not mean that this is conclusive proof that this link is the pri-

mary cause of the Chinese position—but it is certainly relevant to it.

Internal Problems

To understand, within the context of the limited information we possess, how weighty this "internalist" explanation is, we must review some recent developments in Communist China. Many happenings confirm the Yugoslav theory; and at least one trend seems to stand in contradiction to it.

The Chinese Communists took power in 1949. From that time until 1952-1954, there was a period of trying to establish and consolidate power. Then, the Party began to move: first against the bourgeoisie in the "Five-Anti" campaign; then against the peasantry in the collectivization policy announced in July, 1955; and massively against the intellectuals in the "anti-rightist" campaign of 1957-58. This did not happen, of course, in a straight line and this zig-zagging has an important bearing upon previous Chinese relations with the rest of the Communist world. The Polish events and the Hungarian Revolution clearly made their impact in China (this was corroborated by Mao himself in his "contradictions" speech in February, 1957). For a while, the government moved softly, in an apparent attempt to mollify the internal opposition.

It was during this period that the *People's Daily* wrote that "repression is a dangerous method, for not only is it unable to resolve the contradictions which are at the bottom of the trouble, but often it has the effect of augmenting and adding to them." (May 13, 1957) But this line was not to last for long. On the 14th of June, the campaign against the "rightists" was inaugurated.

"Revisionist" Period

During the period of vacillation and attempted appeasement of the people, the Chinese rulers seemed to stay with the "revisionists" in Eastern Europe, and particularly with Gomulka. But even then, the counter-tendency toward repression at home and intransigence in matters effecting international Communism was at work. In the December 29, 1956 editorial "Once More About the Historical Experience of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat," the *People's Daily* (i.e. the Chinese Communist leadership) was critical of Tito, albeit in a semi-friendly fashion. But as time went on, and the campaign against the "rightists" got under way, there was evidence that the Chinese were switching their line on foreign affairs. In January, 1958, it was reported that Mao had warned Gomulka against accepting American economic aid. The *Times* reported from Warsaw that Mao's opposition was "much stronger than anything previously said by the Soviet Union."

Thus, we can establish a broad correlation between Chinese internal life, and particularly the switch from a "soft" to a "hard" line on domestic opposition, and party relations with Eastern Europe and the world Communist movement in general. But again, it must be emphasized that this is a complex matter and that our data is scanty. However, there is still more information about recent Chinese internal and foreign policy developments which substantiate the "internalist" theory.

For one thing, it has been reported that there is a

move on in China to expand the state farm sector of the economy. According to a *Times* dispatch of this May, "Recent Peiping reports have described that the big mechanized state farms are the most efficient forms of Socialist agricultural production." And this in keeping with a recent article in the *Peking Review* (a propaganda organ of the regime) that a big push forward is expected in the mechanization of Chinese agriculture. The application of such an increase in farm machinery would be greatly rationalized, particularly in the less populous areas, by the creation of state farms. And finally, reports persist of the flight to the cities from the Chinese countryside, i.e. of the resistance of the peasantry to the regime.

A New "Hard" Period?

Such a perspective for the Chinese Communists would dictate a "Stalinist" ideology (that is, one similar to Stalin's extremes during the Thirties). It may well be a factor in the attack on the Titoists. If this line of analysis is true, then the turn in foreign policy is related to the big push on the home front. And the push is on. The Chinese leadership has defined 1958 as a year of the "big leap." At the National People's Congress in February, 1958, Po I-Po, the regime's spokesmen in the planning field, announced a deepening of the policy of building up heavy industry at the expense of consumer goods. According to his figures, industrial and handicraft production was to advance 18.8 percent over the announced goals, while the increase in consumer goods was to be at about half of that rate. This, of course, means the intensification of exploitation, particularly in the countryside (the agricultural surplus is the chief source of investment funds), coupled with a lower rate of consumption advance.

Domestically, this has meant a campaign against those who fear "disequilibrium," i.e. those who are opposed to the increased exploitation of the masses. The *Remin Ribao* of Peiping explained at the end of February that in 1956 "some people were stunned by the disequilibrium in the development of the national economy caused by these leaps. These people saw only the unavoidable and temporary difficulties in the course of progress brought about by such disequilibrium. . . . That is why they erroneously raised the slogan "Oppose too hasty progress. . . ." The choice of 1956 is, of course, quite significant. This was the last year of a "big leap," and it was followed by a turbulence of opposition which resulted, first in the "hundred flowers" campaign, then in the move against the "rightists."

The one piece of information we have which might run counter to this general explanation of the Chinese position with regard to the Yugoslav Communists relates to the new emphasis upon decentralization. In part, this is a consequence of the problem of unemployment, reported that the heavy industry emphasis was ment. In 1957, *Study*, the ideological journal of the creating joblessness. It was at this time that the solution was put forward of consciously investing in medium sized plants which, though less efficient, would employ more workers than the great factories which were being built.

Role of Decentralization

This policy has become a cornerstone of the regime's line in the course of the past year. Po I-Po, for example, stressed that "improvements in the system of administration have made it possible for the local authorities to show greater initiative in utilizing local manpower and materials, financial and material resources for the development of agriculture and industry." Indeed, the *Times* reported in May that this decentralization theme is becoming so important that great stress is being laid upon the claim that it was thought up by Mao himself. (The "cult of the personality" is, of course, much more of a reality today in China than in Russia.)

This stress on decentralization might seem to coincide with a major "revisionist" attitude in Eastern Europe, and particularly in Yugoslavia. Yet I think the harmony is more apparent than real. For the over-all context in which the "decentralization" takes place is that of a Stalinist process of accumulation, of renewed and intensive exploitation of the industrial workers, of greater demands upon the Chinese peasantry. This, and other factors, may be seen as working against the "hard" line in international Communist affairs, but they are certainly subordinate at this time.

Thus, there seems to be a fairly good case for anticipating a further development of ideological intransigence on the part of the Chinese Communists, at least for as long as the present "surge" policy of massive exploitation is the key to the regime's direction. Whether or not this general tendency has resulted in an actual alliance between Peiping and the "Stalinist" wing in the Kremlin we cannot tell or guess, for the line would not necessarily require intervention into factional struggles in the Russian Party.

Yet about one thing we can be certain: that those who were so surprised at the Chinese position on the Tito question because they believed they were dealing with a non-Stalinist variant of Stalinism are in for more shocks. As long as the fundamental dynamic of Chinese society remains that of pitiless exploitation of the people, of bureaucratic class struggle against the workers and peasants—as long, in other words, as China remains under its present rule—the historic tendency will be toward an increasing Stalinization of life, a strengthening of the totalitarian rule of the bureaucracy.

LABOR ACTION

INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST NEWSPAPER

114 West 14 Street
New York 11, New York

Please enter my subscription:

<input type="checkbox"/> 1 year at \$2.	<input type="checkbox"/> New
<input type="checkbox"/> 6 months at \$1.	<input type="checkbox"/> Renewal
<input type="checkbox"/> Payment enclosed.	<input type="checkbox"/> Bill me.

NAME (please print)

ADDRESS

CITY

ZONE STATE

Sherman Adams Case — —

(Continued from page 1)

the business, banking and political world. But he himself can never get into the inner circle where the big stakes are played for, and where the counters are not petty favors but power relationships in the high command of American business and finance.

THE INSIDERS

General Motors and U.S. Steel may pick up a few tabs for Washington officials, but that is not a necessary part of the way in which they influence matters of immediate concern to themselves, or even of a broader nature. The relations of the key men in the great corporations of the country with the key men in Washington are of a much more basic, more durable, and less detectable nature. If, instead of picking up Adam's bill at a hotel in Boston, the Adamses had stayed at the Goldfine's home, who could have objected? Or who could have made much of their belonging to the same club; or of the intermarriage of their children; or of all the other things which

lead to people doing favors for each other quite naturally, simply because they are old friends, or friends of old friends?

That is a point of general sociological interest. But in a subsequent article, Shannon makes another one of more direct political significance. In the *Post* for June 22, he points out that the high standards of ethical behavior being demanded of the White House, Cabinet and the rest of the executive and administrative arm of the government will "sooner or later . . . be applied to members of Congress." While Shannon makes it clear that this is more a wish than an assertion of fact, he goes on to show how deeply Congress is torn by "conflicts of interest."

"Congressmen vote on natural gas bills while holding natural gas stock which would rise sharply if the bills passed. They own oil wells and vote on tax depletions for oil. They serve on committees which have jurisdiction over airlines and railroads while they themselves own airline stock or receive legal fees from railroads . . . scores of con-

gressmen . . . practice law on the side or operate insurance offices or serve as directors of banks and manufacturing companies."

OTHER TIES

Add to this a number of other well-known but generally ignored facts such as the following: the administration is honeycombed with young men who regard a few years of "service" in some department in Washington as one of the surer stepping-stones to a choice position in private industry; the line of advancement from a high military office to a high corporation office is almost as well grooved as the lines of advancement within the military establishment itself; and reliance of elected officials on generous campaign contributions either to themselves or in a more impersonal way, to the general campaign funds of their parties, is a firmly established aspect of American politics.

On balance, it all adds up to this: there may be, here or there, a public official who has sprung to his position untainted and unbound by any of these ties, and who stays there by virtue of his political appeal and ability without any business entanglements. If so, his case is the exception which demonstrates the rule. But the fact is that as long as the economy of the country is run and dominated by vast aggregates of private capital, it is inconceivable that the government should not be responsive to them, that it should not represent them more intimately and directly than it can represent the vast, unorganized, atomized electorate.

And the real answer does not lie in a tightening up of the "conflict of interest" rules, or extending them to the legislative branch, though efforts to do so are desirable, and should be supported as a matter of course. The answer, as long as capitalism as a social and economic continues to exist, lies in creating a political and social counterweight to the capitalists which can be really effective in taking over and controlling all aspects of government in this country.

ALTERNATIVE

A new political party is, of course, an indispensable instrument for this purpose. Instead of having to depend on business contributions and connections to get elected, or to stay in office, such a party and its candidates would rely on the labor movement and other popular organizations. The personal and social milieu of the congressmen and administrators chosen by such a party would be, in the main, the labor movement, the public-spirited organization, or other popular groupings. Thus the weight of interest, of training, of association, the personal outlook and future prospects of public officials chosen, and elevated to office by such a movement would be bound up with the movements and interests of the people rather than with the tight little circles of the present power elite.

The creation of a political party with such a base would be a far more effective guarantee against the replacement of Sherman Adams by another General Vaughn than anything which can be legislated by Congress or decreed by the president.

DELAYED REPORT

Due to circumstances beyond the control of the editor, a full report scheduled for this issue of LABOR ACTION on the "United Independent — Socialist Conference" held in New York on the weekend of June 13-15 will appear in the next issue of the paper. This was the conference at which the Socialist Workers Party, the leading spirits around the National Guardian, a number of people from the old, ALP, and others decided to run a ticket in the forthcoming elections in New York state.

Anti-Nuclear March In Oakland, Calif.

By GEORGE R. MacKENZIE

Berkeley, June 17

A demonstration sponsored by the Northern California Committee for the Abolition of Nuclear Tests took place in Oakland on June 15. Anticipating possible difficulties in securing permission to use park facilities, those charged with planning the demonstration unanimously agreed that, inasmuch as the right peacefully to demonstrate has been upheld in court decisions, the demonstration would be carried out with or without official consent. After an initial refusal, the Park Department finally granted permission, so that a head-on clash with city officials was averted.

After marching around Lake Merritt, the demonstrators assembled for a series of addresses. Roy Keppler, chairman of NCCANT, was the first to speak. He cited a recent study by four Scandinavian scientists, conclusively showing radio strontium to be ten times as dangerous as the AEC admits. He reviewed previous accomplishments by the NCC, including previous anti-test demonstrations and the arranging of a debate between Dr. Linus Pauling and Dr. Edward Teller on a local TV station. He declared that such activities across the country have opened up discussion on the previously hushed-up topic of test dangers. Stressing that anti-test forces are winning because the truth is on our side, he said the recent resignation of Admiral Lewis Strauss from the chairmanship of the AEC was due in part to public pressure.

SILENT GENERATION

Mrs. Erna Harris of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom spoke next, focusing her remarks on the special role that women can play in the cause of world peace.

Kepler then took the stand again and observed that the "silent generation" of college students has suddenly come out of hiding with a bang. He cited as local examples a recent demonstration against tests by 3,000 students at Stanford University, and the demonstration in San Francisco, reported in Labor Action of June 2, which, while sponsored by NCC, was organized principally by and on the initiative of a group in the city known as the Inter-Student Committee for the Abolition of Nuclear Tests. After these remarks, Kepler introduced YSLer Jim Gallagher.

Gallagher observed that university administrations tend to brand such activities as demonstrations irresponsible, appearing to regard interest in sports cars, football, and the like as more "responsible" pastimes. He noted that students from every college in New York City and many high school students as well are participating in the New York Students Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy and urged increased activity by students locally against tests in the fall if they have not been stopped by then. He concluded by announcing a meeting to be held the following Sunday in San Francisco for the establishment of a Bay Area-wide student committee against the tests, suggesting that the planned organization affiliate with the National Students Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy.

The final speaker of the afternoon was Ben Seaver of the American Friends Service Committee. He stated that while a discontinuance of the tests should be effected for its own sake, the immorality of testing is meager as compared with the immorality of maintaining peace by H-bomb terror and asserted that it is impossible to oppose one but not the other with integrity. Seaver predicted success for the campaign to stop tests, but warned that no resting place is possible between a stoppage of tests and world peace, since, if the test ban is not followed by further moves toward peace, there will shortly be a resumption of tests and other warlike actions by both sides.

The program ended with all those present singing "America" and "Down by the River Side."

An Appreciation of Marceau Pivert The Life of a Socialist

By A. GIACOMETTI

Marceau Pivert died of a heart disease on June 3, at the age of 62 years. With him, the international socialist movement has lost one of its most selfless, honest and loyal militants.

Marceau Pivert came to the socialist movement because of his experiences as a soldier in World War I: pacifism and internationalism remained up to the end basic elements in his concept of socialism.

In 1934-36 he led the defense organization of the SFIO (French Socialist Party), and played a leading role in the party left wing: first with Zyromski in "Bataille Socialiste," then as the leader of the revolutionary socialist wing — "Gauche revolutionnaire" — and of the party organization in the Paris region. He played an important role in the formation of the Popular Front and entered Leon Blum's government in May 1936.

At the time of the great sit-down strikes he was among the small number of those who realized the need and the opportunity of turning the general strike into a struggle for power by the working class. In *Le Populaire* of May 27, 1936, he wrote: "Now all is possible if done rapidly: this is an hour which will certainly not return soon on the dial of history." When Blum's police fired on striking workers in June 1936, Pivert resigned from the government.

In 1937 he organized a mass demonstration against the Senate, which was moving to bring about the fall of the Popular Front government. While he was speaking to the demonstrators from a window, a policeman took aim at him, but Pivert calmly continued his speech to the end.

During the Spanish Civil War, he was among the most active organizers of aid to the Spanish Left, and one of the most articulate opponents of the government's non-intervention policy. At the same time, he consistently refused to compromise with Stalinism, defending the POUM against Stalinist repression and denouncing the Moscow Trials as a frame-up.

EXPULSION

His opposition to the government's policy of non-intervention in Spain and of capitulation to the Right in France led to the expulsion of the "Gauche revolutionnaire" from the SFIO. In June 1938, Pivert founded the "Parti Socialiste Ouvrier et Paysan" (P.S.O.P.), an organization made up of conflicting tendencies which was unable to survive the pressures of the war and of the occupation.

Marceau Pivert spent the war years in Mexico, making a precarious living from small handicraft. Ever since the

war, he defended a revolutionary Third Camp policy against alliances with any of the existing power blocs. On his return to France he rejoined the SFIO. For a time he belonged to the party's Directing Committee and played a leading role in the Paris region, until the apparatus of Guy Mollet took over and eliminated him from all key positions.

In recent years, Marceau Pivert published *Correspondance Socialiste Internationale*, a monthly by which he hoped to maintain and develop closer ties among independent socialist groups and individuals scattered in different countries. He played a prominent part in the defense of colonial peoples, first as a founder of the Movement for Colonial Freedom and, more recently, in the *Messali Hadj Defense Committee*.

Marceau Pivert never ceased to oppose the crooked gang of careerists who have disgraced French socialism for some time. In so doing, he has safeguarded the future for all that is healthy in the SFIO. His death comes at a symbolic time: when Guy Mollet is handing over the SFIO and the Fourth Republic as a personal present to a military dictator.

Pivert's name remains associated with a period when French socialism did not lack greatness and intelligence. His life was one of integrity and courage. Regardless of past differences, he will be remembered in the socialist movement as a man who preserved its best traditions under difficult circumstances.

Canadian Labor Unions Plan New Political Party

The convention [of the Canadian Labor Congress] considered in detail the duties of the trade union movement in the field of political organization. After the recent electoral victory of the Conservatives it was particularly felt that labor was lacking the instrument having political power and influence. A resolution on basic policy was adopted and the Executive Council was instructed to initiate discussion with the CCF (Commonwealth Cooperative Federation) and other like-minded bodies with a view to shaping a new political labor movement and to study the experiences of labor and social democratic parties in other countries. A report on such a conference, a program and a draft constitution are to be submitted to the next convention. Meanwhile, the resolution of the Founding Convention, to take the utmost interest in political affairs and to continue political action and education, was reaffirmed.

From ICFTU Information Bulletin