

## It's Love—on Both Sides

President Truman's recently publicized Be-Kind-to-Businessmen program has its counterpart in industrial and financial circles as a Be-Kind-to-the-Democrats trend.

For the former, two weeks ago we quoted the U. S. News on the "reversal in Mr. Truman's tactics" toward publicly wooing the money boys—not with mere promises but by concretely dumping planks pushed by labor.

This week, the latter half of the courtship is documented by Joseph and Stewart Alsop, prominent Washington columnists, in their report for February 5.

"... an important faction of American business is turning from the traditional business party and flirting with the self-styled defenders of the underprivileged. This switch is obviously based on the old 'if you can't lick 'em, jine 'em' theory."

The total figures on Democratic and Republican plate-passing are only the beginning of the story: \$1,600,000 for the Truman party as against \$260,000 for the Republicans in contributions. "But the names of the individual Democratic contributors are even more revealing. These names represent almost every important sector of American finance and industry."

"Probably the most generous of these friends were the titans of the motion-picture industry. . . . Yet Wall Street and its environs were even better represented than Hollywood and Vine. . . . The aviation industry was particularly generous. . . . What follows are lists of names and sums—from the president of the New York Stock Exchange to the liquor business. The utility men are there even though "These men apparently overcame their distaste for President Truman's public stand for public power."

This is not to imply that American capital is turning the GOP from its door into the cold, cold night, nor that it would not prefer the Republicans as the more open and aggressive priests of private enterprise. The trouble is that, just because the Republicans are preferable for this reason, they find it rather difficult to get elected by the people.

**Big business figures: The Democrats are not our first choice because they bank on preserving capitalism by making a few more concessions and promises, especially the latter, than we think necessary. But if they're the boys who can get elected, we can be just as happy with them, in the last analysis. So let's tighten up the leash.**

Yes, big business is tied to neither the Republicans nor the Democrats. In Ohio, it is laying it on the line to re-elect its darling, Senator Robert A. Taft. "Yet making all such allowances," add the Alsops, "it is still clear that a powerful, aggressive faction of American business is now betting on the Democrats."

And, as we have pointed out, they are not betting in vain. As has always been true in capitalist politics, they keep both parties in their stables, since both are fundamentally concerned with the preservation of their interests.

As we quoted from the U. S. News: "Mr. Truman is confident of continued labor support. Organized labor has no other place to go besides the Democratic Party. . . . But he has doubts about the political faith of business groups. So these groups now are being wooed."

**Labor has to build a "place to go" independent of the Democratic Party, independent of all the parties of big business. It has to build its own independent labor party.**

# Truman Clubs Miners with T-H In Fair Deal's 8th Use of Law

By GORDON HASKELL

President Truman has again invoked the Taft-Hartley Law against the coal miners of America.

This makes the eighth time Truman has used the "slave-labor act."

It has been invoked to club the miners back to work without a contract for at least eighty days. And at the end of that eighty-day period the miners will presumably be faced with what the attorney general has called the president's "inherent powers" under the Constitution to seize the mines and force the miners to work without a contract indefinitely.

The miners are up against it. Ever since their contract expired last June it has been clear that the mine owners are out for the kill. One thing they are out to kill is the clause in the present contract which forces the miners to work only "when willing and able."

They plan to get rid of the contract provision under which the United Mine Workers union controls the pension and social-security fund. And it is quite possible that the most aggressive of them even dream of killing the union itself, or at least of so weakening it that it can be killed off as an effective force some time in the future.

Even before Truman stepped into the situation, the mine owners had got Denham, the iron-fisted Taft-Hartley counsel of the NLRB, to file an injunction in the courts to restrain the union from pressing some of its demands. Then the president asked both parties to agree to submit their case to a voluntary "fact-finding" board which would render an advisory opinion in seventy days, during which time the miners were to return to a five-day work week.

But John L. Lewis has seen how these "fact-finding" boards have worked in the past—on the railroads and in the steel dispute. He knew that in every case such boards tend to give the workers only crumbs. He knew that in the steel case such a board had guaranteed a pension of \$100 a month including social security, while the miners already have a \$100 a month pension on top of social security.

The mine owners were delighted with the president's proposal, but Lewis would have none of it! All the mine owners want is to keep the union without a contract till the end of the winter. Then, with the demand for coal falling off, they would have the workers at their mercy.

Now, with the Taft-Hartley injunction hanging over the treasury and leaders of the miners, the owners hope to have their way. They do not think John L. Lewis will dare to buck the injunction, when such

UMW Head



JOHN L. LEWIS

action has cost the union so heavily in the past.

LET 'EM DIG COAL!

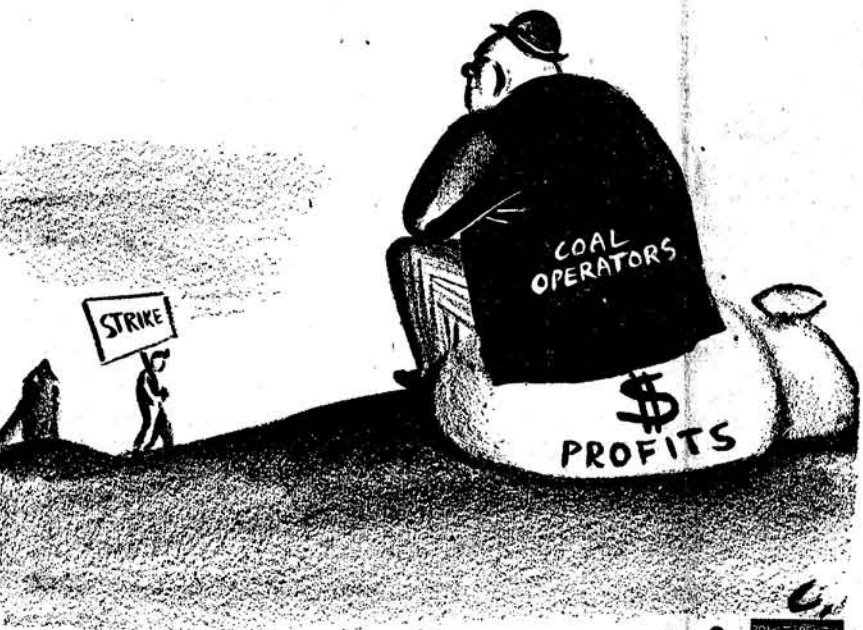
The mine workers have so far met the threat of the injunction only with defiance. For the past month, up to a hundred thousand workers have refused to mine coal on a three-day week basis without a contract, despite the frantic efforts of their union leaders to get them back into the pits. (See last week's LABOR ACTION article.)

Last Monday, without a strike call from the union, every soft-coal miner in the United Mine Workers east of the Mississippi not covered by a new contract was on a "no day" week. All reports indicate that despite the terrible hardship in the mining areas which has resulted from loss of work due to the long-drawn-out struggle with the employers, the rank-and-file miners intend to stay out regardless of the Taft-Hartley Law.

Will they actually stay on strike in defiance of an injunction which will be handed down this Monday? Will they dare to again defy the law passed by a labor-hating 80th Congress, kept in force by the 81st, and invoked eight times by a president who is ardently supported by the great majority of unionists?

Now they are saying: "Let Truman and Taft come down here and dig the coal. . . . You can't dig coal with injunctions. . . . No contract, no work. . . . and to hell with Taft-Hartley." But it is quite possible that the union leadership will try to get

(Continued on page 4)



## UAW Faces Tough Struggle In Strike Against Chrysler

By WALTER JASON

DETROIT, Feb. 6—The outstanding feature of the present Chrysler strike is its lack of the dramatic punch which has always been the hallmark

of struggles by the United Auto Workers against the auto barons.

There are only skeleton picket lines at some plants. At other plants, the flying squadrons are solely and exclusively in charge of patrolling. The biggest lines of strikers may be seen at the city welfare office and at the welfare committee's headquarters at local unions.

Lest anyone become too alarmed, the lack of mass picket lines is not as dangerous as might seem at first glance. The real power and reputation of the UAW rests in the fact that mass picket lines today are not necessary for the same reasons they were vital in the old days. Then, the result of a strike depended primarily and almost entirely on the size of the picket lines, for strikes were a test of physical strength.

It is very unlikely that Chrysler will try to test the strength of the union on that front now. (Actually, any attempt by Chrysler to start a back-to-work movement would bring out the spirit and the mass participation of the great struggles of yesterday.)

INVOLVE THE RANKS?

But there is another aspect to this question which is ignored by secondary UAW leaders. (Stalinist claims that Walter Reuther is against picket lines are pure fabrication. Reuther has suggested one-day picket lines each week to involve all the ranks, precisely because the key question today is how to involve the ranks when mass picketing on a 24-hours basis is not necessary from the viewpoint of keeping out scabs.)

But these are disturbing signs. Many secondary leaders are against any picketing because it involves headaches. Many are fearful of involving the ranks because that might make it more difficult to sell any compromise settlement. Some prefer to use the strike to build an "elite" among the committees, the flying squadrons, the chief stewards. (A very significant development: at the risk of heresy, we might call this a development toward a "managerial strike.")

Some local unions, like Chrysler 7, have worked out a series of weekly union meetings, special movies and other organizational techniques to bring the rank and file into participation in the strike. Likewise, some special flamboyant devices are being worked out to give the strike some dramatic punch. Other local unions like Dodge 3 have called off all meetings, including a scheduled membership meeting during the strike. The explanation is interesting.

"We can avoid factionalism by not having meetings. All our meetings are factional, and this would demoralize the rank and file." Local 3 leaders tell militants who want meetings. Of course, the real idea of not having meetings is to evade the questions, not of the factionalists (who must be answered also) but of the rank and file, who are confused. And many rank and filers are confused in this strike.

Like every other strike struggle, basically the result depends on the understanding of the rank and file of the issues involved, and the way the

## NMU Ranks Vote Down Boss Curran In New Blow Against Dictatorship

By N. R. GADEN

NEW YORK, Feb. 6—The Curran machine in the National Maritime Union was dealt a serious blow last Thursday when the New York Port membership voted 902 to 829 to reject the findings of a 15-man trial committee. The trial committee, elected at the previous New York Port membership meeting, consisted entirely of Curran supporters and had brought in a verdict of guilty against Jack Lawrenson, recommending immediate suspension from his office of vice-president in charge of the Pilot and publicity.

Prior to the meeting, Lawrenson unsuccessfully sought a court order forcing the Curran administration to conduct a secret ballot on the findings of the trial committee at the regular membership meeting. However, due to the publicity surrounding the Lawrenson case, the administration called in the Honest Ballot Association. This was the first time in months that the HBA was called in, even though the opposition in the NMU had requested it time and again, as a result of the obviously fraudulent counts taken by the Curran-picked counters at previous meetings.

As we have described in previous

issues of LABOR ACTION, the membership in the NMU for the past few months has been so bewildered by the terror unleashed by the Curran administration against all opposition to it that they have clammed up rather than jeopardize their chances of shipping. (The NMU has a fully closed shop; the companies call the union hall when they have jobs available.) At membership meetings conducted in the last few months the rank and file has not participated in the voting. Of the 4500 men at the usual meeting, only 500 to 800 would vote; the rest would "sit on their hands." In addition to the intimidation the average member felt it was futile to vote since the count was taken by the Curran masters-at-arms and was completely phony.

One outstanding example of this was the count taken on the expulsion of Charles Keith a month ago. With some 700 to 800 voting, and the vote fairly evenly divided (many impartial observers insist that the vote was clearly in favor of Keith), the vote was announced by the chair as 1641 for expulsion and 476 against. This was so obviously false that a tremendous howl went up in the hall.

Immediately following this a member was given the floor by Curran, who was chairman of the meeting, on a point of order. His point of order was a request for a recount with "double counters." At that moment he was pounced on, right at the mike, and severely beaten by a gang of masters-at-arms.

CHARGES BLASTED

The presence of the Honest Ballot Association at the last meeting obviously acted as an encouragement to many of the men who were completely fed up with Curran's tactics. Of course, only a secret ballot conducted by the association could be a true indication of how the men feel. The vote conducted by them last Thursday was a hand vote. That probably explains why Curran got so many votes and why 2,500 to 3,000 STILL abstained.

Jack Lawrenson spoke in his own behalf for almost an hour. He made an excellent speech. He convinced the majority of the members present that the charges against him were a series of falsehoods and half-truths. The body of the charges against him were based on neglect of his duties as vice-president and participation in the opposition to the administration. The fact is that he had been stripped of his powers and duties before December 1949 by Curran. This was unconstitutional since he was elected as a vice-president assigned to take care of the Pilot, education and publicity. He proved that the purpose of the

charges against him was an attempt to discredit him in the eyes of the members. The sole reason the charges were pressed against him was because he refused to go down the line with many of the policies and methods of the Curran machine. He opposed—therefore he had to be purged.

He pointed out that the trial committee was run on a slate at the previous meeting and this precluded a fair trial. One of the men on the trial committee was a Ben Hoskins, a ship electrician, who together with a few other electricians in the NMU, during the last contract negotiations in 1949, attempted to form a dual union and negotiate a separate agreement with the shipping companies for electricians and refrigeration engineers. It was this type of unionist that was put on Curran's slate for Lawrenson's trial committee, to judge his 25 years as a trade unionist in maritime. Lawrenson finished with an appeal to the members present not to keep silent, but to vote.

After the Honest Ballot Association count was announced, there was a noisy and joyous demonstration by the membership. Gloom engulfed the Curran supporters.

What this vote will mean concretely is hard to say. It is a foregone conclusion that Curran will continue to ignore the fact that Lawrenson was elected by the membership of the NMU. He will undoubtedly continue to keep him "stripped of his duties. The effect of this vote on the membership is quite another matter, however. It has given them courage to speak up once again. It is quite possible that Curran's terror campaign has reached its peak as far as bullying the rank and file is concerned.

Oil to Russia

The Socialist Party of Austria, right under the shadow of the Russian bear, has attacked Moscow's method of exploiting Austria's oil resources.

The Socialist press charged that under Russian operation and control the nation's oil output has dropped from 950,000 tons to 800,000, mainly due to Russian bureaucratic bungling and "antiquated and unskilled" operational methods. It also charged that the quality of oil production has suffered likewise.

Among the other "benefits" of Russian "liberation" the Socialists also protested the fact that out of the total of 800,000 tons of oil produced, a total of around 500,000 tons was exported to Russia without even paying Austria the freight charges.

## Anti-Franco Rally Protests Spanish Terror Regime

NEW YORK, Feb. 7—Outspoken protest against any American aid "to support Franco's tottering regime in Spain" will be voiced at a mass rally on Friday, February 10, at 8 p.m. at the Labor Temple, 242 East 14 Street. Speakers will include: Samuel Friedman of the Socialist Party; Robert Winslow, a loyalist veteran of the Spanish Civil War; Ben Hall of the Independent Socialist League; and John Teunesse, active in the Italian labor movement. Samuel Weiner, of the Industrial Workers of the World, will preside. Admission is free.

One hundred thousand political opponents of the Franco regime are imprisoned in Spanish jails, the statement announcing the rally pointed out, and the list grows daily. Anarchists, socialists, syndicalists, union members and other anti-fascists are tortured and executed by firing squads.

In the afternoon of February 8, 9 and 10 pickets will march in front of the Spanish consulate denouncing the brutal actions of the Franco government.

## 3 Shachtman Meetings in Chicago Make a Hit; 300 Hear Hayek Debate

CHICAGO, Feb. 6—Last Friday afternoon, before a packed crowd of over 300 students and faculty members of the University of Chicago, Max Shachtman, chairman of the Independent Socialist League, and Dr. Friedrich von Hayek, author of "The Road to Serfdom," debated the question "Is freedom possible under capitalism and socialism?"

While a substantial portion of the audience was composed of business-school students who were in open sympathy with the views of Dr. Hayek, most of the remainder generally felt that it was the socialist position which carried the field.

In his presentation Shachtman objectively analyzed the social forces which cause capitalism to drive toward state intervention in the economy, and concluded that it was not planning per se but planning in the interest of and under control by the working class that was the goal of socialists.

In his reply, Dr. Hayek did not mention anything about the nature of capitalism, but generally confined himself to describing why socialism would necessarily involve the destruction of freedom, identifying the regimes of Stalinist Russia and Nazi Germany as "socialist."

The question period and rebuttals allowed the two speakers to exchange polemical blows across the platform. A by-product of this meeting was the sale of 45 copies of the new issue of Anvil.

ANALYZING THE TRENDS

Speaking on "Trends in the Labor Movement Today" under the auspices of the Independent Socialist League on February 4, Comrade Shachtman's powerful and dramatic presentation of the plight of the unions under the pro-Fair Deal leadership of both CIO and AFL kept his audience in their seats for two and a half hours. His talk centered around the new and unfavorable situation that the unions

find themselves in today with the cold war growing hotter daily.

The 1948 victory of Truman has led, not to increasing "labor influence" in government but to its opposite, increasing government intervention into labor's affairs. Far from opposing this development, the official labor leadership is maintaining a cowardly silence on such critical questions as the dictatorially-decreed "subversive" list, illegal FBI wiretapping, the reactionary national budget for 1950 which calls for spending almost 75 per cent for past, present and future wars. Moreover, those voices in the labor movement which in the past have raised the call for a labor party as the political instrument for labor opposition to such governmental intervention are notably silent today also.

He proceeded to describe the fantasmagorical situation created under the so-called "subversive" list whereby those organizations labeled as such can find no legal recourse to find out even what the charges and evidence are against them, much less defend and clear themselves. In practice this reactionary measure is utilized, as in the Bell Aircraft strike, to fire militant union leaders by means of tacit collusion between government and industry.

Increasing bureaucratization of the CIO continues to bolster refusal of the tops to lead a bold and independent economic and political fight to labor's needs. The obscene picture of police unionism presented by the Curran dictatorship in the NMU bodes ill for the workers in all unions. Is that their future too? Will even a Walter Reuther have still greater difficulty in getting the floor at the next national CIO convention?

After Shachtman concluded his talk the crowd stayed around for refreshments and conversation for several hours.

On the following Sunday afternoon (Continued on page 4)

# Oakland Rent Gougers Seek Recall Of Councilmen Who Backed Housing

By B. ARNOLD

OAKLAND, Calif., Feb. 5—Public housing is the issue in the recall election to be held in Oakland on February 28. Faced with a brazen attempt on the part of the local real-estate interests to recall City Councilmen Smith, Pease and Weakley for voting in favor of accepting federal housing, the Oakland labor movement has launched a vigorous campaign against the recall.

Following passage last summer by Congress of the federal housing program, a majority of the Oakland City Council proposed a request for federal funds to construct 3,000 desperately needed housing units. The Oakland real-estate interests, a group which yields to no one in their greed and desire for profits, attempted every trick possible to prevent even this slight easing of the housing crisis.

These landlord groups resorted to the foulest misrepresentation, distortion and slander in an effort to mobilize the support of small home owners. Particularly despicable and unfortunately successful was their whipping up of anti-Negro sentiment.

Due primarily to the pressure of the organized labor movement, especially the AFL, the attempt of the landlords to prevent passage of the housing proposal was defeated. However the rent-gougers were not through, for they then launched a move to recall three of the five councilmen who had voted in favor of public housing. Legal technicalities in the Oakland city charter prevented them from extending their recall campaign to the two other councilmen.

## HOMES ARE THE ISSUE

Again resorting to tactics of distortion and racial innuendo, the real-estate interests were able to obtain sufficient signatures to make a recall election mandatory. These profiteers, who represent a small minority of the people of Oakland, have the unmitigated gall to claim that public housing is undemocratic and that the three councilmen did not represent

the majority of the people in their action.

A Committee Against the Recall was formed by the AFL and the Alameda County Council for National CIO. This committee attempted to challenge the recall petition signatures on the ground that they had been obtained by coercion and falsification, and that numerous invalid signatures had been listed. However, the labor movement had been caught napping by the slick and well-oiled campaign of the real-estate sharks, and they failed to prevent the holding of the recall election.

Low-rent public housing is the real issue in this election. The city of Oakland desperately needs many thousands of permanent, low-rent units for workers. The Oakland Planning Commission reported recently that the city requires at least 45,000 new homes.

The federal grant of 3,000 units, while welcome, is a mere drop in the bucket in face of the acute shortage. The city continues to grow rapidly and rental space in the price brackets that workers can afford is in tremendous demand. Especially desperate is the plight of the Negroes, who suffer the housing crisis in its most acute form. Hemmed in by "informal" restrictive covenants, living in utterly inadequate dwellings, they are jammed into the slum sections of West Oakland.

## LABOR MOBILIZES

Practically all of the new housing units being constructed locally by the private real-estate interests are for sale or speculation. The new apartments which are being built are renting for prices far beyond the means of the workers. A major aim of the real-estate groups in perpetuating the rental shortage is to force workers to buy flagrantly overpriced houses constructed in the outlying areas and suburbs of this city. The Oakland Housing Authority has waiting lists of thousands for the few low-rent units at its disposal.

Yet, despite these glaring facts, those primarily responsible for the local housing crisis and who stand to profit most by its continuation are the ones who are leading the fight for

the recall. They have trotted out a "Committee for Home Protection" to act as their front. This phony outfit, amply financed by the local Apartment House Owners Association, building contractors, real-estate speculators, with aid and assistance from the notorious National Real Estate Association, is waging a lavish campaign to recall the proponents of public housing. They have the effrontery to claim that only the ending of rent control can solve the housing crisis!

Faced with this vicious attack, the labor movement of Oakland has begun mobilization of its forces against the recall. The AFL is spearheading the drive and has the support of the CIO (both sections), the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the American Veterans Committee and other liberal groups. As in the 1947 municipal election, it is attempting to get out a solid labor vote.

Councilmen Smith, Pease and Weakley were swept into office at that time through the Oakland Voters League, organized and supported by the labor movement. This group, an outgrowth of the famous Oakland general strike of 1946, was able to mobilize overwhelming support in the city for its candidates. They were elected on the basis of a program calling for low-rent public housing, slum clearance, cheap and effective public transportation, civil rights for all minorities, abolition of anti-labor restrictions by the city, and many other progressive demands, coupled with the usual appeal for lower taxes and more civic improvements.

## VOTE NO!

Unfortunately, the Oakland Voters League was no political party; it had no provisions for control of its candidates in office and once elected they were responsible to no one but themselves. Following their election these councilmen set out to prove that they too were respectable and would represent the "entire" city. Aside from the housing program, the other planks in their platform were conveniently forgotten in the shadow-boxing that passed for politics in the City Council. The Oakland Voters League soon passed away as no real effort had been made by the labor bureaucrats who ran it to set up a genuine, functioning political organization, controlled by and responsible to the trade unions.

On the basis of their record in office, Smith, Pease and Weakley certainly do not deserve the support of the labor movement for re-election. In the next Oakland municipal election, the trade unions must put up their own candidates who will be responsible to it and who will carry out labor's program completely. The real issue of the recall, however, is not the re-election of these three men, but solely the program of public housing.

The Independent Socialist League has called upon all workers in Oakland to vote No on the recall and to smash this attempt by the real-estate speculators and landlord profiteers to prevent public housing.

# Two Dilemmas of the Marshall Plan: ECA Conflicts Show Up in Economics

By SAM FELIKS

The methods used by the United States to organize capitalist Europe in the life-and-death struggle with Stalinism indicates the methods of Western Europe on U. S. exports made this the task of U. S. foreign policy—the Truman Doctrine, the Marshall Plan and the North Atlantic Pact.

Thus while Western Europe is to be organized as an ally in the next war, it cannot be allowed to achieve too much independence. The danger of Western Europe developing into a rival of the major imperialism is an ever-present danger for American capitalism. This is not only necessary from a political point of view, but also for the economic stability and hegemony of the U. S. itself. It is essentially through Europe's economic subservience that the U. S. is able to establish its own military and political hegemony.

From the U. S. point of view the drive for the "integration" of Western Europe is to be manifested on all levels: the recently concluded Military Aid Program treaties, the Churchillian Council of Europe and the proposals for a European currency union. And in all areas the U. S. has set itself up as the arbiter of the meaning of "integration."

## BEHIND "INTEGRATION"

It is in the decisive economic area that the conflicts in interests in Western Europe begin to show themselves. The failure of ECA Administrator Paul Hoffman to push through a currency-union scheme points to the serious differences that

have developed between a British and Scandinavian bloc on the one hand and the U. S. on the other, and in general between the U. S. and all of Western Europe.

It was at the week-long meeting of the European Marshall Plan Council ending on February 1 that the cracks in the Western European superstructure became most revealing. It also provided a demonstration of how the U. S. means to "integrate" Western Europe. At this point we might ask "socialist" supporters of ERP: If ERP is so beneficial to Western Europe, then why the reluctance to "integrate" being shown by the social-democratic governments of the North?

Paul Hoffman went to Paris late in January to put forward the ECA proposal for a clearing of the European currencies. But with him went some important "reservations"—laid down by the U. S. National Advisory Council on international financial and monetary problems—which defined the operation of imperialism. The NAC, the top U. S. governmental agency on international finance, stipulated the maintenance of the policy of non-discrimination in trade, and insisted that nothing shall be done to interfere with the power of the International Monetary Fund.

## PECULIAR "LIBERALIZATION"

Behind the verbiage of official language stands a conflict that threatens to tear the guts out of the Marshall Plan. The plan for a clearing union submitted by Western Europe contained the potential for the

breaking-away of that area from domination by the American colossus. Specifically the clearing union planned to penalize those countries that built up persistent dollar deficits. Thus clearly it would be adding an impetus to direct trading AWAY from the dollar area, that is to cut imports from the U. S. As a last resort the currency union would be empowered to devalue the currency of the persistent debtor.

At this point the reservation on the Monetary Fund comes in. The U. S. is the largest contributor to the fund and thus has the largest voice in its policy decisions, and any scheme to undermine the authority of the fund would be a step in undermining U. S. control of international finance.

The non-discrimination reservation is of particular interest in that it is a bold attempt to force Western Europe to keep open its markets to U. S. exports. Specifically it was the Department of Agriculture which raised the objections. It feared that the tremendous farm surpluses it has accumulated would be barred from foreign markets. Thus with the sterling area embracing a large food-producing area outside of Europe, and with European currencies freely convertible into sterling and not into dollars, the Marshall Plan countries might try to satisfy their food requirements outside of the U. S.

The U. S. pundits of "liberalized trade" thus offer as their peculiar definition of liberalized trade: adequate export markets abroad, protected if necessary by restrictive trade agreements and protection of the U. S. home market from foreign competition.

## TWO DILEMMAS

The U. S., while shouting about European import restrictions and trade discrimination, carries out a policy which typifies the worst examples of these practices. For instance, there is an ironclad embargo

placed on the import of butter; sugar is imported according to quotas assigned to different nations; the International Wheat Agreement assures the U. S. a certain level of exports; recently U. S. Steel raised domestic prices and cut export prices (the discriminatory practice of dual pricing); and potatoes are now being dumped abroad for one cent a hundred pounds.

The U. S. finds itself now on the horns of two dilemmas. Both indicate the character of the plans for "integration," as utopian in concept and reactionary in content. One is that in order to close the dollar gap Western Europe must either restrict imports from the U. S. or increase exports to the U. S. Neither can be accomplished without a drastic effect on the U. S. if it is to be successful in its purpose.

The other is the necessity for some kind of "integration" dictated by the cold war. Really to carry out an "integration" program would mean cutting off Western Europe from dependence on the U. S. Not to carry it out means that Western Europe is going to be continually dependent on U. S. "aid" of one type or another.

The real danger is that a EUROPEAN as opposed to an AMERICAN currency union might enable Western Europe to declare its economic independence. It might lead to the establishment of a third economic sphere in addition to the Stalinist and American. The political consequences of this are far-reaching, and is feared by both the American and Stalinist imperialist camps.

These tendencies toward Western European independence, as miserable and as hesitant as they are, run head-on into Washington's plans. The stability of the American economy and the dictates of the cold war determine these plans, and not the needs of Western Europe. The only democratic alternative is an independent Western Union as proposed by Independent Socialists.

## OHIO LABOR NOTES

### Cleveland Replaces 'Voluntary' Law With Compulsory FEPC Enactment

By JOE CLARK

CLEVELAND, Feb. 4—The Cleveland city council has just passed a Fair Employment Practices Act after a long and difficult struggle by labor groups, assisted by liberal and progressive elements, throughout the city. This act will replace the voluntary plan that was set up about a year ago. It is hardly necessary to say that the voluntary plan was quite ineffective when we remember that it was sponsored by the Chamber of Commerce. The new act provides a fine of \$100 and ten days' imprisonment for violation of its rules.

The act leaves much to be desired from the workers' viewpoint, though in principle it is to be supported. It is to be administered by a Community Relations Board consisting of 16 members. The mayor will act as chairman and another member will also be a member of the city council chosen by them. The other 14 members will consist of five to represent industry, three to represent labor and six others the public. Certainly, no one can say the setup is loaded by labor.

There are also some loopholes in it which could offer means of escape for unscrupulous employers. But it is a start and must be approved for the present, till something better can be obtained.

A jointly financed severance pay program has been obtained in a new contract covering 1500 employees of 65 Cleveland dairies, it was recently announced by Local 336 of the AFL Milk and Ice Cream Drivers. A fund will be established into which employers will pay an average of 24 cents a day for each employee and deduct the same amount from the employee's wages. The entire amount must be paid the employee when he retires, is physically disabled, quits voluntarily or is discharged.

## To Them That Have . . .

Three and a half million Americans of retirement age (over 65) have no cash income at all, the Census Bureau reports. This is about a third of the total in the age group. Another third has an income of less than \$16 a week.

That same week in January DuPont filed with the Securities and Exchange Commission notice that the company plans to raise the maximum pension for retired OFFICIALS from \$1250 to \$2500 a month, which is \$30,000 a year. That provides a look into the remaining third.

Apparently DuPont is not afraid of impairing its officials' thrift, enterprise and initiative by providing handsomely for their old age, contrary to big business propaganda about workers' pensions.

## Latest on Profits

A new report by the Federal Trade Commission compares the profits, "after paying all costs, expenses AND TAXES," netted by corporations in 25 manufacturing industries, in the pre-war year 1940 and the post-war years 1947-48.

All of the 25 except two—cigarette and cigar industries—enjoyed large profit increases from 1940 to 1948. As a matter of fact, in 15 of the 25 industries, profits increased from 1947 to 1948, the last year for which figures are available.

In 14 of the industries, 1948 profits AFTER taxes was between 17 and 25 per cent.

# Steel Bosses Say More Price Rises Coming!

By MARY BELL

Despite some fluctuations in the cost-of-living index, inflation will continue its upward spiral. This is the only conclusion to be drawn from the hearings on the recent steel price increases held before the Joint Committee on the Economic Report. Everyone knows that steel is a basic industry, and that as steel goes, so goes the economy.

The leaders of the big steel industries are adamant about their price increase averaging about \$4 a ton, threatened even before the recent pension demands of the steel workers union had been agreed upon. As a matter of fact, "anticipatory" increased costs played a large role in steel's line of argument before the committee. They had, of course, anticipated the pension demands; they now anticipate rises in the price of scrap and coal. However, one is not supposed to anticipate the PROFITS for 1950 of the big steel corporations.

Admitting that some persons believe that United States Steel ought to absorb cost increases because of its high earnings in early 1949, Benjamin Fairless, president of the corporation, stated: "I cannot agree with speculating about profits in our corporation or in the steel industry based on one-quarter or one-half year earnings at an extraordinary high rate of production. Nor can I agree with those who think we should borrow long-term money to replace—I did not say expand, I said replace—existing facilities. If there is any certain way to ruin or liquidate a business, that is it."

## SOAKING THE PEOPLE

With that unanimity so characteristic of the modern "competitive system of private enterprise," most of the other steel companies raised prices, too.

Ben Moreel, president of Jones & Laughlin Steel Corporation, Pittsburgh, complained before the committee that "so-called steel profits have been so meager that the industry is giving away its assets with every ton of steel sold." H. B. Batchelder, chairman of the board of Allegheny Ludlum Steel Corporation, said: "We hope that we don't have to raise prices further, but we fear we will." A. B. Homer, president of Bethlehem Steel Company, said the \$4 a ton increase was necessary to realize a profit rate in 1950 that would not be "substantially below" the 1949 rate.

An interesting interchange occurred between Representative Wright Patman, Texas Democrat, and Homer at the hearings when Patman asked if the method of increasing profits by increasing prices was not a "subsidization of Bethlehem Steel by the American people?" "Isn't it a

method of obtaining capital at no cost to the company?" asked the congressman.

Homer parried with the statement that the inquiry "is a new one on me. I was under the impression that you never received anything for nothing." Whether this brilliant riposte satisfied Patman is not recorded in the press dispatch. The same executive revealed further that the profit rate for 1949 for his company was only 7.8 cents per dollar of sales, compared with 12.1 in 1929, although the 1949 earnings were the largest in history, and hence the over-all profit, if not the percentage, was also the greatest in all time.

While speaking somewhat about the necessity of increased prices to keep machinery in repair and the increased costs of materials, the main argument of all the steel executives for the price increase at this time is the pension plan obtained by the steel workers union. This, of course, is a clever, if transparent device of the steel corporations—it serves as the pretext for their price rise and puts the blame for it on the labor unions; if only the unions would be satisfied with their lot and not ask for more, then prices would remain stationary.

## NO PRICE INCREASE!

Of course, the arguments of the steel barons are twaddle. In the case prepared by the steel workers union for its pension negotiations, the phenomenal profits of the steel industry were laid bare. In the committee hearings, Senator Joseph O'Mahoney of Wyoming cited figures indicating that U. S. Steel had made almost six per cent on its investment including the years of the depression. Fairless retorted: "We don't accept those figures."

A responsibility is thus placed on the steel workers union to answer the arguments of the steel industrialists. It is they who should take the lead in demanding no price rise in steel. It is necessary for them, as for all labor, to get away from the narrow concepts of simple economic gains for their own members, to demands that affect not only their members but the whole of society.

Especially in such a period of inflation it is necessary to couple with wage and pension demands the demand for no price increases! This demand was once used in the United Auto Workers' struggle against General Motors, but has receded recently.

A complementary demand, which fits their arrogant complaint about "low profits" to a T, is to open the books of these corporations. Let them show cause why they must boost the inflationary spirit upward in a grab that will ultimately dip into every pocketbook—except the big stockholders.

# Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor . . .

## Style Sheet

To the Editor:

In Susan Green's article in LABOR ACTION of January 30 one may read the following expressions "white Negro," "Negress," "white Negroess," and "educated Negroess." Four places in which "Negress" is used and it is not caught by anybody: editor, assistant editor or proof reader.

Lioness, tigress, "Negress": I suggest more vigilance. An article may come in the future with "Jewess" or "Chinaman." I remember that a former Chinese member once wrote an article for LABOR ACTION containing the term "Chinaman."

It might be a good idea to put some of these really important things into the style sheet. For example: Puerto Rican and not Porto Rican. A Scotch national is a Scotsman and not a Scotchman. What formerly was a Dutchman is now a Netherlander. These are not all exact parallels with Negro but they are similar.

I don't claim to know what most Negroes think about an expression such as "white Negro." To me it is objectionable. Anti-Negro white people, particularly in the South, use the expression "white nigger" to describe mulattoes who are indistinguishable from those who are said to be "white." This however is not of equal importance with the use of "Negress."

There are far too many well-intentioned but not so well-informed people in the U. S. who believe that a correct "line" and a proper attitude are all the qualifications necessary for discussing the Negro or coming to his defense, that it isn't really necessary to know much about real Negroes or Negro life as it is actually lived by real flesh and blood Negroes.

I have often marveled at the certainty and sureness with which some

of these well-intentioned people write about Negroes and the whole question of Jim Crow. I am certainly interested and I think that I have some basic understanding of the problem but I would certainly hesitate to hand in an article (say, to "Commentary") on The Jewish Problem in the U. S. If I did write such an article I would feel obligated to possess something more than good intentions. I would try to learn something about the problem from the Jews themselves. I would want to know how they reacted to such expressions as "black Jews" or "Jewess." I would maintain the same attitude if I were dealing with the Poles in the anthracite region or the "hill-billies" in Kentucky. For example I surely would not approach them by using the expression "hill-billy."

When I wrote above "lioness, tigress, 'Negress'" I was not inventing something to clinch an argument. Historically and sociologically the use of "Negress" was part and parcel of the general denigration of the Negro. It represented some progress, of course, since the most vicious of the Negro-baiters used the term "nigger wench." Negroess was used in the main by those who, while rejecting the "nigger wench" notion, still were not convinced that Negroes were entitled to the same respect as white people. These same people, of course, wrote "nigger" and not Negro.

It must be clear that it is particularly important to be aware of this sort of thing when dealing with the question of the Negro woman. There are white folk who really believe that there is some valid comparison to be made between a Negro woman and a lioness or tigress; they are both amoral, or, on a higher level, the Negro woman has "primitive" conceptions of morality.

To be sure, there are Negroes who go for this "primitive" mumbo-jumbo in connection with Negroes, which

was invented by white people who were either stupid, ignorant, venal or prejudiced. Among these are the people who will tell you that "all Negroes can sing," or who will rave over "bop" but who feel that Negroes who aspire to grand opera are denying themselves the opportunity to make "the Negro's unique contribution to our civilization," which of course should be "bop" or something else rescued from the "primitive."

I am reminded again of the socialist woman in New York City who, on being told by me that I was born in West Virginia asked me: "Then how is it that you talk like us?" I am not certain what she meant by "us" nor by "talk like us." However I explained that my parents, grandparents and great-grandparents all spoke English; that my mother and father spoke better English than she did and that the grammar school I attended in West Virginia was dedicated to the same dull English-language routine as the New York City schools. Furthermore I told her that all Negroes did not have something known as a Negro or a Southern dialect, just as all Jews or all Irishmen did not have a dialect or brogue.

And so it might be well for writers and editors alike to give some attention to these things.

Ernest Rice MCKINNEY

Comrade McKinney is entirely correct in his objection to the term "Negress." A few lines were also received from Kate Leonard to the same effect. Sorry it was not caught.

The train of thought aroused in Comrade McKinney by the question raises some interesting points in terminology, but not all seem to be well-taken, though several have long been subjects of discussion. The NAACP national office informs us that the term "white Negro" is rather commonly used in the Negro press, though—as in the case of many other

terms widely used—there are some objections. The proportions are indeterminate. Comrade McKinney himself—to illustrate the complexities of the question—uses a practice which, in many sections of the Negro press, is strictly avoided: spelling out the derogatory term "nigger" even when used in any fashion. Many Negro publications print it only "n—r." There is virtually no controversy about our own usage in always capitalizing Negro—in spite of the fact that the Merriam-Webster dictionary, "The Supreme Authority," lowers the "n."

To go farther afield with Comrade McKinney while we are at it: the Netherlands Information Bureau authoritatively tells us that the terms "Dutch," "the Dutch," and "Dutchman" are perfectly OK—they use it themselves. (The use of "Dutchman" to refer to a German is another matter.)

The terms Scotchman-Scotsman and Puerto Rican have a different relevance. We are aware of the point made about the former, but it is primarily a matter of linguistic national purism rather than avoidance of a

derogatory term. Merriam-Webster notes "Scotsman" as the form commonly used by the Scotch (or Scottish) people, but fully OKs "Scotchman." If this authority is considered suspect because of its position on "Negro," it can be added that the Shorter Oxford Dictionary list "Scotsman" as the Scotch form of the word and "Scotchman" as the English form. And if someone writes in to say that this is because of the well-known British antipathy to the Sc—, we will run for refuge to the Society for Pure English, which had some good Scot-men among its leading members. To some extent the term "Scotchman" has acquired objections to it because of its use in "Scotch jokes," but we can testify to having heard such jokes told with scrupulous attention to using the term "Scotsmen"—not to offend!

"Puerto Rico" is still another matter. "Porto Rico" is a former spelling, now obsolete, which still hangs on (improperly) for no other reason than that it is easier for English-speaking people. There is no question of derogation here at all.—Ed.

## LABOR ACTION

A Paper in the Interest of Socialism

Published Weekly by the Labor Action Publishing Co.

114 West 14th Street, New York City 11, N. Y.

GENERAL OFFICES: 4 Court Square, Long Island City 1, N. Y.

Tel.: IRonsides 6-5117

Vol. 14, No. 7

February 13, 1950

Editor: Hal Draper  
Asst. Editors: Mary Bell, L. G. Smith  
Edit. Bd.: Hal Draper, Emanuel Garrett, Albert Gates  
Business Manager: L. G. Smith

Subscription Rate: \$1.00 a Year; 50c for Six Months (\$1.25 and 65c for Canada and Foreign)

Re-entered at Second-Class Matter, May 24, 1940, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

# As England Faces Its Election: A Symposium

## AN EDITORIAL

### MAY LABOR WIN!

We present, on this page, a group of articles on the British election from different socialist points of view.

A number of extremely important questions for socialists have been raised by the five years in power of the Labor government in England. As the article by the Independent Labor Party's John McNair states, "The record of the present government... has been quite different" from that of the two previous Labor governments, and it can hardly be dismissed with the formula that the Labor Party has merely been administering the capitalist machine for the British capitalists.

This, however, only raises the question. Has the Labor Party directed the nation on the road to socialism, as is implied in Comrade Judd's article? Are the British nationalizations "progressive," as is denied in Comrade Alexander's contribution to our symposium? What is the nature of the British state and what has been happening to the British social structure under the leadership of a working-class party which is supported by the mass of laboring men and which has carried out reforms, changes, nationalizations, etc. to an extent certainly not anticipated by Marxists in the past from reformist social-democratic governments?

These fundamental questions raised by the developments in England will shortly be the subject of a discussion to be launched in our sister publication, The New Internationalist, which we are sure our readers will be interested in following. We here wish to state our view on the more immediate political question before us, the one involved in the concrete struggle at the ballot box between Labor and Toryism.

In all four of the articles on this page, a number of serious criticisms of the Labor regime are made, and in previous articles in LABOR ACTION more have been pointed out, and in greater detail. Of these perhaps the MOST important, from the socialist standpoint, are two: (1) its foreign policy of imperialism, of colonial subjugation of peoples, of alliance with American capital instead of

alliance with the working people of all lands; and (2) its domestic policy in nationalization which places the industries under control of bureaucratic boards and blocks any control by the workers themselves.

The first policy makes impossible the progressive solution to Britain's economic problems in an Independent Western European Union and welds Britain to the American camp in the cold war. The second policy places a big question mark over the whole future development of British society.

All this points part of the road for the struggle of the best socialist elements in British labor, but in our opinion the road it points to is for a struggle WITHIN labor, not outside of its ranks. The return of the Conservative Party to power in Britain would be a first-rate disaster.

We entirely disagree with the approach of Comrade Alexander that "politically there is not much to choose between Labor and Conservative." The heart of the matter is right here.

The Conservative Party is the political army of the capitalist class. With every one of our criticisms (and more) of its policy and leadership, the Labor Party is the political army of the British working class. Another electoral victory for Labor will not by any means ensure the road to socialism. But it keeps open the line of fight toward that goal which alone can mean the social emancipation of labor. A victory for Toryism will throw this movement backward.

If the British workers will learn through experience and through the aid of its vanguard socialists that they have to change their leadership and its policies, this will take place on the healthiest basis through seeing their leaders in power and responsibility, and not through days of defeat under a Tory revival with Attlee and Bevin in opposition.

Until the masses of British workers revolt against the policies of their leadership it would be the height of futility for socialists to stand aside and shout "traitor!" Their job is to work side by side with their brothers for the return of Labor, and at the same time to miss no opportunity to educate the ranks of Labor in such a way as to hasten the desirable cleavage between ranks and leadership in the interest of a socialist foreign and domestic policy.

## England Is Not Australia— But Will Vote Be Decisive?

By WILLIAM BARTON

The town crier of the city of London, dressed in his medieval robes, has made it official. Great Britain is scheduled to have a national election on February 23. One of the most important campaigns in recent years of election history is officially under way.

The Labor Party government, after five years in office, is asking the electorate for a new vote of confidence; the Conservatives, behind the symbol of Churchill, the man who is the perfect representative of all that is best and worst in Toryism, are asking to be returned to national leadership. The entire world is watching this crucial stage of the class struggle at the British polling booths.

The usual pre-election confident predictions of victory have been expressed by both sides. The Labor Party proudly points to its stewardship—its carrying out of virtually every important feature of its 1945 platform, its maintenance of full employment, its reduction of wealth differentials, its extensive social services. Its spokesmen emphasize that Labor Party candidates have not lost a by-election since 1945.

The Conservative Party, unlike its political fellow thinkers in this country, does not criticize the idea of a "welfare state," nor even call for denationalization of many nationalized industries. Its propaganda has emphasized that it will oppose the pending steel nationalization. Promises have been made that social services will become more efficient, that rationing will end, that there will be a renewed emphasis on "free enterprise" and the rewards therefrom. The Tories have taken great pains to assure the voters that they will also continue to keep up full employment, but many observers declare that they are visibly embarrassed by the remarks of leading industrialists who have been decrying the effects of "overfull employment" on wage rates.

There is no official difference in foreign policy, but there are undertones that keep coming up, sometimes spoken and sometimes rumored. The Laborites are alternately accused of "liquidating the empire" by granting freedom to India, of emphasizing insularity by their hesitant attitude on European unification, of not being sufficiently pro-American. The Labor Party, whose foreign policy is the least socialist feature of its administration, has thus far not answered. But some Conservatives imply that Labor Party leaders must share responsibility for the whispering campaign which predicts war with Russia within less than two years if Churchill is again prime minister.

### ENGLAND IS NOT AUSTRALIA

Tory morale is, presumably, enhanced by the record of their victories in local elections in recent years, by the recent defeat of the Labor Party in Australia and New Zealand, by the public opinion polls which give Conservatives a slight lead among those who have definitely declared their vote intentions. Laborites parry with claims that the local elections were a result of the large number of Labor supporters who did not vote; that opinion polls cannot be literally accepted as authorities after their failures in 1948 in the United States; that Australia and New Zealand had different situations from that in Britain.

A recent LABOR ACTION article discussed some of the background of the Australian election, but did not sufficiently indicate the significance of what happened. Both Australia and New Zealand are nowhere as industrialized as Britain. There have been few reports which describe the areas in which Labor seats

were lost; there has been merely the assumption of some commentators that some of the loss must have come from switches by working-class elements who had formerly voted Labor.

There are some detailed reports of the New Zealand result available. The Labor Party had received 51 per cent of the vote in 1946, and it got 47 per cent in 1949. Most of this 4 per cent loss came from votes that did not go to the opposition coalition, which gained only 11,500 votes over 1946 while the Labor Party lost 64,000. In other words, former Labor Party supporters, who could not become opposition voters, became apathetic because of what the conservative London "Economist" called the "public judgment on Labor's legislative sloup and its lack of drive and imagination." If 50,000 more people of Labor persuasion had gone to the polls, the result might have been quite different.

The British election background is not the same as it was in the countries down under. The British Labor Party does not face a united opposition; the Liberal Party, still hankering for the glorious days of Gladstone and Lloyd George, may be weaker than ever, but it still may affect the result in several constituencies.

Even if former Liberal supporters move in other directions, the Conservatives need not be automatic gainers. Foster Hailey, writing in the New York Times of February 5, from Wales, the center of remaining Liberal strength, quotes one local newspaper editor that "many Liberals would rather vote for a Socialist than for a Tory."

### WILL THERE BE A DECISIVE RESULT?

Secondly, the voters are being asked to judge, not an administration that has begun to taper off in its activity after long terms of office, but a government that has just completed a dramatic first term which launched an extensive series of innovations. There is no extensive rural population to worry about, but there are the large number of middle-class clerks and shopkeepers who voted for Labor in 1945.

The Labor Party organizers thus face the task of getting their mass of working-class supporters to the polls and as many enthusiastic campaign workers as possible, to prevent a section of the middle class from shifting to the Tories or to the Liberals. Up to now, reports of the campaign have had the Laborites basing themselves mostly upon warnings of what would follow a Conservative victory. In a country with ever-present memories of unemployment, this may carry great weight. But Labor will need stress on its positive stand in order to get enthusiasm.

The new program they offer is very mild in comparison with 1945. Although the attainments have been many, a great area of possible support has been weakened by the failure to allow for workers' control of industry that have been nationalized, and by reluctance to support plans for Western European unity. The Labor Party also must bear the brunt of some of the criticism that inevitably comes from administering the nation in its difficult post-World War II condition.

What strikes one is that, despite the tremendous importance of the election, the result may well fall short of being decisive. If either party gets anything like the 48 per cent received by the Labor Party in Australia and the 47 per cent received in New Zealand, the electoral class struggle will continue to go on and just about at the same pace. This is an era of decision, but the decisions may be postponed. Labor remains the dominant force in all those countries, but its victories or defeats are still only very temporary.

## The ILP View: Weaknesses In the Labor Party Record

By JOHN McNAIR, Nat'l Secretary Ind. Labor Party of Great Britain

Our thoughts turn back to the two other occasions when Labor formed the government, in both cases without real power. The infamous "Red Letter" [the "Zinoviev letter," forged by Tory elements to discredit the Labor Party—Ed.] ended one, and the Mac Donald-Snowden desertion the other. They did not mark any very great political or social changes in the country.

The record of the present government, holding office and power for just under five years, has been quite different...

We... accept the nationalization schemes of the government so far as they have gone. Our justification is that the workers principally involved, the miners and the railway workers themselves, accept and will defend the nationalization of their industries. But we draw attention to three weaknesses of these schemes. It is not sufficient to say nationalization is not socialism—let us prove it.

(1) The Tories will not denationalize coal and the railways. If, by any mischance, they should be returned, they will take the industries, as they are, and weld them into the framework of a corporate state. This is the beginning of totalitarianism.

(2) They will be able to do this because the majority of the members of the boards controlling these industries were taken from capitalism; they believe in capitalism. They can be trusted to work assiduously to develop state capitalism—and this is the complete opposite of democratic and libertarian socialism.

(3) They will be able to do this because the government has not given the essential safeguard, viz: workers' control of industry. When the men and women on the job control their industry and produce for the community through councils of workers and consumers, then we have the vital control which will prevent the capitalism of the corporate state.

When we advance these perfectly reasonable criticisms we are told that there had to be a measure of assent from the forces of conservatism in society. In the last analysis there can be no possibility of consent from the holders of privilege and monopoly if and when their interests are threatened.

All economists know that the old and worn-out mines were practically bankrupt. They also know that the railways were in a very parlous condition. After the war and the immediate post-war boom, when we had to travel like cattle and pay through

the nose for it, the inevitable reduction of traveling started and the railways are working now under very difficult circumstances.

In a word the coal and railway magnates got out when the going was good and the community paid—and the burden will remain round the necks of the producers for many years to come.

But what happens when a rich, money-making and powerful industry is threatened? Ask "Mr. Cube" and listen to the mouthings of the steel barons.

Our position regarding Labor's home policy is therefore clear. They have sometimes tended to forget that they cannot run with the hare and hunt with the hounds. They have tried to accommodate British and American capitalism. This is impossible.

In trying to do this they have lost to an extent, which will be seen at the election, some of the enthusiastic and self-sacrificing support of thousands of workers which could have been retained if they had used to the full the priceless opportunities which they had during their first three to four years of office.

We stand for socialism in home affairs. We oppose the freezing of wages when profits are allowed to soar. We are not bluffed by the assertions of capitalism talking about taxes on its profits. During the last five years British capitalism has made more profit than during any five years of its existence.

During the course of the election campaign we shall therefore stress the points mentioned above and many others which will prove that our intervention is based not on malice or spite but on a reasoned case.



ATTLEE

## LP Seeks Middle-Class Vote; Tories Fighting for Existence

By HENRY JUDD

On February 23, over 30 million people in England will vote in one of that nation's most historic elections. In the past there have been perhaps more dramatic elections, revolving around a particular issue, but none of greater significance. No matter how unclearly they may be expressed, fundamental issues of ideology and sociology are at stake.

The present British Labor government was elected early in the post-war period on the basis that the sufferings and sacrifices of the British masses during the war years had earned them a victory which could only be expressed in terms of a profound social change in the structure and operation of British society as a whole. However one may criticize and attempt to deepen the changes which have occurred in England since 1945, the fact remains that the Labor government has directed the nation in a certain direction and has set into motion an economy and system of social reforms which push the country in the general direction of socialism.

The question at issue in the elections therefore is: Shall this tendency towards socialism, as interpreted in terms of the Labor Party's program, policy and the national characteristics of England, continue, grow stronger and more powerful—or shall the trend be brought to an abrupt halt, and every possible effort be made to turn it in an opposite direction?

### BITTER FIGHT AHEAD

Two great parties—the Labor Party representing the great working-class masses of England, and the Conservative (Tory) Party, the party of the British bourgeois, aristocrat, landlord and upper middle class—confront each other. The traditional right-conservative party, the Liberal Party, ceased to exist for all practical purposes at the last elections and no one expects it to return. Now that the king has dissolved Parliament, with all the necessary pomp and circumstances, the campaign (in reality, it has been on for a year at least) can begin in earnest.

Everything indicates that the remaining weeks before the voting will be weeks of bitter attack and counterattack on the part of the contenders. They both know well what is at stake! Up to this point, it is clear that the Tory party, headed by that masterly political scoundrel and reactionary, Winston Churchill, is on the most determined offensive of its history. It may not be true, but it is fighting as if its very existence is in the balance. If only the same thing could be said for the Labor Party...

The latter's campaign, up to this point a purely defensive one, would appear to be based exclusively on an appeal to the middle-class vote, that vote which assured their victory in 1945. With a rather bureaucratic smug-

ness, their spokesmen (Attlee, Morrison, etc.) take the working-class vote for granted, and direct their propaganda to that dubious entity called the "women's vote," and the professional sections of the middle class.

The emphasis is upon the various social services, equitable rationing system, etc., which the Labor government has built up, with practically nothing said about a further socialist advance, even in terms of the reformist conceptions of the Labor Party. It is possible that under the aggressive blows of the Tory attack, the Labor leaders will be compelled to state their perspective more precisely, but at this point it is clear they hope to win the election by a narrow margin, to slip through to victory without the obligation of too many social and economic commitments.

By contrast with the election for a new socialist Britain which they waged in 1945, their campaign to this point is a model of bureaucratic conservatism and routinism. We can only hope for a living up and a clearer posing of the issues. It is noteworthy that the more left-wing members of the Labor Party leadership, such as Aneurin Bevan of the Tribune group, are playing little part so far.

### WILL LABOR PLAY IT SAFE?

Despite the emphasis on machine politics, there can be no question who represents the side of social and political progress in this campaign. If Labor loses votes, it will have only itself to blame for its unwillingness to press its program forward, and to emphasize the social and revolutionary implications of that program. On the side of Churchill stands not only British reaction (the bourgeois, landowners, and upper middle class), but general world reaction, with America in the first place.

A Labor victory will not, to be sure, overwhelm the Tory cheer-leaders in America who have shown their ability to work with the Labor conservatives for over five years, but it will be a blow at their hopes for a continuation of the rightist swing noticeable in European elections and in Australia recently. A Churchill victory will encourage American imperialism's war plans and preparations, as well as the entire reactionary set of doctrinaires gathered around Dewey, Taft, the right wing of the Democratic Party, etc.

If Labor continues to play the campaign "safe," the possibility of defeat—or a victory of such narrow proportions as to constitute a moral defeat—may well be the result. We ask in amazement what these men are afraid of? Churchill, whose victory everyone understands brings war that much closer? The Tory leadership, a bankrupt clique of aristocratic politicians without any program except to "denationalize" whatever they can, and cut down social-reform measures to the bone? Only disillusionment with the practice of the Labor

### A Dissenting View by a London Contributor—

## 'Not Much to Choose Between Labor and Tory'

By D. ALEXANDER

LONDON, Jan. 25.—The Labor Party has been in power in Britain over the past five years. It has brought in social measures with a very wide appeal. In its reorganization of British capitalism, its steps have seemed progressive in their increase of efficiency, and in the vast field of their action, affecting every man, woman and child in the country.

Large educational grants have been given, three quarters of a million houses have been built, a National Health Service has been initiated, increased rations and full employment have been seen, insurance against ill health, unemployment and old age has been tackled by the government.

On the other side of the picture, the cost of living has risen 10 per cent since 1945; British capitalism is not paying its way abroad; the government has bungled the groundnuts (peanuts) scheme (aimed at exploiting the colonies for more food); the railways are losing 50 million pounds a year, etc. These failings of the government have had the best advertisement as election propaganda in the right-wing-owned majority of the British press.

### THE LINEUP

Perhaps the best way to appeal to people's self-interest is to tell them that their government-sponsored national savings are worthless, as Mr. Churchill did in his election broadcast. This is economic sabotage. Another stick to beat the Labor Party

has been the reports about the full shops in dereliction Germany, while rationing of many essential foods still exists in England. Labor papers have answered by publishing cost-of-living figures of unrationed Europe. Although very favorable, these statistics will not be heeded by the man in the street.

The arguments of the two sides, then, boil down to these. The Conservatives say: "Look what a mess Labor has made in the past five years—inefficiency, controls, failure to balance payments. We could solve all these problems." How, they do not say.

Labor answers: "We have done our best, far better than the Tories would have done, and anyhow, look what a state the country was in between the wars!" (This will be confirmed by any workingman.)

Besides the two main parties, there are the Liberals (with some dozen out of the 640 seats in the present Parliament). They call themselves "middle of the road," and are putting up some 300 candidates for election. Despite their long-awaited messianic revival, they are not a real force except to split the votes for one or another candidate, or possibly as a minority in relation to two almost equally balanced parties.

The Stalinists are putting up 100 candidates (somewhat hopefully). It costs them a deposit of 150 pounds a piece if their candidates do not receive a seventh of the votes. No one has much time for them, and I can see the British exchequer benefiting

by some 15,000 pounds from a poor relative who can ill afford it.

Genuine left parties have neither the finances nor support to put up candidates, though many are taking advantage of the chance to put over propaganda. Trotskyists realize that the Labor Party is not socialist. The chief measures suggested in the latter's election manifesto are nationalization of sugar refining, cement, water, steel, etc. But these are accompanied by extravagant "compensation" and the creation of new bureaucracies. Their nature is not really progressive.

### NOT MUCH TO CHOOSE

Although politically there is not much to choose between Labor and Conservative, left wingers would feel a little disappointed emotionally if the Tories were returned. Although the Labor Party has betrayed the trust of Keir Hardie and other giants of the Second International, they nevertheless HAD inherited it.

The consensus of opinion among leftists is that Labor will be returned again, though perhaps with a majority reduced from its present 180 to 100-150. We think, further, that if Labor is returned this time, at the next election (1955 or sooner) the Conservative Party will rapidly dissolve away. It is ideologically completely bankrupt.

One cannot prevent the spread of cancer except by cutting out its growths. Labor cannot stop the degeneracy of capitalism in the body social except by excising its malignancies. Social-democrats, please note!



CHURCHILL

The British Political Scene Is Portrayed Each Week

—in—

THE SOCIALIST LEADER

Britain's Foremost Weekly

Yearly Subscription \$3.00

Shorter Periods Pro Rata

Order from: Socialist Leader 318 Regents Park Road Finchley, London, N.3, Eng.

No. 4 now out!

### CONFRONTATION INTERNATIONALE

The International Marxist Review (in French)

50 cents a copy, \$2.50 a year (6 issues)

Order from: Labor Action Book Service 4 Court Square, Long Island City 1, N. Y.

# Concluding Excerpts from Prof. Robert Lynd's Great Speech to the UAW-CIO on— Labor and Politics—Democracy and Classes

*Not in the  
Headlines*

By ROBERT LYND

Now I am bearing down hard on this because you people in the UAW seem to be pretty confident that things are going on as before and that you can get what you want democratically by pressuring the going system.

You say you want to get an adequate pension and retirement program; a comprehensive social security program; a wage rise to restore your buying power to the June 1946 level. And, as Walter Reuther has announced, you're going to "insist that management representatives face up to their responsibility both as employers and as citizens" and stop their "double standard of generous pensions for auto executives and none for workers."

Well, I'm for those things. But I have been trying to suggest to you that it isn't just a question of good old progress and good old democracy going up the road hand-in-hand and picking these things off the trees.

Suppose big industry, including the auto industry, has changed its signals? Suppose that, instead of playing the old game of competing with you at the plant level and in Washington lobbying, they are infiltrating all of the key posts at Washington; suppose they mean to see to it that you don't get these things you want; and, meanwhile, they are scaring hell out of the country by propaganda about national security through a controlled press and radio? And suppose they're disorganizing labor unity by setting each union red-hunting within its ranks, thus weakening the whole CIO push, and widening the gap between the CIO and the AFL? Do you see what I'm worried about? Labor's old

strategy has been to assume that the old game would go on permanently and that the only thing to do is to keep pushing for more and more industrial take from profits. But if big business is moving to gain effective control of the democratic apparatus so that democracy will be effectively and permanently in business' pocket, what you face is a new kind of a game, with the cards largely in business' hands.

The thing that worries me is the tendency of labor, as the traditional under-dog, not to size up the score and take the initiative, but to wait for business to set the conditions and then to come running after, trying to head off business after the latter has a head start. As the Nazis showed, labor can get disastrously rooked at that game.

It doesn't make sense to me to go on hoping for more New Deals, either. Business is going to see to it that there aren't any more new deals with free-wheeling populism of the sort that there was under Franklin D. Roosevelt.

### Not Fascism—Yet

I have suggested that business may be changing its strategy. I believe it is doing so, right under our noses. I don't know what you know about the big business program called "Plan for Action." This seems to me to be really dangerous to labor and to democracy, because it aims to go into American local communities and cut the ground from under all who dissent from big business and its free enterprise system—including militant unionism—by using local community loyalty and the prestige of local big-shot industrialists to organize and control local life and thought.

If this Plan for Action works, it can capture democratic thinking and the whole democratic process by putting a tight leash on all thought, all organization, and all action at the grass roots that runs counter to the purposes of big business. . . .

[Professor Lynd here gives a detailed description of the "Plan of Action," which "was thrown into gear on February 1, 1948." He stresses that "The aim is to reawaken the general public so that they will be quick to defend capitalism from attack and to counteract subversive propaganda. I assume that your union will be part of the subversive propaganda that needs to be counteracted." The plan, he sums up, is a "super-duper Mohawk Valley formula" for strikebreaking on the community level.]

What has organized labor got to put up against this? Mark you, these men who are doing this thing are not fascists—yet. They're patriotic Americans, as the Nazis and the big German manufacturers were patriotic Germans.

William Allen White, the well-known Kansas editor who died five or six years ago, said of these same men as he watched them clawing and jockeying for war contracts in Washington in 1943: "For the most part, these managerial magnates are decent, patriotic Americans. . . . If you touch them in nine relations of life out of ten, they are kindly, courteous, Christian gentlemen. But in the tenth relation, where it touches their own organization, they are stark mad, ruthless, unchecked by God or man; paranoiacs, in fact, as evil in their design as Hitler."

And don't forget that the people who are putting through this Plan for Action are in general the same men who killed OPA, promising that prices would at once come down; and they are the men who made the Taft-Hartley Act, which even Business Week said in its December 18, 1948 issue aimed at wrecking the labor movement as soon as a surplus labor pool developed in the United States.

Now I may be wrong, but, as I read the score, what all this means is that, as big business declared three years ago, having learned that a policy of "mere opposition" is inadequate to prevent the New Deal type of legislation, business is now going to "stick its neck out" and provide the necessary "practical leadership" for America.

Ten years ago, a professor in the Harvard Business School sounded the call to this new big-business party line. Professor T. N. Whitehead, in a book called "Leadership in a Free Society," said that business leaders don't realize their power as leaders in their local communities; that they are, in fact, the natural community leaders, and they should, therefore, step in and organize and lead their communities in the interest of business.

### Take a Stand on Capitalism!

Again, I say, this isn't just marbles. It isn't big-business fascism—yet. But it is—and here is the thing that seems to me really dangerous from the viewpoint of anyone who studies the nature of fascism as an alliance of big business and government behind big business' pranks—it is the building of an organization with a frank and manipulative attitude toward democratic society; and the assuming of leadership over all our lives by businessmen, on the theory that the private enterprise system of big business must be saved, that everybody, including organized labor, must get into line, and that all opposition must be crushed.

As I size this up, it means the blanketing of all democratic freedoms at the grass roots in your communities and in the nation as a whole, so that we shall all march to the tune of big business and all keep our mouths shut about other things.

Big business' war chest is fat. It is spending a lot of money and it is prepared to spend a lot more. The American Management Association said in its *Management News* for September 30, 1947, that "probably more millions are being spent on public relations on behalf of the free enterprise system than management and stockholders realize. Virtually every industry in the United States—even the smallest companies—is involved in some effort to sell 'economic truths' to the public."

Maybe I am just seeing spooks, but I don't think so. I spend a great deal of time both as a teacher and as a research man on this problem of the organization of power and its strategy and tactics in the United States. As I size things up, organized labor needs to ask itself such questions as the following:

- (1) Do we accept big business' so-called "free enterprise" system as democracy, as business claims it is, or as fit for democracy? I think the answer to that one has got to be "yes" or "no"—not "maybe," not "perhaps."
- (2) Do we, as organized labor, trust big business' promises and leadership in the light of its record?
- (3) Do we believe private business can, or is willing to, plan for a thing like full employment? Do we really believe that the so-called "free enterprise" system, dominated increasingly by monopoly, can give us a depression-proof economy and the social security that labor in a modern democracy wants—and has a right to get? I don't believe it can, or will.
- (4) With all industrial societies, the world over, moving into the workable twentieth-century device of national planning, do we accept big business' claim that national planning won't work, is inevitably undemocratic, and leads only to a totalitarian dictatorship? My own strong belief is that only through democratic national planning can we now save democracy.

(5) With big business taking over more and more leadership in American government and community life, can we as organized labor afford to be content with being industry's junior partner, rather than taking the initiative and calling the signals ourselves?

(6) Is it smart strategy in a democracy for big industry and big labor in industry after industry to join up and gang on the consumer? I am uneasy, for instance, as I look at the way the garment unions play ball with the fashion racket against consumers. How do you people feel about the annual-model racket in the auto industry? Is that something that the UAW ever considers?

The consuming public is one of labor's biggest potential democratic assets. And my judgment would be that you should tell the consumer that, and work and fight with and for him every step of the way. Remember that the Consumer Advisory Board of NRA refused to exploit wages for the benefit of consumers, but insisted on putting a floor under wages.

It has been said that labor monopolies don't break industry monopolies, but that they tend to join them. And, with industry playing its present smart game, that kind of danger is real. The gravy can be slopped over somewhat to labor; big management can afford to say to big labor, "Why should we boys fight? The people we both make our money from are the consumers."

This leads to my last point. From where I stand, democracy as a weapon can be overwhelmingly on labor's side, if you will pick it up and use it. And the current business propaganda identifying democracy with capitalism as two sides of the same coin is a sheer "phony," and can be shown to be so.

### For Democracy: a Labor Party!

If labor is to seize the initiative, I am convinced that it has got to go political. And I don't mean reward your friends and punish your enemies! I mean go political all out and through and through. I mean a labor party.

And I don't believe that a labor party will be worth a damn if it simply tries to take over the Democratic Party and go on within our present set-up. Your policies all the way through the union and in your labor education would have to be politically oriented. You would have to talk about class and what class power as we have it today does to all of us people, and how it blocks efforts to get through decent, badly needed democratic legislation. I don't hear capitalism being talked about much through all the parts of this conference that I have heard.

A labor party would have to make up its mind about capitalism. And a labor party would have to make up its mind about democratic national planning. National planning is a powerful democratic weapon lying open to your hands. Business won't touch democratic planning, for that is the thing it is fighting and the last thing it wants. But don't fool yourselves about this: business can and will eventually capture the planning movement and use it for fascist ends, if you don't beat them to the draw.

So, come on, labor, and get rolling! Take hold of democracy and democratic national planning as the only way to meet the needs of our people, and go to the people with a concrete program for the United States.

You won't have to persuade people about their needs. We know we have them and we all know what they are—steady jobs, security, health, and a chance to have a real say about where the United States is going and to live and act like free citizens of a democracy.

You may say, "What about the middle-class voters who will be frightened by such a thing?"

My answer to that one is that the middle class are human beings, too.

Every American with growing kids and an income of, let's say, under \$7,000 if he lives in a big city and of under \$5,000 if he lives in a smaller place, is, I can assure you—and I needn't rub it in because you know about it already—sweating blood these days under this crazy combination of half-democracy and half-exploitation by which we're trying to live and bring up our children and make both ends meet.

If labor will really plan for and talk democracy to the United States, and mean it, and not let ambitious leaders and labor union bureaucracies get in the way, then I believe labor can draw the backing of the best of the chunk of middleclass voters.

Now, what I've been talking about isn't easy. But what we've got isn't easy, either. And what seems to be coming looks really dangerous—dangerous to everything that democracy stands for. For I don't think this era is just a temporary rough stretch in the road.

That's the great American optimistic illusion, that when you get a desperate depression and two wars in one generation and a third war coming up, well, it's all just temporary; and pretty soon the old bus will be back on the asphalt "put-putting" along and there won't be any problems any more. I don't think this is just a temporary rough bit in the road.

I believe this period we're living through will be looked back upon by history as one of the great eras in which men's institutions changed fundamentally and radically, like the shift from feudalism to capitalism five hundred years ago and like the coming of machine industry and political democracy a hundred and fifty years ago.

I believe liberal democracy, the nineteenth-century straddle between political democracy and capitalism, is finished, and that from here on we are either going to have a lot more democracy, or a great deal less. And labor looks to me like the only force in contemporary society big enough and strong enough to save democracy for us Americans.

## Right-Wing Socialist Groups Vote Merger

The Social Democratic Federation has just concluded a referendum on unity with the Socialist Party. The results show that the majority of this liberal-socialist group favors a policy of absorbing the Socialist Party on the basis of its own policies, which are New Dealism with a pink tinge. . . .

The SDF membership voted on four propositions:

- (1) "Are you in favor of unity between the SDF and the SP?"—53 per cent Yes, 46 per cent No. (Three quarters of the membership voted.)
- (2) Called for conventions of both organizations to consider a program for organic unity—65 per cent Yes, 35 per cent No.
- (3) An advisory motion approving the North Atlantic Pact "and other pacts to checkmate the advance of totalitarian power and to preserve the peace of the world."—97 per cent Yes.
- (4) In negotiation for unity with the SP, the SDF is to be guided by the following policy: "that candidates for

public office shall be nominated in opposition to organized labor candidates except in states or cities where a socialist organization is recognized as a political party and has the support of a substantial section of organized labor."—93 per cent Yes.

The vote indicates that the membership of the SDF, which has long been almost indistinguishable politically from the Liberals and liberal Democrats, are somewhat leery of joining up with even such housebroken socialists as the majority of the SP, but are willing to house them on the basis of accepting the foreign policy of the Truman administration lock, stock and cannon barrel.

The SP membership, in their own referendum on unity, voted for it by 86 per cent, 14 per cent voting against. The SP leadership has been far more anxious for the merger than their opposite numbers in the SDF.

It is probable that the SDF members are unjustifiably suspicious of the SP leadership even from their own point of view. The one real leader of the SP, Norman Thomas, is about to be celebrated at a banquet at which

demonstration will be made that few informed people still take him seriously as a socialist "threat" to capitalism. Among those scheduled to attend the banquet are James A. Farley, Bernard Baruch, Arthur Hayes Sulzberger, Arthur Krock, Senator Wayne Morse, A. A. Berle, as well of course, a large number of liberals, near-liberals and labor leaders.

As the star of the Socialist Party—once the dynamic organization of Gene Debs—has fizzled out in political impotence and confusion, Thomas' status has risen in respectability—not as a socialist, in reality, but as a fairly consistent liberal, a fighter for civil liberties, etc. As such he still commands respect for good work done.

But those members of the Socialist Party who still wish to fight for socialism are being left homeless and abandoned in their group's steady march to the right. For those who wish to continue the fight against both capitalism and Stalinism and against the imperialism of both social forces, only the Independent Socialist League offers them the opportunity.

## Scientists Weigh Witchhunt Rider To National Science Foundation Bill

By FRANK HARPER

PHILADELPHIA, Feb. 3—Another spotlight was thrown on the problem of government control of science at a joint meeting held yesterday evening by chapters of four scientists' organizations.

A prominent psychologist, Dr. Dael Wolfe, executive secretary of the Inter-Science Committee for a National Science Foundation, reported on pending legislation to create a National Science Foundation, a government agency to foster and coordinate basic scientific research. The meeting, held in the University of Pennsylvania Museum, was sponsored by local chapters of the Association of Scientific Workers, the Philadelphia Organic Chemists Clubs, the Society for Social Responsibility in Science, and the Association of American Bacteriologists.

Much of the lively discussion which followed the report centered about the amendment to the House version of the bill (HR 4846) which requires loyalty affidavits from all recipients of fellowships and scholarships granted by the National Science Foundation.

A spokesman from the American Association of Scientific Workers objected to Dr. Wolfe's proposal that HR 4846 be endorsed even if it contained the loyalty-oath amendment. In Dr. Wolfe's opinion, the amendment might have to be reluctantly taken if that was necessary to get the bill passed. The AASW speaker advocated "drawing the line" at inclusion of any "security" measures in matters dealing with pure scientific research. He pointed out that there was really little difference between the amendment and the Atomic Energy Commission's requirement for full FBI investigations of fellowships. Representatives from the three other participating organizations indicated general acceptance of the present NSF legislation but expressed concern over patent rights, military influence and distribution of funds.

The nature of the meeting is indicative of a general error made by scientists in this campaign. The meeting was small and not given widespread publicity. Since the attitude of many scientists is that the National Science Foundation is "their baby" to operate for their benefit, it is regrettable that the issue has by and large not been taken to the public, but has been treated as a closed secret between the scientists and the legislators. Even organized labor has not been approached for its endorsement. A serious struggle for "scientists' control" of the NSF can well involve all working people and their political power.

The danger of distortion in the creation of a National Science Foundation is that it may be tied solidly to foreign policy, military needs, patent monopolies, government witch-hunts and industrial interests. Free of the dead hand of the military and big business, however, a National Science Foundation could be a progressive social advance. For the labor movement, concerned as it is with increasing the standard of living, and for socialists, working to establish a rational society of abundance, there is an important ally in the scientist engaged in basic research to provide the building blocks on which our modern integrated society is based.

### Operation Dixie

President Mitchell of the AFL National Farm Labor Union has announced the calling of a Southern organizing conference—to be held in Memphis on February 25—to lay plans to bring new thousands of cotton field workers into the union.

### Stalin and God

The leading Paris newspaper, Le Monde, reported on the occasion of Stalin's recent birthday festivities: "According to information from usually trustworthy sources, prayers for Stalin's health have been offered up during last week in all the Orthodox churches of Moscow and Russia. . . . On December 21 a solemn service took place at Moscow in the Yelohovsky Cathedral, with the Patriarch Alexis officiating. . . . Foreign correspondents accredited to Moscow were not able to cable this information to their papers as the result of a more than usually strict censorship, in those memorable days. —Reuters" (Dec. 29, 1949).

### AN EDITORIAL

## ARMS FOR GERMANY?

Less than five years after the German defeat, which, we were told, was to mark the end of German militarism, propaganda preparing the way for the reconstruction of a Western German war machine is going full blast.

This propaganda is, in the first instance, the product of the United States State Department, cynically manipulating world public opinion through such instruments as prominent British and French military leaders and the Adenauer government. That German reaction welcomes this turn in U. S. policy goes without saying.

The one division of infantry modestly requested by Von Manteuffel for this year, to be followed by an armored corps in 1951, represents only the first step in the full-scale arming of Western Germany which is contemplated by the United States as a very necessary part of the contemplated war against Russia.

The question of socialist policy in regard to this projected rearming has recently been discussed in these pages from several points of view. We comment on one aspect of this discussion.

It is the position of LABOR ACTION that the contemplated rearming of Western Germany should be opposed by the socialist movement within and without Germany. Given the present political relations in Western Germany, such an arm would be solely an elite formation, reactionary from top to bottom. Externally it would help implement U. S. foreign policy. Internally it would be a serious strain on the shaky economy and a grave threat to the growth of democratic institutions.

An infringement upon the right of national self-determination is not involved here. The Allied powers, as a matter of fact, are the prime movers of the current agitation. All reports indicate that the overwhelming mass of the population in West Germany is completely opposed to the establishment of such an army. They are fed up with war.

Future developments may necessitate a change of approach by the socialist movement. Today, however, the socialist answer to the agitation for a German army is unequivocal opposition. By that, we do not mean the radical posturing of West German socialist spokesmen who oppose the creation of an army, saying that it is the job of the occupying powers to protect the country. Of such protection, such protectors, and such protectorates our century has long since had its full quota.

# Truman Wields T-H--

(Continued from page 1)

the men back into the pits before the deadline, and to keep them there for the duration of the injunction.

But, under these conditions, how much coal will actually be dug? The miners and their families need the money badly. But it is quite likely that even if they are forced back into the pits less coal will come out of the ground in eighty days than during any other eighty days on record when there was no strike.

### GET BEHIND THE MINERS!

The United Mine Workers is asking for 95 cents a day more in wages, and for 15 cents more a ton for their social-security fund. But their demands are not the center of this struggle at all. Lewis has made it quite clear that he would be willing to negotiate over the size of these demands. It is the employers who are standing pat and refusing to ne-

gotiate on anything till they have succeeded in gutting the contract of its strongest features.

The leaders of the rest of the labor movement are standing by, as usual. There is no sign on the horizon that they plan to back the miners in any way. As a matter of fact, their attitude, as reported in the daily papers, is anger at Lewis for having "embarrassed" them by "forcing" Truman to blackjack the miners with Taft-Hartley. That eight-time record will not look so good, when it comes to selling the workers on the Democratic Party at the next elections.

The mine workers are out on a limb. That is clear to most of them. They are out on a limb because the rest of the labor movement has made a political deal with the Democrats which they are not yet willing to break. They have accepted "fact finding" boards instead of fighting it out with

the profit-laden corporations. They have maintained their alliance with the Fair Deal wing of the Democratic Party despite the failure of this alliance to achieve repeal of the Taft-Hartley Law or the other major demands of the labor movement. They have followed a cautious, conservative policy in collective bargaining despite high employment and high profits, at least in part so as not to embarrass their ally in the White House.

It is high time that they stopped worrying about "embarrassing" Truman, and started worrying about the "embarrassment" of the miners and their families who do not have enough to eat. If the labor movement as a whole would rally to the side of the miners, they would no longer be on a limb. They would be on the solid ground of the solidarity of labor against capital and its governmental allies.

### Too Late?

A letter printed by the New Republic for December 12 gives an interesting sidelight on U. S. blackmail pressure on refugee scientists who want to live in this country. Writes Herbert Jehle:

"In filing my application for citizenship, the question came up whether I would be willing to bear arms—i.e., do military service if called upon. The point at issue in my case was whether I would, as a physicist, agree to do war research work if requested. The investigating officer of the Immigration and Naturalization Service and the judge listened sympathetically to the points which I brought up to support my attitude to war. Now two years have passed with no reply from the court. . . .

"We scientists have been warning the world that atomic war must be abolished because it is inhumane, and because there is no defense and no survival for our civilization. Though we denounce war, we continue to work on the promotion of warfare. Is there any way of escaping this dilemma? . . . Or is it already too late?"

"Personally I was lucky enough to have had polio in Germany when I was 16; thus to enter the normal military service was out of question. To refuse research work in the Nazi war machine was no ordeal. Nor to leave Germany, my home country, in 1937, as it obviously prepared for aggressive war of the worst sort. To refuse to join the military was so obvious a stand to take that even the proud Gestapo man who investigated me in a Nazi-controlled internment camp in France—understood it."

### It's a Job

In Boston, economist Seymour Harris had a book published by Harvard in which he predicted that by 1970 college graduates "may get less pay than manual workers and other laborers."

One Boston labor leader commented: "There's no problem there. All these intellectuals who earn less than union scales will make money writing books on how union scales threaten the nation's economy."

### Testimonial

In Canada, publisher Andrew D. MacLean, president of MacLean Publications, has defended the British Labor government from the "accusation" that it is "socialist." According to the Toronto Globe and Mail:

"Mr. MacLean said he felt it was a misfortune that the present government in Britain was labeled 'socialistic.' 'Most of what it has done, or plans to do, is not much different from what Canadian governments have done,' he pointed out that it was a Conservative government here that nationalized the Grand Trunk and Canadian Northern railways and Ontario hydroelectric power."

### Handy Argument

To appreciate fully the horrors of social security one must turn from the speeches of this country's Taft and listen to Canadian Health Minister Paul Martin, who said recently:

"A man could deliberately disembowel his two hands and yet under this resolution he would be entitled to benefits. Are we going to say tonight that that kind of legislation should be condoned by a legislative body?"

Naturally, who could vote for compensation laws which will encourage workmen to cut off both their hands? No doubt a similar line of thought has brought Taft to denounce the hand-out state in the United States.

## Shachtman Meetings - -

(Continued from page 1)

Shachtman spoke again on campus under the auspices of the Socialist Youth League on "The Significance of the Tito-Stalin Split." On this occasion over fifty persons, several of them attending an SYL meeting for the first time, heard Shachtman present the ISL analysis of the social character of Stalinism, the causes of the Tito split and the attitude of socialists toward it.

To say that the audience was impressed would be an understatement; many who had obviously come only out of curiosity stayed throughout the question period and bought a considerable amount of literature at the end. A number of new contacts were made for the SYL, including several young workers who had come from Milwaukee to hear Comrade Shachtman.

Immediately following this meeting half of the audience attended a supper party, sponsored by the SYL, where, between entertainment and singing, political discussions raged hot and heavy.

For those branches of the ISL and SYL which would be interested in hearing either the debate with Hayek or the speech reported above, we are glad to announce that the major portions of both have been preserved on wire recordings which will be made available to those interested at a nominal charge.