

HAVE THEY LOST THEIR NERVE? West Europe's Capitalism in Decay ... page 6

Can Students Think for Themselves? U. of Calif. Heads Say No

Unrest at the BLP Conference; Labor Government Jails Strikers

Union Democracy Under Attack in **UAW-Ford Trial**

DETROIT, Oct. 8-Nothing illustrates the tragic state of affairs which dominates the United Auto Workers (CIO) than current events in the giant Ford Local 600. For what is happening there is without precedent in the UAW-CIO and, unfortunately, may well be the prelude to similar retrogression elsewhere in the union.

Last week, the union officialdom broke a wildcat strike caused by the loss of overtime pay in the rolling mill, under an umpire's ruling on a controversy between the union and

This week the notorious trial of five minor officials of Ford Local 600 begins. It is the climax to the struggle that

Carl Stellato, Ford 600 president, has been waging against the Stalinist forces and their followers in the lo-

These two events are related, as we shall indicate, and they are a portent of the future course of the UAW, whose leadership now finds itself unwilling and unable to defeat the Stalinists on the progressive basis of a su-

perior program, but rather leans more on time-worn and reactionary bureaucratic methods to smash opposition.

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As most readers of LABOR ACTION know, the unrest in the auto industry recently reached a peak which forced the companies, including Ford, to make important wage concessions, but for which the companies obtained in return the provision of five-year contracts.

To the surprise of most UAW officials, the Ford auto workers foiled to approve the new contract with the overwhelming majority they expected. Two key Reutherite locals, 900 and 400. voted against ratifying the contract because of the five-year clause. All of which caused Ker Bannon, UAW Ford director, to issue a stupid blost against "Communist" influence, which he personally knows is negligible in those two locals. At Ford 600, the vote was 18,000 to 12,000 for the new five-year contract.

Obviously, this kind of continued unrest furnishes fertile soil for the opposition. At Ford 600, the small and until recently discredited Stalinist clique saw the possibility of better days abead.

RED-HUNTING

Taking advantage of the national hysteria after the invasion of South Korea, Carl Stellato sought to make factional capital by introducing a loyalty oath for all officials of Ford 600. After a bitter fight. Stellato won a clearcut majority of the General Council: and then everybody signed the loyalty oath, thereby outmaneuvering Stellato, who hoped that Stalinists or their sympathizers or any other opposition might be isolated and smashed for refusing to sign it. Stellato's next move was to (Continued on page 2)

ist said to me, one of the best in on at any cost and if necessary force the people to follow us." (Turn to last page)

Page Two

LABOR ACTION

British Labor Party Ranks Show Growing Unrest at 'Go Slow' Policy of Leadership

By GORDON HASKELL

It is now evident that a considerable portion of the rank and file of the British Labor Party is dissatisfied with the leadership of Attlee, Bevin and Morrison. At the same time, the reports which have appeared in the daily press on the 49th annual congress of the party at Margate do not indicate that this unrest has hardened into conscious opposition, and even less that it has as yet crystallized around a consistent and thought-out program.

It appears that a large number of delegates at the congress felt that the party is bogging down in a rut. Their spokesman was Aneurin Bevan who made a fiervspeech, but who refused to challenge the leadership of the party to a struggle at the present time.

His speech received the strongest ovation of the convention, yet

The British labor government

has invoked a law of 1875 against

ten leaders of a wildcat strike at

the nationalized London gas works.

The law provided punishment for

breaches of contract by workers

engaged in gas and water supply

They were also indicted under a

wartime emergency order requir-

bor disputes. This in spite of the

they finally struck and tied up the

The workers voted to go back to

harsh measures used against their

shop-leaders (seven of the ten

were shop stewards) has aroused

considerable hostility. This has not

been eased any by the fact that

the Labor Party leadership con-

tinues to intimate that in their

opinion all strikes being called

these days are fomented by Stalin-

At a meeting of gas workers in

that unless the ten men sentenced

to jail last week receive justice on

their appeal to a higher court the

people would "deal with the gov-

ernment." He stated that the pros-

ecution of the ten men was an at-

tack on everyone's right to de-

mand a reasonable standard of

living and added: "If the labor

movement loses the support of the

workers in the workshops, they

Although the Trades Union Con-

gress a few weeks ago voted to re-

tain the compulsory-arbitration

provisions, this policy was put over

on the delegates chiefly on the

ground that small and weak locals

often find arbitration to their ad-

vantage. The rash of wildcat

strikes which have broken out in

Britain in recent weeks indicate

that the ranks are not willing to

abide by the provisions of the or-

Even more, these strikes point

to a growing dissatisfaction of the

rank and file with the leadership

leadership is most closely bound

up with the top figures in the

of the British trade unions. This

essary economic action

won't regain it in the police

courts.'

JAIL WON'T HELP

gas works for three weeks.

fact that the gas workers had been

enterprises.

Labor Government

Jails Gas Strikers

ing compulsory arbitration of la- strikes has been to denounce them

trying to get a settlement of their file dissatisfaction (shades of the

wage claims for two years before. American trade-union bureau-

work after the arrests, but the have seen fit to issue a warning to

Hyde Park on October 8, S. Hale, a suppression of the Communist

leading shop steward, declared Party, and had denounced the

der when they prevent taking nec- invites anyone who may wish to

hands."

to have been portrayed rather well by Low, the brilliant British cartoonist, in a sketch depicting Bevin and Bevan dressed in boxer's tights waltzing around a ring under a caption "The Big Fight."

The party leadership carried the vote on all questions. Although the text of the resolutions presented to the convention are not as yet available, it is clear that on foreign policy the opposition to the leadership expresses itself chiefly in the form of anti-militarism and opposition to the government's increasingly close tie-up with the U.S. war bloc in world affairs. This latter feeling shows itself in resolutions favoring conferences with Stalin immediate illegalization of the atom bomb, and so forth.

LEFT WING'S MOOD

Whether or not the Stalinists in Britain have something to do with inspiring this line of thinking is not very important. The important thing to note is that a strong sentiment exists in the Labor Party against too close tie-up with American imperial-

British Labor Party and in the

government. This is one more in-

dication of the increasing ferment

which is going on in the British

working class. Jail sentences will

hardly solve the problem for the

bureaucrats who lead the labor

One tactic these leaders have

been using to quell the wildcat

as "Communist - inspired." This

threadbare answer to all rank and

crats!) has been so abused that

like the Manchester Guardian

even respectable liberal papers

The Guardian piece was ad-

dressed to Arthur Deakin, head of

the transport union, who had po-

lice eject from Transport House a

number of members of his union

who had staged a protest against

the union's trial of leaders of wild-

cat strikes. Deakin had called for

wildcats as "Communist-inspired."

"Many of the rulers from the

cabinet downward have been liv-

ing in a world of make-believe in

which the cost of living is meas-

ured by the price index, the feel-

ings of 'the workers' expressed by

the General Council of the TUC.

and the ordinary man considered

to have all the say he ought to

want in his affairs because there

is machinery (soulless word) for

his trade-union representative to

take part in joint consultation.

These can be dangerous illusions.

the ever-present threat of 'exclu-

sion' to destroy a career or even

to take away a livelihood, is a se-

rious brake on the ventilation of

grievances, the expression of gen-

uine bewilderment and doubts, of

be aware. A trade-union hierarchy,

resentful of criticism and unwill-

ing to consider reforms, almost

oppose official policy on any mat-

ter to make common cause with

the Communists; and the Commu-

nists, with a newspaper and many

avenues to publicity at their dis-

posal, are ready and eager to join

it is not the selections.

. Labor Party discipline, with

The Guardian wrote:

movement.

the labor leaders.

MAKE-BELIEVE

the actual state of affairs seems ism. The American correspondents persist in describing this sentiment as "pro-Russian" or at the very least as a sentiment for appeasement of Russia.

> The small size of the Communist Party in Britain, as well as of its front organizations, is sufficient evidence for the fact that no important section of the British working class is pro-Stalinist. The American correspondents slander the British workers.

> The actual state of affair's seems to be that there is in the BLP a kind of negative Third Camp sentiment. This sentiment is not pro-Stalinist, but it is strongly anticapitalist. It lashes out at the United States primarily because in Britain today the Labor government is banking so strongly on its alliance with American capitalism. As this sentiment has no positive internationalist content, it is bound to express itself solely against militarism and for international conciliation.

timent is clearer, but is yet far feel that the working people have from expressing a worked-out program (or at least that is what appears from the reports received to date).

A growing section of the rank and file of the BLP is dissatisfied with the results of the nationalization program. They realize that mere nationalization has not solved the basic problems of Britain's economy. They see that the mass of the population is still poor, while the rich are still ric

"SOCK THE RICH"

They find that their wage demands are refused on the timehonored grounds that the nationalized industries are not earning enough to pay higher wages. They know that the basis of compensation to the former owners is such that they get theirs off the top, with the economic and technical needs of the industries and the workers having to share what

On the domestic front the sen- is left. And above all, they do not increased their power in British society.

> As one speaker put it, the party should press on with socialism until Britain has "a socialist economy as well as a socialist government." Another urged that the government "sock the rich" until their squeals convince us that we dre on the right track economically."

The state of mind developing in the left wing of the British Labor Party, as it revealed itself at the Margate congress, is encouraging. At the very least it indicates that there is a wideopen field for consistent and intelligent socialist education, with a large body of men and women

who are anxious to find a way out of what they feel to be the blind alley into which the BLP leadership is getting them both on the domestic and international fields.

UAW Trial at Ford Local - -(Continued from page 1) handles much UAW work, is a

present charges against five officials whose record shows slavish adherence to the Stalinist line. Stellato wanted the General Council to place the charges as a body against these officials and to suspend them from office pending trial. He failed to get the required two-thirds majority; so Stellato personally placed charges against Ed Locke, president of the plastics building, unit: Paul Boatin, president of the motor building unit; Nelson Davis, president of the production foundry; David Moore, vice-president of the axle building, and John Gallo, secretary-treasurer of the motor building.

These men were elected to office in the spring elections against Stellato-backed opposition slates. They are very well known in Local 600 as "partyliners.

Stellato's charges are being brought under the heretofore unused Article 10. Section 8 of the UAW constitution which says that no member may hold office in the its allegiance to any government other than the United States or This is the clause that Walter Reuther inserted in the constitu- membership. tion during his fight against the Stalinists over the North-American aircraft and Allis-Chalmers strikes, at the time when the Stalinists held their "anti-war" line. The specific charges against

the five officials are: (1) They demonstrated sub-

servience to the Communist Partv.

(2) They demonstrated their loyalty and support for the program of Russia.

(3) They subscribe to official support of the Communist Party by lending their names and offices to Communist newspapers, leaflets, bulletins and documents. (4) They admitted to fellow union members their membership

in the Communist Party. which many back-bench MPs must ZWERDLING'S ROLE

The importance of this trial is testified to not only by the widespread publicity it is receiving-Detroit's newspapers are having a field day-but by the fact that Walter Reuther's most brilliant legal adviser, Abe Zwerdling, is 600 in regular elections, so it moactually handling the case for Stellato.

personal friend of Reuther's, and has often boasted of his "socialist" beliefs. Until recently, he was quite a critic of Detroit's loyalty-oath program for city employes, and often criticized the UAW for not doing more to stem the "anti-red" hysteria sweeping the country.

Unless something new is brought up in the trial and the charges are changed, we see the truly terrible spectacle of five men being tried solely and exclusively for their beliefs, in a union whose whole history has been one of jealous guardianship of the democratic rights of its membership!

And this persecution-it can hardly be called prosecutioncomes from a union leadership which came into power precisely because it fought the Stalinists on other grounds, namely a progressive versus a totalitarian program.

The miserable character of this trial against the Stalinist followers is shown by the ease with which the Stalinists have been union if he is a member of or sub- able to answer the charges in a servient to any Communist, fascist manner calculated to win adheror Nazi organization which owes ents to Stalinism, even if the men end up out of the plant.

"We are not being charged Canada, directly or indirectly. with failing to carry out our duties toward you," they told the "We are being tion at the 1941 Buffalo conven- charged with Communism. But charges against Communism are not new.

> "Loyalty pledges, whether proposed by the government, hosses or Stellato, are used to start witchhunts, to destroy political opposition, to divide workers"

In the case of the hundreds of Ford 600 members who lost overtime pay for Saturday and Sunday (which they had been getting), will their sympathies be with the Stalinists who fought, -however demagogically, against the umpire's decision, or with Stellato, who ordered them back to work? It is amazing! Walter Reuther points out a thousand times in a thousand speeches that Stalinism cannot be defeated by force alone

-superior ideas and a better program for the workers is the only answer! Yet in the UAW today, the only answer to Stalinism is bureaucratic force!

BACK-FIRE

Apparently the mighty Reuther machine finds itself fearful of defeating the Stalinists at Ford bilizes its best brains and talents to smash them in a heresy hunt. Although Zwerdling no longer At least, that is how the picture is the counsel of the UAW, he appears to this observer. The

specter of wildcat strikes against lousy umpire decisions haunts the Reuther regime. A real drive against the "Reds," kicking them out of the shop ("legally," to be sure) may intimidate the auto

peace! Perhaps the Reuther leadership believes that by redoubling its blows at the Stalinists in the UAW, it may avoid some of the unpleasant consequences of the witchhunting atmosphere in America. There are many signs that say the contrary.

workers, and bring a period of

Even in the UAW, the very atmosphere incited by the Stellatos works against the Reuther brothers and their closest associates. They are cursed as "socialists" with the same vigor that they curse the Stalinists! In one case, the victim is Emil Mazey, about whom ACTU is having a field day. Local union politicians are quick to catch on. Only last week, Al Mussilli, president of Ford

400, decided to grab himself some newspaper space and make his insecure regime more secure. He announced a loyalty-oath pregram in Ford 400. What local union president will be next? In Michigan, perhaps the Re-

publican Party will have a harder time saving that the "socialists" in the UAW have captured the Democratic Party and Governor Williams is their stooge, if the Reuther leadership says it isn't socialist, and besides, look what it is doing to the "Communists"? Perhaps-but then look what happened to George Edwards, when he ran for mayor and the opposition gave him a smear campaign.

How can the UAW appear as a champion of democratic rights when it permits its own Senator McCarthys to have a field day and run riot within the union?

By LEON TROTSKY Marxism in the United States

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of the conflict.

At a time when the principles and traditions of democracy and academic fredom are being so cynically or hysterically battered on the head, in the name (it goes without saying) of the defense of democracy and academic freedom, the views expressed by Mr. Bell are as commendable as they are rare. That it requires courage and forthrightness today to voice these views, which were commonly accepted only a few years ago by everybody who professed the slightest respect for democracy, is an emphatic reminder of how far reaction has spread in the country as a whole, and the universities as well, and how few remain to resist openly the vileness of the intimidation and persecution campaign. To read what this student editor writes is a cheering relief from the baseness and sophistry of the "democratic" promoters of the campaign and of the apologists for it.-

October 16, 1950

Can Students Think for Themselves? Univ. of Calif. Authorities Raise the Question and a Student Editor Replies

By MAX SHACHTMAN

ticipate."

Congratulations to the editor of the Daily Californian!

The Daily Californian is the newspaper of the Associated Students of the University of California in Berkeley. One of the regulations of the university, No. 17, prohibits off-campus organizations from "meetings or events which by their nature, method of promoting, or general handling, tend to involve the university in political or sectarian religious activities in a partisan way . . ." Invoking this regulation, H. E. Stone, dean of students, has just ruled against the request of the Socialist Youth League that it participate in the Activities Day exhibit, while allowing the participation of the Inter-Faith Council, which represents a number of religious groups.

"I do not consider," explained Dean Stone, "the Inter-Faith Council sectarian in any sense of the word. If there were some kind of political council representing all off-campus political groups we would certainly consider allowing them to par-

The commentary by the editor of the Daily Californian-to be exact, of one of the editors, Louis Bell-is worth reproducing extensively. After some light remarks about the Socialist Youth League and Trotskyists in general-very facetious, very whimsical and in the standard college tradition-Bell has the following to say about Stone's ruling against the SYL under Regulation

'Are Students "Gullible"?

"There's just one joker. The Trotskyists might be right and the rest of us, perish forbid, might be wrong. Nowadays we find ourselves almost instinctively using hushed, reverent tones in speaking of people who in their own lifetimes were generally considered dangerous, heretical or-if they were lucky-just plain foolish. We're not saying the Trotskyites will ever enter that category. Chances are they won't; but no one can be absolutely sure. One of the strongest arguments for free speech is that nobody has a straight pipeline to the truth. We can often make a pretty reasonable deduction and use it as a reliable working basis for further action; but we can never be sure that nothing will come along to upset our former deduction and show it up as an obsolete rule of thumb.

"We think the university should encourage all political groups to promulgate their views in the best way they are able. The only possible argument against this view-if we grant the validity of the 'free marketplace of ideas' concept for the nation as a whole-is that students are too immature to form political judgments without firm guidance from the powers that be.

"Of course we recognize that under Rule 17 if would have been impossible to permit the Socialist Youth League to recruit members on campus. The Interfaith Council's booth was another matter: that organization is religious and not sectarian. We do not condemn Dean Stone for refusing to violate a aniversity regulation. We do, however, condemn the idea behind that regulation itself—the idea that students must be protected against their supposed gullibility.

"But in days when professors aren't supposed to have ideas, perhaps it's too much to ask that students be allowed to have them."

Confession in Panic

In the best of cases-and they are a dwindling number-the argument against full freedom of political views in the schools and universities is based on the idea, as Bell so pointedly writes, "that students are too immature to form political judgments without firm guidance from the powers that be." The argument is at once an insult to every student who has any self-respect, a complete demolition of the democratic conception of academic freedom, and a confession by the very "powersthat-be" of their inability or fear to confront conflicting political views even under conditions where the overwhelming weight of all mind-shaping institutions in the United States is on their side

The "powers-that-be" give every appearance of being gripped at their bowels by a strong feeling of panic. If that were all that is involved, it would

remain their problem, and a pitying contempt would be all they deserved. When they translate their panic into a drive to intimidate and gag and fetter non-conformist political views, it is no longer their problem but the problem of everybody, students ncluded.

In the universities, it is not only students whose rights are trampled but teachers as well, and in this case the two inevitably go together. As Mr. Bell writes, ironically but still pointedly, "in days when professors aren't supposed to have ideas, perhaps it's too much to ask that sudents be allowed to have them."

The University of California is notoriously in the depths of the "loyalty-oath" swamp. Only recently, a number of members of its faculty were dismissed, not even under charge of being Stalinists but because they had enough self-respect, dignity and strength of conviction to refuse to besmirch their names by signing them under the yellow-dog oath. The new academic freedom obviously means that teachers have the unrestricted right to teach what they are told to teach and that students have the unlimited right to hear and reflect on the views of everybody who is not gagged.

Argument for the Kindergarten

Every moderately intelligent child now knowsand this means that a dean of students in so eminent an institution as the University of California surely ought to know-the simple argument behind rules like Regulation 17 which are withering the intellectual life of one university after another. They are not directed against the propagation of religious views or against stirring up religious controversies. They are part and parcel of the red-baiting drive and of nothing else. And the argument is-Mr. Bell states it perfectly-that "students are too immature to form political judgments without firm guidance from the powers that

Stated even more directly, the argument is this: Stalinists-or what is anything but the same, socialists-should not be allowed to present their views to students because the "clever" or "tricky" or "demagogic" or "factional" or "one-sided" way in which these views are presented are calculated to win over students whose immaturity in political matters does not immunize them sufficiently against these "tricks" and "demagoguery" and the like. This holds for the infant in kindergarten and for the grown man in the university.

But if the student's mind—the mind of even the university student-is too feeble to judge intelligently the merits of political questions, what makes that mind so keen and perspicacious as to enable it to judge intelligently scientific questions, to say nothing of matters of religion? The student is supposed to be able to cope, more or less ably and confidently, with all the natural sciences, including the complex mysteries of the atom and nuclear fission. There is no ban on his being presented with views on such matters, on campus or off.

He is likewise supposed to be able to cope, more or less ably and adequately, with the problems posed by religion and religious institutions. These tell them all about the Almighty, who presides over the entire universe, and is, according to all religious assertion, the Greatest Mystery of all. If such preachments are presented, not by one religious sect at a time, but by a combination of them, that is all right with Dean Stone, and nobody else worries about the problem being too much, too universally-embracing, too mysterious for the immature student mind to judge.

The Right to Listen

But when it comes to politics, which is the science that deals with all the basic problems of the society which all of us, students included, live in, which affect all of us, students included, so vitally; which are visible and tangible and alterable by ordinary human beings, and which are often dominated by individuals who would be hard put to it to pass a "maturity test"-then the student is promptly told:

"This is not for you! Your mind is still too. weak! Gullible child, you will be taken in by the smooth tongue of the Reds! Therefore we, whose maturity and wisdom is shown every day by the magnificence of our political achievement in this country and all over the world, will save you from your own stupidity. We will put the heretical groups beyond the pale of the universities, and even out there we will see to it that their tongues do not wag and their pens do not write."

The denial of the right to speak is two-sided. It is also the denial of the right to listen. The ban on the Socialist Youth League in Berkeley is therefore a ban on every student. The League is told what it can say (what it cannot say) and all the students are told what they can listen to (what they cannot listen to).

Both rights are equally precious and elementary. If professors are not supposed to have ideas, says mand a more representative Mr. Bell sardonically, perhaps it is too much to ask that students be allowed to have them. Not at all! They can have them and must have them. But for that they must have their rights. And rights can be kept or won only by fighting for them.



THE YEAR OF THE OATH. The Fight for Academic Freedom at the University of California. By George R. Stewart, in Collabora tion with other Professors at the University of California. New York: Doubleday & Co., 150 pages. BY ROBERT MAGNUS

The Year of the Oath is a small ook put out in the heat of the loyalty-oath controversy between the regents and faculty of the University of California.

Except for George Stewart, author of Storm and Rain, the authors remain anonymous, but by style and attitude the work is obviously the result of a compromise among the various contributors and thus represents a "moderate" anti-oath point of view in the faculty.

There is a chapter based on interviews and personal experiences which assesses with proessorial calm the considerable damage done to the professors' collective psyche during the struggle and other wonderful tidbits which are well worth reading.

LARGER ASPECTS

The best, however, is still to come: In several incisive and colorful chapters the authors examine what they term "the larger aspects" of the oath controversy. A chapter appropriately named, 'You Too Can Have a Loyalty Oath," gives a selection of cases of infringement of academic freedom which have been investigated the American Association of University Professors and warns other faculties that "Academic freedom is most often in danger when the professor is less conservative economically and politically than are the regents."

The authors go on to describe the part played by loyalty oaths in stifling the universities of fascist Italy and Germany. (Why they have left out Stalinist Russia it is difficult to say.) This section can be best summed up, perhaps, by a speech of one of their German. colleagues: "This is the way if begins. The first ogth is so gentle that one can scorcely notice anything at which to take exception, The next oath is stronger!"

And finally there is included, to clinch the argument, a professorial denunciation of Regent K. Giannini, son of the late P. Giannini and president of the Bank of America, who declared during the April 21 regents' meeting, "I WANT TO ORGANIZE 20TH CENTURY VIGILANTES. WHO WILL UNEARTH COMMUNISTS AND COMMUNISM IN ALL THEIR SORDID ASPECTS. AND I WILL, IF NECES-SARY."

After a fairly thorough examination of the system of control by regents, the professors discover that "the lawyer-executivebanker complex thus at the very least includes more than two thirds of the appointive regents since 1920, and in its wider implications includes all of them except for a small and scattered group."

DEFEAT BY COMPROMISE

The final section of the book takes up the question: What Should We Do About It? The answer is incisive and-completely inadequate: reform the regent system. The professors are on the right track when they de-Board of Regents which would include labor, small business, professionals, etc., but their approach is utopian; for they think that "the regents should propose

an amendment to the Constitution of the State [which] if endorsed by the faculty, would probably be wholly unopposed and would be adopted without difficulty. In the end, the regents should reform themselves." (Emphasis mine-R. M.)

As the authors have to admit. however reluctantly, the faculty and academic freedom suffered a defeat. At the time this book went to press, a postscript was added bring the controversy up to July 23, 1950. It is abvious from the entire contents of the book that the authors expected the compromise of April 21 to stand. The subsequent reversal by the regents and the present tragic state of the University of California is eloquent testimony to their nearsightedness and the failure of compromise as a method of fighting for academic freedom.

The professors agreed, in the April compromise, to replace the special oath by its equivalent in their employment contract, and to give those who refused to sign the contract a trial before the Faculty Committee on Privilege and Tenure. They had also, however, already agreed that Communists should not be allowed to teach. The purpose of the committee was, therefore, to ferret out Stalinists and recommend their dismissal, while retaining the "good" professors who refused to sign for conscientious reasons. Since the Stalinists. however, had already signed the oath (while telling others not to do so), this was their Achilles heel

Once having traded academic freedom for faculty rights and tenure privileges they had lost the battle.

On August 25 the regents, having worn the faculty down by denunciation, pressure and publicity, reversed themselves once more and demanded of the nonsigners: sign or get out. The "compromise" had been nothing but a stopping-off place for a complete rout.

TIMELY WARNING

As of the beginning of the fall semester, the damage has been considerable. More than eighty teaching assistants and lecturers -junior faculty members-have resigned or been fired, while 21 faculty non-signers have not only been refused their salaries but will not be able to teach 43 courses that had been scheduled for this semester. As the student newspaper, The Daily Californian, puts it: "Not only will hundreds of students have to rearrange their programs to find other sections in giant-size lecture classes like philosophy 6A and English 46A; many courses just won't be given at all."

After all the hue and cry about Communism, only two persons, a teaching assistant and a female piano player, were dismissed from the university for being Communists. The former had left the Stalinist camp about three years before, while the piano player refused to answer questions. Both were summarily dismissed

The "world's largest university" has now been blacklisted by the American Psychological Association, denounced by the American Mathematical Society's governing council, and is going to be investigated by the American Association of University Professors. Let this be a timely warning to those who begin their "defense" of academic freedom with the statement: "The best way to keep Communists out of the university is. . . ."

Page Four



The Independent Socialist League stands for socialist democracy and against the two systems of exploitation which now divide the world: capitalism and Stalinism.

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

Stalinism, in Russia and wherever it holds power, is a brutal totalitarianism-a new form of exploitation. Its agents in every country, the Communist Parties, are unrelenting enemies of socialism and have nothing in common with socialism-which cannot exist without effective democratic con-···· 1 7 trol by the people.

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

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

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

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

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The Berkeley SYL Starts Off New Term

BERKELEY, Calif., Oct. 5-Berkeley Unit of the Socialist Youth League has gotten off to a good start at the University of California this semester.

During the registration period many thousands of LABOR ACTIONS were distributed to the students, as they have been during the last two or three years. The paper has established quite a reputation for itself among the students because of its forthright stand on civil liberties' and its excellent analytical and socialist articles. A very large number of the students know it by name and many of them are sympathetic to one degree or another to its general socialist approach. During the first week of school, the Student Socialist, local paper

of the SYL, appeared with an improved format. It contained articles on the Korean war, academic freedom and the Independent Progressive Party of California, and was accepted and highly praised.

Last Tuesday the SYL tried to get a booth on campus during the semi-annual Activities Day festivities. The University of California. through a special regulation of the Regents, prohibits "sectarian religion" and "partisan political" activities on campus. It was suddenly announced that off-campus groups would be allowed to participate, but it was soon discovered that the dean of students had allowed only religious groups (under the guise of an organization called the Inter-Faith Council) to openly propagate their ideas and to recruit to their organizations.

The SYL was again refused participation after a personal interview with the dean and immediately lodged a complain which was written up on the first page of the Daily Californian. On the following day, an article by a member of the Daily Californian staff appeared as an editorial on the whole question, supporting the SYL's right but also containing rather silly and superficial remarks on "Trotskyism." A letter in answer has not yet been published in the paper.

Attack McCarran-Kilgore "Liberals"

On the Friday of the second week of school the Socialist Youth League held a very well-attended street meeting on, "Civil Liberties and the War," which took up the McCarran bill, the academic-freedom struggle at the university, and the Warren loyalty oaths imposed on all public employees of the state of California.

This was a much more sympathetic audience than the one which had attended the previous street meeting which analyzed and attacked the imperialist nature of the Korean war.

The McCarran bill was analyzed in terms of the need for "national unity" during a reactionary war and in relation to the panic sweeping the country and manifesting itself in the "preventive war" ideology of some of the nation's major political and military figures.

The audience of 250-300 students and faculty members (including some Students for Democratic Action members who were present) were particularly impressed by the speaker's forceful attack on the "totalitarian liberals" who had sponsored and voted for the Kilgore "liberal" concentration-camp bill. The ADA fraction in Congress (including Humphreys and Paul Douglas) were subjected to a merciless. criticism and the local SDA was publicly invited to defend before the students the actions of its congressional fraction.

The general effectiveness of the meeting was attested to by the speed with which the cops cleared the area after the end of the speech. For the first time in many years informal sidewalk discussions after the meeting were prohibited.

The first two weeks of activity ended with a Friday night distribution to a Bay Area meeting of the CP's Labor Youth League. The Stalinists have definitely failed to build a youth movement in this area. The hall, designed to hold over 200 persons, contained about 60 persons, 50 per cent of whom were Stalinist greybeards. The number of innocents and sympathizers who showed up was amazingly small,

Books for Germany: Help Build Socialism!

From many parts of Western Germany we have received requests for Marxist literature IN ENGLISH. Books and pamphlets by Trotsky, Lenin, Marx, etc., are in urgent demand, but any-Marxist works are needed. Almost none of this literature is available at present. All books and pamphlets contributed will be widely circulated.

Help rebuild Germany's socialist movement! Send us your unused or duplicate copies of any and all Marxist literature, or any you can pare. They will be forwarded immediately to those who will make good use of them.

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by contributors do not necessarily represent the views of Labor Action, which are given in editorial statements.

The Nation's correspondent in West Germany puts the spotlight on the American-fostered resurgence of reactionary and even pro-Nazi nationalism-"made in U. S. A." because of Washington's foreign policy. He quotes a German manufacturer gloating: "They need us. They need us badly. If they had listened to Hitler they wouldn't

are coming back under American toleration. Important officials and military men of Adenauer's government more and more raise the demand for a rehabilitation of the Nazi generals, war leaders and officer corps. The. latter "are cleaning their old uniforms, getting out their swords and decorations."

be in that mess in Korea. It serves them right.

And now they want us to pick their chestnuts out

of the fire." Such men (and their big brothers)

"Meanwhile business is booming. Prices are rising; stocks are rising. Dr. Adenauer, leader of the bloc of bourgeois parties, declares that 'social peace' is the prerequisite of a successful defense against the East. No new wage demands, though the mark's purchasing power is steadily falling! It is not surprising that strike movements are getting under way, the first expression of the workers' strength since 1933. Any real resistance to a Communist dictatorship and invasion from the East must be based on the workers; yet employers still seem to think labor exists only to be exploited, and the demands of its representatives in the Social Democratic Party, the second strongest German party, are repulsed and despised Though they are still the strongest party in the province [of Rhineland-Westphalia], a coalition of bourgeois parties, has barred them from the and the new minister-president, an governme oil manufacturer named Bartram, is actually a former SS nan."



French Metal Workers Union Declares Against Both War Blocs

since it seized power."

percentage at 90."

Holy Year pilgrimage.

One of the big problems of the French labor movement since the war has been the fact that the anti-Stalinist unionists have been split up into three different national federations while the Stalinists control the largest, the General Federation of Labor

The metal workers unions of two of the anti-Stalinist federations are now negotiating for reunification—a hopeful step toward complete unity of the anti-Stalinist unions. These are the metal workers of the Federation of Autonomous Unions, which number some 10,000 members in the Paris region, and the larger Force Ouvriere.

The leadership of the Force Ouvrière is old-line reformist and pro-U. S. in its foreign-policy orientation. The independence of the Autonomous union is revealed, however, by the following resolution which it has just adopted:

"The Federation of Autonomous Unions of Metal Workers, faithful to the French workers' tradition, declares its profound attachment to peace.

"It denounces the partisan attitude of the leaders of the big trade-union federations who betray the workers' aspirations by supporting the ideologies of the opposing blocs, according to their political pref-

"The workers cannot associate themselves with either of the blocs against the other; they can only with the workers of the entire world for unit peace.

"The false apostles of peace, by making themselves apologists for either bloc, have in fact already chosen war. They accept inhuman conditions of existence in the name of ephemeral liberty for the workers.

"What the workers want is an amelioration of their living conditions, which neither the totalitarian nor the capitalist regimes can bring them."

Inside Spain

A Worldover Press correspondent recently returned from Spain reports that "any unbiased, informed report must show that Franco's regime is losing ground at a faster rate than at any time

port from abroad." It is to be surmised that what these observers, so quoted, have in mind is merely a political overturn which would get rid of Franco and his Falangists in favor of a new regime with a more democratic facade, without changing anything affecting the lot of the Spanish workers and peasants. For this there may be no "opposition personage" or "organized political group." But of all the totalitarian countries in the world, Franco Spain has perhaps the strongest and best arganized revolutionary socialist underground, led by the POUM (Workers Party of Marxist Unity).

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In the Long Run-around

In 1937 the Weirton Steel Company of West Virginia was brought before the NLRB by the steel union for sponsoring a company union. The case is still dragging on, after 13 years.

This September, the Steel Workers once again petitioned the NLRB for a bargaining session with the company, which in 1944 waged such violent warfare against the union that martial law was declared in its area.

Democrats

Eternity At the Socialist Party's last national convention, a tempest was stirred up by the proposal of the leadership (including Norman and friendship" between the two Thomas) which would permit SP countries. support to "liberal" Democratic Party candidates. The resolution was voted down by the delegates year's-notice.

in what was advertised as a personal defeat for Thomas' leadership of the party.

But this was the Socialist Party at work, where conventions pass resolutions and the actual party line is dictated by Thomas.

The Chicago press is now running advertisements for the "Independent Citizens Committee for the Re-Election of Congressman Barratt O'Hara." Among the "partial list of sponsors" printed in the ad are to be found the names of two National Committee members of the SP. Maynard Krueger and Martin Diamond.

It may be terminated on one

A new treaty between India and Nepal calls for "everlasting peace



LABOR ACTION





An additional reason fostering discontent this year, he says, has been the large number of pil-grims, flocking to Italy for the Holy Year, who have also visited Spain and through their contacts with the population brought news to the people. These pilgrims came from all countries of the world.

"The most pessimistic opponents of Franco inside the country are convinced that 80 per cent of the people are against the regime. The optimists put the

As often happens with a regime in decay, the disaffection which presses from below also sends cracks through the tops. Not only do "workers remain discontented despite superficial steps taken to woo them." Also: "Lately, discontent has been spreading rapidly among high military men and in the Catholic Church. Cardinal Pla y Deniel, primate of Spain, demanded publicly in a pastoral letter the abolition of press censorship. . . ." And the pope conspicuously demonstrated his sympathy with the monarchist-restoration rivals of Franco by giving higher honors to two sons of former King Alfonso than 's Franco's wife when she visited Rome on a

"Asked why, if this is so, the regime still holds on, Spanish observers give these answers: (a) There is no opposition personage as a leader, no organized political group, which now offers a compelling alternative to support; (b) No one wants another civil war: (c) The downfall of Franco can be brought about eventually by continued withholding of sup-



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THE PRO-TITOISM OF THE SOCIALIST LEFT-12 **Tito's UDBA and the Police-State Regime**

By HAL DRAPER

We have shown that Tito's regime holds to its totalitarian and purely Stalinist conceptions on state and party without any sign of modification. It may be claimed that the Yugoslav leaders' forthright declarations on this point are only verbal hangovers; that in practice they are really "democratizing" the country.

Whatever other evidence for this claim we will have to take up, including decentralization and "workers' councils" (which have nothing to do with democratization), there is certainly not a scintilla of evidence for any relaxation of the police-state regime in the country. The State Security Police-Tito's GPU-known by its initials as the UDBA (formerly OZNA) and headed by Minister of Interior Aleksandar Rankovic, is no verbal hangover.

Just as the Russians are experts at dealing telling propaganda blows at democratic pretensions in the West, in the standard pot-and-kettle manner, so also since the Cominform split the Titoists have become more and more free with slashing attacks on Moscow-style democracy. And the pro-Titoist apologists of the socialist left have filled columns by proudly exhibiting these demagogic truths as evidences of Yugoslav emocratic thinking!.

That the Yugoslavs have been telling cutting truths about the Russian regime is undoubted. That they are demagogic is to be seen by merely remembering to ask the same question as when Vyshinsky (for example) inveighs against Western democracy: Well, Mr. Speaker, how do these truths apply to YOUR country?

One of the best cases in point (because it was given such an adulatory build-up in the pro-Titoist press), was Tito's speech before the National Assembly on June 27 last. One section particularly delighted the boys. Tito was speaking about the failure of the state to "wither away" in Russia. The sole function of the state which is still necessary, he orated, is the army, whose weakening or strengthening depends on external circumstances-

"To say that the functions of the state as armed force, not only as far as the army is concerned but also as far as the so-called organs punishment are concerned [police, etc.-H.D.], are exclusively directed against the outside world, is to say something which has truly nothing in common with present reality in the Soviet Union. For what is the immense bureaucratic centralist apparatus doing? Are its functions directed toward the outside world? What are the NKVD [the GPU] and militia doing? Are their functions directed against he outside world?"

Well, Mr. Speaker, what is your UDBA doing?

'National Solidarity," But—

We have set an arbitrary limitation in this series of articles-to adduce evidence only from the Titoists and good pro-Titoists themselves. It is a tough limitation at this point, but still the evidence is ufficient.

Almost a year after the Cominform split, the Fourth International Trotskyists still asserted "the undeniable existence of a police regime" in Yugoslavia. What is a police regime? It is the existence of uncontrolled power over the people by a political police whose arbitrary ability to arrest, jail or otherwise do away with opponents of the regime is not subject to any democratic process of law. Has this changed to any degree since the pro-Titoists decided that Yugoslavia s a "workers' state"? If so, the pro-Titoists have neglected to produce any evidence whatsoever to show any change. On the contrary, they have simply stopped talking about such matters, for the most part, in their enthusiasm for "workers' councils" and other precious bits of democratic demagogy.

We have said several times that Tito's break with the Kremlin was popular with the people. As against Moscow an overwhelming majority of the Yugoslav people supported Tito and, I believe, still support him in the same sense-as against Moscow. This undoubtedly temporarily affected the activities of Rankovic's men but it did not and could not lead Tito to relax the system by an iota. As Alexander Werth, long a Stalinist fellow traveler and now a Titoist fellow traveler, put it:

"People talk and grumble much more freely [in Belgrade] than they would dare to do in Prague or even than they were able to do in Belgrade two years ago. Nevertheless, Yugoslavia is a police state. Many people are in prison, some still 'awaiting trial' after more than two years. In exacting food deliveries from the peasants, the authorities are often ruthless when they come across what they consider bad faith or sabotage. But the general awareness of the 'Russian danger' appears to have increased national solidarity. The former middle class shows less hostility to the regime than before, and there is consequently much less repression." (Nation, July 22.)

Only UDBA Knows

That the amount of actual repression necessary at any juncture is proportionate to the amount of active hostility to the regime may make a pro-Titoist happy for the nonce; that it permits socialists to speak of the "democratization" of Tito-Yugoslavia is another matter. The Yugoslav propaganda bureau in New York itself distributes a pamphlet which we mentioned last week, the report of a group of fellow-traveling professors on Eastern Europe, headed by Professor is practically conclusive: Jerome Davis. The report mentions:

"We visited a number of penal institutions including Gabela. . . . Undoubtedly innocent people have been arrested in Yugoslavia. Under the legal system they may be held for three months in jail without trial and with the permission of higher authorities held for further periods. In the jail which one of us visited in Sarajevo those awaiting trial were so crowded that the people sat on the stone floor packed in like sardines. . . , We were told there were many political prisoners. . . ."

Who are these political prisoners? Of what crimes are they guilty? How many are there? Only the UDBA knows. Since we are limited to pro-Titoist sources we cannot answer these questions. The very fact that they must be asked, and cannot be answered, is what characterizes the police state in Yugoslavia.

The Titoists' attempt to account for these full jails runs up against a contradiction which exposes their demagogy in devastating manner.

One side of the contradiction consists of the pro-Titoists' claimthat it is pro-Cominformists who fill the jails and prison camps. Read this, for example, in an apologia which seeks to reassure us that the Tito regime does not torture its opponents:

"Absolutely trustworthy witnesses have also been able to visit camps where several hundreds of defenders of the Cominform resolution. are shut up; they have been able to ascertain the disintegration of the current aroused by that resolution and the return to the CPY of the majority of those who made up the Stalinist base immediately after the break." [Editorial in Quatrième Internationale, May-July.]

Why are these "several hundreds" in the concentration camps?-As "defenders of the Cominform resolution," we are told, with absolutely no emphasis-just as if the description had read spies, saboteurs, underground terrorists or would-be assassing of Tito. The same press yells with horror-struck indignation at the arrest, in the Moscow-contolled countries, of men suspected of sympathy with Tito, that is, of the very same "crime" for which the "several hundreds" actually seen by a "trustworthy witness" are "awaiting trial." The pro-Titoists' boast is simply that they are not tortured but put through a "political re-education."

"A Handful of Wretches"

But that is in passing. We are concentrating attention on the implied claim that the edge of the Yugoslav police state is turned against pro-Cominformism, which is supposed to justify it.

Yet, at the same time, the Yugoslav leaders shout that only a "handful" of no-account good-for-nothings are pro-Cominform in the whole country:

"Speaking today before 80,000 citizens of Belgrade, Aleksandar Rankovic, secretary of the Politburo and minister of internal affairs, stated that the blackmailing methods and pressure campaign of the Informburo [Cominform] and the government of the USSR have caused no one in socialist Yugoslavia to waver except a handful of demoralized wretches who would waver in any difficult situation. In Yugoslavia, he added, there are no such hardships as unemployment, unpaid wages, or work stoppages." [Yugoslav Newsletter, March 17.]

(That Rankovic can speak authoritatively on the absence of strikes s beyond doubt.)

Tito says it's a "small number":

"Comrades, the small number of people in our country who have taken a position against our party and our people are traitors similar to those who are outside our country. . . ." [Speech to the 3rd Congress of the People's Front, April 9, 1949.]

(Note that the "crime" here is specifically "taking a position against . . .")

If the pro-Cominformists make up only a wretched handful, a small number, why the immense apparatus of the UDBA, its police powers over the people, the existence of a secret-police apparatus of which the people stand in dread no less than of Stalin's GPU, the full concentration camps, etc.? As Tito put it against Moscow: What is the UDBA doing? Are their functions directed against the outside world?

That the threat to Yugoslav independence from Russia is real goes without saying. But this real threat is the threat of military invasion. From this point of view the pro-Titoists can justify the regime's militarism. But the UDBA's sword is pointed internally. Even if it is claimed that there is a strong pro-Cominform movement in this "worker's state," do our pro-Titoists apologize for Tito's GPU stateor do they just try to wish it away?

The Edge of the Sword

But there is no strong pro-Cominform movement (not even that pretext!) among the people, according to staunch pro-Titoist Louis Dalmas, who sells Tito's wares in France. He describes the anti-Tito opposition as 10-15 per cent of the population who are "frankly, hostile to the regime, made up of the old ruling strata and expropriated kulaks." He adds: "As to the pro-Cominform opposition, it virtually does not exist . . ." [Les Temps Modernes, April.]

We have no doubt that the Cominform sends spies and saboteurs into Yugoslavia, but-as we point out about the vicious McCarran Law in the U. S .- a GPU apparatus is not necessary to deal with them. It is a totalitarian sword whose edge is directed against any dis-

content among the people-ANY discontent-and not only for security the present but as terrorization for the future.

The reiteration of the fellow travelers that malcontents in this police state are only bourgeois and kulaks has a familar ring. It was peddled by Louis Adamic, for example, when he was shouting hosannas for the Kremlin, and it is peddled by him now that he is retailing his sickening stuff on behalf of Hero Tito. But he too lets the cat out of the bag as he reassures us that Yugoslavia is not a police state, in his magazine Trends & Tides, spring issue:

"I have not been everywhere, of course . . . but where I have been I have seen no 'terror.' There is a security police, to be sure, which was known under the initials OZNA and is now called UDBA; but it goes about its business at least as unobtrusively as the FBI in the U. S."

And that, literally, is the bouquet thrown to the UDBA in Adamic's fulsome description of Titoist democracy! But it is not Adamic's only refutation of the police-state "slander." The following from his pen

"But this minority [bourgeois, kulaks, etc.], which constitutes the opposition, is left alone. It is not terrorized as such by the authorities. People in this group are permitted to write bellyaching. letters to relatives is America, which put New Yugoslavia in a bad light as nothing else could in the eyes of the uninformed. But, that is about as far as individual oppositionists can go. Those who try to practice active opposition inside Yugoslavia, which in the present circumstances means counter-revolution, are charged with being agents of foreign powers, of the West or the East, and are locked up so that they cannot sabotage some part of the Five Year Plan"-Sec.

What more need be said on the subject? (Next week: the Yugoslav confession trials.)

Have They Lost Their Nerve?

West Europe's Capitalists Sit on Their Suitcases for Quick Getaway

By GORDON HASKELL

Page Six

United States foreign policy is directed at the present time to one primary and immediate objective: to create a military machine which is capable of meeting and containing the Russian armed forces in Europe or at whatever other point they might erupt outside the border of the present Stalinist-controlled countries.

The creation of such a force quickly is basic. All political and economic programs have to be combined to serve that goal. When the Marshall Plan was adopted in April 1948, this aspect of U. S. policy was tactically subordinated to a policy of economically and politically bolstering regimes which were tottering under the blows of the war and the general decay of capitalism. At that time what was feared most was internal collapse and Stalinist political victory.

Now military strength comes first. But it is clearly realized by all thinking persons that military strength can be built only on fairly solid economic and political foundations. At the very minimum, there must be some confidence on the part of the dominant ruling classes in the coun-. tries involved in their ability to continue to rule. The will to continue to live must exist. Without it, the famous instinct of self-preservation is lacking.

The will of the ruling class in Europe to continue to live (that is, to rule(is a psychological reflection of the degree to which the working class and the mass of the population retain confidence in this ruling class. That is an abstract way of saying that no country can build an effective army if the workers and farmers are so disillusioned with their economic system, and so opposed to the ruling class which is its chief beneficiary, that they will not make the sacrifices necessary to defend it.

Apathy or Futility?

United States policy makers are being driven frantic by the fact that in most of Europe this is exactly the situation which prevails. All their plans, schemes, subsidies, urgings and threats bounce off a stone wall. Or more accurately, they are lost in the soft, decaying mass of social demoralization which is accompanying the decay of European capitalism.

A report to the European Cooperation Administration submitted recently puts the matter as follows:

"Western Europe regards itself as practically defenseless and, whether from a feeling of apathy or futility, feels no strong inclination to do much about it. The general feeling seems to be that the United States should underwrite the defense of Western Europe, and then the European countries might consider the measures they would be prepared to take to defend themselves." (New York Times, Sept. 28.)

By and large the leaders of American political thought do not understand the basic reason for this apathy in Europe. Their chief reaction is to denounce and threaten the governments of Europe, and to look for all kinds of superficial explanations for the problem. The Democratic chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Tom' Connally, demanded in a recent speech that the United States "put the pressure. and the heat" on Western Europe to get them to make far greater military exertions than they are willing to make.

The same ECA report states: "While the European Recovery Program has undoubtedly assisted in bringing about a spectacular economic recovery in Europe, it seems all too clear that it has not produced the political resolution necessary to resist communism."

No Confidence

"The general apathy in Europe," the report states, "stems also from the fact that no European country has any confidence in the capacity of any other European country to contribute to European defense. . . . The European political situation thus seems to be in a state of equilibrium at a low level, and nothing is likely to disturb it without positive acts of leadership by the. United States and the United Kingdom or the emergence of an attitude in Europe that is radi-

cally different from that which it is at present." Quite naturally each European government tries to pass the buck to the others. Having no resolution itself, it tries to blame others for the general apathy. But this does not explain why no government in Europe has the courage to initiate the necessary measures which would make the creation of a powerful military machine possible.

The American capitalist class and its government representatives do not suffer from the paralysis of will which grips their colleagues in Europe. This is the obvious result of two closely related factors: the tremendous economic power which capitalism still retains here, and the continued allegiance of the vast majority of the population which is purchased by this economic power.

In the United States the large-scale armament program which is proposed will, in the long run, face the government and the capitalists with a whole series of extremely difficult problems. Yet the immediate effect of rearmament is to produce a very profitable and exhilarating economic boom. For the workers, at this stage of the game, rearmament has not yet meant privations. Rather it has meant wage increases throughout heavy industry, vast expansion of job opportunities, a good deal of overtime pay.

It's Different in Europe

This does not make everybody happy. Jitteriness over the atom bomb and a revulsion against the idea of another world war following so closely after the last one are powerful political and social factors in America. But so far the rearmament program has not taken bread out of the mouths of families or shoes off their feet.

In Europe the situation is altogether different. Tom Connally can rave all he wants. All European governments know that any significant military expenditures will mean an immediate lowering of the already miserable standard of living of the workers of Europe. They know that large numbers of these workers are already so disaffected that their present indifference or hastility to their governments could easily be fanned into active opposition by even the slightest attack on their standard of lixing.

A French government leader has told a United States official recently that his government would go out of power if it appropriated. even those funds necessary to pay the additional soldiers required to use the military equipment. scheduled to be sent to France without charge by the United States under the rearmament program.

In Britain, the same feeling is prevalent. The delegates at the Trades Union Congress voted to support the United States in Korea, but at the same time they refused to vote for a continuation of the wage freeze. That is, their sentiments may be for the Korean war, but they lack the degree of conviction on the matter which is required to make them willing to accept the consequences of their sentiments.

Waiting to Cut Bait

The ruling class in Western Europe is so demoralized that considerable sections of it show no intention of even trying to defend the social system which has supported them in luxury for a hundred and fifty years. They may still mumble about it, but their deeds speak much more eloquently than words. Despite the high levels of production in most of Western Europe and the tremendous profits which are still flowing into the pockets of the rich, they refuse to reinvest their capital in European industry.

Many are sitting on their packed suitcases, waiting for the first signs of a major Russian invasion to cut bait and run. They have no intention of sinking the money which they are still squeezing out of the workers of France into factories which they are prepared to abandon to the Russian commissars without a fight.

They may still urge the workers to sacrifice and fight, but they have no conviction that the workers will heed them. They are not waiting for the advance of the totalitarian armies before they feather their nests abroad. Since the beginning of the war in Korea, which threw the

capitalists of Western Europe into a state of panic, they have shipped over \$300,000,000 to Uruguay alone.

LABOR ACTION

. . .

Against the dead weight of this general apathy and demoralization the American government is battling with an increasing sense of futility. Billions and billions of dollars syphoned into the European economies may continue to prop them up so that, like the fronts of a Hollywood movie set, they seem to be solid mansions. It may even be possible to send over arms in vast quantities, to dress men up in uniforms, and to have them march and drive across the countryside in impressive formations. But if almost no one feels he has anything for which to fight, if even the ancient desire to defend home and country against the foreign invader is lamed by the feeling that there is nothing worth defending, the military formations may well prove 👞 hollow shells which will crumple under the first serious blows.

Rough Measurement

To superficial persons the reason for the lack of military and political will in Europe may appear to be simply a matter of effective military force in being. That is, the argument is given that the Russian army is so powerful right now that the peoples of Europe are convinced it will roll over them before they have a chance to prepare themselves.

The argument is invalid. Only one example should suffice to destroy it. When the Finnish government defended itself against the Russian invasion in 1940, the disparity in strength was tremendous. The same applies to the Greek defense against Italy in World War II. Yet those countries fought against apparently hopeless odds with a determination and fervor which gave their would-be conquerors no end of trouble. The ruling class of Finland organized the fight and engaged actively in it. And despite the tremendous hostility towards them which lives on in the hearts of the Finnish workers (ever since * the White-guard massacre of 1918), the latter fought against the attack by Stalinism.

That episode can give us a rough means by which to measure the decay of European society. For this social system the capitalist class today has little stomach to fight, and they do not even have the heart to try to get the working class to fight for them.

U. S. Can't Change H

The American government can do nothing about that. Its policy is to support these rottenand demoralized capitalists all over the world. There is no one else in these countries which the American capitalist class can support, for good reasons. Where a national ruling class is not demoralized, as in pre-war Korea, it rules by virtue of imposing a police-state structure on the whole society which completely alienates the masses from both itself and from its American mentors

The American labor movement could do something about this situation. But only if it first tears itself away from its political embrace with Capital. An organized American working class, standing independently against the policies of its own rulers, could offer support to the working people of Europe for the destruction of their rotten social system and for its replacement by a democratic socialist society.

The social revolution involved in bringing such a society into existence would deal such heavy political blows at Stalinism all over the world that it would tremendously weaken Russia's war-making potential. But if, under such circumstances, the imperialist Russian bureaucracy should nevertheless attempt to fight the world, the peoples of Europe would be willing to defend their new society against Stalinism with courage and conviction, regardless of the military odds.

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October 16, 1950

Page Seven

Pro and Con: Discussion on the War

"Neither Critical Support nor the Third Camp — For the Independent, Socialist War against Stalin

Comrade A. Rudzienski's reply, below, comes to us headed: "Neither the policy of 'critical support' nor the 'Third Camp,' but the independent, socialist war against Stalin."

By A. RUDZIENSKI

12

I have read the critical commentary on my article on the war question, and I fear I have been misunderstood. I am not an advocate of the war; I am not an adherent of "critical support" for the Yankee plutocracy. The war is a fact and we must take it into account and we must try to utilize it for the interests of the world working class in the best way we can. Pacifism, as always, is a futile gesture which serves only to still the conscience of the pettybourgeois pacifists, but it never succeeded and never will succeed in stopping a war. Marxists have never been pacifists, and if they sometimes have struggled against a war it has been for the concrete aim of conquest of power and the accomplishment of the social revolution.

War frequently ends in revolution. If the recent world war did not end in this way, this fact was due principally to the enormcus power of the Stalinist counterrevolution which was able to enchain the workers' movement, and to the inter-imperialist alliance of the U.S. and England with Russia whose first task was to prevent the social revolution. Now then: if in the next world war the former allies move toward mutual destruction - that is, the war will end with the total destruction of Stalinism and then with the weakening and decay of American capitalism the social revolution would be its logical consequence, since there would be no reactionary power which could resist it.

The principal task of revolutionary socialism now, it seems to me, is the total destruction of Stalinism, and the next war enormously enhances this probability. There is nothing diabolical or Machiavellian about this way of thinking; it is a coldly logical consequence of the objective situation.

Now a discussion is developing

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on which better achieves this end: the policy of the "lesser evil" (critical support), or abstract defeatism and the "Third Camp." Though the policy of critical support seems more realistic, it subordinates socialism to the interests of capitalism and thus abandons the future, giving it up in favor of bourgeois democracy. I suppose that no socialist - not Farrell, nor Erber, nor Coleman. even less Susan Green - wish for such a solution. Then the only course which remains for us is that of the socialist alternative against the camps of capitalism and Stalinism which are now engaged in war. But the quixotic gestures of abstract defeatism, however well intentioned, or of negative pacifism, cannot express the socialist alternative. Our principal task is the destruction of Stalinist totalitarianism, in order to then proceed to the struggle against capitalism. The only adequate strategy, it seems to me, is an independent, socialist war against Stalin, without asking or giving support to anybody. This position seems to me to be only a concretization and extension of the defeatism adopted by the ISL with regard to Russia, which claims to be the "fatherland" of all the workers of the world. Against "fatherlands" Marxists have always adopted the attitude of defeatism,

first place against the "Stalinist fatherland." If today Truman has to clare his own war, a war for the defense of capitalist interests, against his former "comrade in. arms" Stalin, that does not in the least imply that socialists have to break off their own war and declare themselves neutral On the contrary, they must utilize this opportunity, and open up fire from the left while Truman attacks from the right. Thus the probability of Stalin's defeat increases. This tactic is not identical with that of "critical support," nor does it at all commit socialists to break off their own struggle against capitalism. Of course, capitalism can utilize our position for its own ends, but we also utilize its enormous strength against Stalin. We are not "guil-

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and they should do so now, in the

ty" if the objective situation imposes such a policy upon us; rather the responsibility falls on the shoulders of Stalinist reaction.

The destruction of Stalinism as a result of the next war will liberate the greater part of the world proletariat from the totali-tarian yoke, and free great social forces for the socialist struggle, which will then be directly before us, against a weakened capitalism. For American capitalism the struggle against Russia will be neither very short nor very easy. Russia is not Korea. And in Korea the job was not very easy for the United States. The world must be freed from the giant imperialist power and monopolies, which must inevitably collide to their mutual destruction. There is no other solution. The only formula for the socialist alternative, it seems to me, is the INDE-PENDENT, SOCIALIST WAR GAINST STALIN.

Mark Twain Said It

"You see, my kind of lovalty was lovalty to one's country, not to its institutions or office-holders . . .; institutions are extraneous, they are its mere clothing, and can wear out, become ragged, cease to protect the body from winter, disease and death. To be loyal to rags, to shout for rags, to die for rags-that is a loyalty of unreason, it is pure animal; it belongs to monarchy, was invented by monarchy; let monarchy keep it. I was from Connecticut, whose constitution declares 'that all political power is inherent in the people, and all free governments are founded on their authority and instituted for their benefit; and that they have at all times an undeniable right to alter their form of government in such a manner as they think expedient.' Under that gospel the citizen who thinks he sees that the commenwealth's political clothes are worn out, and yet holds his peace and does not agitate for a new suit, is disloyal; he is a traitor. That he may be the only one who thinks he sees this decay does not excuse him; it is his duty to agitate anyway, and it is the duty of the others to vote him down if they do not see the matter as he does."

-Mark Twain in The Connecticut Yankee

COMMENT: What Does 'Independent War against Stalin' Mean?

If our comments on Comrade Rudzienski's previous article represented a misunderstanding, then we can only say (on the basis of his present article) that we do not understand his views at all. However, our readers have his discussion before them and can arrive at their own interpretation.

We do not understand how some of his statements differ from the "Third Camp" view which he rejects as "quixotic." We do not inderstand how other statements (the most direct ones, it seems to us) differ from "critical support." We do not understand how he combines the two in one article.

(1) Comrade Rudzienski writes: "The only adequate strategy, it seems to me, is an independent, socialist war against Stalin, without asking or giving support to anybody."

The only "independent, socialist war against Stalin" that we know of today is that of the underground revolutionary partisans inside the Iron Curtain, like the Ukrainian People's Army. As our readers know, we give enthusiastic suport to their struggle. We not only support such wars after they have broken out call for such wars in advance. (as the "critical supporters" of the U. S. war against Russia do not, in their own case).

If this is the kind of "independent, socialist war against Stalin" which Comrade Rudzienski is talking about, it has nothing to do with the question of attiude toward America's war against Russia, or specifically the Korean war, which happens to be the subject of the discussion in LABOR ACTION.

WHAT'S INDEPENDENT?

On the contrary he seems to be arguing that we American socialists (or French, or British, and again has nothing to do with the question under discussion. If this means an independent armed struggle against Stalinism, the any kind of support to either side. idea is fantastic and cannot be One of his slogans seems to be: what he has in mind.

Of course, every time a social; with capitalism: Would it be mis-

ist movement has supported an imperialist war (for "socialist" reasons, naturally, and not for bad imperialist reasons) it has always tried to tell itself that it is acting "independently." In practice, however, the only armed force for it to support against the "enemy" is that of the imperialist state, and in practice (even with the best of intentions) it finds itself supporting that imperialist state - reluctantly, with reservations, perhaps partially or inconsistently, often sincerely maintaining that it still has "the revolution" at heart or "up its sleeve," etc. This is "critical support," in fact, in practice.

But since Comrade Rudzienski maintains that he is not for "critical support," we mention this only to list the possible meanings of his phrase "independent, socialist war against Stalin," which we do not understand.

"OBJECTIVE" RESULT

(2) Comrade Rudzienski places much emphasis on the "objective" result of the next world war in weakening both Stalinism and capitalism. We think his schema for the result of the war is .so oversimplified as to offer little (as "critical supporters" do for guide to reality; but we need not U. S. imperialism after Wash- expand on this point since the ington launches its army) but prior question is this: Assuming he is entirely adequate on that side the point since LABOR ACpoint, what conclusion follows TION is not for the first (we for political attitude toward the war now?

weakened both imperialist sides, and revolutions followed; but how was this objective effect tage or military defeatism, which (which was then too anticipated by the Marxists) an argument for supporting either side? The Second World War had a more complicated effect: counter-revolutionary fascism was "totally destroyed," and its European capitalist opponents were weakened; but revolutions did not follow: two states in the victorious camp were strengthened and be- ly (whether Russia is conquered etc.) organize some kind of "in- came new bastions of world reac- militarily or not) only by an antidependent, socialist war against tion. Comrade Rudzienski may capitalist movement against Stal. Stalin" - that is, a struggle assure us that the immediate reagainst Stalinism independent of sult of the Third World War U. S. imperialism. If this means must be mutual destruction, and a political struggle merely, that he may also be right, but how is of course exactly what we do, does that point to any kind of think, made this viewpoint very support to either side?

(3) But Rudzienski, we must again recall, says he is not for first defeat Russia and then deal

understanding to consider this a proposal for something like a truce with capitalism (whatever that means)? Or what does it mean in terms of the practical question of policy regarding the Korean war or the next world war?

Does it, in any way, affect the class struggle at home? Does it mean supporting war budgets, or war credits, or the like? Does it mean urging workers to buy war bonds? Does it mean advocating a warlike policy by Washington against Russia? Does it mean approval (however critical) of America's armed intervention in Korea? Does it mean approval of the maintenance of U. S. troops in Germany and other U. S. bases in the world? Does it mean support (however critical) of the Atlantic Pact or any alliance like the Atlantic Pact?

The list could be longer; of course, but if Rudzienski means none of these things, then we do not understand why he thinks the ISL's "Third Camp" position "quixotic" (which is, of course only another way of saying "wrong").

BESIDE THE POINT

(4) Comrade Rudzieński's apparent polemic against "abstract defeatism" and "pacifism" is bedon't even know what he means by it) and has often argued The First World War also against the second. We are not pacifists: we are against imperialist war. We are not for saboare possible positions only for Stalinist supporters of their side in the war.

We give no political support to either side in the war and seek to build the independent socialist consciousness of the peoples to get rid of both sets of imperialist masters. We think that Stalinism can be beaten politicalinism, not by a truce with capitalism or any kind of political support to capitalism whatsoever. Our previous articles have, we clear.

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October 16, 1950

The Liberal Party and Tammany Hall

(Continued from page 1)

bosses," without which no speech in 1949 could be made, have now disappeared from their vocabu-

Such politics has an irony of its own. In 1949 an excellent brochure entitled "Tiger in the Streets" was authored by Gus Tyler, political director of the ILGWU, and it served as campaign weapon against the Democratic bosses in New York City. Scarcely a year later, the same Tyler is given the "honor" of leading the entourages of Judge Ferdinand Pecora, candidate of the very same Democratic bosses, to the platform of the Liberal

THIS IS TAMMANY

What has changed? Were Tyler's charges true one year ago and no longer true today? Has the tiger really changed its character? Has the tiger been housebroken by the Liberal Party? Read what Tyler wrote a year ago, and compare it with the situation today. He wrote: "Let's see what it

means when a city is run by the machine. Let's get the story first hand, right from the mouth of Ed Flynn, boss of the Bronx, as he tells it in his book, You're the Boss. The first vital fact about the machine is that it is no democratic organization-even if it calls' itself the Democratic Party

"'The boss is absolute within the organization,' says Flynn. 'There is no appeal from his decisions . . . it is essential that no one successfully challenge the decisions of the organization. Every challenge must be met head-on and beaten, if the organization

"In New York City, there are five such bosses-one in each borough. They have one over-riding interest—to hold power—to maintain and strengthen the machine. 'The public be damned,' is their slogan. . . . That is the way a

thinks in 1949 when the five borough bosses back O'Dwyer. Elect ODwyer and the bosses stay in control, 'absolute' and without 'appeal.' What does such bosses control mean?"

The brochure then proceeds to give a damning picture of how high posts go to the party faithful, how exempt jobs go to the service machine servers, how civil-service promotions are arranged, how contracts are handed out, and gambling and prostitution privileges are arranged by the machine. All the sordid details are down on black and white, and the intimate links between the New York underworld and the Democratic bosses are made plain.

TIGER STILL THERE

Are workers now to forget what the Liberal Party taught them about the Democratic bosses in 1949, or have these gentlemen become reformed characters in 1950? Isn't their slogan still "The public be damned" and isn't their dominant interest to maintain and strengthen their grip on New York City control?

It is with this same Boss Flynn, as well with the other city Democratic bosses, that the Liberal Party consummated its deal, this year.

A few revealing incidents from tiger is still roaming the streets draw from the mayoralty race.

With what nonchalance these bosses toss around juicy plums like a Supreme Court job for 14 years at \$28,000 a year! But for Tammany Hall higher stakes are at issue; as Tyler quotes Boss Flynn—nobody can challenge the organization and get away with

machine thinks-that's the way it it. He must be bought off, if pos- with "quiet efficiency" and do not sible, or mercilessly beaten down.

Impellitteri knows what fate awaits him if he should lose: the same fate awaits all the Tammany district leaders who bolted to his support. The New York Times quotes the De Sapio supporters as saying that "The issue is not civic reform, but a battle for control of Tammany Hall." Pecora's victory will mean expulsion from the machine for the Impellitteri forces-and vice versa.

The pot calls the kettle black. These Tammany products, raised in the same school, employ the same techniques of job pressure and promises of rewards. Impellitteri assures city employees that if they go about their work

"subordinate their public responsibility to party obligations," they will keep their jobs if he is elected.

Tammany leader De Sapio retaliates by calling in Democratic Party election inspectors and checking their loyalty to his side. All suspect characters are dismissed as an example to the others. An Impelliteri supporter fulhow these people in power try to control thinking by means of threats." Incidentally, of course, he himself was one of those people in power up until yesterday. and hopes that tomorrow he will have all of the power.

tiger of 1949 preying upon the only an overgrown pussy cat.

people of New York has grown even more powerful in 1950. If in 1949 it was "Elect O'Dwyer and the bosses stay in control," in 1950 it is: "Elect Pecora and the basses stay in control." A sign of the present and the future: Candidate Pecora and Tammany leader De Sapio open up registration week by jointly leading a 300 auto calvacade in Harlem. To whom will Pecora be beholden if electminates: "This is an indication- ed? He has already begun to pay his debts.

We suggest that a 1950 revised edition of "Tiger in the Streets" is needed. We doubt that the author is qualified to make the necessary revisions. He is too busy holding on to the tiger's tail Such incidents reveal that the and assuring the public that it's

Labor Disperses Its Strength Three Ways in N.Y. Elections

By WILLIAM BARTON

NEW YORK, Oct. 9-The pattern of this year's election campaign in both the state and city of New York has further extended the mixture of political lineups here. The Democratic and Liberal Parties, unlike last year, this time the 1950 campaign show that the have a common slate for top state and city offices-Herbert Lehman of New York. Tammany Hall for senator, Walter Lynch for govleader. Carmine De Sapio was ernor, and Ferdinand Pécora for charged by Impellitteri with of- mayor of the city. But all has befering him the bribe of the Su- come more confused by the entry preme Court judgeship (with an into the mayoralty race of the "inimplied Liberal Party endorse- dependent" Democratic candidacy ment!) if only he would with- of Acting Mayor Vincent Impellitteri, who was O'Dwyer's righthand man up to the latter's resignation.

Why Impellitteri remained candidate after he was offered a judgeship if he withdrew is not clear. Various interpretations have been offered: his own visions of glory, the idea that he might be more favorable to the "mobsters" than Pecora, an internal fight

The latter is the only explanation for which there is any evi- in the Police Department and on gence. Several Democratic district leaders are supporting him, including Robert Blaklie of the 7th Assembly District, who last year defied his colleagues by pushing the candidacy of Franklin D. Roose-

SPLIT THREE WAYS

What gives this squabble greater interest is that the labor movement has become directly involved. thereby producing further disorientation among its members. Most unions, both AFL and CIO, are supporting Lynch and Lehman. Those union leaders who have very close tie-ups with the Dewey administration in Albany appear to be abstaining from taking any po students are former workers or ers' side and refuses to speed them sition and are able to get their unions to do likewise. The fairly the plan, and without fail the high- weak Stalinist unions are, of er-ups will accuse him of demagogy course, campaigning for the American Labor Party ticket.

But in the mayoralty contest the unions diverge widely. Those in the Liberal Party which now includes leaders of the International Association of Machinists, are strongly for Pecora. In fact, they insisted upon his selection as part of a deal with the Democrats. The CIO Council has likewise come, out for Pecora, and most of its constituent unions, with few exceptions like the Republican-allied

Utility Workers, are in agreement. The AFL Council, after a violent discussion, voted to endorse Impellitteri; the decision was made by voice vote as Chairman Martin Lacey, leader of the Teamsters Union, refused to recognize motions for a hand vote. To make the pic-

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to speak your mind in the letter column of L.A. Our policy is to publish letter of general political interest, regardless of views. Keep them to 500 words.

ture more askew, several officials with a municipal regime publicly didate Edward Corsi, and one local of the Building Service Employees (AFL) has voted "unanimously" to back him.

TARRED BY O'DWYER

It can thus be seen that the labor policy of backing old-party candidates, as usual, has split the tradeunión movement in all directions. making it ineffective as a whole even for any given liberal-capitalist candidate, let alone the fact that it prevents labor from using its strength to get real labor men into office. With no independent labor political movement to rally its political power, the machines move in, using different sections of the trade unions for their own purposes and involving them in the intrigues of machine politics.

In the last city election most AFL and CIO unions supported the ertire slate of William O'Dwyer, in which Impelliteri was No. 2 man. That administration is now being thoroughly exposed for graft school building contracts. Labor has thus gotten itself identified

Address

have come out for Republican can- revealed as corrupt, losing the golden opportunity to present itself as the opponent of machine rule.

> In that last election the Liberal Party's trade-union core, led by the International Ladies Garment Workers Union and the Hatters Union (both AFL), supported Republican Newbold Morris, plus Democrat Lehman for senator. This year, it is reported, Lehman told the Liberal Party leadership that he could not run on their ticket if it was split in a similar way, thus impelling the Liberals to make their deal with the Democrats on support of Pecora.

Many members of the Liberal Party properly find this devious method of having their candidates picked for them upsetting, in spite of the fact that the party leaders give their maneuvering the label of "responsible statesmanship," etc. The latter, who consider independent labor politics to be "impractical," find it eminently "practical" to wind up in the camp of Tammany! It is to be hoped that the members observe closely and learn the necessary lessons.

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Under Prussian `Socialism' – –

(Continued from page 1) In more or less set form, you will run into this line of thought in all the circles frequented by the Stalinist leaders. What the regime aims at is a "socialism" in the

To be sure, they favor workingclass elements with ability (and with loyalty to the regime). In particular, they assist the young workers to educate themselves. Already, at the University of Leipzig, for example, 40 per cent of the peasants, and the trend is continu-

But follow these young workers once they have made their way into the administration or into the leading circles of the economy. With incredible rapidity they grow apart from their former milieu, look upon themselves as "leaders" and also begin to talk to you about "leading" and "forcing" the masses

For, in reality, it is not so much a question of raising the level of the working class in general but of winning over capable elements to the regime and to the leading

IT'S NOT EASY

However, dictatorship is never exercised with impunity. At the , moment, the terrible penalty of regime continually to devour its the whole problem. ewn supporters.

o den, speaking of his leaders. "But another story.

production time per unit and at the same time win the workers' sympathies? In reality all that is possible is one or the other." If the trade-union leader of a factory trains his sights on lower-

ing production time, there will inevitably come a time when his unpopularity will become so great that the party will throw him to the wolves and publicly accuse him of Nurwirtschaftlertum (economism). But if he takes the workup, he will not be able to fulfill and Nurgewerkschaftlertum (pure-

and-simple trade-unionism). "The comrades who are accused should have a chance to defend themselves," I was told by a Leipzig party member, whose only offense was that he read the West Berlin newspapers in order the better to discuss with his colleagues at work, and who had been accused of "objectivism." In effect, he had not obeyed the slogan which the SED had issued at the beginning of the year, that "only

what the party says is true." What is the future of the regime in the Russian zone? It is not easy to say. "The worst of it is that the people have seen so many regimes fall that they have no confidence "these partisans of "socialism by the in the durability of ours," a leader whip" is the incurable disease of of the league for friendship with deviationism. which impels their the USSR told me. That, in fact, is

If the regime succeeds in hold-"They know only how to give ing on, it will perhaps be able to orders and criticize," I was told by win over a whole generation and a Communist, a trade-union leader consolidate itself to a certain exin a nationalized factory in Dres- tent. If not. . . . But that is already

among Tammany leaders. do they think it is easy to lower velt Jr. for Congress.