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Independent Socialist Weekly

WHO'LL PAY THE A-PACT BILL? Atlantic Council Clashes over Cost ... page 4

Bosses Push R.R. Anti-Strike Bill ... page 3

Police Assault Anti-ROTC Students

Adenauer on Europe as 3rd Force ... page 4

MAY 29, 1950

FIVE CENTS

More Jobless, **Higher Profits** For 1950 Due

There were more people out of work in the United States last February than at any time since the war, according to the Federal Reserve Board's monthly bulletin At that time 4,700,000 were jobless, and despite a seasonal rise in employment there were still 3,500,-000 out of work during April. It is probable that the actual number of people out of work was far greater than government figures

The reason for the steady growth of unemployment, despite very high levels of activity in most industries, is that American workers are too productive. Labor-saving machinery and murderous speedup have produced a situation in which production has increased faster than employment since last summer.

Both government and private economists believe that unemployment will continue to increase, while business profits mount steadily. These gentlemen seem to have made the startling discovery that from 800,000 to a million workers are being added to the labor force each year. Though they think government policies (armament production and so forth) may serve to keep the present labor force working for some time, they are very worried about what to do w these new workers.

CAPITALIST DISEASE

What do they propose to do about it? Nothing that can solve the problem. For this is the terrible sickness which gnaws at the very vitals of the capitalist system. Faster and more efficient production by the workers means fewer jobs. Labor-saving machinery, instead of leading to more recent 6,000-mile "whistlestop" leisure and a higher standard of tour ever was called "non-politiliving, leads to speedup and more cal" belongs in the realm of either unemployment.

But something will have to be done, whether the professors and government officials can think of an answer or not. The immediate demand of the unions in this situation could be for the 30-hour week with no decrease in takehome pay. As the corporations expect a profit of \$20 billion after taxes this year, they can well afford to pay the wage increases in-

Truman's Formula

What's behind President Truman's cockiness about economic prospects? A formula on coldwar-equals-prosperity, say the editors of U. S. News & World Report in an exceedingly interesting article which will be reviewed next week.

Barkley's Slip Confirms Washington Aim to Garrison Europe and Whole World-

WE MAY HAVE TO OCCUPY MORE COUNTRIES,' SAYS V.P.!

Labor Party Leaders' Parley Maps Timid Policy for Britain

The leadership of the British Labor Party met last week in secret session to work out policies for the months ahead. It appears that the Attlee - Morrison right wing of the party retained its decisive majority for a policy of doing as little as possible (in order not to "rock the political boat") before the next elections.

Until the new party platform is worked out and published nothing positive can be said about the Labor Party's plans. But the fact that the conference ended with a vague statement to the press about the unity and determination of the

fought on the Democratic side.

by the well-oiled big-city Demo-

cratic machine noted for "weigh-

in action.

political orgy in Chicago prepared economy.

LP rather than with any statement of new social measures to be undertaken indicates that "caution" and "moderation" will be the watchwords.

The old guard in the party believes that the relative decline in the LP vote in the last elections was due to the fact that the party lost more middle-class votes than it could gain from the workers. Now, it seems, it hopes to woo back the middle-class vote by going easy on nationalization.

Yet one of the chief problems which besets the party is the restlessness of the working class un-

'Saved' U.S. from Socialism

Truman Boasts Fair Deal

Vice-President Barkley probably put his foot in it, from the point of view of Washington's diplomats. Responsible government officials are not supposed to let cats out of bags. But what he said in his New Orleans speech at the Armed Forces Day dinner last Sunday, May 21, was the truth—the truth about the U. S. government's plans for a permanent garrison in Europe and all over the world.

He said: "There seems little prospect of a peace treaty, so we must maintain armed forces all over the world and we may have to occupy more countries before the cold war is

This breathtakingly frank statement is a full confirmation of the charge which LABOR ACTION has twice made in lead-headlined articles which aroused some skepticism.

Only last week was once. We said so for the first time just over a year ago, April 18, 1948, under a headline which read: "Truman Waves A-Bomb; Leaders Plan U. S. Garrison in Europe."

Neither story was based on guess, rumor, or "inside information." Both were political conclusions based on press

reports which, in our opinion, pointed unmistakably in that direction despite official doubletalk, protestations and denials.

It is easy to predict that Barkley's indiscretion (especially the blooper about occupying more countries "before the cold war is ended") will be shushed up as quickly as possible. But Barkley has some explaining to do!

Nor is it a question of Barkley with-and almost surely we would ly repeating what he had heard at

(Turn to last page)

ey, prime Republican presidential had been allowed to continue as aspirants, may yet regret the ap- they were going prior to March personally. Everyone above the Why President Harry Truman's pellation "socialism" for the Fair -4, 1933, most of them would have Deal program. A sample of Tru- had no business left...to interfere that the vice-president was mereman's replies: have had socialism in this country "So you see that the cry of sojapery or political psychopathia. --- real socialism." cialism is as old as the hills. They It was universally recognized for what it was, the first round in used it against woman suffrage, the fight for a Fair Deal Congress against the Federal Reserve, in an off-year election that is tra- against social security. . . . [But]

in preparation for the 1952 elec- schools ... and I don't intend to tions. As such, it was a preview of be scared away by anybody who the issues and how they will be calls that program socialism." Truman's argument closely re-From the whistlestops - Grand sembles the type of speech Norfor the current prosperity period Island, Ravenna, Broken Bow, man Thomas is accustomed to Snake River Valley, Ottumwa, make in defense of socialism. Only Galesburg, etc.-with gifts galore, Thomas calls all government reintroductions of Mrs. Truman and forms "socialism," whereas Tru-Margaret and induction of the man realistically appraises the Fair Truman wound up with a gala or government assistance to the

BOGIES AND CORN

Truman further replies to the ing its ballots," complete with pa-"socialist" charge by saying: "All rade, balloons for the children and a TV showing of the cabinet of us, I am sure, have heard many cries about government interfer-Just as Senator Robert Taft has ence with business and about lived to regret the "whistlestop" creeping socialism. I should like a real pleasure to be back here," appellation for the Truman barn- to remind the gentlemen who storming, he and Governor Dew- make the complaints that if events

This argument, while it has an element of truth, has a triple political purpose for the Democratic program: it is to frighten the peoditionally hard on the party in I am going to keep right on workple with the bogey of "socialism," power, and a build-up for Truman ing for better houses, better as popularly and falsely identified with Stalinism, to place the blame for the depression on the opponent Republican Party ("the Hoover

depression") and to take credit

of the country. The president does a little better, however, when he leaves political theory alone. His off-thepresident into the Sioux tribe— Deal for what it is, "welfare state" cuff speeches were loaded with the folksiness and hominess which are felt by some to be the basis of his political glamor: the reference to the "little men with acorn minds" who opposed the "great oak" of the Hoover Dam project; the regionally appealing remark about Mrs. Truman's uncle who graduated from Knox College; the "It's

> said 50 times in 50 places the de-(Turn to last page)

While no doubt the State Department held its collective head and groaned, Barkley came up the next day with the explanation that "the wrong emphasis had been placed" on his statement, according to an AP dispatch. (He did not claim to have been misquoted by the press.)

He feebly explained that he did not mean "any extension" of U. S. occupation forces "with the possible exception that some of the countries in the North Atlantic Pact" might ask for U. S. troops to "help round out their defenses," and that he was speaking "primarily" of maintaining U. S. armed forces where they are already stationed.

Barkley is certainly correct in one thing: it was not he who laid emphasis on his "occupy more countries" boner. It merely slipped out with the rest.

Charges Against Gosser Create Scandal in UAW

Toledo and Detroit had a real field day with the reputation of the United Auto Workers (CIO) through sensational stories and headlines during the past week concerning a "rebellion" against Richard T. Gosser, UAW vicepresident and a dominant figure in the Toledo labor movement.

What gave the whole matter an air of credibility was the bitter statements of the president of the CIO Council in that city. Richard L. Lazzette, council president, told reporters that he had sent the following telegram to Walter P. Reuther. UAW president:

once to try to straighten out the

"If you don't come I shall prefer charges against you through the national CIO executive board ting he is backing Bolman finanfor negligence in allowing the la- cially in his suit against the UAW. bor movement in Toledo to be destroyed.

"They have chosen up sides and this can lead only to one thingbloodshed and destruction of the labor movement in the city of To-

What was Lazzette referring to? Five units of Local 12, UAW-CIO, were protesting the replacement of 12 girls working in its office who had gone on strike-or had secretary-treasurer of Local 12 on the leadership because of the long what issue is not fully clear as yet. (This official evidently wants to protest some financial matters.)

What did the rebel officials say? "Placing other people on the jobs of these striking workers is abhorrent to anyone who knows and agrees with the fundamental principle of trade unionism."

Emil Mazey, UAW secretarytreasurer, headed a committee that rushed to Toledo and after an investigation which had begun some months back, cleared Gosser of any charges, saying that all regional and local union records were in order.

President Lazzette suddenly became silent and refused to comment on what his telegram meant. He claimed he had not given it to reporters, which is nonsense.

Gosser appeared at a special meeting of Local 12, details of which meeting are not available. Result was that his suggestion that an impartial investigating committee be organized, including a grand jury, to clear his name, was

adopted by the meeting. Fitting somewhere in this pic-

By FRANK HARPER

Lancaster, Pa.

PHILADELPHIA, May 21 - Last

Thursday the International Union

of Electrical Workers (IUE-CIO)

won a close NLRB victory over

its pro-Stalinist rivals at the radio

Corporation of America plants in

Camden, N. J., and Pulaski, Va.

At Camden, the IUE-CIO got 2857

and the United Electrical Workers

polled 2532 while at the smaller

plant the vote was 358 to 357. No

NLRB election was held at this

time at the third RCA plant in

and Exide Battery companies went

over to the IUE-CIO and obtained

The victory at RCA gave the

IUE-CIO Wins at RCA

In Two Large Plants

IUE - CIO bargaining rights for split in its support of the rival

three of the big five radio and unions. Despite the narrow mar-

electrical industry units in the gin of victory, spokesmen of the

area. At the time of the split last NLRB indicated that the results

fall the locals at the Philco Radio will be accepted as final since no

recognition without an NLRB ing of the contestants. The no-un-

election. Last month the UE took ion vote was very low.

DETROIT, May 22-Newspapers in an expelled member, John A. Bolman, concerning some real-estate deals involving Gosser. Bolman claims that Gosser and his associates, through a sportsman's club. cleaned up \$21,000 profit by selling a summer camp to a Local 12 holding company, organized by Gosser. Dick Gosser, according to all reports, was cited for contempt of court for refusing to answer questions in connection with the case

> Mazey's committee had cleared Gosser of any charges made on these lines. Yet the court case re-

in court on April 6.

Also fitting into this picture is "I request your presence here at the terrific anti-UAW campaign waged by Toledo's employers, including the one and only big newspaper, the Toledo Blade, whose editor had been quoted as admit-

Recently a member of the UAW in Toledo was highly praised by all Detroit and Toledo newspapers for refusing to pay her strike as sessment during the Chrysler strike. The union hasn't dared discipline her yet, for fear of more

What does this all add up to? In Detroit, the reaction has not been one of full confidence in either Gosser or Reuther. As a matquit, or something-to back the ter of fact, the resentment against

these headlines. In Toledo, there is a reactionary anti-union campaign which has some support in the shops against the UAW and there is a progressive resentment against the strong grip that Gosser has maintained over the UAW there

Not until the whole situation is cleared up will it be known exactwhat forces were decisive in creating the crisis in Toledo.

One thing is certain: The day is long past when just ordinary statements or actions by the Reuther leadership will suffice to answer the many questions, the progressive and also the reactionary attacks on this leadership.

Walter Reuther's honeymoon period is completely over. If any evidence is found which hurts Gosser, the main loser will be Reuther. If Gosser is completely vindicated, the Reuther leadership still has the task of convincing the ranks that it was not a whitewash.

Free Enterprise

The U. S. Chamber of Comnerce, relentless enemy of any "handout state" that it is, recently came before a Senate subcommittee to urge larger subsidies for the shipbuilding

workers as against the UE's 13,000:

in terms of individual plants, how-

ever, the UE got 21 and the IUE-

The size of the East Pittsburgh

plant has made it a focal point in

the Westinghouse chain elections,

in an extremely bitter struggle

Ever since the day the CIO ex-

pelled the UE from its organiza-

tion and set up the new IUE to

take its place, the workers have

been under a steady barrage from

both sides by a-flood of leaflets,

organizers, national speakers, ral-

MICHIGAN LABOR NOTES

Ford Local Head Promises End Of Speedup; Gag Law Voided

DETROIT, May 19-Carl Stellato, new president of Ford Local 600. United Auto Workers (CIO), at inauguration ceremonies at the local, stated that he will demand that Ford "end the speedup" and stop transferring jobs to other communities. He said that he is proposing an immediate meeting between himself and Henry Ford II to thresh out the two problems

His suggested solution for the speedup problem, he said, was a six-hour day at the present eight

Stellato's proposals were endorsed by all but two of the more than 200 members of the general

MICHIGAN GAG VOIDED

The vicious anti-labor Bonine-Tripp Act of Michigan was declared unconstitutional in a unanimous decision by the United States Supreme Court on the ground that it conflicts with the Taft-Hartley Law

The successful appeal to the Supreme Court was brought by the United Auto Workers Union. It resulted from a 1948 strike of Chrysler Corporation workers.

During the strike the union asked a Detroit court for an injunction against enforcement of the state law. The request was granted but later the Michigan Supreme Court reversed the Detroit court.

The union, in appealing to the highest tribunal, argued that Con- dicted that tire prices will rise

tailed, specific provisions regulating strikes in industries affecting interstate commerce ... even in the case of a threatened national emergency, Congress was unwilling to prohibit a strike which failed to receive the approval of a majority of the employees in a government polf."

The most important vote taken at the recent State CIO convention, held in Grand Rapids, was the vote on regularity of conventions According to many delegates, this was a key issue to maintain rankand-file control. The convention rescinded its action of 1949 calling for meetings every two years.

"There is too much a tendency to shout Communism at anyone who disagrees," State CIO President August Scholle warned in a keynote speech to the delegates. "If this practice is continued it

will destroy our union at its roots. It's dangerous to gain advantage in this way...just as dangerous as it is for Joe McCarthy to brand everyone in the State Department a Communist.

The convention went on record as favoring corporation income, gift and inheritance taxes to replace such consumer levies as the

Harry E. Humphreys of New

United States then declares that York, president of the United there is an emergency and ap-States Rubber Company, has prepoints a fact-finding board. Within 30 days this board must hold hearings and submit its findings. Neither party is bound to accept these findings, but it was

Fight Still On in Pittsburgh over Westinghouse Plant: CIO vs. the CP

EAST PITTSBURGH, May 17-A new runoff election has been ordered here by the NLRB to determine whether the CIO electrical union (IUE-CIO) or its Stalinist-run rival (UE) will be recognized as the bargaining agent for the 13,500 workers in the big Westinghouse plant here. The vote will take place on June 1.

In the original election in this plant several weeks ago, the IUE-CIO won by 100 votes, but the number of challenged votes necessitated the runoff. At the other 40 Westinghouse, plants in the country at the same time, the IUE-CIO won most of the larger plants.

the overwhelming majority of the

Westinghouse units in the area.

The election at the General Elec-

tric plants will be held on May 25.

a fair barometer for the outcome

at the large Elmwood Avenue GE

local, IUE-CIO has also recently

taken two small units in Philadel-

phia at American Pulley and

United Specialities by 178-36 and

The close vote at RCA was ex-

pected, since both unions had

maintained locals there in the past

period and the old leadership was

possible dispensation of the chal-

lenged votes could alter the stand-

The results at RCA should be

lies and meetings. VILE CAMPAIGN BY CP

Both groups resorted to every means available from skywriting trucks drove up and down Braddock Avenue alongside the plant so that the workers in the shop heard the constant din of campaigning in their ears. Catholic priests stuck their noses into the affair. Protestant ministers preached sermons advising their flocks how to vote. Everyone from Moscow henchmen to Washington congressmen tried to have a finger in

Meanwhile the 13,500 workers in the plant, whose prime interest was to get a union that will fight grievances and improve working conditions, began to weary of the battle and wish for a speedy settlement to this dispute, partisans though they were, so that they could quickly return to the job that had to be done for themselves against the Westinghouse Corpora-

If ever a campaign was vile, the UE-Stalinist backs took the prize. No lie was too ugly for them. They stopped at nothing from redbaiting the radical workers with the IUE-CIO to fanning the flame of religious differences. They worked doubletime to create a rift between the Catholic and Protestant

They spread completely fabricated stories about Philip Murray and the CIO. (Example: "Murray is a large real-estate owner. He has five estates of his own." The truth is that Murray owns the modest home he has lived in here in the Belleview section of Pittsburgh for the past 30 years.) COMPANY-UNION CHARGES

As if the UE leadership has been anti-CIO for the past 14 years, they strove to create the impression that the CIO has been selling out the workers regularly since its creation. While the CIO has made plenty of mistakes, under the circumstances the accusations of the UE-Stalinist leaders became were supported by their own leaders (like Matles and Emspak) who had thrown members out of the UE for opposing them.

The UE, with one of the blackest records for anti-democratic subservience to Moscow, soft-pedaled their down-the-line Stalinism. and to divert attention from their own deeds tried to pin the label of "company union" on the CIO. The joker is that while they were accusing the CIO of company-unionism, they signed a contract with the Westinghouse Air Brake Company (not part of the Westinghouse Corporation) which reads

like a company-union contract. It contains extreme penalties for workers who push grievances through what is normal procedure for the duration of the five-year agreement. It is one of the worst contracts in the history of UE.

Unfortunately, the IUE-CIO does not have a too competent leadership. This is partly due to the fact that since the plant was organized the UE decapitated every opposi-

tion it faced. When the CIO expelled the UE CP heads of the UE.

ers stood with the new IUE-CIO against the Stalinists. But a combination of incompetence and inexperience led this new body of IUE leaders to make many errors and fall for many traps set for them by the Stalinists. They resorted to redbaiting; they squabbled among themselves: they did nothing to prevent the vain reactionary, Father Rice, from interfering in the affairs of the union. And while 'Father Rice and his Association of Catholic Trade Unionists were creating strife and embroiling the IUE in difficulties. the Stalinists rubbed hands in glee and gathered up more votes.

HOUSECLEANING NEEDED

While Rice did not give a tinker's damn what happened to the IUE-CIO so long as he and the ACTU got publicity or won an inner factional position, the IUE lost much of the original respect it had. Luckily, however, the CIO in this region assigned many of its competent staff people to give assistance to the union. Had they been there longer, perhaps they would have swept the tide of sentiment back to the IUE-CIO and undone some of Father Rice's harm.

The new election on June should be won by the IUE-CIO on the basis of what it has to offer the workers in terms of effective union struggle and democratic unionism. It has to clean up many things about its own house: inexperience and incompetence in the leadership; the role in its affairs of Father Rice, who should be shown the front door; redbaiting, instead of showing up the CP tionary, anti-democratic force in the trade-union movement subservient to Moscow and the enemy the Communist Party leaders of of everything progressive. But these are easily outweighed by the crimes of Stalinism and the Bosses Press Brutal Anti-Strike Measure strike of the engineers and trainmen in 1946, which was smashed by Truman's proposal to draft the strikers into the army and force them to work. And since then it has led repeatedly to the brink of one railroad strike after another. all of them called off by the soft

union leadership after little or

nothing had been gained in nego-

This Donnell bill is proposed on the ground that the Railway Labor But this situation could not last Act has proved a failure. Yet for

May 29, 1950

A Senate subcommittee is hold-

ing hearings on a bill which would

han strikes on all railroads Pen-

alties for violating the ban would

run up to 20 years in prison, Any

grievances or demands for wages

and conditions which cannot be

settled in negotiations between

the unions and the railroad com-

panies would end in arbitration

by a government-appointed board

lective bargaining.

in the Taft-Hartley Act.

must go through all kinds of in-

volved procedures. After both the

railroads and the unions have cer-

tified that they can reach no

agreement and have declined me-

diation or arbitration, the unions

take a strike vote and set a date

for a strike. The president of the

thought that the pressure of "pub-

lic opinion" would force them to

do so. In any event, the unions

could not strike till 30 days after

the findings of the emergency

board had been submitted to the

The effect of this procedure was

to dampen, if not to kill, the mili-

tancy of the unions. When a strike

vote was taken, the men regarded

it as a mere formality to get the

long-drawn-out procedure under

way. They knew that in any event

no strike could take place legally

for at least two or three months

from the time the vote was taken

Usually railroad wage movements

took six months or more from the

time they were initiated till they

were concluded, either by a

strike (which rarely happened) or

No wonder the employers liked

the RLA and described it as a

"model" for all industry. Under

the shackles of this act the rail-

road workers had dropped from

the second highest paid group of

workers to the 22nd. (The RLA

wasn't the only cause for this. In

addition there was the fact that

rail workers are divided into 23

craft unions led by the most con-

servative leaders in the whole la-

But the railroad workers had

fallen so far behind the rest of

the labor movement in wages and

particularly in conditions, that the

union bureaucracies had to do

something to retain their hold on

the men. During and after the

war the railroad corporations sat

tight behind the bulwarks of the

RLA and refused to give even the

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bor movement.)

minimum demands.

by some kind of settlement.

DOWN TO 22nd PLACE

forever. The corporations know over two decades the Railway Lathat sooner or later the railroad bor Act has been hailed by conworkers are going to force their servative labor leaders and by leaderships to conduct some real many spokesmen of the capitalists fights. They cannot simply sit idly as a model law for regulating colby and watch themselves slowly driven back to wages and conditions worse than those of unskilled These people have hailed the casual laborers. The RLA can no RLA precisely because it seemed onger hold in the bursting dissatan effective instrument for shacsfaction of the workers. kling the workers. It contains

many provisions similar to those And so the railroad industry wants to add to the rope which binds railroad labor's hands one Under it the closed shop is illewhich is looped around its neck. gal. Before a union may strike, it

It turns out that the employers considered the Railway Labor Act a masterpiece of legislation only as long as it served THEIR purposes. "Free collective bargaining" as part of the famous system of "free enterprise" is only desirable. in the eves of the bankers who control the railroads, as long as they can effectively block the

ment it becomes evident that even ship. the elaborate machinery designed to slow up and hamper the unions in every way won't do the job. these staunch supporters of "free enterprise" run to the government with the demand that strikes be declared completely illegal. Testifying before the Senate

Donnell Bill Threatens Rail Workers' Rights;

committee which is holding hearings on the Donnell bill, Walter S. Franklin, president of the notoriously rich and tough Pennsylvania Railroad, said that the right to strike must be abolished because railroads no longer can afford the expense of granting con-

WHEN GOING GETS TOUGH-This sudden rallying of the rail-

cessions to the unions.

road magnates to the standard of compulsory arbitration should serve as a warning to workers in other industries. Already in a later the government would be number of states utility workers are subject to compulsory arbitration and are forbidden to strike by law. And if this law is passed, what is to prevent the auto industry and the steel and coal industries and others from demanding that Congress declare strikes illegal in their plants too, on grounds that they also can "no longer afford" to make concessions to their workers?

Ever since the war the railroad

was that the student judiciary

abrogated the right of the SYL

candidate to campaign on campus

(along with eleven other candi-

dates) for breaking some election

rule. This committee, appointed by

the president of the ASUC with

of the university, interpreted the

myriad election rules in a narrow

street meetings and spoke at the

various living groups and board-

ing houses around the campus.

Many people expected that the

students would reject the "impo-

lite" polemics and "radical" lan-

On the contrary, however, the

SYL candidate received 690 votes,

about a quarter of that received

by the fraternity candidate. The

campus was surprised by this ex-

guage of the SYL candidate.

dent representative.

The SYL put out leaflets, held

concurrence of the president

Socialist Youth Get Good Vote In Student Election at Berkeley The first thing that happened

BERKELEY, Calif., May 19-The Berkeley unit of the Socialist Youth League has ended a very uccessful semester by running a candidate in the school elections at the University of California. The ASUC, which is supposed

to be the general student organization, financed by student funds and run in their interests, is actually an open instrument of fraternity row and the university administration. This system maintained by a "poll tax" in the form of an ASUC card without which a student cannot vote, by a constitution which gives the students little to say about important financial and political questions and which gives three out of twelve votes automatically to the university administration.

Most student elections, therefore, are the embodiment of political immaturity. Everyone runs on approximately the same "program" and real political differences are seldom expressed. The Socialist Youth League de-

silence by running a SOCIALIST Executive Committee may well

candidate with a militant campus see a militant socialist as a stuprogram.

Pro-Capitalist Act of God

"Agriculture Department economists smiled happily last week. Nature had come through handsomely with a spell of freakish weather which destroyed the young, green sprouts of wheat on millions of acres. And that, in the complex world of subsidies, acreage allotments and storage bins, was just what the economists had ordered."-New York Herald Tribune, April 16.

As long as Truman is going around taking off credit for prosperity, we ought to petition him to send along a nice fresh locust plague.

Next-A Labor Party! by Jack Ranger

A Hard-Hitting, Meaty, Simple Presentation of the **Need for an Independent Labor Party**

Independent Socialist Press, 4 Court Sq., Long Island City 1, N. Y.

wages and conditions. The mo- major fear: government owner-

They know that theirs is a declining industry, burdened with tremendous fixed charges in the form of watered stocks and bonds. They know that they have been able to keep paying the vast profits concealed under this watered indebtedness only by preventing the workers in their industry from getting wages and conditions comparable to those of other industrial workers.

But such conditions cannot last forever. Sooner or later, they fear, the competition of trucks, buses and airplanes on the one hand. and the demands of the workers on the other, are going to bankrupt them. As their industry is absolutely essential to the whole American economy and cannot be permitted to go out of business, they have feared that sooner or forced to take them over.

And their support of the Donnell bill is an illustration of the kind of thing more and more industries are going to resort to when the going under "free enterprise" gets lough. They hope that by placing the workers in a legal straitjacket -made, fitted and put on in Washington—they will be able to hold down their costs and maintain their profitability. In other words, that they will stave off government ownership of the railroads by imposing a modern kind of government - controlled serfdom on the

RAIL LABOR NEEDS CONTROL

Two main lessons can be learned from this, and they had better be learned quickly. The first is that the employers cannot be made "reasonable" by a policy of yielding on the part of labor.

the labor leadership may be, when the capitalists are pinched they will resort to the most brutal legal and extra-legal measures to keep their wage bills down.

The other lesson is, of course in the field of politics. The freedom of labor to fight for its rights in the economy depends more and more on who controls the government. And even though it does not seem likely that the Donnell bill will pass in this session of Congress, it and bills like it will keep coming up as long as the capitalist system keeps squeezing down on both workers and employers. The tougher things get, the less can labor be secure even in the rights which it now enjoys as long as it doesn't control the

Yes, control. In the months and years ahead it won't be just a matter of having "friends" in government who can amend the worst

When Truman asked Congress to draft the railroad workers in 1946, how many "friends" of labor voted to give him dictatorial nowers in the House? And how long would the Senate have held out against this vicious strikebreaking demand if the rail leaders hadn't got cold feet and called off the strike? What labor needs in Congress is

a powerful bloc of labor congressmen, elected by and responsible to a labor party, who will put the burdens of a declining railroad industry and a declining capitalist system on the shoulders of the capitalists, where they belong. Under such a government it would be perfectly proper to nationalize the railroad industry and put it under the control of the workers

PRESS ACTION

LABOR ACTION is putting on a special spring push for new subscribers. Ever since the paper has been coming out in the new format we have received a constant stream of compliments from members of the ISL and readers of the paper, some from professional newspaper men and even politi-

cellent showing for a socialist who LABOR ACTION has always refused to water down his platbeen a good paper. But now we form to get votes and who ran on think it is better than ever and an open anti-Stalinist and antiwe want to get this better paper

So we are offering a special subscription rate to NEW subscribers. This rate will be in effect till the end of June. Every reade of the paper will do a service his friends and a service to th cause of socialism by getting a many of them as possible to sub scribe to LABOR ACTION nov The special rates: \$1.50 for a who year: 75 cents for six months.

LAROP ACTION

During the spring push we ar going to list subscriptions received under three headings: "Sub Score

By L. G. SMITH, Business Manager under which all subscriptions will be listed, with two points given for one year subs and one point for six month subs. "Single Subs" will indicate the total number of persons subscribing, "New Subs" will list the number of NEW subscribers to LABOR ACTION placed on our lists during the

the Independent Socialist League will make a special effort during June to get new subscribers for the paper. We expect you, as a ther or not you belong to the ISL. to do your part. The score for the week ending

May 20 is as follows:

CC	No. of the last of	Sub	Single	New
er	City	Score	Subs	Sub
to	Los Angeles	6	3	3
e	Detroit	4	2	1
as	Chicago	2	1	****
9-	Reading	. 2	1	
v.	Philadelphia	° 7	7	7
le	New York	_ 14	9	6
	Boston	_ 2	1	-
·e	Miscellaneous	2	1	****
d		-	-	-
,"	Totals	39	25	17

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Europe: 3rd Force?

Chancellor Adenauer of Germany made a speech last Sunday (May 21) about the need for a united Europe as a "third force" which would be strong enough "to throw its weight on the scales in favor of peace."

The general sentiment expressed in these words is excellent. In fact, we have expressed our belief that it is a key to the possibility of peace in the world, having proposed a program for an "Independent Western Union" over a year ago.

The fact is, however-as Adenauer's rightwing capitalist political views would give one every right to expect—the German chancellor made it plentifully clear in the same speech that the general sentiment he gave tongue to was just one of those things-a general sentiment, so handy to statesmen, when orating to

It gives evidence mainly of the strength of the idea among the German people, who feel like destined victims in their geographical position on the border of the no-man's-land of the cold war. What Germany needs (and all of Western Europe not less) is a movement which will really take this key idea seriously and fight for it among the people-against the Adenauers. The German Social - Democratic Party COULD do this, if its ranks are able to slough off the reformist leaders and policies which weigh upon them out of the past.

What Adenauer was in reality conveying to the Western rulers through his speech was the desire of the German leaders to be INTE-GRATED on a partnership basis into the Western bloc headed by the U.S., not the people's desire to be independent of both war camps. The difference between Adenauer and (say) the British or French is that the German adds an "or else-" behind his words.

The conclusive proof of the fact that Adenauer's speechifying in favor of a "third force" Europe is demagogic is the fact that this same Adenauer beseeches the Allied occupation to keep its garrison in his land in order to protect it from the East. The blatant hypocrisy of asking for the military integration of Germany into the U.S. war bloc simultaneously with perorations in favor of a "third force" Europe is a performance worthy of Stalinist

The idea of an Independent Western Union as a third force, separate and apart from the Big Two conflict, must BEGIN with the demand for the ousting of the Western military garrison from the soil of a sovereign people, so that they CAN act independently.

But Adenauer's beautiful sentiment, like many other beautiful sentiments in capitalist politicians' speeches, was not MERELY due to the fact that the people want to hear this, that the people WANT a policy oriented in that direction. The Adenauers, like the French and British for that matter, are genuinely afraid of and hostile to the U.S. domination which grows over them.

They have their own national capitalist interests to take care of. Crisscrossing through the deals on the French-German steel-coal pool, the Atlantic Pact meeting, the London Conference of the Big Three and all other international diplomatic trading today is the clash of the inter-imperialist and intercapitalist rivalry within the Western camp.

The press now reports that a good part of the support in France for Foreign Minister Schuman's steel-coal pool proposal is the hope Europe MORE independent of the U. S.'s big economic and political stick than it is today, and therefore capable of bargaining for greater advantages within the Western camp as against the ton dog in Washington.

There is that real element of sincerity in such a speech as Adenauer's. It is not the desire for real independence in the cold war. to be sure; it is merely the desire for greater bargaining advantage among the partners. It is phrased in terms of independence ("third force") partly as a blackmail threat and partly as a popular appeal.

It is not the political leaders of Europe's capitalist classes which can really build an Independent Western Union as a bulwark against Russia on the East and Wall Street dominations on the West. Only a movement willing to break all ties with the needs and interests of the capitalists, domestic and international, can do this.

One of the indexes of the failure of the British Labor Party leaders to give a SOCIAL-IST lead to Europe is precisely their antagonism toward such an idea and their "socialismin-one-country" line. One of the indexes of the reformist hangover of the reborn German Social-Democratic movement is the fact that it has given no push in this direction.

Yet the fight for a really Independent Western Union could be the most powerful lever in mobilizing a genuinely effective and revolutionary socialist movement among the political shambles of Europe. It points directly to socialism.

Editorials YOU CITE STEEL

mannennergentet für metrikennetenfing

The First Seven Years of the Atomic Age

There is a new version of "butter or guns." Business Week of May 8 says: Hydrogen Hurts.

You haven't heard much lately about the peacetime applications of atomic energy and there is a reason why. The research-laboratory facilities which were set aside for nuclear power-plant development have been given to higher priority work—the hydrogen bomb project.

The Atomic Energy Commission recently announced that the atomic power plant the General Electric Company had been planning to start building this spring is "temporarily deferred." The design work is not far enough along (having been held up by the use of Knolls Laboratory facilities for higher priority bomb work) and in the future Knolls will be needed to meet "the demands of the expanded atomic energy pro-

This reactor, under design for several years at the GE lab, was to have been the nearest approach to an atomic-fueled commercial power plant operating at customary power plant temperatures and was to have given an answer to the controversial economic aspects of the feasibility of using nuclear fission.

The Atomic Age opened in deepest secrecy on December 2, 1942. when the first nuclear chain reaction occurred at the University of Chicago. From that day to this, the progress and, even more important, the lack of progress, in the development of peacetime applications of atomic energy has not been adequately publicized.

One-tenth of one ton of mass would, if completely transformed into energy (according to the Einstein equation) meet the energy requireents of the entire world-mechanical, light and heat-for one year. If uranium 235 furnished this energy by nuclear fission, 100 tons would be needed and if the energy were furnished by fusion of hydrogen atoms only 10 tons would be needed.

It's a long step, however, from these theoretical considerations to actual realizations of atomic power. The applications of nuclear power which have been envisaged are of two distinct kinds: large-scale production of electricity and using fission products-radioisotopes

To date no one has conceived a scheme for direct transformation subatomic energy into electricity. Transformation is through the conventional medium of the heat engine (steam turbine). The atomic fuel, natural uranium ore, undergoes slow controlled disintegration and the energy of the nuclear discharged particles is changed in part into heat within the reactor. The heat must be transferred to a heat engine and converted to mechanical and then electrical energy.

A partial list of the many problems encountered includes: the difficulty of replenishing the fuel charge, the availability of the fuel, use of molten cadmium or lead for heat transfer at high temperature, and radoactive waste-a new aspect of industrial pollution.

While the problems are difficult they are not insurmountable and T. R. Hogness of the University of Chicago has predicted that the U.S. will ve an atomic energy pilot plant of several hundred horsepower in five years and one or more of 100,000 horsepower within 20 years, probably using the "breeder" principle—a process which creates new fuel as the old fuel is disintegrated. Specialized atomic power developments have

been reported under way for marine, air and submarine transportation. Radioactive waste products are finding wide and diverse uses in industry: as substitutes for X-rays in taking photographs, for measuring film thicknesses, continuous measurements of fluid density in nines, and in "tracer" techniques. The latter is being used to investigate the mysteries of vulcanization of rubber, source of sulphur in

steel, and wear of piston rings and floor surfaces. In the field of medicine these "tracer" techniques are also being used. Radioactive drugs and hormones injected in minute quantities into the blood stream can be traced through the body with Geiger counters to study the functions of life. In uses similar to X-rays, these radioactive substances have the advantages of being placed where

For example bone marrow, which is subject to a disease called polycythemia, is also known to use phosporus. Thus radioactive phosorus injected into the blood finds its way to the bone marrow, where the radioactivity alleviates the overactive condition. Similar cures have been effective for cancer and lukemia and radioactive iodine is used to treat hyperthyroidism.

The use of these bomb by-products will be expanded as new techniques and personnel become available, for the supply is superabundant. It is estimated that the atomic pile at Harwell, England, furnishes enough radioisotopes for all of Europe but produces only enough fissionable material for part of an atomic bomb per year.

At the same time, it would seem, the public here is being propagan dized against peacetime applications of atomic energy. Frauds like "atomic shin plasters" and "U-235 drinking water," deliberate overestimates of atomic power costs, exaggeration of technical difficulties. scare stories of radioactive contamination, and now the shelving of peacetime research for bomb work tend to dissolve those Atomic Age dreams of a few short years ago. We are being given guns instead of butter, and bombs—not atomic power.



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Reading from Left to Right

Who'll Pay the A-Pact Bill? Atlantic Council Clashes over Cost

IF I WERE A PRIEST, by G. Bernard Shaw. (Atlantic Monthly, May)

Shaw reviews the book recently published by his good friend Dean Inge, Diary of a Dean, in the course of which he has this to say. It indicates once again how Shaw, the ex-liberal-Fabian-socialist, could became a joint admirer of Hitler, Mussolini and Stalin:

"In the Diary the reason given [by Dean Ingel for our getting on so well together is that we both had 'no faith in democracy.' This must be interpreted as no faith in government and administration by parliaments of anybodies or nobodies elected by everybody. Administration is a highly skilled profession; and government s possible only for the five per cent or so born with the extra mental range it requires. Call them Mahatmas.... The real use of votes for everybody is to prevent us from being governed better than we can bear, as in the case of Prohibition of intoxicating drink in the U.S. A., which had to be repealed in spite of its proved betterment. .

For the link between Shaw's earlier Fabianism and his present incarnation, see The New International for August 1948.

U. S. FILMS: RISKY EXPORT, by C. A. Lejeune. (The Reporter, May 5)

A British movie critic of a quarter-century standing explains why he suspects "Hollywood is a foreign agent whose credentials should be strictly re-examined"-because the four Hollywood films per week which he is forced to see

"They were a group of tired, rumpled and un-

They sat at a semicircular table around the

easy men. Only the American wore the morning coat

and striped trousers of the traditional diplomat.

chairman, Secretary Acheson, and read their lines

almost perfunctorily. The microphones were set to

carry their voices to the ends of the earth and near-

ly every speaker told the world that the conference

was historic. But there was no flourish in their words,

Cormick in the N. Y. Times described the final ses-

sion of the (North) Atlantic (Pact) Council. The

12 foreign ministers were reading prepared state-

ments on the significance and importance of their

meetings. To have asked enthusiasm from the

tablishment of a commmittee to coordinate the mili-

tary and economic plans of the members, with an

American as chairman, and the creation of "bal-

anced eollective (military) forces" as opposed to

each nation's attempting to concentrate on all

Council left out more than it included. For the over-

council is: How are they going to be able to pay

for the armaments that the United States wants

ministers of the North Atlantic Pact, the Euro-

peans threw up their hands in despair when in-

formed of the extent of the rearmament proposed.

They all maintained that to meet these demands

would mean the lowering of living standards at

The statement of the 12 foreigh ministers

pointed out that there should be "adequate military

defense without impairing the social and economic

progress of these countries." But how can this be

done unless the U.S. agrees to supply more mili-

tary and economic supplies? And even then it as-

sumes that this perilous "stability" at below pre-

war (depression) living standards can exist for a

nounced that it would enter into a "working" rela-

tionship with the European Marshall Plan Council

(OEEC), where it now sits as an "observer." It was

pointed out that "while the European Recovery Pro-

gram terminates in 1952, the interest of the United

This then is tacit recognition that some new

U. S. program has to be put forth. The N. Y.

Times correspondent, Harold Callender, therefore

writes on May 21: "it appears certain we shall

have a new kind of Marshall Plan, whatever its

name. The first Marshall Plan was designed to

make Europe financally independent of the U.S.

States in Europe will necessarily continue."

It was in this framework that the U. S. an-

home and consequent political unrest.

At the April meeting of the defense and finance

However, the communique from the Atlantic

branches of an armed force.

them to acquire?

DOLE FOR WAR ALLIES

long period.

It was with these words that Anne O'Hare Mc-

no spark to spread the fire of conviction."

convince him that the movie capital's product is the most effective anti-American agent in

May 29, 1950

Most of the article is a summary of "what am learning from them"-like this: "According to Hollywood, an American ... never reads a book.... There are no books lying around in movie homes.... The diet of the average American is fixed from an early age at ice cream and cake. It stays that way until he changes to old fashioneds and Scotch. It is his peculiar etiquette never to finish a drink, just as it is his privilege to snub out cigarettes (which cost us over half a dollar a package) after one puff....

For those Americans who go aghast at the Kremlin's habit of claiming all virtues for Russia, he has a British-eye view of U. S. films:

"Hollywood is ingeniously slipping the notion into millions of minds that anything that may have happened on this side of the world was quickly settled by an American GI and an American precision bomber.... Perhaps, at this point, I may mention one of the nastiest backnanders we have encountered over here in a long time. There was a Hollywood war film, and good one, called 'Twelve O'Clock High.' It told the history of early daylight precision bombing by American 'heavies' over Germany, and at one moment it introduced a line to the effect that the British had been fighting against odds for years, and it was up to the American crews to make an equal effort. That one line did more for 'Twelve O'Clock High' in England than the whole of Gregory Peck's top-starred performance. Belatedly it was disclosed that the line has been inserted by Hollywood for export only."

The next one will have the two objectives: to cover

Europe's dollar gap following the existing Marshall

Plan so that Europe will suffer no economic and

social setbacks: and, secondly, to cover Europe's

budget deficits incurred through defense expendi-

tures resulting from the North Atlantic Treaty."

is a failure, even though without the forced mili-

European imports which are necessary if Europe

is to pay for American exports.

Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor

Marguart Takes Up the Cudgels for Cork

To the Editor:

Permit me to comment on your reply to Jim Cork. In his place, would have reacted much as he did to your notice of his "Antioch Review" article on John Dewey. It was not the kind of notice which merely calls attention to an article in a magazine. It was so worded as to convey the impression that the Dewey article is not worth reading.

LABOR ACTION is admittedly more fair and objective than most publications issued by "Bolshevik Leninists." One would expect a more respectful comment on a serious treatment of Marx and

To me it was just another example, along with the instances listed by Cork, of the hostility which Marxists usually show toward Dewey. I know about this bias because I once shared it. Only when I began to read Dewey seriously did I discover what a rich

mine of ideas I had missed. Unfortunately too many Marxists respond to Dewey in much the same unintelligent fashion in which some Dewey enthusiasts react to Marx-they sneer at him without taking the trouble to read

Cork, it seems to me, did a real-

ly valuable thing when he showed the points of similarity in Dewey and Marx. Cork's article deserves FAVORABLE notice for this reason alone. Moreover, he tried to show that Dewey can give socialists new insights, viewpoints and angles of approach to social problems. Dewey's ideas provide an antidote to the habit of rigid thinking which is all too much in evidence in Marxist circles.

Cork says he does not share Dewey's criticism of Marx-a criticism "that represents one of the rare occasions when he [Dewey] has forsaken the usual scientific caution and genial objectivity

with which he deals with opponents." One does not have to go to Dewey to learn about Marx. One goes to Marx. But socialists should be willing to get from Dewey the spirit of flexible inquiry that forms the core of his method. And it is downright inexcusable on the part of Marxists to fail to use Dewey's basic criticism of the school system and other institutional patterns stemming from the social relations of capitalism.

There is at least some truth to Dewey's charge that Marxists are too prone to think in terms of absolutes, too ready to arrive at formulations without adequate inquiry. Making much ado about the dialectic is no substitute for the hard spade work necessary to unearth the essential facts for understanding complicated social problems. Too many Marxists have the habit of providing ready answers. A careful study of Dewey would help to correct this habit.

The dialectic as worked out by Engels was useful. It acted as a solvent on static materialism and

facilitated the growth of the scientific method. But the scientific method is itself a process. It is constantly improved by new techniques, instrumentalities and intellectual methods of operation.

Or do you hold that the dialectic as formulated by Engels represents the last word in the scientific method? Or that it is superior to the scientific method? What, specifically, does the dialectic provide which the scientific method as elaborated by Dewey

Incidentally, Engels should serve as a model to Marxists in one very important particular-he always displayed a keen desire to learn from the outstanding intellects of his time. And he showed a surprising adaptability for altering his ideas in line with new knowledge. The attitude which prompts people to dismiss a thinker of Dewey's stature was foreign to Engels.

Frank MARQUART Detroit, May 11

Un-Deweyan Deweyans: A Comment on Questions Raised about the Marxist Approach

It would be well if our Deweyans were to pay more attention to Professor Dewey's admirable nsistence on the necessity of reason and evidence in argumenta-

We are referring to correspondent Marquart's first paragraph, which is the only one directly relevant to our recent exchange with Jim Cork. Regarding Cork, we pointed out that our column 'Reading from Left to Right" chose to comment briefly on one point (the most interesting point, in our opinion, and the only new point) in Cork's Antioch Review article. Cork's main complaint, behind his stern epithets, was that no one had a moral right to do this without taking up every point in his article.

Clearly it is pointed out that the U.S. is to put Europe on the dole in the attempt to build fighting Is Marquart supporting this allies for the Third World War. The Marshall Plan very peculiar grievance in his bald statement that he "would tary expenditures, for the U.S. will not allow have reacted" like Cork? If so, it Western Europe to become financially independent. would have been desirable for him American industry will resist the acceptance of to have said something about our comment on the point, instead of gnoring it. .

But for Western Europe it is not merely a ques-The second outstanding thing tion of a new Marshall Plan in order to arm a few which we pointed to about Cork's

> The third thing we pointed out was that the very first two points

from his article which Cork claimed we had immorally concealed from our readers werepoints which Cork did not discuss in his article at all. If this is not so, in friend Marquart's opinion, it would be a grievous fault in our reply. If it is so, we find it hard to see how Marquart can bring himself to be so unqualified

in okaying Cork's unwise letter. There is only one comment which Marquart does make in explaining his statement of how he "would have reacted." Our column's critical comment on Cork's article "was so worded as to convey the impression that the Dewey article [of Cork] is not worth reading."

This justification of Cork's article is also unwise. Not in the best-tradition of Dewey, Marquart in effect equates a criticism of the main point of an article with the conclusion that the article is not worth reading.

To be fair to Marquart, he seems in actuality (as the rest of his letter shows) to be more interested in making some points about the attitude of (some) Marxists to Dewey than in defending Cork's letter - which is not the same thing. On these, we wish only to comment briefly in order to straighten out a few points from our own view: (1) There are many points of

similarity in Dewey and Marx. They have been pointed out before Cork. Cork argued that in the points of difference, Marxists ought to abandon Marx and adopt Dewey. If Marquart agrees with this, that is reason enough for him to be "favorable" to Cork's article. For us, who do not, it is reason to be critical. This perfectly reasonable state of affairs is hardly a sufficient peg for Marquart to hang onto it assertions (otherwise unbased) about "sneering" at Dewey, "rigid thinking," and the other derogatory expressions with which his letter is pepperedd.

(2) Who are the "Marxists" about whom Marquart's derogations are made? Generalizations like Marquart's about the bad habits of "Marxists" are often made by writers who are including the Stalinists in this term. (Cork's article in Antioch Review did this by implication, though not explicitly.) Is Marquart doing it too? As is well known, we do not regard the Stalinists as Marxists nor do we believe that any informed writer can discuss Marxism usefully on that basis.

(3) Even without the Stalinists, there is absolutely no doubt that at least many self-styled Marxists do not do justice to the ideas of their great teachersgive them one-sided interpretations, formularize them, or otherwise distort them. But this is so generally true about followers as to be a platitude about the followers of any other teacherincluding Dewey. What does it reflect upon Marxism, as distinct from what it reflects upon the offending followers?

This is the only question that could be discussed, since Marquart's criticisms of "Marxists" are thrown in an anonymous direction. It is also a question that can best be discussed about particular cases: it is easy to condemn "rigid thinking," thinking "in terms of absolutes," inadequate inquiry, "ready answers" and other sins, and to uphold scientific objectivity, flexible inquiry, etc., in general terms.

(4) There are many valuable "insights, viewpoints and angles of approach" to be gained by Marxists (or anybody else) from Dewey. Marquart's example of Dewey's work on education is certainly one of them. But we would go further than Marquart. There are many valuable insights, views and approaches for Marxists in the writings of many other non-Marxist (even anti - Marxist!) thinkers who are much further removed from Marxism than is Dewey!

Any other view would amount rather Marxists, are the sole re-

thought, and that any thinking outside the approved circle is useless. That is a view which, we call to Marquart's attention, is characteristic of Stalinism, not of Marxism.

But how is this view in conflict with the "right" (we would say: duty) of Marxists to criticize, attack, impeach or even denounce attempts to refute Marxism in favor of some other philosophy—just as the Deweyans do for their ideas? There is a curious double standard of moral judgment hovering on the outskirts of this discussion.

(5) Who holds "that the dialectic as formulated by Engels represents the last word in the scientific method"? Not Engels, says Marquart. In this case, as a matter of fact, not even the Stalinists -who, Marx knows, emphasize that they view any such rigidity with abhorrence every time they wish to throw another Marxist principle overboard. In fact, no Marxist we ever heard of, good or bad, holds "that the dialectic as formulated by Engels" is the eternal last word. The challenge, as a challenge, is pointless.

But perhaps there are "Marxists" who do so in practice even if they reject the idea in words? No doubt. But the Deweyans are not asking the Marxists to be scientifically flexible about their philosophy. It is the great exponents of Marxism who have done that. The Deweyans are asking us to abandon it (particularly dialectics, in Marquart's letter). This cause is not furthered by approving references to Engels' this very "adaptability" of Marxism which enables it to combat the Dewevan attack.

(6) Lastly, there may be a contradiction in Marquart's thinking. if we understand his challenge: "What specifically does the dialectic provide which the scientific method as elaborated by Dewey does not?" Does this mean, in Marquart's opinion, that everything "provided" by the dialectic is also provided by Dewey's scientific method? If so, very good. There is then nothing for us to abandon, since it is all in Dewey anyway. But this is not true, as at least Dewey (and Cork) agrees.

In conclusion, we point out that the criticism actually made of Cork's article in our "Reading from Left to Right" column-the begetter of this branching-out exchange of opinion-has not as yet been even attacked by any argument. We don't object to a discussion branching out (except that it has not been the habit of LA-BOR ACTION to go in for extended discussions of philosophy, a province which we permit to be to the idea that Marxism-or pre-empted by The New International.) We merely want to keep positories of all truth and valid the record straight .- Ed.

European members of the Atlantic Pact would be more divisions. There is a real anxiety over the letter was its abusive language, like asking for a cheerful statement from a man strategical question of whether Western Europe precariously based on the above who had just been forced to dig his own grave. can be adequately defended given the economic point. Is Marquart approving this The week-long meeting of the Atlantic Council limitations of a weakened economy, and the role came forth with the following plans for the furthat the U. S. will play in this defense. ther integration of the signatory nations: the es-

On the one hand are the proposals that Acheson brought with him to London. Acheson demanded that Western Europe contribute significantly to rearmament. But Western Europeans have been demanding that since the U.S. is pressing for the rearmament, it should pay the lion's share. The compromise arrangement reached is that there would be a scaling down of the military plans.

This compromise in turn raises fears in the Europeans' minds that while the U. S. wants rearmament it is not willing to pay the bill. That is, the U.S. wants to enjoy the benefit of a rearmament, but it is going to preserve its own strength as much as possible. This is a reflection of the fear over the strategic problems of the possibility of defending Western Europe.

On the other hand there are the isolationist tendencies in the U.S. While they are not the voice of the government, they are important enough to demand attention. Herbert Hoover in a recent speech said in effect that the U.S. should not give aid to those whom it could not count on in case of a shewdown. This was in pointed reference to Western Europe.

The Marshall Plan nations for their part have been trying to blackmail the U. S. into giving more military and economic aid. There are the recent statements that Western Europe might consider sitting out the cold war as an alternative. This is also a reflection of the real weariness of all the social classes when confronted with another armament race and the devastation of a third World War.

The U. S. went to London concerned about "balanced collective forces" and the coordination of military commands. But the Europeans on the other hand were concerned about the cost of the proposals. American capitalism is more enthusiastic about what it has to gain from participation in the cold war; European capitalism is more doubtful.

It was "only the American who wore the morning coat and striped trousers of the traditional diplomat"; the rest had "no spark to spread the fire of conviction."

ISL Program — in Brief

The Independent Socialist League stands for socialist democvide the world: capitalism and Stalinism.

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

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

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

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

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

The fight for democracy and the fight for socialism are inseparable. There can be no lasting and genuine democracy without socialism, and there can be no socialism without democracy. To enroll under this banner, join the Independent Socialist League!

THE STORY BEHIND THE NEWS

Cold War Crime: Allied Policy in Germany

German Dismantling: Some Cases

Last week we started, and we continue this week, a series on the truth about industrial dismantling in Germany, at its high point last

The amount of information published in the United States on this subject has been very small. While not officially secret, it has, apparently, been carefully filtered out of the news that's fit to print for the American public.

The information we are making available now, relating to last year's developments, is from a confidential or semi-confidential report made by an investigator for Congresswoman Katharine St. George of New York, made last July and August. We commented on its auspices last week: it was, as we related, mimeographed presumably for circulation mainly among Washington officials.

All quotations, unless otherwise noted, are from this report. We know of no reason to doubt the authenticity of its information, gathered on the spot. Dismantling is still continuing, perhaps at an abated pace; like last year, it is difficult if not impossible to get reliable information here.

In any case, we present this story, regardless of what the status is today, as indispensable background to the present political picture in Germany. A crime was committed there by the Allied occupation (to keep it in the past tense); it is of course perfectly fresh in the minds of the German people; the American people ought to know.

The following article presents additional specific examples of how the dismantling has been carried on. Other articles will take up what dismantling meant for the workers and for the political development of Germany, and the motivations behind it, including the role of the

heating furnace has been hacked

to pieces. A wire mill has been

entirely scrapped, because the

dismantling took too long. The

material from this mill has been

rendered unusable. . . . The spiral

elevators were sliced through at

their foundations. Ropes were

fastened around the top, and on

June 27 they were pulled down

in a heap of rubble...." There

are more detaile of the same kind.

being dismantled at Thyssen,

only one fifth will be credited to

and 400 DM [Deutsche Marks] and

several thousand man-years to

move and re-erect equipment with

a reparation value of 40 million

DM, not to mention years of useful

production lost in the process, is

economic idiocy. . . . If any one

example stands out above all oth-

ers as a proof that competitive

being pressed is in eloquent con-

the British to acquire the equip-

The Report reveals that more

Germans - industrialists,

than one proposal was made by

trade-unions and government as

well-to satisfy the announced

aims of the Allied occupation

while avoiding the wrecking of

the country's economy (and the

workers' livelihood) which was

proceeding. One of these was an

interesting one specifically made

to turn the Thyssen works' man-

agement over to Allied control for

the benefit of a European Youth

Development project. It was pro-

posed with the cooperation of the

chief of the military govern-

ment's Division of Educational

and Cultural Relations, Dr. Alon-

zo Grace, and of Dr. Schairer of

the World Education Council. It

was, as the Paris Le Monde re-

ported on July 1, "signed by 11

leading West German personali-

ties and was transmitted to the

British authorities by Mr. Ar-

nold, minister-president of North

Nothing came of it. The British

simply did not want that plant

operating. This in spite of the

fact that no aim given for the

dismantling program - not the

This was not the only case in

which the Germans called the

Rhine-Westphalia."

ably speak against it.

for the Thyssen works.

ment so torn down."

Calling Bluff

Germany's reparation account.

Of the value of the capacity

"An investment of between 350

The Hochfrequenz - Tiegelstahl plant, at Bochum in the Ruhr, was only one of the six major steel plants of this industrial heart of Germany which was doomed by the Allied occupation.

Another is the August Thyssen Huette (Works) which in past years was the largest steel producer in Europe. This plant was considered indispensable to any recovery plans for Germany (note: not to Germany's war potential, but to the ability to exist of German economy) by no less a personage than George Wolf, head of the U.S. Steel Investigating Committee reporting to the ECA. It was Wolf who stated in his first report on the Dismantlings of German Steel Plants that if the Thyssen plant were dismantled, it would be impossible for Germany to attain its permitted level of steel production.

Thyssen was not only the largest but also the lowest-cost producer of steel: "a fact which no doubt made it the special target of rival steel-producing countries," says the Report. This efficiency was due to its location directly above its own coal fields, its harbor, its positions in the heart of the integrated Ruhr economy Rivals could not hope to duplicate it; they could only hope to erase

"This plant never produced direct war material," says the Report. "Its greatest contribution dustry to which in the pre-war period it contributed up to 40,000 tons of rails monthly." That fact is, to be sure, not vital to the question. Steel is as necessary to peace as to war. The Thyssen plant had a capacity to make 50,000 tons of electric sheets annually, and this product has been one of the major bottlenecks in the European recovery drive.

It's Scrapping

What happened at the Thyssen plant itlustrates an outstanding feature of the dismantling program. It was not mainly dismantling at all. It was frankly turned into a scrapping program.

Writes the investigator's Report, as of last July:

"No attempt is being made to dismantle with that care which would be necessary if it were expected that the equipment would be put to use again in some other country. A large part of the danger of German war potential. equipment is being frankly not reparations - could conceivscrapped.

"In the rolling mill . . . one unit has already been removed during the past months and the bluff of Allied hypocrisy on the

dismantling program, not to be cupation but simply to preserve their economic life and continue to live. Another was the case of

the Bochumer Verein, at Bochum. This plant produced only openhearth and electric steel, in particularly short supply in Ger-"Yet the dismantling order . . . has been directed particularly at its most modern openhearth steel plants and its electric steel plant-constituting a disasloss especially to the already badly crippled German transportation industry."

"The pattern of dismantlement," the Report continues, "imposed upon this plant could only be described as insane or, if rationally planned, as directed toward makng the plant operate so inefficientthat it could not compete with other plants supplying similar products." The technical facts are

"One story I found almost impossible to believe," writes the investigator. "Forty per cent of a drop forge has already been dismantled and now the British are insisting that the remainder (60 per cent) of the machinery be removed to another location-to either the Weitmar or the Hoentrop plant, they do not care which. The very thought of removing a drop forge is fantastic. [The Report then explains why.]

"I told Dr. Schilly that I could never believe this story without the proof. 'Are you sure that the British do not care where this drop forge is to be moved to ...?

"Schilly insisted this was the case. 'They have no interest in anything but making us go to needless labor and expense. And if you want proof that they are really pushing us on this, I will show you the letter which we received . . . only a fortnight ago." The verbatim copy of the letter is attached to the Report.

No Arms Made

considerations determined the The Bochumer Verein manageplants to be dismantled, Thyssen is ment made a proposal to the Britthat example. The eagerness with "Before the Hoentrop tire which the present dismantlings are mill was dismantled, the management offered to build a similar tradiction to the indifference of mill for substitute shipment. They had learned that the . . . mill was to be given to the British firm of Steel. Peach and Tozer at Sheffield, who had been members of the same international trade association to which Bochumer Verein had belonged before the war, and with whom they have maintained an excellent relationship. They were told unofficially by a member of the firm that this proposal was quite agreeable to Steel, Peach and Tozer, but that orders from the British government forced them to reject Bochumer Verein's proposal and to accept instead the dismantled equipment from the Hoentrop This was a plan put forward mill." (The documentary letters are attached to the Report.)

Was all this to cut down Germany's armament capacity? "Dur-

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ing the war a part of the capacity sure in order to "expose" the oc- of Bochumer Verein was used in the direct manufacture of armaments. Bochumer Verein had been the only firm in Germany permitted to make shells, under terms of the Versailles Treaty, However, all of the shell plant has long ago been dismantled. Now the British have given orders that the build-

ing is to be torn down and moved

to Yugoslavia . . .

A third example: "The dismantling pattern of the Henrichshuette at Hattingen displays the same fantastic pattern as that of the Bochumer Verein. The steeel-making parts, the steel foundry and the plate mill are to be cut out of the integrated works, leaving the blast furnaces and processing departments floundering in a hopelessly inefficient manner at either end of the once rationalized process . . .

"The senseless drain on Germany's transportation equipment particularly ironic, in that Henrichshuette has long been the chief source of supply for certain equipment for the Reichshahn already seriously crippled by inadequate over-age equipment. The situation is akin to taking away a cripple's cane, and then cutting off a few of his toes for good measure . . .

"The value to the Allies of dismantling Henrichshuette would seem to lie only in the removal of

competition, for its equipment is antiquated . . ."

Here too management, local municipal officials and the Ministry of Economies of North Rhine-Westphalia offered substitute equipment on a ton-for-ton basis. especially because of the serious labor situation in the area. The offer was turned down.

"Dr. Bauer, one of the directors who showed me over the entire works, told me that Henrichshuette stood ready to satisfy any demand in order to save the plant. The future is problematical. Dawson [a top British dismantlement official about whom more will appear later-Ed.] told Dr. Harten. that the British have no desire to have Henrichshuetteequipment established elsewhere . . . They simply want to destroy this capacity—that is, to scrap

With the help of these three examples (more are given in the Report) we will be able to see what does make sense of the "fantastic" dismantlement drive of the Allied occupation. We will see why opposition arises in Germany both from the capitalist class and from labor, though we will also see how this opposition takes quite different channels for these internally antagonistic classes.

(Continued next week)

BLP Policy-

der the present wage freeze. Although the union leaders have pledged not to make any major wage demands unless the cost of living rises sharply, many of the big unions have been yielding to pressure from the ranks and demanding immediate wage increases. The Labor Party leadership may propose some small wage reases for the lowest - paid workers only, in the hope that this will stave off a reckoning with the working class as a whole.

It also seems probable that the housing program will be stepped up and that some measures will taken to establish municipal wholesale markets and price controls on fruits and vegetables. The latter measures have been forced on the government by a buyers' strike against the high cost of these commodities.

This timid policy on the part of well have exactly the opposite effect of that hoped for. The British economy is delicately balanced on the shifting sands of foreign trade. The high employment which has been maintained since the war can easily turn into large- their present party leadership.

drop in purchases on the world market of British goods

It is true that no purely domestic policy, no matter how bold, could guarantee the British economy against major convulsions. The British workers could ensure their full employment and get a rising standard of living by broadening the base of their economy. But this could be accomplished only by a bold foreign policy which would make the economy of Britain part of a Western European economic bloc planned on socialist lines.

Instead of the bold policies necessary for such a development, the leaders of the British Labor Party are hoping to hang on to their parliamentary position by a policy of doing as little as possible at home, and hanging on to the shirttails of Uncle Sam abroad.

Whether the result be victory or defeat in the next elections no a real solution of the problems of the British people. The whole record of the present leadership of the BLP indicates that no such steps will be taken as long as the workers leave it in the hands of

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NAME (PLEASE PRINT) ADDRESS ☐ Bill me ☐ Payment encl. (stamps, currency or postal note) What Is New in American Politics Today?

vocates of a labor party in the What is new in American labor trade unions of vesterday are topolitics? The fact that the workday following the official political ing class and the organized labor line and no longer speak of a lamovement support the Democratic bor party. And, to the extent that Party and its candidates? No, beany policy has the support of the cause by and large they have folworkers today, it is the official lowed that course for years, espepolicy and not that of the labor-

cially since the first Roosevelt party advocates. campaign. What is new is that the labor political machines, like PAC, have gone deeper into the Democratic Party or associated themselves more closely with it, the reasons why they have done this, and the way they are doing it. The politically-conscious unionists, who are the broad vanguard

of the working class, are increasingly aware of the tremendous political power of the labor movement. Right now, they are employing this power to maintain the Democratic Party in power-against the more conservative Republican Party, and at the same time to maintain the domination, inside the Democratic Party, of the New Deal or Fair Deal wing against the conservative, old-line Democrats. If the support of organized labor were withdrawn from the Democrats, the Republicans would sweep into office; if its support were withdrawn from the Fair Dealers inside the Democratic Party, the conservatives would have no difficulty in recapturing it completely. That is how decisive the organized political power

This power, we are convinced, is being misapplied. The labor leaders claim that the interests of the workers are best served by keeping the Democrats in office and the Republicans out. But even for this policy to work at all, these leaders have found it necessary to intervene directly in the "internal affairs" of the Democratic Party and to act as a faction-or rather, as the ally and supplier of votes-of the Fair Deal faction. Thus they hope to keep "friends of labor" in the important offices of the country.

of labor has become.

This policy is a betrayal of the interests of the workers, at worst; at best it is an illusion. Even from the most narrowly practical standpoint, the establishment of the already organized power of the unions as a labor party independent of both capitalist parties would yield ten times more fruitful and durable results. However, those of us who urge and will continue to urge the formation of a labor party are now limited almost entirely to the numbers and influence repignation or half - hearted convic- Democratic Party, and want to put 'do himself.

forward their own candidate who. The problem is: how to switch

the labor movement from its present self-defeating course of serving as voting cattle for capitalist parties and politicians and onto the course of a labor party, of effective independent political action which labor's power makes possible and labor's interests make The workers have, for the pres-

ON POLITICAL ACTION POLICY

ent, turned their backs to the idea of a labor party and there is no significant movement for it right now. But they have not turned their backs on the political fight for their own interests, as they conceive of them, with all errors and illusions included.

No socialist will abandon for moment the fight for a labor party because of its present lack of support. He is confident that events -the pressure of the class struggle and the irrepressible conflict class interests-will help the workers find a way out of the blind alley of capitalist politics and onto the road of working-class politics. He is convinced that this conflict of interests will grow, become more apparent to the workers themselves, and lead them to proper political conclusions

And precisely because this conflict is irrepressible, the policy of the labor leaders injects it, quite unintentionally, of course, right inside the Democratic Party. It takes on a mutilated and twisted form, but it is there! The Fair Dealers and their labor allies rest on mutually "antagonistic social bases" and the split between them is (it has been further explained, and rightly) "even inevitable." In that case, socialists should do everything they can to hasten that split so that labor can free itself

from political dependence. How? By supporting Fair Dealers in the Democratic Party against the conservatives? That is how the fight in that party usually manifests itself at present and the labor leaders follow that course. We reject it, for in form and substance it remains capitalist politics and keeps the workers politically chained. But what about those exceptional cases where the workers, especially those organ-

despite formal appearances, is an authentic representative of the labor movement, chosen by it and responsible to it? Should advocates of a labor party turn their backs on such a fight because the workers involved have turned down the proposal for a labor party and accepted a course that looks "more practical" to them? We say: while reiterating our

PRO AND CON: A DISCUSSION PAGE

position in favor of a labor party. we should not hesitate to support this partial but very important sten forward. Even if it assumes the form of a fight in Democratic primaries, it represents a break, or the beginning of break, not between Fair Dealism and "Old Dealism," but between politicallyorganized labor and the Fair Deal machine, which is an indispensable step toward a labor party Such breaks should be stimulated: they should be extended and deepened; they should be dealt with sympathetically and not antagonistically. The workers should be told over and over again that while the Fair Deal party and machine needs them and is dependent upon them, they are not dependent upon it: that they should and can rely upon themselves and their organized labor strength for the defense of their interests; and that the step they are taking-as they took it in the Chicago campaign for Willoughby Abner-is not yet the labor party, to be sure, but is a step in its direction because it represents, not in form but in essence, not in full but in part, labor's self-reliance and independence in the political field. What our critics do not see (we

refer here only to those capable of seeing) is that in such exceptional cases, we do not, and we do not need to, renounce our position for a labor party, just because the workers' first steps toward it are halting, half-conscious or confused. What they do not see is that one of the main reasons why we are still so far a distance from the actual formation of a labor party is that such a campaign as the PAC conducted for Abner and against the Democratic machine in the recent Chicago primaries, IS the exception, and that we would be a hundred times further ahead if there were a hun-'dred times as many exceptions to the official labor policy, occurring not in struggle for minor office but for decisive positions in decisive centers. We count precisely on the class struggle to help make such cases less exceptional. A socialist, cialist movement. Enthusiastically fuse to accept and support a Fair the struggle does not do all his or reluctantly, out of cynical res- Deal "friend of labor" from the work for him; some of it he must filed against them."

U. of Wisconsin Cracks Down On Anti-ROTC Demonstration

By JIM BLACK

MADISON. Wis., May 19-A minor explosion occurred on the University of Wisconsin campus at the annual federal inspection of the ROTC on May 11.

High brass of the army, navy, air force and marine corps snapped to review attention. The band played briskly. Two thousand nembers of the Reserve Officers Training Corps stood ready to march on signal at Camp Randall.

At this point a group of 20 student pickets marched past the astonished military officers. They carried signs which read: Militarism Is Un-American." "Is Compulsory ROTC Democratic?" "Student Body Voted 2-1 Against ROTC." "No A-Bombs or Molotov Coektails."

After they had walked past the reviewing stand the university police pounced upon the pickets. The following is an excerpt from the student newspaper, the Daily Car-

"They [the police] slammed one the students against a wall. They grabbed one of the girls by the arm and almost sent her sprawling on the cinders. They shoved two of the picketers in front of a loaded cannon while the cannoneer frantically warned of danger.

When Hammersley, chief of the university police, was asked what regulations were being violated. he answered, "I am the law." make the rules." The attitude of the police is evident from the statement made to the pickets as they were lined up, "Now we'll our own army . . . line up over there."

There was an attempt to label the demonstration Communist-inspired. But the claim did not stick. was an undertaking which was not sponsored by any group but by individuals of diverse ideas and convictions.

In unprecedented action the board of regents publicly apologized to the military and ordered a complete investigation of the

All manner of coercive pressure and means of intimidation were used on the students. The administration made no formal charges. But the University Conduct Committee, which is holding hearings. threatened disciplinary action.

Star-chamber methods were being employed by the hearing committee, was the charge made by John Diehl, law school student and counsel for the students. He said: "Students are directed to anpear before the committee upon special-delivery letters with no specific charges being

The university administration the fact that it can happen here.

takes the stand that the demonstration embarrassed guests of the university and was in poor taste. The conservative Wisconsin State Journal, backing up the administration, wrote the following in an

"Civil liberties have nothing to do with the case.

editorial:

"Nor has the argument over compulsory military training which the paraders were protest-

"The protestors never have been denied a hall of their own choosing. They could and should protest about compulsory military training all they want to-in the right

"But they barged into someone else's party with obvious design of embarrassing it if not breaking

"That is an act of boors and ruf-

fians. Civil liberty is not uncivil Since there were no formal charges made against the pickets.

the only question is one of eti-

AID FROM LIBERALS

The students received support from various liberal quarters. State Assemblywoman Ruth Doyle wrote a letter to the board of regents urging that they reconsider their request for an investigation. In the letter, which was made public, she said: "to deny the opponents of compulsory military training their rights to demonstrate for their point of view, or to stigmatize them for so doing, is to deny them their rights as citizens of a strong, free nation."

The Capital Times came to the aid of the students with the following editorial: "It is not surprising to find the present big-business board of regents at the university voting in the same meeting to turn down the faculty report on human rights on the campus and then voting to set up an inquisitorial board to hound and harass a group of students who exercised their right of free speech to demonstrate against

compulsory ROTC on the campus." The effect of the demonstration was to focus sharply on the issue of compulsory ROTC and point up the issue of an encroaching military rule. It definitely resulted in a resurgence of student awareness of the undemocratic effects of direct or indirect contact with militarism.

There is the possibility that a civil rights suit may be undertaken, depending on the action of the university administration. The widespread, and the campus community is beginning to awaken to

A Third View: Policy for Some Important Exceptional Cases

On the whole the premises of the arguments put forward by Ben Hall in LABOR ACTION and by Gordon Haskell in Forum are correct. In terms of general policy, we should avoid proposing primary fights in the Democratic Party, when these fights can only be, by the very nature of the present Fair Deal coalition, struggles for office between two bureaucratic cliques (Democratic machine and labor leaders) with the same political program.

It is true that at the present time the labor leaders don't want to upset the applecart and are conup by the CIO in three sections of Illinois was obviously, basically, merely a defensive struggle against the machine's refusal to

tempt to build independent political action by utilizing a CIO-PAC structure to capture open party primaries.

Nevertheless, when our basic approach is applied at a local level, certain important exceptions are necessitated by our own weakness and by the urgent need to stimulate, in whatever small way possible, any rank-and-file militants or secondary leaders who se-- to leave the CIO (and thereby riously try to implement political action within the present bureaucratic setup of the CIO-PAC.

When comrades outside of Chicago discuss the Abner campaign. for example, it never occurs to tent with a partnership and a them to ask themselves the quesshare of the spoils. The fight put tion: How could the First Congressional District CIO Political Action Club have acted along more independent lines than it did? It is not an autonomous union accept a single CIO recommenda- nor a joint committee of such a are going to continue to say this, encouraging and participating in

tual proposal that the club run a candidate outside the fold of the two old parties would be considered illegal. It would be pointed out correctly that the club is not a free agent, unless it is willing abandon its very existence).

Now, we have been saving (and Hall. Draper and Haskell have been saying this too!): Build the ward such a position, for all the political - action structure into a real rank - and - file organization! Make it the kind of real yeararound movement that could con- tion drise of what the rank-andceivably be turned into a labor party, instead of what it usually is today - a top committee well- have built, that we must deviate heeled with union funds. If we from our labor-party position by

policy, its charter would be re- at that point encourage any inivoked. To discuss in such a club tiative by such a political-action the IDEA of an independent labor movement to actually run its own party is perfectly OK, but an ac- candidates in the only place where the national CIO will allow it to.

The Shachtman resolution suggests that we propose in unions. if a labor party proposition is beaten, the proposition that the union conduct a primary fight in behalf of trade-union candidates. If this fight is conducted according to the customary methods it reasons that Haskell has mentioned. It is only where the question arises of what the hank-anddo with a genuine year-around political-action movement that they

tion for candidates, and not an at- union, but a club with a PAC char- then when this is actually done their electoral efforts in behalf of ter. If it violated national CIO in a given community, we MUST a candidate selected by and responsible to them.

If Hall and the supporters of his view remain adamantly opposed to this sort of "exceptionalism," they will have to explain what actual meaning they can give to their endorsement of the ISL position on strengthening the existing CIO political-action structure. Meanwhile, with Shachtman's and Hall's motions both defeated at the plenum, and with the Abner endorsement nevertheless carried, it would only damage us to put for- is obvious that the position expressed in this article represents the consensus of the National Committee at least, at present. With some comment from elsewhere in the country, perhaps it can be worked out exactly enough so that the ISL will not be forced to choose between the unsatisfactory Shachtman and Hall posi-

Occupy More Countries'

the very top of the government, right at Truman's elbow.

WHAT WILL BE PRETEXT?

What other countries will "we" have to occupy before the cold war is ended? TURKEY? IRAN? GREECE? Which of these or which building?

used for public consumption if it working people. becomes "necessary" to trample

Have they figured out, in anticisupposed to do while the operation takes place? Or is the UN, or mythical UN control, scheduled for the role of figleaf and camouflage for the international crime of which Barkley spoke so casually as a possibility?

Barkley's almost incredible words cannot be recalled now. They're in print. Washington can only hope that they will be forgotten by the next day's or week's headlines. But if the conscience of those who purport to be labor and liberal leaders has not become so calloused and atrophied under the strain of being "practical" and "hard-headed realists" that the Barkley threat passes unchallenged, here are two things to be remembered:

Let us suppose-just for an instant-that those words had been spoken by a top leader of Russian totalitarianism, one of the despots of the Kremlin - a Molotov, for example, to take Barkley's approximate governmental opposite number within the Moscow hier-

positive, irrefutable proof of the oppressive, aggressive, imperialistic and tyrannical policy of the Russian Stalinist dictatorship?

The only difference between the Russian leaders and Barkley in this respect is that it is doubtful whether the former would be so intention and motivation in advance. They HAVE done precisely what Barkley talks about for the U. S., and have advanced just as "democratic" pretexts for their crimes as no doubt Washington would find for its own.

GIFT TO THE KREMLIN

A second thing to be remem-

bered: Barkley's statement, as we said, may be glossed over here. But in Europe and Asia and among the Moscow satellites it will be a boon to the Kremlin's propaganda and political offensive, a free gift to them.

And the Barkleys will continue to wonder why and how the Russian tyranny maintains its hold over the people under its heel. It because the Russians can demonstrate, not only by their well-Western alternative to their rule is also an oppressive imperialism.

The Russian empire can perhaps be blown up along with the rest of the world with A-bombs and H-bombs, but it can be blown up from WITHIN only by the dynamic appeal of a force which fights for the socialist alternative to both imperialist war camps.

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gle is the only-progressive road ramparts of the old' by stationing keep any aggressor in check," is not going to stampede Congress to peace and the overthrow of in Europe a team of army, navy what the N. Y. Times called for. into declaring war, at least not Stalinism, BECAUSE it is also the and air forces strong enough to If this means what it says, it easily. As Professor Beard proved struggle for the abolition of capi- keep any aggressor in check." talism and capitalist imperialism.

If the Barkley blooper is stupid. as it is, that is only because he other is the subject of the con- told a TRUTH inconvenient for versation behind the doors of the American editorial writers and White House and the Pentagon preachers of peace-through-totaldiplomacy. Its stupidity should Have they gotten to the point. concern Barkley's boss; its truth of discussing what pretext will be should concern the country's

As we indicated, U. S. imperialover the independence of some ism's desire to garrison the world nation or nations whose sovereign- popped its head out of the bag a ty is supposedly the dearest con- year ago, in speeches from less cern of the paladins of Western highly placed sources which in- ning aggression." (AP) dicated at that time that there was at least a strong movement pation, what the United Nations is in top-level government circles in that direction.

In a speech on April 5, 1949, Army Chief of Staff Omar Bradley made a fervent plea to "funnel the great strength of our new world to the ramparts of the old" and "thus challenge the enemy where he would transgress." (In up his views with the State Department.)

"we must 'funnel the great meaning.

That is why the socialist strug- strength of our new world to the

ernment responsibility, ex-Under- opposed by 43 Western divisions, per "stressed the prospect that in Western Europe." U. S. forces will have to stay in Europe for a long time after the occupation period is over in order to stand guard against any light-

General Clay made a speech of similar implications as he stood reviewing U.S. troops in Germany at the same time.

This program of the military men is what was echoed by Barkley in New Orleans, not because he has been reading last year's papers but because he was repeating this year's total-cold-war strategy adopted by the Truman government.

This program for a U.S. perthis speech Bradley explicitly tied manent garrison in the world is before the Washington war plan-, represented as a guard against a ners is in the first instance politi-Russian "lightning aggression." A cal and not military: how to make Picking this up, the New York moment's thought is sufficient to sure that the U. S. jumps into the Times on April 7 dotted the i's: pose two alternatives for its real

means American forces in Europe [in his completely documented The next day Secretary of the at least as numerous as at the Army Royall made a speech in height of the Second World War. Chicago which "was an obvious The Russians, by good report, can sequel to that delivered in New throw 170 divisions ("equal to York last night by General Brad- most Western divisions in armor, ley," according to the AP. Speak- artillery, heavy equipment") into ing even more openly, since he the field, according to the U. S. was no longer encumbered by gov- News (May 26, 1950). "They are secretary of War William H. Dra- of which only about 25 can be used

It is, to say the least, doubtful

whether the N. Y. Times, or even the most arms - mad militarist thinks that the U.S. can even dream of doing this as long as the war is cold. The talk about U.S. stand today." forces stopping a "lightning aggression" is fantastic.

TO DRAW BLOOD

More to the point, we suggested last year, is another purpose. In this war-weary world, for all of the whoopup of propaganda for the next war to make the world safe for something or other (spelled capitalism), "the problem war on the FIRST DAY. Atlantic drawal of Washington's garrison Pact or no, the start of hostilities

"A team...strong enough to between Russia and NORWAY is "President Roosevelt and the Coming of the War"], Roosevelt deliberately set about drawing blood."

> It took Pearl Harbor to accomplish what he had already decided: getting the country into the war once it had started. There were no U. S. troops then in Europe to be attacked.

As the N. Y. Times said in its editorial of last year already quoted: "our military frontiers are ... at the Iron Curtain itself. which means Berlin, the Elbe, the Danube, and Trieste. They are there, for one reason, because that is where our occupation troops

We repeat our charge, now that its premise has been confirmed. We repeat also the conclusion from it. The U.S. screen of troops along the Iron Curtain is not Eurone's defense against the Russian dictatorship. It is a cold invasion of Europe, threatening the national independence of the lands and resented by their people-feeding the troughs of Russian propaganda. Opposition to the Third World War means: Demand the with-

Pres. Truman Boasts

(Continued from page 1)

scription of his "sashay" into politics; the "Old West" in Wyoming; potatoes in Idaho: corn in Iowaand corn everywhere.

The appeal to backwardness and rural prejudice was not lacking. Praising Wyoming for its early recognition of women's suffrage, Truman said: "Can you imagine what some of the stuffy reactionary Easterners had to say? Listen -listen to this-you will like this, you will want to remember it. The editor of a prominent magastupid as to frankly declare their zine published in New York said: 'This unblushing female socialism defies alike the Apostles and the Prophets...'" etc.

> Yet, much as this type of demagogy may make Easterners wince, the verdict of a New York Times correspondent was admiringly to the effect that Truman can pare issues "to town size so any dirt farmer can understand them."

CRACKER-BARREL THEORY

But Truman is more than his style and more than a political father image with wife and daughcapitalism that we are interested

consist of? "International cooperagain if I had to." ation" against isolationism, federal tion of natural resources, aid to small business, equal rights legis-

ing in what has been the heartland an average family income of \$4,000 of American isolationism and by 1960 and more prosperity than

gress, he struck hard against iso- knows" that 70 per cent of the private, unplanned, anarchic enpropriations. He denounced them as abetters of Russia. "I am confident that we shall continue to defeat isolationism. This is the way to defeat communism. This is the way to build a prosperous world," he said in one speech.

Since isolationism goes hand in hand with high tariffs, he "sashayed" into political theory at one point to allege that it was high tariffs that led to the last depression, which led to World War II-thus making it seem that engineered conflict. This theory won't - bear much examination, even around a cracker barrel.

He called for a kind of "new world order of free trade," a sort of "one world of international trade." It is implicit that high tariffs account for the cold war.

A-BOMB "PEACE"

Truman's allusions to the probter in tow. It is as the main ex- lem of atomic warfare, so closely ponent of the "welfare state" idea linked with international relaand the spokesman of American tions and world affairs, were terse and strange. Of atomic energy for in him and hence, above all, in his peacetime use, he said: "If we... program. And most especially, have not the sense to do that... since that program is so dear to then I am here to tell you that we is not ONLY through terrorism the hearts of the labor leaders. It probably ought to be destroyed." and police control, which have is the dominant program today in The meaning in this speech is their limit of efficacy. It is also American political life, and in- somewhat obscure. It seems to exdeed in the world-although the press a profound desire for peace major foreign manifestations of and peaceful application of atomic known lies but with a damning the program at the time Truman energy and at the same time conadmixture of TRUTH, that the was making his tour was the de- ceives possession of and maneucision to aid the Bao Dai regime vers with the A-bomb as a means in Indo-China and support the toward peace. Elsewhere he said French in what is widely known the United States was determined in France as the "dirty war" to use the A-bomb again, if necesagainst Indo-Chinese nationalism. sary, for its "security." "I did it What does the welfare program and I say to you I would do it

> With A-bomb stockpiling going spending, public power projects, on all the while, H-bomb experithe Brannan plan of assistance to mentation in the works, new "tacagriculture, repeal of the Taft- tical" A-bombs for use against Hartley Law, improved social-se- armies being developed, Truman curity laws, federal aid to educa- enunciated a bigger peace slogan tion, better housing for low- and than ever before, not "peace in middle-income families, conserva- out time, but peace for all time."

> The president likes to make predictions about the fate of the "welfare" economy. On this tour, he Inasmuch as Truman was speak- stated that his ten years' goal was which thus tends to produce isola- ever before. He expressed with a

tionist representatives in Con- note of regret that "everybody. per cent was very important.

So the expressed aims of the Democratic Party's chief boil down to: maintenance of the high profits of the American capitalist system with government spending and controls to increase social security of the people, and heavy military expenditures to fortify this system and its Allies in the Western bloc against the Stalinist bloc. A little human welfare, some democracy, great armaments, World War II was a Republican- peace. Yes, peace is part of the scheme even if the measure to achieve it is an ever mounting military budget.

As against the Republican pro-

gram, the Fair Deal has a widespread appeal. It was the labor wing which revitalized the Democratic Party, gave it "grass roots" and helped to account for Truman's victory. Truman expressed the wish that the Republican Party would stand "for something" instead of just being "against." This is partly campaign oratory typical of the party in power; the Republicans who are "for some- small, is the tendency to indething" are likely to be ignominiously labeled "me-topers." But he likewise stated he was for the two-party system. We are sure he means this. For any important third party would be a party of labor and would inevitably captivate many who are now supporters of the Fair Deal program of the Democratic Party.

lationists and "obstructionists" national income goes for wars, past terprise-bear a continued rise in who would cut the military ap- and future, and only the remain- the standard of living, the inflaing 30 per cent for national wel- tionary spiral, the 70 per cent fare. He did concede that the 30 military budget and maintain peace-through-an-arms-race? The danger signals are apparent. The system shows serious unemploys ment spots. There is a pronounced curtailment of civil liberties, toward thought-control. The Western European area, the depressed area of the democratic capitalist world, is in a permanent crisis and must be maintained in large part by U. S. assistance; at the same time it is not so sure it wants to be either an economic and political subdivision of the United States, or an atomic battleground, no matter who is dropping the bombs, Russia or the United States. The Third World War, given the division into two competitive, exploitive societies is guaranteed. Only the date of the outbreak is unknown.

Can the U. S. economy-that is,

These factors are part of the counter-trend in welfare statism. capitalist variety. Left to operate by themselves, they could produce a world nightmare of war, totalitarianism and a blackout of culture and perhaps life itself. The pendent and conscious activity on the part of labor, which could make of welfare a new, ringing cry that would herald a new civilization-a human civilization for the first time, of world brotherhood. Seen in this perspective, the political campaigning of President Truman is neither genial nor amusing.

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