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LABOR ACTION

Independent Socialist Weekly

98

APRIL 17, 1950

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Bridges Conviction Hits Labor, Liberty

By GORDON HASKELL

The Truman administration won another battle last week in its war on civil liberties when a federal jury declared Harry Bridges, president of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, guilty of perjury and conspiracy. On Monday, April 10, the court sentenced him to prison for five years, two of his associates to two years each, and the government is asking for the revacation of his citizenship in order to obtain his deportation.

The government has wanted to "get" Bridges because he is and has been a follower of the Communist Party line for many years. It is anxious to rid the waterfront of the influence of the Stalinists as part of the cold war. So it hauled him up on the charge that when he was naturalized in 1945 he falsely swore that he had never been a member of the CP.

The charge of perjury is simply the hook by which the government hopes to hang Bridges. In the course of the 85-day trial Bridges' attorneys were able to

prove that more than one of the men who testified against him had perjured himself also. But no one is fool enough to think that the government is going to haul its own witnesses up for the same offense for which it is trying to deport Bridges.

This trial was a political trial, from start to finish. And the whole history of the government's proceedings against Bridges proves it.

Bridges' own policies have tacked and veered over the years with the policies of the American Stalinists. When they were supporting F. D. Roosevelt, Bridges did too. When they turned against FDR during the period of Stalin's pact with Hitler, Bridges supported Willkie. When Hitler attacked Russia, Bridges and the CP became the most ardent supporters of the no-strike pledge and of the government. When the cold war started, Bridges went right down the Stalinist line. And the government's attitude

toward Bridges changed as
(Turn to last page)

Truman-Dulles Bipartisan' Deal on Foreign Policy Spotlights U. S. Imperialism



HARRY BRIDGES

By HAL DRAPE

The meaning of bipartisan politics was spotlighted in a bright and crude glare this past week. President Truman appointed John Foster Dulles to be the Republican overseer of the administration's foreign policy, as a "consultant" to the State Department.

It has come to be taken for granted even in labor and liberal circles that this should be so. "Politics stops at the water's edge." We're in a cold war and everyone has to rally around the flag, "Portisan politics" is a luxury we can't afford.—So goes the theory.

The theory and practice of bipartisanship is not beginning with the appointment of Dulles, to be sure. No new principles are being introduced by the appointment. But those well-intentioned people who accept bipartisanship as a necessary accompaniment of "defense of democracy" and other excellent things ought to be brought up short.

We address ourselves to the Fair Deal laborites in whose eyes the Truman administration represents progress or even liberalism, while the bad, bad Republicans represent reaction, Taft-Hartleyism and points right. They divide political policy and even liberalism itself into two watertight compartments: domestic policy and foreign policy—and never the twain shall meet.

Now one thing is clear: bipartisanship in foreign policy means that the good Democrats and the bad Republicans must have the same foreign policy. This means in practice: the Democratic Fair Deal must follow a foreign policy satisfactory to the Republicans. Still more specifically: the Republicans shall have the right to exercise a veto on Fair Deal foreign policy. And the veto is to be swung by John Foster Dulles.

What kind of foreign policy is this which satisfies the Fair Deal's urgent cry for bipartisanship? For it is Truman and the Fair Deal which has taken the initiative in wooing the opposition into the arrangement. The Republicans, as the men who are out of power and

(Turn to last page)

NAM, CIO vs. MAY DAY

We are going to have a "National Loyalty Day" in America. And it is planned that this National Loyalty Day will be on or about May First....

Maurice Tobin, secretary of labor, has accepted the chairmanship of the National Loyalty Day Parade Committee, an organization the purpose of which will be to "show the world that activities and May Day Red demonstrations by subversive groups do not reflect the sympathies of the American people."

May First has been the traditional holiday of militant and socialist labor all over the world ever since the struggle for the eight-hour day was launched in the United States in the last century. Since then hundreds and thousands of ordinary workers have been shot and clubbed by police and thrown in jail in dozens of countries for daring on this one day out of the year to demonstrate for their rights. In the old days, before the first world war, reactionary governments of all kinds sent their cops and their soldiers to prevent, by physical force, the massed demonstrations of workers for the eight-hour day, for the right to organize, against child labor, etc.

Since the rise of fascism and Stalinism the rulers have adopted different tactics. Fearing that the workers would demonstrate against their rule, they have usurped this holiday of militant labor and filled the streets with regimented humans, usually in storm troop or military uniform, and thus denied them to the self-mobilized workers. One of Hitler's first acts as dictator was to proclaim May first, 1933, the "Day of German Labor."

So it is fitting, it is most natural for the reactionaries in this country, and with them the liberal architects of the regimented "welfare" state, to pick up this idea and to attempt to turn May Day-into "Loyalty Day."

But to the everlasting shame of the American

labor movement we record that for the first time in history in any country, to our knowledge, the leaders of a free labor movement have voluntarily joined the sworn enemies of labor in such a venture.

The National Loyalty Day Parade Committee has nine vice chairmen. They are: Herman W. Steingraus, president of the United States Chamber of Commerce; William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor; George N. Craig, national commander of the American Legion; Philip Murray, president of the Congress of Industrial Organizations; Claude A. Putnam, president of the National Association of Manufacturers; A. J. Hayes, president of the International Association of Machinists; Arthur A. Schuck, national director of the Boy Scouts of America; W. P. Kennedy, president of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen; and Clyde A. Lewis, national commander of the Veterans of Foreign Wars.

Every American worker who has a spark of self-respect and pride—who knows anything about the glorious tradition of the workers' May Day—who knows of the martyrs who have died and languished in jail because they dared to dream of a better future for their class brothers—because they dared to demonstrate for that future on the May Days of the past—should burn that list into his memory.

The labor leaders who have joined with the heads of the NAM and U. S. Chamber of Commerce have disgraced the movement which they head. And they have done one thing more: they have given into the hands of totalitarian Stalinism a propaganda weapon of tremendous force which the socialist movement of Europe will feel on its back in the weeks and months ahead.

Isn't it high time that the workers of America put a stop to the damage these gentlemen are doing the cause of labor and of freedom?

BOOK-BURNING

Two well-known scientific publications recently issued statements indicating that the government's drive for secrecy is seriously curtailing the freedom of the scientific press.

The March issue of the Bulletin of Atomic Scientists reprinted a portion of a book written in 1946 by the distinguished Austrian physicist Hans Thirring. The reprint dealt with the theory of the thermonuclear (hygrogen) bomb and originally appeared as Chapter 42 in Die Geschichte der Atombombe published in Vienna. The Bulletin states that, although Prof. Thirring did not have access to any secret information, they had refrained from reprinting the material for four years because they "feared that any discussion of this subject in the Bulletin might foster the belief that America was actively engaged in developing thermonuclear weapons, and that this might stimulate the atomic arms race and further exacerbate international relations."

The above example of voluntary censorship forced upon scientists by the troubled nature of these times was closely followed by an instance of compulsion. On March 31, the Scientific American announced that they had stopped their presses while the Atomic Energy Commission deleted material in an article on the H-bomb. This article appearing in the April issue was written by the former physics chief at Los Alamos laboratory, Dr. Hans A. Bethe of Cornell University. The censorship hit material of a technical nature which was said to be widely known to nuclear physicists the world over. In a press release the magazine said:

"While there are certainly areas of information which must be protected for reasons of national security, there is a very large area of technical information in the public domain which is essential to adequate public participation of national policy and on which the American people are entitled to be informed."

Claude Pepper Boosts Jim Crow

guished cry of "We are betrayed" traveling companion of the Stalinfrom labor-liberals who believe in oids and present worshipper at the supporting the capitalist New Deal and Fair Deal candidates as "practical politics" instead of building their own labor party. The case of Florida's Claude Pepper, now campaigning for re-election to the Senate, wraps up three things in question an interesting package: the Roosevelt cult, wartime cuddling with the Stalinists—and Jim Crow.

Claude Pepper, one-time darling of the Stalinists and a leading example of a New Deal "friend of labor," is now making the run to save his seat on two issues primarily: as a friend of Roosevelt AND as a white-supremacy friend of Jim Crow

His speeches, like those of his opponent. Representative Smathers, are being made for the Democratic primaries. In the present witchhunt atmosphere-which, of course, Pepper is as much responsible for as the next Democrat or Republican — he is particularly vulnerable. He is not and never was a Stalinist, it goes without saving, but it is well known that during, the Moscow - Washington honeymoon period he energetically played ball with them.

It was Pepper whom the Stalinists wanted to run as Wallace's running mate in 1948, but by that time he was keeping his skirts clean. Smathers has been hitting hard at the fact that Pepper often spoke for CP front organizations and keeps referring to the senator's 1945 interview with Stalin in the Kremlin.

As antidote, Pepper tells and retells the story about how he took President Roosevelt's hand and pledged "unfaltering support." At the same time he wallops the civilrights issues in best cracker style.

"I don't believe in social equality [for Negroes] and they know I don't." he tells his audiences, according to the N. Y. Times for April 9. "If they can't make a black out of me, they want me a red." he complains.

SHOUTS WHITE SUPREMACY

He accuses his opponents of frameup. The frameup is this: an Orlando newspaper published a HANDS with a Negro woman. sive lists.'

FDR shrine. Brandishing a birth *certificate, he proves conclusively BORN IN NEW JERSEY and declares he does not need the advice of any Northerner on the race

"They are trying to make people believe I am in favor of breaking down segregation in the schools and public places," he orates. He answers that he has voted against both a voluntary and a compulsory FEPC and will continue to do so. The only progressive "crime" of this sort which his equally whitesupremacy opponent has on him, in fact, is his 1944 vote against cutting an appropriation for the temporary wartime FEPC; he did this, Pepper explains, "to support commander in chief."

The CIO has consistently supported this political character and indeed has looked upon him as a stalwart of stalwarts among the New Dealers. What are they saying about him now is not known

Stewart Alsop, the Washington columnist (N. Y. Herald Tribune April 2) mentions the anti-Pepper campaign as a "remarkable" example of current politics by innuendo, neglecting to mention that "device" he cites is based squarely on the Truman-sponsored loyalty purges. According to Alson political opponents are going about describing Pepper in the following spine-chilling terms:

'Why, J. Edgar Hoover, the whole FBI and every member of Congress knows that Claude Pepper is"-a breathless pause-"a shameless EXTROVERT. Moreover, there is reason to believe that he practices NEPOTISM with his sister-in-law, and that his sister has been a THESPIAN in sinful New York. Finally-and this is hard to believe—it is wellknown that before Pepper was married he regularly practised"a more breathless pause—"CELI-

That's the Southern cracker version of the more spohisticated methods of smear taught by the picture showing him SHAKING Truman administration's "subver-

He charged that the practice was

a threat to American traditions

against dictation by the military.

government's claim that the use

ors used on civilian work get paid

less than mechanics, he said, but

the aggregate cost of maintaining

the military personnel is greater.

He did not, however, base his

case on the question of economy.

Even if the brass saved money

thereby, the use of sailors obvi-

cusly has the same effect on wage

where else. It opens the door to

weakening of "a basic cornerstone

of our freedom," said the AFL

It is noteworthy that the AFL

bureaucrats are sensitive to the

growing militarization and bu-

reaucratization of U.S. life mainly

when it hits them in their own

bailiwicks. The ranks of the trade-

union movement will be more

concerned about the wider mean-

their "Fair Deal" and fair-weather

"friends of labor."

ing of such anti-labor acts by

standards as does slave labor any-

Brownlow also challenged the

AFL Accuses Navy of Using 'Forced Labor'

"This is a case of compulsory ment-owned navy yards. All prolabor being used to replace free tests, said Browniow, have been labor. It is totalitarianism in its given the run-around treatment. initial stages."

This denunciation of the federal government comes from the conscrvative secretary - treasurer of the AFL Metal Trades Department, James A. Brownlow, who of its military forced labor was early this month declared the justified by economy. Enlisted sail-AFL's intention to "press this battle with all the vigor at our command."

The battle is over the Navy Denartment's increasing use of uniformed men to replace regular civilian workers in the govern-

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MASOR AGO DE

The 'Escalator Clause' Today: A Discussion of Labor's Problem

By A. WINTERS

Walter Reuther, at a recent United Auto Workers gathering, junked the idea of the escalator clause as being not so good for today. An escalator clause is a provision in a union contract which provides for a rising scale of wages as prices and cost of living rise or -as in the case of the GM contract, for a limited drop similarly.

General Motors workers had just received their second 2-cent cut in a two-year contract under which wages could be cut as well as raised. The Stalinists have been subjecting the GM escalator clause to a murderous barrage and, together with the wide coverage the capitalist press gave to the cuts received by GM workers, it has become (to say the least) an unnopular slogan.

Yet the escalator clause—that is a proper escalator clause-should be one of the major demands of the trade unions today. Despite the leveling-off of prices the longterm perspective is still one of increasing prices.

Billions will be spent for arma-

with the rearming of Europe which has just commenced and projects like the hydrogen bomb. More and more of the wealth of the country must go for past and production of consumer goods and resulting higher prices.

The right kind of escalator clause is the kind that is tied directly to the cost of living and which automatically gives workers all of the increases in the cost of living and not part as did the GW contract. The right kind of escalator clause would not permit any downward revision of wages under any conditions. The trouble with the GM contract is that it permitted limited cuts in wages if the Bureau of Labor statistics revealed any downward trends. It was not the idea of the escalator clause which should have been junked but the unsatisfactory GM

It is indeed unfortunate that a faulty beginning should ruin the chances of an excellent idea which would be of immeasurable benefit to labor. The problem of continu-

ments on an increasing scale, what ally going out on strike every year just to make up an increase in the cost of living is a very serious one. Workers have to exhaust themselves in order just to hold their own. A good escalato future wars and this means less clause would, to a large extent, solve this problem and free labor for struggles on a level which would mean more gains for them.

When Reuther dropped the idea of including an escalator clause in the new GM contract he did so mistakenly. Chief responsibility for twisting the idea of the escalator clause must go to the Stalin ists, who subjected it to some of their choicest distortions. Because the GM clause permitted two 2 cent cuts, they succeeded in popularizing the idea that all escalator *clauses meant cuts! Despite all the difficulties the

escalator clause has been subjected to, it will yet prove its worth as an instrument of defense for labor. Militants wherever possible should not allow it to be junked without at least explaining why the present GM clause failed and why one must still be for the es-

Through the LABOR 'SCOPE—

A Magazine Finally Prints Truth about NMU Fight

in the National Maritime Union has appeared in few places, even in the liberal magazine press, let alone the big newspapers and periodicals. Since this has not been due to lack of importance of the subject, it has truly been a conspiracy of silence. Liberal editors who should have been the first to raise a stink did not do so out of an apparent desire to avoid antagonizing CIO leadership ele-

So we are glad to report an outstanding exception: an article in the March 28 issue of Max Ascoli's magazine "The Reporter," by Claire Neikind, which by and large does a fairly good job in reporting and analyzing the situ-

The picture presented will be perfectly familiar to LABOR AC-TION readers, who got it in the greatest detail in our own pages. Miss Neikind's article fully confirms the running story we presented. Many of her summary comments are no less justified.

The story, she writes, is "a study in the self-destruction of a union -and a warning to the whole labor movement." The warning which she underlines is the price of fighting the CP with its own weapons, namely, bureaucratic

Not that she fails to expose the Curran claim that the present reign of terror is a measure of defense against the Stalinist. In some passages, however, the article is none too clear on this, perhaps because her criticisms seem to imply an "even if": even if he is really fighting the CP, this is what is happening. . . . The fact is, of course, that Curran established his dictatorship not against a CP threat but against the very NMU militants who had helped to clean the CP control out of the union.

TRAGIC COMMENTARY

With this reservation her points

are worth quoting: "The union which started with the rawest form of democracy is now swinging to the other extreme. 'When you're picking up a handful of razor blades,' an NMU official remarked, 'you have to wear iron gloves.' He was implying that a union cannot root out Communists without giving up its democratic principles. . . "It is a numbing experience for

Get your L.A. every week! Subscribe at \$1 a year!

raw, lusty, free-spoken unionism was once unparalleled in the labor movement. Curran's supporters contend that, unfortunately, this is the price a union must pay to destroy Communists. It is the most tragic commentary on this policy that quite the opposite is proving true. When Curran began his campaign, the Communist influence on the waterfront was comparatively negligible, and the opplisition in the Port of New York outnumbeen that the Communists and ex- other way for the seamen.

Miss Neikind is referring to the recent merger of the Keith-Drummond-Lawrenson leadership of the Independent Caucus with the CP group, already described in LA-BOR ACTION. That section of the Independent Caucus which insisted on the necessity of continuing the fight against both the CP and Curran formed the Committee for Democratic Unionism, Miss Neikind mentions this only in passing, though presumably sympatheticalbered the Communists by far. The ly. She gives no other indication result of Curran's onslaught has of the way out. Nor is there any

-DETROIT NEWS NOTES_

Gar Wood Provokes a 4-Month Strike to Weaken UAW Local

By JIMMIE LITTLE

DETROIT, April 7-The pattern of forcing local unions to strike as a means of trying to weaken the union is again confirmed by the long strike just ended at Gar Wood. The four-month strike ended on substantially the same terms which Local 250 of the new believed by the union that the company provoked and prolonged the strike to weaken the union.

About October 15 of last year ment at Gar Wood. Before that grievance machinery.

the shop steward protested the welfare demands. firing he was fired also, and the strike began.

back their jobs but whether they take note!

will have to take a four-week penalty remains to be settled by arbitration. This after four months of strike in a 100 per cent union shop of over 1,000 workers.

A note on Michigan official mentality: The Educational Department of the UAW is seeking to inited Auto Workers (CIO) of- rent space in the Boulevard Buildfered at the end of January. It is ing in Detroit. The Republican members of the administrative board are uncertain whether the state wishes to have a labor union for a tenant. The reason given by Secretary of State Alger, one there was a change in manage- of the GOP candidates for governor, is that he doesn't know time relations between the com- whether it is desirable to have the pany and the union were relative- union mixed in with Michigan Unly good. At one time there was a employment Compensations, who seven-week period without a have space in the same building.

Last fall the workers received a Local 200, UAW, covering 12,000 30-cent wage slash. This did not members in Ford Windsor plant, excite them beyond grumbling a has voted to go on strike April bit. So, seemingly to try to pro- 12. The major issue is pensions. voke the workers into strike ac- The company offered \$55 a month. tion, Gar Wood fired a worker The union has insisted on \$100 a with 16 years' seniority. His of- month in pensions plus nine cents fense: sitting on a workbench 'an hour for health insurance. The stool. This worker, a 62-year-old president of the local has anman, did not have a single mark nounced that the union will return against him. The union insisted to its original demands, which inthat he had a perfect right to sit clude a 30-cent hourly wage inon the stool if he wanted to. When crease in addition to pension and

As unemployment increases in The only issue involved in the all fields the Oil Workers Interstrike was the union's demand for national Union has adopted a polreinstatement of the two men. icy calling for the return to the The strike settlement gave them 36-hour week. Other labor leaders

Faculty Group and Student Clubs Threaten Strike Action at U. C.

demic crisis at the University of California mounts toward the April 30 "Sign or Get Out" deadline, the issues become more sharply defined and the lines more tautly drawn. Three major events in the past week have contributed to a further delimiting of policies and forces in the struggle on the

First: the Board of Regents last Friday, reiterating its loyalty-oath ultimatum to the faculty, indicated that the battle had swung over to a knockdown-drag-out fight for the actual control of the university. Second: the Non-Senate Academic Employees, by threatening strike action, upheld the essential weapon needed in defeating the regents. And third: the development of a United Action Committee for Academic Freedom illustrated the failure of the regular student organization to mobilize and direct an agitated and concerned student body.

The fundamental issue remains that of academic freedom and revolves around the question of faculty members belonging to political parties of their own choosing —like other citizens.

Broad and abstract political questions like academic freedom, however, take on living reality in the context of institutional controls and the struggle for power. Because nobody challenged the regents in their assertion of policy, that board ten months ago decided to wrest complete power from the hands of a limp and timid Academic Senate. The device for bringing the Senate subserviently to its knees was a loyalty oath demanded of each employee by the regents.

Sets a Precedent

Thus faced with the ultimatum of signing or getting out, the Academic Senate meekly accepted the regents' policy and in effect sold academic freedom down the river. It voted by an overwhelming 1154 to 136 to exclude from employment "persons whose commitments or obligations to any organization. Communist or otherwise. prejudice impartial scholarship and the free pursuit of truth." At the same time the Senate rejected the regents' non-Communist loyalty oath by a decisive vote of 1025

So great a victory for the Board of Regents and so ignominious a defeat for academic freedom was hailed by the chairman of the Board of Regents who said "it is the first time that the faculty of any great university in the country has gone formally on record of supporting a policy of outlaw-

-including the semantics depart ment no doubt-called its decision a "compromise. For a while it looked as though

Condensed from a talk deliv-

red by radio news commenta-

tor A. Garber over radio sta-

tion KPFA-FM (Berkeley, Calif.).

Garber may be heard by all

residents of the San Francisco

Bay Area over this station ev-

ery Thursday evening at 7:45

—101 on your dial.

the common declaration of the death of academic freedom would bring peace to the campus and a postponement of struggle over power. But the regents, thus fortified, proceeded to translate an abstract political victory into concrete institutional results, and therefore insisted on the open recognition of a new relationship of forces. By a 10 to 10 vote they defeated a motion to rescind the ultimatum, and then peremptorily tabled a resolution offered by the Academic Senate to introduce a substitute anti-Communist action.

John F. Neylan, most outspoken of the regents, justified the board's decision by saying: "Any switch in our oath policy now would mean that the university would be taken over by the Communists." This obvious exaggeration should read: "Any switch in our oath policy now would mean that the university would not fall under our con trol." Only a slight difference, but exceedingly significant.

At that meeting of the Board of Regents three spokesmen for the Academic Senate were present, one of whom was Professor John Hicks, chairman of the History Department, Hick's plan revealed the abjectness of the Senate: "We think we have offered the regents fair bargain. We stand with them on the main issues-the exclusion of Communist Party members from the faculty. We ask in return only that the special anti-Communist oath be withdrawn and the equally anti-Communist contract we have drawn up be substituted for it." Hat in hand and in an ideologically recumbent position, Professor Hicks thought he could wage a struggle for control and power.

Threaten Strike

The nature of the position of the Academic Senate prompts its measures of opposition. Recently it has been reported that the faculty decided to employ counsel to fight the compulsory oath. Also it is said that the faculty might request an injunction from the State Supreme Court to forbid the enforcement of the "sign or quit ences." And the Academic Senate order. Other projected courses of Associated Students of the Univer-

signers in the Senate. Picture this mounting crescendo of battle ending up in a courtroom whimper! One might think that the irreso-

lute stand of the Academic Senate could be explained by the fact that its members stood out alone. buffeted on all sides by a reactionary student body, an unconcerned lower faculty, as well as the Board of Regents. The truth is that behind the Senate looms a vast majority of instructors and assistants and a militant student population, urging and supporting it in a principled stand against the regents.

In the last few days, for examthe Non-Senate Academic Employees urged the Academic Senate to revoke its approval and implementation of the regents policy establishing political criteria for employment at the university. In a more startling move the Non-Senate Academic Employees authorized a temporary cessation of work if the regents did not withdraw the ultimatum by April 11.

And finally this same organization-far outnumbering the Senate-instructed its steering committee to draw up a detailed plan of action for a general strike to last an indefinite period of time if the ultimatum and oath were not rescinded. This sort of militancy in the ranks of coalminers wins the best negotiated contracts in the country; and in the ranks of academic employees with little or no tenure it is a virtual miracle. How much support does the Academic Senate need?

Another group, numbering a few hundred faculty members absolutely refusing to sign the loyalty oath, calls itself the Non-Signers and has also taken a spirited stand Since last year this group fought the issue in terms of academic freedom, and now is even willing to go along with the Senate on the narrower question of a power struggle for control of the university. Indications are that the ranks of the Non-Signers will increase.

Student United Front As would be expected in so pro-

found an academic crisis, the student body, of the Berkeley campus at least, lines itself up in exactly the same political fashion as the faculty: a small number rejecting the principles of academic free dom but resenting the regents' usurping of power; the greater number siding completely with the Non-Signers and the Non-Senate Academic Employees.

Mimicking the miserable conduct of the Academic Senate is

the regents by individual non- flabby president Dan Coelho, Last Monday night's session adequately exposed the weakness and vacillation of that executive committee After adopting a motion opposing political tests for teachers and recommending individual competence as the sole criterion for hiring and firing, the executive committee of the ASUC then inverted itself by accepting a resolution which opposed the hiring of mem-

bers of "any party which advo-

cates overthrow of the govern-

by non-constitutional

ment

Fortunately the stand of the executive committee of the Associated Students was anticipated; a few weeks ago a group of student organizations started the United Action Committee for Academic Freedom, Originally pioneered by the Socialist Youth League-which sprang into the limelight through a series of student mass meetings -the United Action Committee now also comprises the Students for Democratic Action, the American Veterans Committee, the Young Progressives, the Labor Youth League, and groups from four of the five major cooperatives on campus. Moreover, such organizations as the Non-Senate Academic Employees and the

The United Action Committee for Academic Freedom serves as a united front for various student groups and proclaims four objectives: (1) defeat the "sign or get out" ultimatum: (2) affirm academic freedom: (3) condemn the extra-legal loyalty oath; and (4) reinstate the former instructor, David Fox. Already several demonstrative actions by this committee have taken place indicating that the leadership of the student body is in the process of shifting from the inept executive of the ASUC to this united front.

Graduate Students Association

send accredited observers to its

A complete victory - even by strike methods - at the present stage involves continued attack upon the regents until academic freedom itself is reconquered. Eventually the autarchically appointed regents of the nature of the present board, will have to be replaced by elected regents subect to recall and electoral choice

Read THE NEW

INTERNATIONAL

LA 12-Pager Due May Day: You Can Help!

The issue of LABOR ACTION after the next one will be our May Day issue—12 pages.

And this year the May Day issue of LABOR ACTION will have a special significance. It will also be the issue commemorating the 10th anniversary of LABOR ACTION and of the Independent Socialist movement for which it speaks.

We plan a May Day issue which will not be devoted so much to looking back at the history of the labor and socialist movements as to an all-around statement of the program, the goals of Independent Socialism. And even more than that, to a restatement of the role which the organization of Independent Socialists, the Independent Socialist League, can and must play in the labor movement and among all people who are looking for a political answer to the terrible devastation of society by decaying capitalism and totalitarian

This May Day issue of LABOR ACTION is going to be something special, and we want you, our readers, EVERY ONE OF YOU, to help us make it that. The May Day issue will come at the end of the fund drive of the ISL, but the money which you send in to pay for your greetings will be needed just as much then as your donations to the fund drive are needed

Help us to make the May Day issue a testimonial to the continued solidarity, determination and courage of the independent socialists in America. We are counting

The time is short, so send in your greetings to LABOR ACTION right away. They must be in New York in less than a week from the day you get this copy of the paper by April 24 or 25 at the latest. Space rates are as follows:

Two dollars per column-inch. On greetings over two column inches nclude text with your money. Please indicate whether or not you wish your name included. Individual one-line greetings will be accepted for one dollar. Send greetings in AT ONCE.

WEEK by WEEK...

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

A sub is only \$1 a year!

Quota Received Per Cent

SYL LEADS THE FUND DRIVE

Ry VETTA BARSH Fund Drive Director

APRIL 10-The fund drive continues to lag. Although this week's collections total \$553, that is not enough to offset the slackening off that has occurred during the past period.

Once more we call upon all friends and sympathizers as well as all Independent Socialist League branches and SYL units to send in their contributions without delay and to take steps immediately to complete their quotas. The Socialist Youth League con-

receipts include \$65 from the Chi- not within the drive period. cago SYL, bringing its total per-

LOCAL STATE OF THE STATE OF THE

five SYL units to be heard from. quota. If our New York comrades Our recent correspondence reveals will begin to put on their final that two of the five expect to be spurt, they will have enough time heard from next week. The possibilities are that the SYL will show many more substantial contributions before the end of the drive. All that remains is for the ISL branches to follow suit.

Baltimore has sent in another \$29, raising its percentage to 65. We are sorry to learn that unexpected difficulties may make it impossible for Baltimore to meet its quota before the end of the drive, but we are informed that the total tinues to head the list. This week's \$75 will be forthcoming even if

West Virginia has now passed centage up to 265, and \$61 from the the 100 per cent mark. Its last \$15 Berkeley SYL, bringing its per- raised its total to \$55. We undercentage up to 333 and placing it stand that our West Virginia comat the very top of the list. Our rades expect to continue going tions! youth comrades certainly lead the over the top during the next few

\$152.50 above their \$350 total que- cent jump with its last \$332 and contribution immediately.

to reach their quota and go over.

This week's receipts include a \$1 contribution from a friend in St. Louis and a substantial \$50 from a comrade in Oregon, both of which have been added to our "General" account.

We are now approaching the last lap of the drive. We have only three more weeks to go. We can only repeat what we have been saying for the past weeks. It is necessary for all units to drive hard in the short time that remains. Collect all pledges that have been made within the next week! Visit all friends and sympathizers to collect their contribu-

Readers of LABOR ACTION: Do your share! Help us hit the To date they have collected New York City made an 8 per 100 per cent mark. Send us your

Fund Drive Box Score

BERKELEY SYL	30	110	333
CHICAGO SYL	100	265	265
WEST VIRGINIA	50	55	110
BOSTON	75	75	100
STREATOR	25	25	100
Newark	\$250	218	87
Chicago	1500	1268	85
New York City	4000	3102	77
Los Angeles	500	357	· 71
Buffalo	1000	700	70
Youngstown	100	70	70
New York City SYL	125	2770	. 69
St. Louis	100	68	68
Baltimore	7 5	49	65
Cleveland	300	179	. 60
Philadelphia	400	,204	51
San Francisco Bay Area		223	45
Reading	100	35	35
Akron	200	64	32
Detroit	500	140	28
Pittsburgh		- 41	27
General	1525	. 216	14
Seattle	300	0	0
Newark SYL	15	. 0	0
St. Louis SYL	15	Ó	. 0
Detroit SYL	30	0	0
Buffalo SYL		0	ō
SYL (at large)	30	0	0
at .			_
Total	\$12,000	\$7542	63

<u> Editorials</u>

Labor Unity Ahead?

The CIO top command's proposal to the rest of the labor movement to form a joint committee to plan a common strategy and to look into the question of uniting the labor movement in one body looks like the same proposal the CIO has made several times

But times are changing, and it appears that the same old proposal may get a warmer response from the officers of the AFL, the railroad brotherhoods and other unions than it has in the past. Already John L. Lewis has informed Philip Murray that he is for it, and even old Bill Green has "expressed interest"

In the past, it must be recalled, the AFL has rejected similar proposals out of hand. Its position has been that the CIO must return to the fold of the AFL, or cooperation would serve no useful purpose. But political events have been teaching even the hidebound AFL bureaucracy a few lessons.

One thing which has been drawing the unions together has been their common and growing concern with politics. With the exception of Lewis, almost all the union leaders have been wading in the Democratic Party up to their necks. Of course, that party is a cesspool, and the labor leaders have been getting more stubbed toes and duckings and swallows of unpalatable refuse than anything else in it. So it is quite likely that the major reason for their desire to get together just now is the hope that if they hold hands they will be able to hold their heads above the water and avoid such unpleasant experiences in the future.

Te put it more concretely:

(1) Most of them support the Fair Deal, but to date the "great victory" of '48 has got them no more than the great defeat of '46.

(2) Recently they found it possible to cooperate in forming the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

(3) Most of them are scared to death that a real depression lies ahead and they haven't any idea what to do about it.

So much for the motives of the union bu-

But whatever the motives of the leaders may be, if the CIO's proposal goes through it will be a natural and desirable development. The ranks of American labor have been divided far too long. Such a unity at the top may not make the struggle for democracy in the union any easier, but it is hard to see how it could make it more difficult. In the meantime it will gave the workers a feeling of self-confidence and strength derived from unity which is badly needed after a period of retreats and struggles which gained at best small and temporary conces-

And if such a feeling of strength is translated into the language and action of politics, this move by the CIO may yet carry the bureaucrats into political waters which are much more stormy than the pool in which they now paddle, but which are also much cleaner and healthier for the ranks-the high seas of united independent labor politics.

You're Invited

to speak your mind in the letter column of L.A., "Readers Take the Floor." It's YOUR forum. Our policy is to publish all letters of general political interest, regardless of views. Keep them to 500

If you're—

- against capitalism
- against Stalinism
- for socialist democracy

You belong with the

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4 Court Square Long Island City 1, N. Y.

Opinions and policies expressed in the course of signed articles Action, which are given in editorial statements.

The third was a set of the set of TAPPING the

Business Lobbies Form All-Inclusive Front

The reactionary pro-business lobbies in Washington have organized a united front. It calls itself the National Committee to Limit Federal Taxing Powers, but the limitation implied by the name is simply a camouflage.

The coalition began back in January with a hush-hush meeting in Washington. Now it's out in the open, following a second conference at the Statler Hotel.

Among those present were:

• Herbert U. Nelson, who gets \$25,000 a year from the National Association of Real Estate Boards • Dr. J. S. Lawrence-\$20,000 a year from the American Medical

• Douglas Whitlock-\$18,000 from the Building Products Institute,

another unit of the real-estate lobby. • Fred A. Virkus-\$12,000 from the Conference of American Small

Business Organizations. • Tyre Taylor-\$25,000 from the National Association of Retail Grocers and Southern States Industrial Council.

Among other groups represented: The Committee for Constitutional Government, a leading anti-labor

lobby with pro-fascist overtones. • National Tax Equality League, which spearheads the campaign to

National Republican Roundup Committee, a GOP group in which Virkus (mentioned above) is active. The chief published aim of the united front is to plug for a consti-

tutional amendment limiting federal taxes and expenditures. This is mostly a catch-all front under which the various lobbies can work together to aid each other's objectives.

The principal host and toastmaster at a luncheon for the delegates during the Statler Hotel conference was the rabidly reactionary Congressman Ralph W. Gwinn, New York Republican, who has been circulating "Fair Deal is Socialism" scare speeches under the aegis of the Committee for Constitutional Government. Herbert U. Nelson of the National Association of Real Estate Boards had been beating the bushes for the superlobby organization in speeches to business groups all over the country. His outfit at its last convention went on record or the formation of the united front.

The tax-limitation plank was selected as the most fair-seeming and "popular" slogan around which the soak-the-poor forces could rally. As ex-Congressman Samuel B. Pettinghill, now a lobbyists' stalwart, has declared: behind such a plank "the doctors can fight socialized medicine. the owners of real estate can fight public housing, others can fight federal control of education, and still others can fight to relieve privatelycreated wealth of some of the tax burden."

In other words, the new committee is an all-inclusive snake pit. Pettinghill's reference to "privately created wealth" is accurate enough, but it is not the real creators of wealth—the workingmen and women—who are going to be relieved by his efforts but rather they will be forced to shoulder more of the tax burden in favor of their exploiters.

How to Make a Fortune

A tax-evasion deal (perfectly "legal," of course) with figures in the millions of dollars was uncovered by Time magazine in its issue of March 13. It concerns Levittown, a private housing development on Long Island. The details are complicated; but if you can follow them you might be able to make your own fortune—if you know an obliging millionaire.

Levitt and his brother used a Philadelphia study club, the Junto, as the other half of the deal. The Levitts owned the Bethpage Realty Corporation, which in turn owned 4,028 of the rental houses. They sold Bethpage to the Junto for \$5,150,000 with \$1,500,000 as a down payment. To make the down payment the Junto borrowed the million and a half from a Philadelphia bank for five days and took over ownership of the corporation.

In the Bethpage treasury was around \$5 million in working capital and profits. With this cash Junto repaid the bank and paid the Levitts another \$3,400,000. It has to pay the remaining quarter million by next December, which it will be able to do out of cash on hand and incoming rents. When the mortgages are paid off in some 20 years, it o itself, in effect, nothing will own the houses free and clear Meanwhile it will get a yearly profit of \$75,000.

The Levitts' end of the deal depended on the spread between the long-term capital gains tax of 25 per cent as compared with the 77 per cent maximum they might have paid if they had taken the money out in dividends. Meanwhile the deal gives them ready money to expand building activities. The only loser is the government tax collector, who has to get his money elsewhere-from you.



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by contributors do not necessarily represent the views of Labor

Reading from Left to Right

SEVENTH AVENUE: BOSS AND WORKER, by Wal-

An impressionistic sketch; sometimes shrewd and sometimes sentimental, of the garment center in New York City. The author notes ethnic changes among the garment workers, the transition of the Jewish workers into a "proletarian aristocracy," and the invasion of other immigrant groups-Italian, Spanish, Puerto Rican -that lack the radical tradition of the Jewish

The sentimentality can be seen in this conclusion: "Today the garment worker no longer need fear the boss.... Instead, the boss, as the garment worker conceives him, is simply another human being who must be taught...that his best chances for success lie in a closed shop. .. If the manufacturer deviates from this idealized image, it must be demonstrated to him not only that he is helpless against the union, but

that his attempts to evade union rulings are wholly irrational. For the manufacturer, no hat his vices, is still a Jew."

This touchingly idyllic picture has only one deficiency: it is contradicted by facts. If the author had looked closely enough into the garment center and not contented himself with the kind of stereotypes found in Jewish fiction, he would have seen that at the present moment unemployment is an intensely serious problem in the garment industry; there is a wave of employer attempts to evade the union's control by setting up obscure sweatshops out of town and in outlying parts of the city; some of the employers have been resorting to gangsterism against the union (the author has nothing to say about the recent murder of William Lurye, a union organizer!); and the union, softened by years of bureaucratic sloth, seems incapable of militantly responding to the situation. But then he would not have had so pleasant a conclusion.

WORLD POINTICS

A Discussion of the Controversy over David Rousset's Proposal

A discussion of considerable interest and significance has been going on in the French and European press since November of last year. It relates to the question of slave labor in Russia, and—except for a full-page fund-raising advertisement in the New York Times of February 28, 1950—little or no attention has been paid in America to a dispute which has raised violent emotions and called forth hundreds of articles in the European press.

David Rousset, well-known author of studies of Nazi concentration camp life and a former Trotskyist who has moved steadily to the right, politically speaking, is the instigator of a proposed international commission of inquiry to investigate charges of slave labor in Russia and in other countries where it may exist. The French national committee of this commission, which finds a parallel in a similar committee set up in the United States by the Workers Defense League, has been completed and has requested permission to conduct its investigation in Russia, Greece, Yugoslavia and Spain.

To be sure, the work of the commission is concentrated upon the question and issue of slave labor in Russia where the most sober reports estimate that between 10 million and 15 million people occupy the camps created by Stalinism. It is doubtful if the sum total of political and slave-labor prisoners in the rest of the world is equal to 5 per cent of that in Russia; not to ignore the now wellknown charge that Stalinist slave labor constitutes an organic part of Russian society and is a basic element in the very form and structure of Russian

What kind of commission of inquiry has been proposed? In the words of Rousset:

"I now propose the establishment of a Commission of Inquiry consisting of former political deportees, inmates of the Nazi concentration camps, men who know the world of the concentration camp and cannot be duped. Once established, this commission would formally demand from the Soviet government the right to conduct an investigation on the spot, within the Russian camps.

charge that its system of corrective tabor camps constitutes a crime against humanity. Our proposal, that men who have suffered as victims of the Nazis shall freely study the corrective labor camps, offers the Soviet Union the fairest way to justify its good faith before the world."

This is, in essence, the purpose of the proposed

ATTACKS ON ROUSSET

As was to be expected, this proposal acted as a violent bombshell when thrown among the various political movements and leaders of France. The same process is now under way in other Western countries, but the reaction has been most characteristic and significant in France, where the nefarious influence of Stalinism upon the general left is still only too powerful.

The Stalinists began their usual campaign against Rousset, calling him a "fascist-Nazi beast," etc. We spare our readers the familiar epithets. On approximately the same level of vulgar vilification and abuse were the comments of Ernest Germain. a leading theoretical light of the so-called Fourth International who, in the Militant (February 27) tells us that Rousset lives by "exploiting his former captivity." This common slanderer informs us, in the Stalinist mode, that "All his [Rousset's] political moves have had the same pretext. Few things are more revolting than such bombastic exploitation of one's past misfortunes."

Yes, yes-Rousset is a vile creature, but what of the alleged millions in Stalin's camps? We are again reminded of what is now rather clear to those who

take the trouble to follow the course of the so-called Fourth Internationalists-their increasing adaptation to and adoption of the Stalinist technique. But more on this later.

Les Lettres Françaises, Stalinist literary publication in France, attacked Rousset as a "forger and shameless liar," but failed to defend itself from his charges in a libel suit which he promptly brought against it. A preliminary hearing in this suit is scheduled for April 22, and should institute a case as lively and revealing as the now famous Kravchenko hearing in Paris last year. Other Stalinist attacks follow the same line.

More interesting to our readers, of course, are the reactions of the alleged anti-Stalinist and left socialist intellectuals of various shades in France. Claude Bourdet, a former editor of the popular Resistance movement paper Combat. protested against the fact that Rousset had first put forward his proposal in the conservative Catholic newspaper Figaros Littéraire (we seriously wonder whether Fne so-called radical and socialist paper Franc-Tweur would have been willing to publish it, so hypnotized and disoriented are its editors by their confusion over the issue of Stalinism), and demanded to know why no mention was made of "Greece, Spain; etc.", as well as terror systems in the French colonies.

"SHALL WE... UNDERTAKE NOTHING?"

As we now understand matters, although Rousset's original proposal contained the serious error of not insisting upon a world-wide investigationsuch as the original Workers Defense League conference in New York had done-this has now been corrected to include all nations accused of harboring slave labor in any shape or form.

But the demagogic vulgarity of this attack is clear enough if we consider that its author, Bourdet, proposes nothing that goes beyond his criticism of Rousset. A well-known figure in French political circles of the left, why does he not set about organizing a better commission, without the faults of that of Rousset?

The latter, replying to Bourdet in Franc-Tireur. inquiry to Russia, while affirming that this would be the point of first concentration. "Shall we therefore undertake nothing so long as our own doorstep has not been swept?'

Most significant of all has been the rejection of the Rousset proposal, accompanied by a political breakup of former relations, by Jean-Paul Sartre and his close associate, M. Merleau-Ponty. In a statement published in their magazine, "Les Temps Modernes" (January 1950), they turn thumbs down on the proposed commission, accusing its author of selling at a "cheap price the detenues [prisoners] of Spain, and the deportees of Greece."

But Sartre and Merleau-Ponty go far beyond the reasons given by Bourdet, tragically beyond them. For this they are hailed by the above-mentioned Ernest Germain as having performed "a highly important and progressive act." Instead of "playing the game" of the American State Department, as does "renegade" Rousset, Jean-Paul Sartre "symbolizes the progressive evolution of bourgeois intellectuals who are sincerely trying to break with their class and to go over into the camp of the proletariat.

Lest our readers be somewhat confused as to the nature of this "progressive act," we remind them that it refers to their rejection of the proposal to set up a "Commission of Inquiry consisting of former political deportees, inmates of the Nazi concentration camps, etc." For what purpose? To investigate the charge that there are 10 million or more slave laborers in Russia.

(Concluded next week, discussing the criticism by Jean Paul Sarfre.)

and CIENCE

Will It Be a 'National Secrecy Foundation'?

The infringements on civil rights of scientists and curtailment of freedom of science were until recently of mere academic interest to many engaged in pure basic research. Suddenly, however, with the passage in the House of the greatly amended National Science Foundation bill, these issues have become a very personal concern of these

Some of these "elite" of the scientific profession passed lightly over the clearance problems of hundreds of their brethren working in industrial and applied research and development. New, all groups of scientists are in the same crucible since the NSF bill, which provides for basic research was passed in amended form, requiring not only FBI investigation but also clearance by that bureau for every scientist associated in any way with the foundation.

This aspect of the civil-rights struggle is not a bright one at present. A recent Newsletter of the Federation of American Scientists

"The situation we now face on National Science Foundation is not a happy one. We are offered legislation which preserves the concept of a federal agency devoted to support of scientific education and research, with the responsibility to think in terms of a broad national science policy. . . . [But] Under HR 4846 as amended, we have not realized the hope of freeing basic research from security limitations by segregating such research in an exclusive agency. Finally, the bill contains provisions profoundly repugnant to the traditions and aspira-

Fighting Witchhunt Clauses in NSF

The Federation of American Scientists and similar organizations have decided to urge defeat of the present foundation bill unless the FBI investigation clauses are deleted in the joint House-Senate conference committee to which it has been referred. Undoubtedly, some changes in wording will be made, since FBI spokesmen have stated that they wish only to carry out the security investigations and want to give some other agency the job of deciding "that such person is loyal to the U.S., believes in our system of government, and is not and has not been at any time a member of any organization declared subversive by the attorney general or any organization that teaches or advocates the overthrow of the government of the United States by force and violence." It is encouraging to see the CIO come to the aid of the scientists by demanding deletion of the amendments from the NSF bill.

Currently, the Scientists Committee on Loyalty Problems has made public a summary of the security and loyalty problems confronting individual scientists in the present period. In the fall of 1948, the SCLP was set up as a committee of the Federation of American Scientists to deal with immediate and practical problems.

In its first year, this committee handled 62 cases, of which over half are still open, some pending for over a year. About 20 cases were those of prospective employees, mostly of the Atomic Energy Commission, while the others were employees of the AEC. Defense Department, and their contractors. The report is published in Science. weekly publication of the American Association for the Advancement

Of the limited nature of its efforts, the SCLP says: "The steps it has taken and the measures it has recommended are all designed to ensure a fair hearing of all the available evidence; they are not designed to increase the number of clearances given in cases that are actually doubtful." The report contains several instructive case histories which illustrate the loss of reputation and income which is often the result of security investigations

A "National Secrecy" Foundation?

The committee has made a careful study of the appeal procedures and lists seven safeguards which they view as essential and compares these with those in actual operation by the various agencies. All are found to be lacking in most safeguards.

For example, the Industrial Employment Review Board, which handles appeals of employees of private contractors for Department of Defense, still "classifies its hearing and does not permit crossexamination of witnesses or accusers." Prospective employees are in most cases even denied the right of a hearing or appeal despite the fact that a job refusal in itself becomes a derogatory entry in the individual's FBI record. The SCLP insists that further reforms in clearance procedures should be made.

A section of the report, dealing with the relation of science and secrecy, is worth citing:

"For example, vital secrets in atomic energy can be adequately protected for the time being by classifying the technology and status of bomb construction. However, extension of secrecy into the field of nuclear physics would be unwise in the long run. Any security gained by general secrecy of our fundamental data would be rapidly overweighed by the diminished vigor of our own research. These remarks will be accepted as truisms by most members of the scientific community; but the point is worth making in view of the widespread tendency among the laity to regard 'science' and 'secrecy' as synony-

The action on the National Science Foundation indicates that the federal government is quite eager to substitute secrecy for science. Only an increased struggle for civil rights and freedom of science will prevent the establishment of a National Secrecy Foundation.

Pittsburgh

Max Shachtman "NEW TRENDS IN THE LABOR MOVEMENT"

An open meeting of the Pittsburgh branch of the Independent Socialist League

THURSDAY, 8 p.m., APRIL 20 at the Fort Pitt Hotel

ue Socialist Youth League Socialist Youth League Socialist You e Socialist Youth League Socialist Youth League Socialist Yout gue Socialist Youth So Youth Student Corner Le and ialist Youth League Socialist Youth League Socialist Youth League alist Youth League Socialist Youth League Youth League Socialist Youth League Youth Youth Leagu

Unemployed Graduates: Radical 'Danger'

Every year over half a million students are graduated from high schools and colleges and enter the market for jobs. Here are young pepole who have spent between 12 and 16 years in school looking forward to the time when they can graduate and find a job. But the job prospects this year are the worst since 1940, the year the American economy emerged out of the Great Depression with the aid of Euro-

The extent of this problem was pointed out in a speech by Ewan Clague, commissioner of labor statistics in the Department of Labor, reported in the April 2 N. Y. Times. He pointed out that employment prospects for recent school graduates are worse than they have been at any time since the end of the war. He also added that the situation will not be any better in 1951 or 1952.

This problem is not one that faces the young alone. It is also one facing the older workers who, interestingly enough, are called "superanuated"-in other words, too old for speedup.

But what is the answer to this growing unemployment that faces the student? The best that Ewan Clague has to offer is that those who cannot find jobs ought to look for work in related fields (which also do happen not to exist). The other solution is that they "continue in school for post-graduate work." What better opportunity can there be at that later time, since Clague himself says that the situation will not improve by 1952?

Fears Radicalized Students

This brings one to the attitude expressed by another politician discussing this same problem. He is William J. Wallin, chancellor of the New York State Board of Regents, speaking at a dinner in honor, appropriately enough, of General Dwight D. Eisenhower, president Columbia University.

William Wallin is particularly concerned that there are too many young people who are in college getting an education. In fact he believes it to be a great danger to present American society.

He is quoted in the March 30 N. Y. Times: "We are likely to educate, articularly in the post-graduate area, many more men and women than can earn a living in the field in which they have chosen to be educated, and too often anywhere else, [my emphasis—S. F.] and we shall find that, embittered with their frustration, these surplus graduates will turn upon society and the government, more effective and better armed in their destructive wrath by the education we have given

Here is a thinly clad appeal for the restriction of higher education. American capitalism, the richest and the most powerful in the world, is unable to offer anything to those it educates in order to

keep itself functioning with the necessary technicians and intellectuals Here is a thinly clad appeal for ignorance of the masses, from one who is a leading figure in the American educational system. Here is the fear that this growing "surplus" will challenge the very basis of the society that educates them in order to throw them on the unemployment list. Therefore, why "more effectively and better arm" them? Better: keep them in ignorance, or rather raise them to the educational level sufficient to go little beyond reading and writing,

but do not encourage them to think. This closely parallels the development of capitalism as an industrial society. Capitalism produces more than the market can use and thus finds it necessary to curtail production and throw workers out of jobs. It expanded the forces of production at one time, but it is a system that cannot fully utilize them, except for war or the consequences of the war. And this surplus, both of the capacity to produce

and the fruits of production, exists as a danger to the system. Many students today are afraid to join radical campus organizations for fear that it will hurt their chances of getting a job later on. But there is a growing number who are courageous enough to speak out, not only to criticize the system which cannot provide them with jobs, but also on the issue of academic freedom for non-conformist

views and on the cold war itself. It is out of such situations as this that there will come the he ginnings of a student movement comparable to the one that existed in the 30s. Mr. Wallin does indeed have something to fear from the

Readers Take the Floor . . .

Children Cleared of Slanderous Charge

In a footnote to my article last week, the editor of LABOR AC-TION suggested that the SWP leaflet at the Shachtman-Browder debate was probably the result, not of bureaucratic stupidity or mere pique, but of a seven-year-old child's mimeographing. I am afraid the editor thereby exposes his lamentable ignorance of both child psychology and Cannonism.

First, he should know that seven-year-old children don't gener- right. Besides everything else, the ally spend their evenings with mimeograph machines. By nature. they are not as nasty and vicious and stupid as the author of the their now notorious leaflet. And SWP leaflet. Children, if brought up with a minimum of affection, are usually much more honest and comradely than the author of that

Second, it takes training to be able to write that way. You have to be schooled for years in the theory that Trotskyism means "striking while the iron is hot." You have to associate in the elevating intellectual milieu of the for a seven-year-old? In passing, a word on how attractive and much more readable the new LA format is.

Cannonite leadership: you have to

be taught the meaning of the "fin-

ished program." Only then can

you write such leaflets. Now I ask

you, friend editor, is this possible

Sincerely yours R. FAHAN

Comrade R. Fahan must be current issue of the Cannonite

"Militant," in a "report" of the debate, actually repeats and quotes we hasten to dissociate ourselves from any intention of slandering seven-year-olds.—Ed.

Interested? For information about the INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST LEAGUE

Write to 4 Court Square Long Island City 1, N. Y.

Wallace's Capitalist Credo

By HAL DRAPER

On March 6, the Daily Compass, New York's semi-Stalinoid newspaper, carried a long interview with Henry Wallace on the subject "What is 'Progressive Capitalism'?" That term is Wallace's program in two words, and he tries to expound its meaning. The exposition is the fullest Wallace has attempted and, fuzzy as it is, the most concrete.

The idea of a "progressive capitalist" alternative to both socialism and "reactionary capitalism" has, of course, much greater appeal than to Wallace's own following, and its currency in the country is not to be measured either by Wallace's vote in 1946 or by the strength of the Progressive Party. In one form or another, it is also the ideology of Americans for Democratic Action and most other liberals. On Wallace's side it must be said that, hazy as he is, his rivals in the liberal world (the ADA, for example) do not even make as much of an attempt to grapple with the problem in anything like fundamental terms. The key passages in Wallace's explanation

"Progressive capitalism is that reconciliation between fundamental American democracy and modern technology which will make possible continuous full employment and expanding production without government ownership of all the means of production....

"The success of progressive capitalism demands that the leaders of business, labor and agriculture plan with government—and specifically with the President's Council of Economic Advisers—the key policies of the key industries which have to do with capital flow, wage rates, dividend policies, prices, and volume of produc-

"These key industries are so vital to the general welfare that if management and labor in these industries are not willing to plan with government for the maximum of service to the general public, they should be taken over by the government....

"But under progressive capitalism, the objective would be to leave as large a segment of the economy as possible under private direction and yet eliminate the causes of unhealthy 'boom and

Full Production FOR WHAT?

Full production and full employment are still his main objectives for the system. But production and employment are still at a comparatively high level now: why isn't he pleased? For a good reason, of course: "The Democrats can bring about full employment only by a huge arms program...since 1941 there has been full employment only because of huge shipments abroad and heavy expenditures for munitions and planes."

So full production or full employment themselves are not enough; when he bethinks himself he also asks: "Full production and employment for what?" This, as is well known, does not stop his fellow-traveler mentality from pointing to full production and employment in totalitarian Russia as "economic democracy."

He also makes no mention of the skeleton in his own closet. At the only period when he could have put his economic theories into practice, when he was a top dog in Roosevelt's New Deal as secretary of agriculture, this eloquent advocate of full production found nothing else to do but attempt to solve the crisis of capitalism by the notorious expedient of plowing under cotton and sending every third pig to his porcine ancestors. He was even then, it must be remembered, just as enthusiastic an advocate of full production, but...in a practical situation, one must be practical.

Wallace has not boasted since then of his role in this economic atrocity, but likewise has given not the slightest indication that he has ever attempted to understand why drastic restrictions on production could have played a part in an attempt to rehabilitate capitalism. We will have to ask that question ourselves in the light of his present interview.

Wallace, in brief, is now advocating a planned capitalism, planned by government, labor and capital in consultation. It is this planning which he equates with the progressiveness of his new

a planner of capitalism should be sufficient to raise the problem.

Obviously, planning is not enough. Planning for what? Planning for the plowing-under of cotton is not progressive. Planning for gearing the economy for war is not progressive. Planning for maximizing capitalist profits—there is plenty of this in the system—is not progressive. To this list we can add another from Henry Wal-

Socializing Their Losses

When Roosevelt appointed Wallace to head the Commerce Department instead of Jesse Jones, a furor in Congress led to a congressional inquiry. Wallace took the stand at the Senate Commerce Committee hearing to give his economic views. He got a bit more specific than usual then too—as usual, too specific for his own good. He sounds better when making a peroration about how nice full employment is.

This is what he told the Senate hearing (the quotation is from the Los Angeles Daily News): "He said that business should be privately

owned, privately operated and privately managed, but that the government should share with the private investor the 'unusual and abnormal' risks and losses involved in striving for expanded private industry.

"When the number of gainfully employed persons falls below the 57,000,000 mark in peacetime, he said the government should take up the slack through public works projects—not as 'government relief jobs, but as private jobs' by assigning contractors for such public works to private contractors."

A modest proposal this was: that the government's planning be for the purpose of making up the capitalists' losses by substituting guaranteed profits for the famed advantages of "private initiative."

We have no idea whether Wallace would present this formula for planning capitalism today, but all of Wallace's various proposals have one thing in common—and it is this which sounds "progressive" to him and many others.

The heavy thinkers of American capitalism, even today, still tend to look on the economic system as a semi-automatic mechanism which will operate smoothly and uninterruptedly provided nobody throws a monkey wrench. Depressions? They're always due to somebody's mistake—special conditions—wrong policies by government—"lack of confidence"—etc. As ex-Sec-

capitalism. But his own inglorious experience as retary Krug once put it, our economic system is "a jigsaw puzzle," in which the pieces are supposed to fall into place by themselves.

> Wallace has the limited merit of understanding that the jigsaw pieces do not fall into place by themselves, that boom-and-bust is a consequence of the automatic operation of the system. and that the government must take a hand to prevent the capitalists from booming-and-busting the profit system wide open.

> All this is something that European capitalists realized a long time ago, because there the decay of capitalism has gone further and faster. But for the U.S., Wallace is a step ahead of the Tafts. He knows that government has a permanent role to play in saving capitalism from its own "excesses."

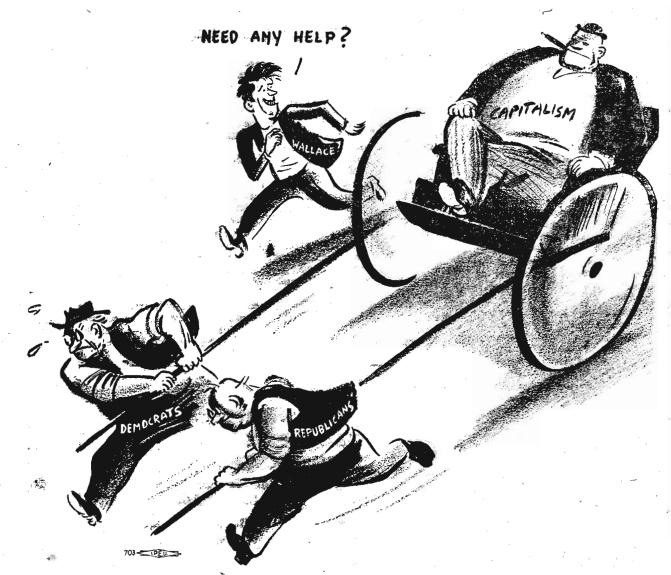
This insistence on the role of government in business has a progressive air in the U.S., because it is counterposed to the superannuated views of the broken-down remnants of rugged individualism. Its ambiguity as a "progressive" idea in itself is sufficiently highlighted by the realization that fascism, in its economic role. comes into being to do precisely the same general job: preserve the capitalist profit system through government action rather than through trusting to the blind operation of economic

Formula: Planning Equals Progress

It is because Wallace does not understand this ambiguity of government-in-business that he can talk about the "economic democracy" in the Russian prison state. Full production and full employment are thoroughly planned there, aren't they? The fact that they are planned by the GPU and a totalitarian state is a regrettable blemish on this "progressive" economy. . . .

And so in his Compass interview, we still find Wallace defining progressiveness under capitalism in terms of planning per se. Nowhere in this interview does he bother to indicate what economic program is to be followed by this capitalist planning. The objectives? On that he is eloquent enough, as usual. But how, under the profit system? Not plowing-under, not war production, not guarantee of capitalist losses—

We are not interested in stressing at the moment that he has nothing to say about this; if he had thought of raising the question, he might have proposed something, whether it be worth less or more than his previous excursions into the problem. The interesting thing is that the



And Its Link with Politics

nature of "progressive capitalism" is defined at every point in the interview without regard to any such question.

Planning equals progress: such is the rockbottom foundation of his thought. It is the link between his views on "progressive capitalism" and his views on the wonderful experiment in "economic democracy" in Russia, and intimately connected with his Stalinoid politics. It is the modern link between old-fashioned capitalist reformism and contemporary neo-Stalinism.

It explains why the same man can grow pieeyed with enthusiasm at being shown the planned prison camps of Russia (as he did on his tour of that country some years ago) and, for the United States, advocate private enterprise. The remaining contradiction is resolved by envisioning a capitalism in which the capitalists will voluntarily allow themselves to be planned by government.

And how will this happen? The same man whose objection to socialism is that "I see no likelihood of anything of that sort for many decades" is asked by the interviewer: "How will you get these capitalists to cooperate?"

His answer is frank enough if somewhat eyepopping in view of his objection to socialism: "I started working on the reactionary capitalists in face-to-face conferences of one sort or another in the late '20s. They had a brief moment of being willing to cooperate in 1933. [For what economic program, we have seen.] Again they cooperated from 1943 to 1945 for the purpose of winning the war . . . But there is still no indication they are willing to do the necessary planning to make the capitalist system work in terms of full employment in peactime industries.

"Technically speaking, it is not necessary for the capitalists to cut their own throats. The capitalist system can be made to work, but thus far I have seen no indications that the top leaders are willing to make the necessary adjustments."

And later in the interview, in a phrase which. deserves to be framed:

"The greatest obstacle in putting over progressive capitalism is the lack of progressive capitalists."

The interviewer did not ask him to explain the reason for this unfortunate lack. Wallace indicates, however, that he expects a new depression to produce the progressive capitalists, or rather reform the souls of the presently reactionary ones. A prerequisite, however, is the end of the cold war, and one is not told how the bad, bad capitalists are going to be cajoled into doing this before their reformation.

Agrees with Basic Theorem

But even without this slight difficulty, even if a depression (to be produced by peace—what a commentary on capitalism!) throws the fear of the lord into the capitalist breasts, this situation will indeed make the capitalists more amenable to government intervention—they will even vell lustily for it—but will not make them more amenable to planning for the people's welfare rather than for profits. This is not even due to the capitalists' devilish preference for filthy lucre rather than for human interests. They really believe that only through the expansion of profits can the best interests of the people be

The reasoning is simple: The best interests of the people depend on the maintenance of this best of all possible systems, capitalism. Capitalism depends on profitability. Ergo, there is no necessary contradiction between profits and wel-

With this basic theorem Wallace agrees. And on the basis of this theorem, it is the "reactionary capitalists" who are right and Wallace who is wrong.

It is profits which are the lifeblood of capitalism and not human welfare. Wallace himself recognized that as explicitly as a fuzzy-headed elocutionist ever could, when he had to do something about the depression. The otherwise incredible program of plowing under cotton and pigs at a time when people were starving and shivering made sense only because of this fact about capitalism. It may have been insane but no more insane than capitalism itself.

Production was restricted—strawberries were dumped into the Schuykill - oranges were burned in California—and Wallace's AAA program was instituted in order to create artificial scarcity in the face of surplus. Scarcity was created in order to raise prices to the point where new production of the commodities would become once more profitable. The New Deal saw only one way to break unemployment and create more jobs: get the capitalists to produce again. But no capitalist will produce unless he sees a profit in it. This is so not because the capitalist is a bad, bad reactionary who refuses to listen to Wallace in face-to-face conferences. It is so because that is what the capitalist system is founded on: the profit incentive to production.

And so the New Deal planned—to make capitalist production once more profitable, for the capitalists. The old cycle returned, modified today only by an even more effective way of maintaining production in the face of limited production for human consumption: by pouring billions into economically useless commodities, war goods —production for destruction rather than for consumption.

And so Wallace admits: "I suspect it [the New Deal] was a failure," and describes it as 'patching up an old car that broke down along the road, and then picking up gadgets at each filling station." Wallace himself functioned mainly as a gas tank among the spare parts of the Roosevelt administration. But he knows no more than he did then why it broke down, and why it needs a cold war to keep going now.

Assaults on Academic Freedom in Michigan Mounting; Wayne Bans Debate on CP Issue

DETROIT, April 6-The defenders of academic freedom at Wayne University suffered a serious setback lats week when President Henry canceled a scheduled debate between Dr. Howard Phillips, the former University of Washington philosopher who was fired on the charge of membership in the Communist Party, and Dr. Kelly of Wayne's History Department, on the right of Communists to teach.

The decision struck not only at the rights of academic freedom but also exposed the practice of student government at Wayne to be no more than a highly ritualized farce. The proposed debate was to be held in the name of the Student Council, the highest body of student opinion on the campus. The request then went through the channels required by the recently "liberalized" student activities regulations.

Such permission was granted by the half-student, half-faculty University Program Planning Committee, where it passed 7 to 3. Among those voting against the granting of permission was the same Dr. Kelly who was to uphold the negative side of the debate!

The next step in the procedure was the granting of permission by the dean of student affairs. But he fell suddenly and strangely ill and consequently the matter was placed in the lap of the university president, Dr. David Henry. He denied permission in a statement that held many dangerous implications.

President Henry said that while Communism was a proper topic for discussion on campus the administration could not allow Communists, or other subveruniversity activities. Two ques-

tions immediately come to mind First, one can rightly wonder about what type of discussion the president has in mind. And secondly, aside from outside speakers, what does he mean by "university activities"? Is belonging to and participating in student organizations to be considered a "university activity"? Cannot mere attendance of classes be considered a "university activity"? Regardless of how this stater is to be interpreted, to allow it to stand unchallenged is to surrender the heart of academic freedom at Wayne. It is certainly no longer a question just of democratic rights for the Stalinists, if it ever was that.

CAMPUS INTIMIDATED

The statement was met on campus with sharp, heated, and disorganized protests. Letters of protest came from many student organizations and individuals. The Student League for Industrial Democracy took what was, by far, the most active stand. Outside organizations, such as the Americans for Democratic Action, the County CIO Council, the State Committee on Civil Rights, and the Social Action Committee of the Episcopal Church, are expected to take a stand against the president's de-

the American Civil Liberties Union, speaking in Detroit on the day the statement was made. sharply assailed it. To date no formal action has been taken by ists, as well as Stalinists. As a the United Auto Workers, even direct consequence of the action though this incident took place in at Wayne a similar debate to be

international headquarters and where it has 350,000 members.

However, no organized campus protest movement was formed despite the efforts of a small group of students. This failure can be attributed mainly to the fact that those students interested were completely disorganized, and that the major section of the faculty was frightened into submission. This latter point was most clearly proven in the results of the recent elections to the faculty council, posed to the administration's stand was elected, and in the fact that the campus unit of the Detroit Federation of Teachers refused to meet and discuss the matter.

Once again, political organization on the part of the student body proved to be the big need at the very moment that such organization proved to be what was lacking. All that can be hoped for now is that there will be a mass resignation from all studentfaculty committees and the Student Council. And this type of action is becoming the demand of increasing numbers of students. Whether or not some type of organization will grow out of this movement is hard to say.

CASES MOUNTING UP

What must be pointed out is that this is no isolated matter at Wayne, and that in this fight is involved the basic rights of free Roger Baldwin, former head of expression for all liberal and radical thinkers. This campaign to restrict academic life has now engulfed the entire state, and has been felt by liberals and social-Detroit where it maintains its held at the University of Michi-

threatened. Because of the publicity caused by the Wayne action. the sponsors of the Ann Arbor debate have been unable to find one U. of M. faculty member to enter the debate! Nor is this just the beginning. Here are just a few of the disturbing incidents that have taken place in Michigan during the last two years:

(1) the American Youth for Democracy has been banned from every campus in the state, as have that have sprung up; (2) one student was expelled from Michigan State College simply for admitting membership in the CP; (3) other students at MSC have been discip-

leaflets even when such distributions were held off campus; (4) a meeting held off campus for Gerhardt Eisler was broken up by snowball-throwing fraternity members at the U. of M.; and (5) Tucker Smith, the Socialist Party's 1948 candidate for vice-president, and a whole group of faculty members were summarily dismissed from teaching posts at Olivet College because of their radical and liberal convictions.

student action takes place shortly, Michigan too will join the ever-growing list of states that serve as a tragic warning to the rest of American academic life.

MAY DAY Celebration

"TEN YEARS OF INDEPENDENT SOCIALISM"

Speaker: MAX SHACHTMAN Chairman: BEN HALL

and a representative of the Socialist Youth League

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Auspices: Independent Socialist League Socialist Youth League

Truman-Dulles Bipartisan Deal --

Not in the Headlines

Rain Today, Cloudy

It was pushed as the "Best Investment in the World"-if you can hold on to it. That was the Series "E" war bond, the \$25 and \$50 denominations peddled via the pay-deduction route during the

Of the \$56.7 billion of these bonds, 63 per cent have been cashed in. The rainy day is here, with unemployment and inflated prices.

One for the Book

Little attention was attracted by the recent congressional battle over library service. It took place over a bill which would merely permit the federal government to send traveling libraries around to areas where there are no public libraries and where children and adults have a hard time getting a book to read. The service would be discontinued after five years in the hope that state and local authorities would carry on. Surely a modest enough proposal!

A couple of facts came out without adequate library service,' said a supporter of the bill in the

Opponents attacked the measure on economy grounds and also as a "vehicle for socialistic propaganda"! In any case, by determined action the reactionaries killed the proposal by a hairline vote, 164-161. Those other 2250 counties will not see the books-they might get smartened up. . . .

Wonders of T-H

The National Foreman's Institute, a commercial organization which advises employers on how to grind workers scientifically, recently got out a promotion letter. It read: "Relatively few companies are

profiting as they should from the application of this law [the Taft-Hartley Law]....Do you, for instance, know how a union election can be a wonderful bargaining tool for your company...the great deal for your company... the myriad other pointers that Yes, the Taft-Hartley Act can stops at the water's edge." work greatly to your company's advantage, but only if you under stand the practical do's and don'ts involved."

Using Imagination

The government estimated that unemployment reached a post-war high of 4,680,000 in February but the March 20 issue of Barron's National Business and Financial Weekly says that the unemployment is "part real, part imaginary." A man who's out of work and looking for a job only LOOKS unemployed; actually he's just part of an "entirely normal" labor "float" which is "in some ways necessary to the functioning of the

They Done Him Dirt

Senator Taft recently told a ·civil-rights delegation from Ohio that he believes in a voluntary FEPC, not the compulsory kind. He cited Cleveland's voluntary system as his model.

A few days later, the Cleveland City Council voted 25-7 for a compulsory plan after admitting the voluntary system was a failure. Taft was left holding the bag.

(Continued from page 1)

thirsting to find an issue to get in, have been understandably reluctant and restive: it deprives them of a stick to beat the administration, in spite of the fact that no important difference in line exists. But "politics stops at the water's edge" and even office-hungry Republicans must be "patriotic" when the "interests of the country" are involved. That, again, is the theory.

John Foster Dulles is a bipartisan patriot and has been suitably rewarded. U. S. foreign policy is his foreign policy as much as it is Truman's or Acheson's. So let us take a closer look at this man to whom America's role in the world is tailored.

Who is John Foster Dulles?

He is a "tight-lipped calculating Wall Streeter" who 'makes Taft look pink by comparison."

We're not quoting from LABOR ACTION. Those are the words of Franklin D. Roosevelt Jr., on October 10, 1949. What is the nature of this American foreign policy, with its Truman Doctrine, Marshall Plan. Point Four and all, which is satisfactory to the gentleman so

Try it again: who is John Foster Dulles?

He is "a spokesman for entrenched Republican reaction, a man who has stubbornly opposed every social advance of our time... and a man who spoke for and represented powerful Nazi-dominated cartels."

That is not a Kremlin-inspired slander against him. Those are the words of the New York State chairman of the Fair Deal party itself, Paul E. Fitzpatrick, on October 28, 1949. What is this American "defense of democracy throughout the world" which is at the same time right up the alley of such a man? Can it have anything to do with any "social advance of our time"?

Take another: who is John Foster Dulles?

He is an "old-fashioned Republican reactionary whose concern is only for the rich and the well-born...he knows nothing and is little concerned with the hopes and aspirations of the plain people of New York State."

And that was CIO President Philip Murray on November 5, 1949. How can the Fair Deal world mission, which is all progressiveness which may be startling to some. and light to Murray and his fellow bigwigs of the CIO, be reconciled Out of 3070 counties in the coun- with unanimity with this man? Does Murray think Dulles is any tries, only 820 have county-wide more concerned with the plain people of England or France or Gerlibrary service today. "There are many or Greece than he is with the plain people of the state which 35 million people in this country rejected him for the U. S. Senate under Murray's urging?

Words Come Home to Roost

We have scarcely begun to cite the opinions of this newly adopted architect of Washington's angelic role in international affairs which are held by the same people who, in the other compartment of their minds, insist that we must all get behind the Commander in Chief of the West's cold war.

Dulles and his ilk "represents big business, monopoly, Wall Street and the financial interests. The issues are clearcut."-Oh no, Mr. W. P. Kennedy, president of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen! How "clearcut" are your issues when the devil with the cloven hoof who tried to get into one seat in the Senate suddenly sprouts wings -in a position of immeasurably more power than is possessed by one senator's vote?

"The Ku Klux Klan, the political hoodlums, are for Mr. Dullesthey enthusiastically endorse him." That was October 31, 1949, Mr. Harold L. Ickes! What has Fair Deal world politics got to do with political hoodlumism and the Ku Klux Klan mind now?

"He has denounced everything the AFL stands for with scare words such as 'statism' and 'Marxist socialism.' . . . That could be Stalin or Hitler talking, but it isn't; it's John Foster Rulles, the supposedly great statesman."—That's the director of the AFL's Labor League for Political Education, Joseph D. Keenan on October 5, 1949. Is there an AFL worker in the house who will ask Keenan: Can this man represent anything labor stands for or should stand for in this country's relations with the peoples of the world?

The appointment of John Foster Dulles is bipartisanship in practice. Dulles took the job explicitly only on the basis that he have a bargaining tactics that can save a hand not only in carrying out and putting across policies formulated by the State Department but that he also "be allowed to help formulate policy" to a greater extent than did even Senator Vandenberg. can mean profit or loss to you? His appointment explains the meaning of the theory that "politics

> But political differences do NOT stop at the water's edge. This may be a wish on the part of certain elements but it is not a fact. The struggle-of which we are plentifully told by Americans for Democratic Action, the Liberal Party and the liberal-labor "statesmen" of the CIO and AFL-between progress and reaction, between the interests of the people and the interests of those who would turn the clock back, is even more relevant to world issues than it is to domestic issues.

> The U.S., holding the pursestrings of the capitalist West can throw its weight against the British people's desire for socialist change, or it can try to block it-and Dulles has made no bones about

> The U.S. can support reaction in Greece or throw its weight on the side of the people—and it has in fact been doing the former.

> The U.S. can use economic aid to Europe as a weapon to bludgeon the people back to "free enterprise," as it has in fact been doing with its Marshall Plan. The U.S. can use its control over Germany to present the people with the choice of recartelization and renazification on the one hand and the arms of Stalin on the other-as it has been doing. And so on.

So the wheeze that "politics stops at the water's edge" does not,

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in fact, correspond with any reality. The same lines of difference are there as in domestic politics. What then is the basis of Democratic-Republican bipartisanship in this field?

To see this, let's leave for a while the liberal-labor myth of the general progressiveness of Fair Deal politics. Let us look at Dulles' appointment in the light of another view, the socialist view.

Which View Jibes with Facts?

The aim of Washington in world politics is not the general welfare of the peoples of the world and of democracy. It is fighting a back-to-the-wall struggle for the defense of the capitalist profit system in the world, not only against the monstrous totalitarianism of Moscow, which is a rival contender for world oppression, but also against the people's desire for socialist democracy.

It aims to organize the whole capitalist world for the greater glory of Wall Street, not because of a Napoleon complex or simple desire for power and sway, but because its capitalist economy needs this to survive. Based upon its capitalist ruling class at home, it recognizes its friends only among the weakened and demoralized capitalist leaders abroad—but abroad in particular this means: it recognizes its friends only in the extreme reaction.

At home, the capitalist class can permit itself the luxury of scrapping over differences of approach WITHIN their own ranks on how best to preserve the system. As against rival ruling classes abroad, the basic interests of U. S. imperialism need a united front. Bipartisanship is the face of American imperialist policy.

With which view can John Foster Dulles' new role be best squared? With the liberal-labor idea that a dyed-in-the-wool, blown-in-thebottle, guaranteed unshrinkable, rockribbed reactionary can act as the formulator and collaborator in policies aimed at world democracy -or with the Independent Socialist view that Truman and Dulles are perfectly justified in getting together (from their own points of view) because the needs of imperialism are the common denominator of foreign politics for both?

There are no two ways about it for us. The theory of bipartisanship is squarely based on U.S. imperialism, and the practice of bipartisanship means—Dulles.

This is the inevitable line of U.S. capitalism on the basis of which Stalinist expansion has been making hay. This is Washington's gift to the Kremlin, one of a series of gifts.

Dulles is not an unknown character in Europe. The Stalinists have seen to that for their own nefarious purposes. And here, for once, they need not lie! For what important lies could they tell which are more telling than the characterizations of Dulles so truthfully made in the 1949 campaign by the Fair Dealers and liberal-labor men

What the European people are looking for, in various ways, is an atlernative to both captialist imperialism and Russian imperialism. The Truman-Dulles cartel offers them more of the same old world of which they have had their bellyful. Only the goal, the fight, the hope for a new world of socialist democracy can open the road to progress and

Bridges

(Continued from page 1)

Bridges' attitude toward the government changed. We have documented this in detail in LABOR ACTION of July 11, 1949. And now, in the midst of the loyaltypurge hysteria, the government has finally been able to get a conviction against him which, in all probability, will be made to

POLITICAL INTIMIDATION

But why, if this is really an attempt to get rid of a Stalinist. should LABOR ACTION, which has opposed Stalinism as a reactionary anti-labor movement which serves the interests of the Kremlin slaveholders, describe it as an attack on civil liberties?

Because that is what it is. Stalinism is a political movement in the United States. It is a movement which misleads the workers who adhere to it or follow its leadership. It is a movement which seeks to impose on American workers and American society the kind of totalitarianism which prevails in Russia. That is why we fight it tooth and nail.

But to illegalize it, to place it outside the law, is to deny the rights of civil and political democracy to its members and followers. which means to deny political democracy even to its enemies.

The Bridges trial is a political weapon of intimidation against all who oppose capitalist exploitation. It is a signal to the FBI and the rest of the government and non-government machinery to go full steam ahead with the loyalty purge and the whole witchhunt hysteria.

Twice before the government has held extensive deportation hearings against Bridges. Both times it was finally held that no proof had been adduced that he ernment.

was or had been an actual member of the CP. It seemed that his case was closed after he was naturalized. But by taking up the whole matter once more under the perjury charge, the government wants to make it clear to all that. in the war against Stalinism, anything does; and that every legal technicality will be employed to the utmost to deprive the Stalinists of the remnants of their civil liberties.

UNION IS INVOLVED

There is another aspect to the Bridges case, and it is an important one. Bridges is the president tion he was re-elected by an overwhelming vote of the membership. His record of following the CP line for years was known to all who could read or hear. The membership of that union is not Stalinist, but it re-elected him. Independent socialists believe

they made a mistake, but as people who firmly believe in workers' democracy we also believe they had a RIGHT to make that mistake. That union and all other unions will only be rid of Stalinism in a healthy and progressive and DEM-OCRATIC manner when the workers themselves decide they have had enough of the Stalinist hacks and take the unions back into their own hands. That job cannot be done for them by the government DEMOCRATICALLY any more than a nation can be governed DEM-OCRATICALLY by a dictator, be he benevolent or otherwise.

The higher courts have yet to be heard from, but in the present witchhunt atmosphere we doubt that they will reverse the verdict. If Bridges is thrown into jail or deported it will not be because he perjured himself, but because he is a political opponent of the gov-