

LABOR ACTION

Independent Socialist Weekly

MARCH 13, 1950

FIVE CENTS

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French Strikes Not Hatched By Stalinists

By SAUL BERG

After three years of steady retreat, labor has resumed the offensive in France in a wave of economic strikes.

The strikes started two weeks ago in some Paris metal shops and spread in a few days to include 140,000 Paris workers in the metal, automobile and aircraft industries. In the last few days it has spread to a number of factories in the North and around Lyons. All subway and bus workers in Paris have joined the strike.

The strike is distinguished from those of last year by its indefinite duration. This would seem normal enough to us, but it must be remembered that the post-war

French government fixes wages and that generally strikes have therefore been of a protest or demonstrative nature, rather than actual collective-bargaining affairs. The present strike wave anticipates and helps to force a restoration of free collective bargaining, which is promised in a government bill but has still not been implemented and organized by the government.

The basic demand of the strikes is a flat monthly bonus, equal in size for all workers, thus again reversing the trend of recent years in which the skilled and supervisory categories had tended to break away from the leadership of the mass of industrial workers, and had succeeded in promoting their own interests through the so-called "hierarchization" of all

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Forced Labor in U. S. Bared Before UN Body

The same group which has done outstanding work in bringing to light and publicizing the facts about forced labor and slave-labor camps in Stalinist Russia last Thursday presented to a United Nations body a detailed set of charges on the continuing existence of forced labor in the United States.

In a "Report on Legal and Illegal Forms of Forced Labor in the United States," the Workers Defense League, through National Secretary Rowland Watts, drew up its indictment under seven heads in a 10,000-word summary of the findings of the Commission of Inquiry into Forced Labor. [For the hearings held by this commission into conditions on both sides of the Iron Curtain, see LABOR ACTION for February 14, March 7 and March 14 of last year.] The document was presented to the Ad Hoc (Special) Committee on Slavery, Economic and Social Council of the UN.

The WDL charges pointed the finger at conditions in a number of states tolerated by the federal government, and at practices and laws of the federal government itself, in which human labor was held in actual or virtual bondage under color of various pretexts and exploited for governmental or private gain.

While it goes without saying that the picture thus painted is far short of the monstrous scale of slave labor in Stalinland, the significance of the disclosures for American labor is not in the slightest degree affected by this

comparison. The conditions of which the WDL speaks are taking place in our own country and are no more to be tolerated because there is something even more horrible elsewhere in the world. [For one of the most detailed portraits of labor conditions in Russia, see LABOR ACTION for July 18, 1949.]

SLAVERY FOR DEBT

The document took up U. S. forced labor practices in the fields of (1) peonage, or debt-slavery; (2) foreign contract labor; (3) prison labor; (4) mental-hospital labor; (5) wartime exploitation of Japanese-Americans in concentration camps and of conscientious objectors; (6) certain In-

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WILL NOEL FIELD TURN UP AGAIN?

Noel Field, the American who operated for the Stalinists in wartime Europe, may shortly appear both in the life and in the news, if the March 2 dispatch of the New York Times Prague correspondent is borne out. "The Strange Case of Noel Field" in our issue of two weeks ago gave the behind-the-scenes story for the first time in this country.

The Times story is based on the recent speech of the Czech CP leader Kopriva who announced that the ruling party and government apparatus of the country were crawling with Western spies and specifically put the finger on Vilem Novy, expelled former editor of the Stalinist central organ, who, says the Times article, is known to have been a friend of Field's. Field disappeared in Czechoslovakia last May.

With Kopriva's speech, a purge trial would seem to be impending. Field may be one of the performers, caught up (like so many others of his kind in East Europe) in the toils of the totalitarian force he worked for.

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Shachtman to Tour Midwest, East

Following on the heels of a successful Western speaking tour, Max Shachtman, national chairman of the Independent Socialist League, is now preparing for a second swing to cover Midwestern and Eastern cities.

The topics for his meetings on this part of his nation-wide tour will again be "New Trends in the Labor Movement" and "Tito and the Crisis in the Stalinern." These subjects proved to be very popular and all previous meetings where Shachtman spoke were well attended and produced considerable discussion and questions from the audience.

The ISL national chairman will speak before branches of the ISL in connection with the 10th anniversary of the League and LABOR ACTION. Other affairs are also being arranged for him in these cities.

The second part of the tour will begin on April 9 in Buffalo and will conclude with two meetings on the 10th anniversary of the ISL to be held in New York City and Newark. The following is the schedule Shachtman will follow:

Buffalo	April 9-11
Detroit	April 12-14
Cleveland	April 15 and 16 (half day)
Akron	April 16 (evening) and 17
Youngstown	April 18
Pittsburgh	April 19-20
West Va.	April 21
Philadelphia	April 23
Reading	April 24
New York	April 30
Newark	May 5

LABOR ACTION will soon carry notices of time and place of meetings to be held in the above cities. Readers of our paper are advised to watch the columns for these so that they will be certain not to miss the Shachtman meetings.

Miners' Great Fight Wins Victory After U. S. Court Case Collapses

By GERALD McDERMOTT

PITTSBURGH, Mar. 6 — The United Mine Workers, as a result of a magnificent demonstration of solidarity and militancy, have won a smashing victory. The will to struggle of the miners has forced the government to back down in its own court and has won almost a complete victory over the coal barons.

Three aspects of the settlement are the most interesting. First is the verdict of innocent handed down by Judge Keech in the trial of the union for civil and criminal contempt. Second is the reason why the operators settled so quickly after that. Third is the elimination of the famous "willing and able" clause.

This is written before the actual text of the new contract has ap-

peared and before the wording has been tested legally. But the extent of the miners' victory is shown by the following facts:

- (1) The miners received a wage hike of 70 cents a day. They had asked 95.
- (2) Royalty payments to the welfare fund were increased 10 cents a ton. The union had asked 15.
- (3) The union shop was retained.
- (4) The new board of trustees of the welfare fund will actually be controlled by the union.
- (5) The Southern operators were defeated in their determined attempt to re-establish the wage differential that they had enjoyed until 1940.
- (6) The Southern operators agreed to pay up millions of dollars they have been withholding from the welfare fund.

(7) Lawsuits filed against the union by the operators in the course of the strike were dropped.

ACQUITTAL ARRANGED

Returning to the three points mentioned above, why did a government judge, not a whit different from the notorious Judge Goldsborough, find the union innocent of contempt?

There is every indication that—as is so often the case—the move was really a political rather than a judicial decision. It was plain that conviction would not get the miners back to work. Nothing would except a contract. The nation was really out of coal; economic crisis was perilously close.

The real problem the administration faced was getting coal and not enforcing a politically unpopular law. The administration—and

everyone else—expected seizure would be necessary, and a seizure bill—as we said weeks ago—had long been ready. Even if the government had seized the mines, it would have had to persuade the diggers to work for it. It did not choose to antagonize them further.

It did not choose, either, to show its own weakness (or its real nature) any further in the face of mass working-class action. The capitalist government—and that is what it is, make no mistake—might force the union to its knees today. By and large, it is not yet—not yet—ready for that. For such action today would risk a radicalized labor movement tomorrow and the ruling class would have embarked upon a fight that it is not yet willing to try, if it

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Morale in Chrysler Strike Shoots Up as Miners Win

By WALTER JASON
 DETROIT, March 6—An air of tense expectancy has developed around the Chrysler strike following the victory of the coal miners against odds which seemed insurmountable to many of the fresh strata of auto workers.

This mood is reflected in the local union halls of the Chrysler strikers in this area, and is going to be a spur to the UAW negotiators to get results which the ranks will consider equivalent to the coal miners' settlement.

In this connection, the maneuver which Walter Reuther, UAW president, pulled last Friday in Chrysler negotiations disturbed many union militants, but fortunately did not backfire since Chrysler turned a "new offer" of the union down.

Essentially what Reuther proposed was that the company agree to the union's proposal for a ten-cent package on a pension plan; then the strike would be called

off, and the contract be negotiated after the men were back to work, with all unresolved issues in 30 days going to arbitration.

Of course Reuther's maneuver was calculated to win additional public opinion, to show the union was being reasonable about the contract and the pension. But coming the day after the coal miners were clearly on their way to victory, it gave the impression of weakness on the part of the union.

Furthermore the proposal, which Reuther spokesmen now say they knew the company would reject, may be reintroduced by the company, and then what happens to the fight for an improved contract? One has to have a tremendous amount of faith in arbitration, far more than the experience of the UAW would justify, to arbitrate the basic issues of the contract like company security, seniority, etc.

There is another disturbing feature of the Chrysler strike, which

is being offset by the increased militancy of the Detroit ranks who are reacting strongly to the coal miners' victory. That is the lag between the Detroit locals and the out-of-town Chrysler shops, which need far more attention than they are being given. The UAW leadership is so engrossed with negotiations that not enough attention has been given to strengthening the Indiana and other Chrysler shops. This is a repetition of the situation in the 1948 strike, and needs correction.

The first major mass rally of all Chrysler strikers was to have taken place this Tuesday with Reuther, Emil Mazey, and Norman Mathews as featured speakers. What is very interesting about this meeting, taking place five weeks after the strike began, is that demand for such a rally came from rank-and-file agitation, especially the publicity committees of local unions. This should have been a matter of course.

LABOR SCOPE

IUE-CIO Now Faces Crucial Contest at GE

By A. WINTERS
 As reported last week in LABOR ACTION, the CIO electrical workers union (IUE) defeated its rival, the Stalinist-controlled UE, in General Motors plants in the first NLRB chain election, by a better than 3-to-1 count. Most observers had expected a victory for the IUE but nobody had expected the scope of the victory.

It is interesting to see that after nearly 10 years of Stalinist misrule the workers revolted against their international leadership in such great numbers. The Stalinists are trying desperately to hide this crushing defeat by a campaign against Reuther and the auto workers' GM contract, specifically the escalator clause, which they are subjecting to their usual distortions. They had to say something about GM even though it was GM-auto instead of GM-electric!

Wherever the IUE-CIO organizers have resorted to out-and-out red-baiting the CP has gained the most out of it. This has become a recognized fact among the militants and red-baiting among them is at a minimum.

Where the Stalinists have been fought on the basis of their miserable union record, they have been given crushing defeats; they simply cannot defend their wretched capitulations to the big chains in the past year and their tail-ending of the auto and steel workers on contract demands. The electrical workers as a result have a far lower average than the auto and steel workers do and they face the future with little hope of bettering conditions.

Murray's bureaucratic expulsions have only strengthened the Stalinists, who can now scream dictatorship at the CIO. The whole manner in which the split was carried out has only confused the workers and to a certain extent allowed the Stalinists to get out from under. There is no doubt that without the expulsions the militants would have removed the Stalinists by now. Instead the CIO forces now face a long-drawn-out jurisdictional fight, the outcome of which may find the Stalinists with some kind of base in the electrical industry.

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Company Traps UAW Goodyear Local into Support of Loyalty Purge System in Plant

By GEORGE WHITNEY
 AKRON, March 4—It's spread to another city. Goodyear Aircraft here has involved a local of the United Auto Workers (CIO) into cooperating with the company on a loyalty-oath purge of the plant.

LABOR ACTION has recently carried a number of articles on the witchhunt being introduced into industry by way of loyalty oaths and pledges required of employees in private employment. This essentially totalitarian practice is an extension into industry of the government's own purge system of civil-service employees, and both stem directly from the infamous "subversive list" of the attorney general compiled under President Truman's direction.

In relation to the growing trend toward the plant-purge witchhunt, we have been critical of the leadership of organized labor in general, the leadership of the CIO included, for not taking a firm stand in favor of conducting an organized fight against it. In a recent exchange of views with two leading officials of the UAW on this question, the editors of LABOR ACTION pointed to the elementary necessity for labor to make a fight on this issue in a determined way; to the reluctance of Murray and the leadership of the CIO to oppose Truman on this question; and they discussed the question of one UAW local which was confronted with the problem

of how to oppose the witchhunt in its own plant while fighting the issue alone.

The failure of the labor leadership to fight this totalitarian drive with all its strength is creating an impossible situation in more than one local.

EXTENDS PURGE PLAN

Here in Akron is a local union faced with a management which took the initiative in putting through its own loyalty-oath witchhunt. The local, having no organized campaign upon which to draw, is like a combat unit cut off and isolated by the enemy. It offers only token resistance. And its form of resistance plays into the hands of the employers and enables them to press the campaign home with greater speed and effectiveness.

Local 856 of the UAW, at Goodyear Aircraft, was confronted with the problem of the company's

drive for oaths, pledges and what-not for those employees who were the most "troublesome" from its point of view. In reply, the local demanded that the witchhunt be expanded to include ALL the employees instead of the few who had been singled out discriminatorily!

The local union leadership actually demanded of the company that it give the loyalty pledge to each and every employee and has indeed begun to concern itself together with the company about the questions of administrative detail, about how to work most effectively to "clear" a given number of workers in a given time.

Since this proposal was made on the part of the union, the local has elected new officers who are now in the position of having to deal with this question, without any assistance from the international office of the union—unless

one considers as "assistance" the support given by William Fowler, international representative, to the idea of getting ALL the employees under the plan instead of only a few.

We do not mean to condemn the leadership of Local 856 out of hand. These men were confronted with an immensely knotty problem. They had to meet the employer's anti-labor drive without benefit of help from either the international UAW organization or the CIO. As a consequence they have stumbled around among a number of incorrect and very dangerous positions.

Someone has to initiate the organized fight against this in the CIO. It could be the UAW. It won't do to sit back and say "Phil won't fight it!" Second-line leaders also have to put pressure on those above them. An organized fight must be started.

Akron Press Tries to Hush Up Racism Issue in Murder Case

By GEORGE WHITNEY
 AKRON, March 4—The cop who murdered Ernest Fenner, 26-year-old Negro veteran, is still at large and still on active duty with the Akron police department as of this writing.

The chief of police, Thomas Lynett, has steadfastly refused to suspend either Wilcox who fired the fatal shots or Pohl who was driving the police car from which the shots were fired. This refusal is ostensibly based upon the desire not to "prejudice the patrolmen's rights." As indicated in last week's LABOR ACTION, Lynett's refusal to act is actually an attempt, backed up by the mayor and the county prosecutor's offices, to prejudice the grand jury (scheduled to hear the evidence in the case March 6) in favor of Wilcox and Pohl.

It has become quite obvious that the key city officials along with Lynett intend to use their prestige, as indeed they already have, in favor of both Wilcox and Pohl. The Akron Beacon Journal has editorially accused what it calls

"various left-wing organizations" of trying to "create racial friction by hinting that the color of the principals in the case was significant."

This is pretty disgusting journalistic hypocrisy and nothing else. In addition to the facts about previous cases already brought out in these columns, the Beacon Journal might perhaps explain why the desk sergeant on duty on the night of the murder asked the Negro who had called in for a police car: "Dhat's the matter— you n s fighting' again out there?" This is certainly the tone of an officer uninterested in "the color of the principals in the case!"

JUSTICE OR "FAITH"?

The Beacon Journal's attempt to make it appear that only "leftists" are interested in the color angle and that the question as such was in no way involved is simply a lie. Anyone with an ounce of understanding of the race question in general will readily understand what the situation would have been if the color distinctions had been reversed; that

is to say, if the murderous cops had been Negroes (and Akron does have some Negro policemen though they are assigned to predominantly Negro neighborhoods) and the veteran who was shot in the back, without any attempt having been made to control his hysterical condition, had been a white veteran. If that were the case we would have heard a different story from the mayor, the prosecutor and that paragon of justice, the chief of police.

It is to be questioned whether or not so "objective" a report would have been forthcoming from the Akron Advisory Council on Civic Unity, which met to discuss the question and advise the city fathers. Their report read in part:

"After thorough discussion, there was general agreement that the best interests of the Akron community will be served by a willingness on the part of the citizenry to grant to the officers involved the traditionally accepted principle of American justice—that they be presumed innocent until proved

guilty. In line with that principle the committee recommends that no action be taken that will constitute a pre-judgment of the case, or which will militate against a fair and impartial hearing when the case comes before the grand jury.

"The council urges further that all citizens maintain faith and confidence in the constituted authorities to administer justice through due process of law without regard to race, creed or color."

These are fine sounding words, but they are the words of men interested NOT in justice for Ernest Fenner, Negro veteran murdered by two white cops, and not in seeing that the law - enforcement agency dispenses justice, but interested in insuring that the "citizens maintain faith and confidence in the constituted authorities."

That, for them as well as all the city authorities, is the key question—maintain the prestige of the authorities and, as Lynett said, don't lower the "morale" of the police force.

N. Y. Labor Action Forum

MODERN ARMS and MODERN ARMIES

Their Impact On World Politics

William Sutherland
War Resisters League

Horace Sheldon
World Federalists

James M. Fenwick
Independent Socialist League

DATE: Sunday at 8 p.m. March 19

PLACE: Labor Action Hall 114 W. 14 St.

Admission 25 cents

Ukraine Underground Presses Turn Out Anti-Stalin Propaganda

By Vs. F.
 WESTERN ZONE, Germany—Authorized delegates representing the resistance movement of the Russian Ukraine crossed over the Czech-Bavarian border early in February. Among other important documents they brought with them were newspapers and pamphlets illegally printed in the Russian Ukraine. A contributor to their newspaper had the opportunity to see these unique documents himself, and the photograph he made accompanies this article.

Some of this printed material is dated October 1949. Some of these pamphlets, brochures and leaflets are produced in a first-class typographical manner. Two leaflets are even printed in two colors. Only a small part of this material is mimeographed. Among the materials brought are not only articles of a serious political nature and content, but also a collection of novels, history, a drama, as well as a calendar for partisans of the year 1949.

So far as the content is concerned, it must be said that there is a great difference between material from the center and the provinces. The central organ unequivocally states that the resistance movement in the Russian Ukraine "struggles for a classless society freed from the Stalinist yoke," "which will develop itself on the basis of an economy with socialized production," and all call upon the Russian worker "to build up socialism without Moscow."

The arrival of these delegates from the resistance movement (UPA) is of the greatest significance for all those who follow

events in Russia with attention. The material brought was also a surprise for the revolutionary groups among the Eastern immigrants. There is no doubt that the resistance movement in the Russian Ukraine is organizationally an amazing phenomenon against which the Stalinist apparatus is powerless. The published material signifies that illegal printing facilities are in the hands of the resistance movement.

In conclusion we will further note that the representatives who were sent by the Ukrainian resistance movement immediately upon their arrival placed themselves in contact only with the UPA mission abroad, and gave all documents and material to them. This is a further indication that the resistance movement in the Russian Ukraine has no relationship to so-called "Banderovki," a right-wing reactionary group of the Ukrainian immigration which misuses the Ukrainian opposition for its aims.

Wooing Nazis

Tremendous billboards have been erected in the Russian zone of Berlin inviting former Nazis in the British, American and French zones to join the Russian sponsored "National Front."

The billboards read in part as follows:

"The leaders of the East German Government, which was created as a result of the friendly support of our Soviet allies, appeals to ALL politically persecuted members of the former National-Socialist movement, to return to the German homeland (Heimat) and help rebuild the country from its political and economic ruins. EVERY GERMAN who is being persecuted politically in West-German capitalist zones should come to us, and he will be received as a friend and a brother." (Our emphasis)

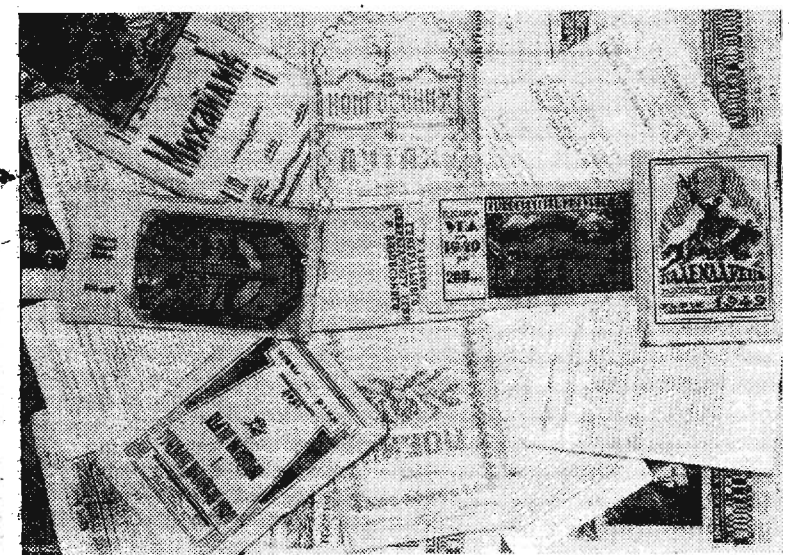
Ideological Unity

The question of "ideological unity" in Israeli settlements continues to agitate the country and has been made a primary domestic issue by the Stalinists.

This last fall the Hashomer Hatzair, an affiliate of the pro-Stalinist Mapam, expelled a number of CP members from its colony Zikim. Since then the CP has begun a nation-wide campaign charging that all the agricultural settlements discriminate against accepting Stalinists. A number of demonstrations, riots and sit-ins in government and Histadrut offices have taken place. The Stalinists are attempting to capitalize on the elementary right of every citizen to earn a living, regardless of his political beliefs.

A motion by a CP delegate in the Knesset (Israeli parliament) for investigation was voted down. The Mapai deputies declared that "each settlement has a perfect right to live in ideological unity." Ironically, the only support that the CP received in the Knesset was from the Mapam, which was the most vehement advocate of "ideological unity," a concept it borrowed from Stalinist principles of "monolithic" organizations, and yet the first to expel CP members from its own settlements.

Some of the Publications of the UPA



OUR RIGHT—YOUR DUTY!

By MAX SHACHTMAN
 National Chairman, Independent Socialist League

What gives us the right to call upon you—our friends and supporters, the readers of LABOR ACTION—to contribute to our \$12,000 Fund Drive?

The fund raised each year is used to finance the publication of LABOR ACTION and The New International. Without it, they could not be maintained in their present form.

We have the right to ask for your financial support because of what our press stands for and fights for.

It is not hard to find the press that tells the truth, or the near-truth, about capitalism, its exploitation and oppression of the people, its preparations for the most gruesome war in all history—but which assails it all as the paid or unpaid propagandists of Stalinist totalitarianism.

It is much easier to find the press that tells the truth, or the near-truth, about Stalinist totalitarianism, its enslavement of the peoples, its suppression of every socialist, working-class and democratic movement—but which denounces it only in order to make decaying capitalism palatable, to justify the preparations for the A-bomb-H-bomb war.

Our press alone is free from any taint of allegiance to either of the two war camps, either of the two systems of exploitation and oppression. Our press alone speaks tirelessly and uncompromisingly for that freedom, security and peace to which capitalism and Stalinism are the stubborn obstacles.

Our press alone insists that there is a clear-cut alternative to both capitalist bankruptcy and Stalinist barbarism; that the easy and speedy realization of this alternative lies in the hands of the working class in whose boundless capacity for liberating mankind we continue to have boundless confidence.

Our press alone, as the voice of Independent Socialism, works consistently for a working-class movement that is free from the dominance and influence of capitalist and Stalinist politics, for a movement that is self-confident and self-reliant, that understands the invincible power it has at its command to emancipate humankind from the social monstrosities that are debasing and suffocating it all over the world.

Our press scorns all those prattlers and sharpers who, in the name of democracy, would reduce the masses to helots whose interests and lives are regimented by benevolent guardians. We contend unrelentingly and with equal firmness not only against the prison-states of the "people's democracies" and the step-by-step imposition of thought-and-action controls by police-minded defenders of American capitalism over the press, over the schools, teachers and students—but also against the cancer of bureaucratism and discrimination that is now eating so deeply into the body of the labor movement.

The voice of Independent Socialism is clear and distinctive and beyond the reach of effective argument because it speaks always and everywhere for this powerful idea: *Without the fight for democracy, no progress toward socialism, and without the fight for socialism, no progress toward democracy!*

Such a voice must be kept vibrant and strong. We cannot allow it to be thinned or muzzled by anybody or anything, least of all for lack of material support.

It is the proud work of publishing this press regularly that gives our brotherhood of socialist militants the right to call upon you—all our readers and friends—for aid.

It is the work our press does, to which it is unshakably committed, that makes it your duty to respond to the call, quickly and generously.

Ukrainian Partisans in the Field



Fund Drive Pace Keeps Up: 29%

By YETTA BARSH
 Fund Drive Director
 MARCH 6 — In less than three weeks of the ISL Fund Drive 29 per cent of our goal has been realized. The \$728 collected this past week raises our total to \$3,462, which means that we are doing a bit better than keeping up the pace which will guarantee fulfillment of our quota on time. However, on the basis of correspondence received, the indications are that there will be even a speeding up of the pace in the next few weeks.

Chicago writes again: "We will do our damndest to get you \$1,000 or thereabouts on the 12th." Our Detroit comrades, who are still experiencing the difficulties described in previous reports, say: "We pledge to do our utmost to meet our quota in spite of our difficulties." The spirit of our Detroit comrades ought to be a challenge to all other branches. We hope it will be accepted by all.

This week Streator is at the head of the list. It has achieved 88 per cent of its quota by keeping the promise it made last week and sending in another \$11.

The Socialist Youth League has had another red-letter week. Its Chicago unit fulfilled its quota (which it voluntarily raised from \$100 to \$200) by sending in another \$100 and, in effect, achieving 200 per cent of the quota assigned to it—and in record time! Its Berkeley unit likewise filled its \$25 quota this week. That makes the Socialist Youth League No. 2 on this week's list, with 79 per cent of its total quota turned in.

Buffalo moved up a notch with another \$100 contribution, raising

its percentage to 50 per cent. Buffalo, which has a sizable quota, remains ahead of schedule and pledges its best to fulfill its quota in record time. New York City slowed down this week but nevertheless sent in its \$299, which means that it has fulfilled 45 per cent of its quota and that it too is ahead of schedule.

Los Angeles, which was extremely slow in getting started in the last fund drive, is one of the branches setting a good pace. Its \$110 remittance this week means that it has fulfilled 43 per cent of its quota. "Things look good," writes the Los Angeles Fund Drive

director, and so we would not be surprised if Los Angeles makes a really good showing during the course of this drive.

Philadelphia's second contribution this week is a substantial \$78, which will help it pick up speed in the drive. Akron sent in another \$11 with a note that although a few unanticipated difficulties have arisen they hope to make up their quota by one means or another. Our Pittsburgh comrades have sent in another \$5.

Let's see if we can't put a little extra steam behind the drive in the next two weeks! Let's hit the 75 per cent mark by March 20!

Fund Drive Box Score

Branch	Quota	Received	Per Cent
Streator	25	\$22	88
Socialist Youth League	350	275	79
Youngstown	100	70	70
St. Louis	100	55	55
Buffalo	1,000	500	50
Newark	\$250	125	50
New York City	4,000	1,801	45
Los Angeles	500	216	43
Cleveland	300	108	36
Boston	75	25	33
Philadelphia	400	109	27
Reading	100	25	25
Akron	200	36	18
San Francisco Bay Area	500	59	12
Baltimore	75	8	11
Pittsburgh	150	15	10
General	1525	13	1
Chicago	1500	0	0
Detroit	500	0	0
Seattle	300	0	0
West Virginia	50	0	0
Total	\$12,000	\$3,462	29

Editorials

Triple Alliance

Hot on the heels of the miners' strike victory, John L. Lewis has proposed that the United Steel Workers enter into a "mutual aid pact for common defense" with his union. In the name of the United Mine Workers he wrote to Phil Murray:

"During recent months each of our great unions has been engaged in major conflict with the most powerful associated group of financial interests in America. The idea seems increasingly prevalent in industrial and financial circles that our great industrial unions should be attacked and crippled one by one. This idea should be knocked in the head."

The proposal is very simple. The steel and mine unions would get together and put up part of their assets in a fund which would be used for their mutual defense. Other unions would be invited to join. It seems that Lewis has in mind at least the United Automobile Workers, for his letter to Murray was preceded by one to the UAW in which he said his policy committee has authorized him to offer them a loan of a million dollars in their forthcoming struggle with the auto barons.

We may safely predict that this proposal will meet with a lot of suspicion on the part of the labor bureaucracy. Some leaders may feel that, as Lewis has not been able to get along either in the AFL or the CIO, he is now proposing a new center in the labor movement which could outrank in importance both of the existing labor groups.

For our part, we greet the proposal with enthusiasm. If it trends on the dignity of some labor leaders, it does so only because these leaders have not used the existing machinery of the labor movement to effectively coordinate the power of labor against the attacks of capital.

The UMW proposal, if carried out by some of the most powerful labor organizations in the country, would create a body in America similar to the famous "Triple Alliance" of the miners, railroad workers and transport workers in Britain which was organized in April 1914. This was a special alliance inside the Trade Union Congress of Britain, and formed one of the main springs of organizational struggle against the employers during its existence.

To date the Lewis proposal seems to refer only to a pooling of financial resources for mutual defense. But it is in the nature of things that when unions put up a large part of their treasuries, they will also seek to arrive at agreement on general strategy which will involve the expenditure of their moneys. It is true that such strategy would be discussed, and possibly coordinated only at the top. We are for involving the ranks in making decisions. But even as it stands, the proposal could lead to a great advance in uniting the unions in their struggle against the united forces of capital.

YOU and SCIENCE

Should We Get Steamed Up or Blown Up?

By CARL DARTON

Science and its misapplication in the world today continues to be front-page news. With the possibility of the production of the hydrogen or "hell" bomb, the United States piles one weapon upon another in the international arms race. Thus the crowning intellectual achievements of man bring fear and dismay to all.

The release of nuclear energy in such bombs is not by some "secret" process but rests upon principles now well-known to scientists everywhere. The "atomic bomb" refers to the uranium-plutonium fission-type atomic weapon whose destructive power is derived from the energy equivalent of subatomic particles released in the chain-reaction splitting of very heavy atoms into lighter elements. The hydrogen bomb would presumably produce a similar result from the release of particles associated with the fusion of light elements such as hydrogen (or its isotopic forms deuterium or tritium) at very high temperatures into heavier elements—a process which seems to account for the source of energy (light and heat, etc.) from the sun. Both bombs are similar in that they utilize the reshuffling of nuclear particles, with the transposition of some into energy as a vast explosion.

It would seem obvious that such revolutionary weapons of mass destruction, which will make the last war seem like child's play, call for a fundamentally new approach to peace and international good will. Rather, the president and the government continue along the old way of power politics. However, despite the efforts to continue the appearance of warmaking as usual, and despite the assurance of some scientists that they will work if necessary upon the hydrogen bomb, the developments of the past several weeks will further increase the contradiction between the fundamental constructive aims of science and its misapplication to destructive means.

SCIENTISTS LOOK FOR WAY OUT

In the main, scientists resent this contradiction and are searching for a way out. On Feb. 4 a group of twelve physicists, headed by Professor Hans A. Bethe of Cornell University, warned that "the hydrogen superbomb is no longer a weapon of war but a means of exterminating whole populations." Then in a somewhat contradictory vein they state: "There can only be one justification for our development of the H-bomb and that is to prevent its use."

On the following day Hugh C. Wolfe, speaking for the Federation of American Scientists, said in part: "As long as we stick to atomic energy as an isolated issue we can't expect to get any agreement. If we look upon atomic energy as part of a disarmament program—with the possibility of economic concessions on our part in exchange for inspection concessions on theirs [Russia's]—then we might get somewhere."

The FAS statement underlined the hypocritical nature of United Nations negotiations on atomic energy control, saying that the United States "had sought to achieve international control of atomic energy, on one hand, while on the other basing our military planning on atomic armaments." The FAS called on President Truman to establish a non-partisan committee of natural scientists, social scientists and foreign-affairs experts to begin afresh and re-examine the nation's atomic policy.

Most dramatic revelation came from Albert Einstein to a television audience. Not only could one hydrogen bomb wipe out a city of several million inhabitants but the resulting radioactivity might make the area uninhabitable for "a thousand years."

Chicago biophysicist Leo Szilard drew some political and economic conclusions from Einstein's warning. On February 26 he stated: "If we go into this arms race at all, it will be lunacy not to take defense measures. In the case of the coastal cities it means dispersal of the population." Cost of the mass flight from the cities was estimated to be \$15 to \$25 billion each year. Szilard continued: "Well it certainly would mean a planned movement. It would mean controls much stricter than we have ever had..."

It is encouraging to note that most scientists have abandoned the concept that super-weapons can offer even temporary security. They are searching for answers somewhere in the political realm. Their suggestions to date are far from satisfactory but they certainly have no intentions of heading Harry Truman's serene advice of February 10 that "there is no point in getting steamed up over the question of the hydrogen bomb and other weapons." Evidently scientists feel it is better to get steamed up than blown up.

Thus the immediate problem of the scientists is a defensive battle against the further encroachments on civil rights and freedom of science. At the same time it is imperative that scientists increasingly concern themselves with the broader social and political aspects of their activity and seek natural political allies in this struggle.

Walter Reuther of the CIO Auto Workers recently called for a conference of labor, management and farm leaders to find a "moral equivalent" to the hydrogen bomb. A more fruitful conference would be one of union representatives and scientists to consider mutual problems of civil rights as well as outlining a constructive economic and social program of security for all.

Reading from Left to Right

THEORIES OF SOCIALIST IMPERIALISM, by Lenore O'Boyle. (Foreign Affairs, January.)

An interesting article which eclectically considers similarities and differences between modern Stalinist imperialism and the frankly imperialist views of the extreme right wing of the German Social-Democracy before 1914 (Cunow, Haenisch, Lensch, etc.). Both are categorized under the head of "socialist imperialism," as the title indicates, but this connection is assumed rather than discussed and needs no polemic here. What was most interesting was a connection which is naturally not made by the author—the similarity between the Social-Democratic imperialists and our own modern liberals.

She says of the former: "Thus it was that Germany, being in their eyes almost a Socialist state, and certainly the nearest to one in Europe, embodied the cause of international Socialism."

And Konrad Haenisch is quoted: "To endanger the future of German capitalism, and with it the future of the German working-class movement, is also to endanger the cause of international Socialism!" Of the whole group: "Every time the German state interfered a little more in economic life the [Social-Democratic] Imperialists saw a new victory for Socialism . . . The class struggle . . . they interpreted as a kind of gaudy rivalry among different groups to see which could contribute most to the national good."

Change the name of the country and substitute something like "progressive democracy" for Socialism, and the physiognomy of the liberal imperialist of today is before us. Haenisch and Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr. have more in common than either have with the imperialism of the totalitarian Stalinist society.

WORLD POLITICS

Struggle Inside Labor Party Impends over Its Future Program

By HENRY JUDD

The capitulation of the British labor leaders before bourgeois opinion and the more conservative elements of the British middle class began approximately one year ago, reached a high point during their election campaign and shows every sign of continuing at full speed after the elections. Writing in the *Socialist Leader* during the campaign, F. A. Ridley explains the fact that the election policy of the labor leadership was "vague and confused; the clear-cut policy of 'class against class,' of a socialist versus a capitalist social order, was almost entirely lacking in their utterances." He also comments on the deliberate policy by which left-wing spokesmen of the party were prevented from speaking over the radio, etc.

The causes and reasons of the electoral setback have, by now, been sufficiently commented upon in the press. To those who may question the fact that it was such a setback and base their questioning upon the continued existence of a Labor government, we can only suggest the drawing of a contrast between the atmosphere and "climate" generated by this election result and that of 1945. That is the essence of the matter.

In 1945 not only was a clear and unmistakable mandate given to the Labor Party but an atmosphere of enthusiasm and an energetic drive for social reform and a new social order permeated the masses. Today, instead of this, the party of the British bourgeoisie feels it has obtained a new lease on life and Churchill, its reactionary leader, is set to live for another fifty years. World reaction, including our own Republican Party, claim to see the sign of the future.

Their rejoicing is premature. Actually, while socialists must recognize and admit that a defeat has been suffered, it is far from being either a major or decisive one. It is a defeat which the labor leadership inflicted both upon itself, its own party, and the masses. It was a defeat flowing from false tactics and a narrow-minded, inept strategy which lies in the nature of social-democratic reformism itself. This means, of course, that the initiative and decisive factors in the situation still remain in the hands of the Labor Party and the workers of England, provided there is a drastic change in tactics and strategy. It goes without saying that the labor leadership will not make such a change.

But first, let us summarize the principle tactical lessons of the election:

(1) The substantial increase in the Labor Party's popular vote indicates that party's solid and continued support of its class political organization. It is doubtful if ever before in history has any particular working class been so overwhelmingly and solidly behind its political leadership, and so thoroughly prepared to follow that leadership into struggle. All the more unfortunate, of course, that the reformist heads offer such a feeble and misguided lead.

(2) Not any shift among the workers but among the middle-class ranks is responsible for what happened. Here again a clear lesson in tactics and strategy is offered. The campaign of the world press to "prove" that the middle class of England voted against socialism, along ideological lines, is false. The conservative strategy of the labor leaders consisted of a refusal to do battle with the Tories along ideological and class lines. Only in the most general sense was this an election of "capitalism" versus "socialism," since the Labor Party consistently refused to advance its program for the future. This resulted in a vote by the middle class on the basis of the various annoyances and dissatisfactions it has with Labor policy (rationing, taxes, etc.) rather than on a basic issue since no such issue was presented to them.

TWO ROADS AHEAD

In almost classic form, we see the repeated lesson of social-democratic leadership, or rather lack of such leadership. The middle class, particularly

its lower ranks, follow those who lead. A vigorous campaign by Labor, offering its hope and perspective for the future, would have had the same consequences as in 1945—namely, the swinging of large middle-class masses behind that sector of society showing the most vigor and boldness, as well as the clearest perspective. We had the opposite in 1950—a campaign which permitted Churchill and his supporters to assume the role of attacker and aggressor, whereas Attlee and Bevin tried in vain to ward off the blows. If not for the determined solidarity of the British proletariat, a truly major disaster might have occurred!

Most important problem of all is, of course: what of the future? We have emphasized the point that this temporary setback, if properly understood and countered, can result in new events which will quickly wash away the sting and herald victories.

The 1950 Labor manifesto called for immediate nationalization of sugar, cement, and water facilities, together with industrial insurance. It proposed steps looking toward nationalization of shipbuilding and the chemical industry, as well as an expansion of various social-reform measures already adopted. To discard all this in the face of a temporary setback and in the light of 100 per cent proletarian support would not only be uncalled for and cowardly but, most important of all, an almost sure road to defeat in any forthcoming electoral battle.

It would mean abandonment of the 1945 mandate given to the British workers and their party to lead English society out of the post-war wilderness, and to reorganize that society. This mandate was not repudiated in the 1950 elections, and the labor leadership has no authority from its masses to turn back and retreat.

LABOR LEADERS FEAR A STRUGGLE

But to expect Attlee and his friends to do anything but retreat would be rather naive. It is true that the Labor Party too bureaucracy has rapidly developed a mentality and psychology by which they have linked up their own particular social and political fate with the new forms of nationalized and state-owned property in England. But it is their hope and object that the creation of a system of nationalized property in England will take place not only peacefully and piecemeal (one industry at a time), but bureaucratically and always from above, by intervention, guidance and organization of the state.

A nationalization achieved through political and class struggle is not to their taste since such a struggle might create embryonic forms of working class and socialist control of the nationalized industries. Rather than run such a risk, they will retreat before the Tories, even if this guarantees the loss of Parliament. It seems to us this is the most significant factor in attempting to analyze the future.

Just as it seems safe to predict new elections before long, it is also safe to predict that a struggle is bound to break out in the Labor Party over such issues. No one can say how far such a struggle will go. It has already begun, as indicated by reports of the critical attitude of such left-wing leaders as Aneurhan Bevan, Michael Foot, etc. These men are reported as desiring to press forward the 1950 Labor manifesto program; an excellent starting point for a counter-offensive, it would seem. The top leadership has already indicated its rejection of this.

Will the "lefts" retire in silence, thus lending their part to the general capitulation of their party before the bourgeoisie? We are in no position to know this, for the struggle is only in its opening days. In any case, the British Labor Party is already deeply involved in a new and highly critical phase of its lengthy history. We can only hope for a speedy and successful organization of its left-wing forces, to do battle to those who would capitulate before the decadent and weakened capitalist class of England.

You Can't Outlaw the Stalinists Without Hitting Liberty for ALL!

By LARRY O'CONNOR

The Senate Judiciary Committee has approved 8-1 the 1950 version of the Mundt bill which for all practical purposes is designed to outlaw the Communist Party (Stalinists).

If this bill is passed by Congress, it will set a new precedent in destroying civil liberties in this country through the arbitrary action of Congress, in clear violation of the constitutional guarantees of civil liberties as interpreted by the Supreme Court.

In a number of precedent-setting cases the Supreme Court has ruled in the past that the civil liberties of groups and individuals may be curtailed only when such groups represent a "clear and present danger" to the government. The new Mundt bill gets around this barrier to police-state measures by incorporating a "Congressional finding of fact" in the bill that the "world Communist movement" presents "a clear and present danger to the security of the United States and to the existence of free American institutions."

The bill provides that any federal employee who transmits secret information to a foreign agent or to a member of a Communist organization can be fined \$10,000 and imprisoned for ten years. But this is not the main purpose of the bill.

For it provides the same punishment to persons convicted of conspiring to perform any act "which would substantially contribute to the establishment within the United States of a totalitarian dictatorship, the direction and control of which is to be vested in, or exercised by or under the domina-

tion or control of any foreign government, foreign organization or foreign individual."

The bill states that the establishment of such dictatorships is the purpose of "a world Communist movement" as a Congressional finding of fact. This means that membership in the Stalinist party would automatically make a person liable to conspiracy charges under the bill.

SETS UP SCAB BOARD

Since copies of the proposed bill are not at present available, it is unclear whether the provisions of the bill are so loosely drawn as to be also capable of being used in any way against anti-Stalinist, socialist and radical movements on the basis of the government's "subversive" list. Certainly the Truman administration's record offers little reason to have any faith in its administration of any bill, especially a totally reactionary measure like this one.

The CP and its front organizations would have to register with the attorney general. All members and officers would have to be listed, along with financial reports, and re-registrations would take place annually.

Non-registering organizations would be reported by the attorney general to a Subversive Activities Control Board (SACB—OR SCAB) we would prefer to call it) of three members which would order their listing. Public hearings, if requested, would precede such listing.

The attorney general would have to notify members of listed organizations in writing. They could appeal to the SCAB board and obtain a public hearing. Appeals from the board's decisions

could be taken to the federal Circuit Courts of Appeals.

Membership in non-registered Communist or Communist front organizations would be outlawed. Registered organizations would have to identify all materials sent through the mails or over the air. Members would be prohibited from applying for passports, could not hold appointive federal jobs and could run for office only if they designate the organization to which they belong.

ROPE FOR CIVIL LIBERTIES

Mundt and others who support this bill claim that it will force the Stalinists out into the open. In fact, the only effect of this bill would be to drive the Stalinists completely underground, tend to intimidate and silence all dissident opinion in the country, and sanctify the present government witch-hunt with law.

No one should be fooled by the claim that this bill would force the Stalinists to operate openly. This holds even if one were to disregard the provisions in the bill which could make every member of the CP or its fronts liable to prosecution under the conspiracy provisions of the bill.

Any Stalinist registering under the bill would lose almost any chance of employment in private industry as well as in the government. All organizations and persons falling under the attorney general's ban would be sitting ducks for every kind of public and private persecution.

On the face of it, this bill, which creates a "clear and present danger" by congressional say-so and which defines the activities of listed organizations as illegal, is in violation of the Bill of Rights. Free

speech, press and assembly are a mockery if Congress or a SCAB board can declare that anyone who chooses to speak in favor of Stalinism or perhaps even of socialism is liable to fines and imprisonment.

LABOR ACTION regards Stalinism as a sworn enemy of freedom and of the working class. We have opposed and denounced Stalinism even at the time when the American government was in closest alliance with Russia. But the evil of Stalinism can be combated in a healthy manner only by public exposure of its policies and activities, by its defeat in open political struggle.

The reactionaries who are trying to strangle Stalinism with a rope which strangles civil liberties as well as enemies of the American people, and because they have power, they are a more direct cruel and present danger to our liberties than the Stalinists themselves.

Every trade union, every liberal organization in America should take its stand against the Mundt bill and should do all in its power to arouse public opinion against it. No one should depend on the Supreme Court to declare this bill unconstitutional.

The new court appointees of President Truman have already shown that they are ready to reverse the liberal interpretations of the court on civil liberties questions. The way to prevent the passage of this police-state bill is to arouse a storm of protest against it which will convince the gentlemen in the Senate and House of Representatives that to vote for it is to lay their political heads on the chopping block.

TWO FINGERS AGAINST THE WALL

BULGARIAN EMPLOYEE OF AMERICAN CONSULATE DESCRIBES HOW STALINIST CONFESSION-EXTRACTING PROCESS WORKS

By GORDON HASKELL

Some new light has been cast on the methods used by the Stalinist totalitarianism to obtain their so-called "confessions" by a unique document released to the press last week by the State Department. The man who wrote it after going through the confession-extracting process himself this week went on the dock in a Bulgarian show trial—and acted out his "confession" while the world read of the story behind it.

The victim, Michael Shipkov, a Bulgarian employee of the U. S. consulate in Sofia, had been arrested by the Bulgarian government, put through the confession-manufacturing machinery, and then released to spy on his American employers. Instead he wrote his story up in an affidavit. Arrested again as he tried to escape the country, he has now become one of the actors-by-command in the latest court farce staged by the Stalinists, speaking the required script about his "espionage activities" for the U. S.

Shipkov's document once again spotlights one of the most disgusting features of Stalinism. The methods he describes to break down prisoners are not in themselves a new kind. They have been developed from the crude third-degree methods used by the American police against radicals and criminals alike, through the refinements of the Gestapo and SS torture chambers, to the scientific "interrogations" of Stalinism whose chief aim is not so much to obtain information but to destroy the self-respect, and resistance—in fact, the very humanity—of the victim.

Shipkov relates that at the Sofia headquarters of the State Security Militia he was subjected to

39 hours of uninterrupted questioning at the end of which he signed his "confession" and promised to spy for his torturers. Teams of "investigators" worked on him in relays. He was made to face the wall at a distance which permitted his middle finger on each hand to reach the wall. He then had to step back a foot and with his feet flat on the floor leaned against the wall supporting himself only with one finger on each hand.

AGAINST THE WALL

"This posture," Shipkov wrote, "does not appear unduly painful, nor did it particularly impress me in the beginning. And yet, combined with the mental strain, with the continuous pressure to talk, with the utter hopelessness and the longing to go through the thing and be sent down into silence and peace—it is a very effective manner of breaking down all resistance. I recall that the muscles on my legs and shoulders began to get cramped and to tremble, that my two fingers began to bend down under the pressure, to get red all over and to ache, I remember that I was drenched with sweat, and that I began to faint, although I had not exerted myself in any way. . . .

"No attention is paid to the suffering, nor is there any place for hope that they would take pity on you. And when the trembling increases up to the point when I collapse, they made me sit and speak. I did get several minutes respite, catching my breath, and wiping my face, but when I had uttered again that I was innocent, it was the wall again."

After a time of this, Shipkov relates that he broke down, and told them he was willing to con-

fess to having been an American spy. "At this moment," he wrote, "I believed that I had covered the worst and that I would tell them I am a spy and a traitor and that I would be sent below into a cell to await or serve my punishment. And that did not appear very grim at the moment."

"It is a very painful surprise to realize the error I was in. The interrogation took on again, unrelaxed. Here I want to describe their method of interrogation: You are a spy and a traitor, tell us what tasks you were given to do, who gave them to you, in what manner and with whose help you achieved them and to whom and in what manner did you report? No further indication and no generalities, no over-all statements of guilt accepted. And this went on, hour after hour, throughout the night, throughout the day, without respite or end."

MONSTROUS AIM

Step by step Shipkov relates how he was forced to create a whole spy plot out of his imagination. His only guide as to what he should "confess" was the reaction of satisfaction on the part of his interrogators. He found that the things which pleased them most were those which conformed almost ridiculously to the pattern of all the other confessions and self-recriminations he had read.

The relays of interrogators did not seem too interested in the "revelations" made, but were quick to pick up self-recriminations and other indications of their growing self-abasement of their victim. They dangled before him prospects of freedom if he confessed all. They spoke of his youth and the prospects of his life. They delved into his most in-

timate personal relations, and forced him to drag into his "confessions" people with whom his relations were merely personal.

The monstrosity of the "interrogation" was not so much in the physical violence, which was not lacking. The monstrosity resides in the destruction of the humanity of the victim, a destruction which Stalinism demands as a symbol of the completeness of its totalitarian power over the souls as well as the bodies of men and women. This destruction permits them to involve in their net hundreds and thousands of people who have never committed a political act against the regime, but who may be useful in incriminating political enemies or dissidents in the structure of Stalinism.

The concluding paragraph of Shipkov's statement is the most moving evidence that could be adduced of Stalinism's barbarism. "However, with the first acceptance [of guilt] my power of resistance grew weaker and I slipped steadily lower and lower, not only drawing punishment, but time and time again speaking of others, friends and relatives of mine, involving them in deeds or thoughts utterly untrue, unfounded, slanderous. And then the feeling of resistance is wholly broken; and I remember going deeper and deeper in this awful disloyalty, feeling utterly degraded and wretched, and yet powerless to protest and deny. Indeed, the only things I did not tell them were things they never thought of leading me into describing. At the end, when I wrote down the confession of guilt and repentance, I remember that the whole thing appeared fantastic and ridiculous but it seemed to give them complete satisfaction."

DEBATE SENSATION!

Max Shachtman
National Chairman
Independent Socialist League

VERSUS

Earl Browder
Former General Secretary
of the Communist Party

on

"IS RUSSIA A SOCIALIST COMMUNITY?"

THURSDAY, 8 p.m.

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H-Bomb Over the Planet

It's the End of a Road — Capitalism's or Man's?

By MARY BELL

PROF. LEO SZILARD: Assuming that we have a radioactive element that will last for five years, we just let it go into the air. During the following years it will gradually settle out and cover the whole earth with dust. I have asked myself: "How many neutrons or how much heavy hydrogen do we have to detonate to kill everybody on earth by this particular method?" Well, I come out with about fifty tons of neutrons being needed to kill everybody, which means about 500 tons of heavy hydrogen. . . .

DR. HARRISON BROWN: Do you think that any nation would really be willing to kill all the people on earth rather than suffer defeat themselves? Would we be willing to do it, for example?

PROF. SZILARD: I do not know whether we would be willing to do it, and I don't know whether Russia would be willing to do it, but I think that we might threaten to do it, and who will take the risk not to take that threat seriously?

DR. HARRISON BROWN: We are faced with the possible ironic conclusion, that in this respect [that we cannot now develop a short-lived radioactive substance that would permit one nation to exterminate another and spare itself] it becomes easier to kill all the people in the world than just a part of them.

PROF. SZILARD: This is definitely so. . . . We cannot trust Russia. But to what extent can we trust ourselves?

Thus were Professor Albert Einstein's words about the possibility of eliminating all life on earth by means of the H-bomb reinforced in this grisly dialogue excerpted from the University of Chicago Round Table Conference broadcast over NBC on February 27.

Total extinction, mass extermination, racial suicide—a word has not yet been coined for this new phenomenon—faces us. Barring interplanetary warfare, this must be the ultimate weapon. The projected psittacosis and bubonic-plague bombs pale in comparison; the antiquated Hiroshima fission bomb is only a trigger for the new fusion exterminator.

Here is the vicious circle: The U.S. will develop the new super-weapon because Russia will discover it. Russia must work on it because the U.S. will have it. Sooner or later one or the other may use it.

Russia, being a totalitarian anti-socialist state, would have not the slightest hesitation if her sources of plunder were threatened. The United States? Professor Szilard asked in the discussion, "Can we trust ourselves?" In the raising of the question lies the answer. The U.S. has refused to promise not to use it first.

This is the impasse we have been brought to by the profit system of the West and the slave system of the East.

This is the impasse we have been brought to by the failure to reconstruct the world on a socialist basis.

Unexpected Paradox

Socialism would have eliminated exploitation, both the capitalist and Stalinist varieties. It would have rid the world of inequality, competition, social robbery and the nationalism and imperialism that gives rise to global combat.

In the absence of a socialist world of international human brotherhood, science and technology have reached an unexpected apex; they are now capable of destroying all mankind. The paradox arises, given this fact, that people generally would prefer an old-fashioned, long war, preferably a Thirty Years' or a Hundred Years' War, to the possibly brief one that impends. There is no doubt, either, that the mass of people, those who are not making the decisions to produce super-weapons, hate war and want no part of it.

But the wishes of the masses are of no avail when the new super-bomb has become a most important weapon of international negotiation and politics. After it was known that Russia had an A-bomb, and after the defeat of the Nationalist armies in China, the balance of power shifted more in favor of the Russians. Truman's decision to go ahead on the H-bomb tipped the scales in the other direction.

Truman has restated the American policy of you-can't-do-business-with-Russia. The Russians say the two systems are incompatible. Truman says the U.S. continues to stand by the substance of its Baruch

Plan for outlawing atomic weapons by the United Nations. Stalin says Russia stands by the Gromyko proposal, which the Americans refuse to accept. Truman contends the United States must be prepared, for Russia understands only force. Stalin says the U.S. is preparing for war. Secretary of Defense Louis Johnson said recently that the United States is strong enough to "lick hell out of Joe Stalin." One can only imagine how Stalin has used this remark to frighten the Russian people.

Yet even the statesmen fear war. They fumble, postpone, delay. When it was announced that the U.S. would make an H-bomb, there was a flurry in Congress about a "new approach" to the Russians. Winston Churchill, who knows that Britain would be pulverized in a new conflict, appealed for another meeting of the heads of the big powers.

Disarmament Is No Answer

Unfortunately, there is nothing new in the "new approaches" proposed by the capitalist statesmen, and nothing effective, nothing that would end the hysterical arms race toward war. Senator Brien McMahon, head of the Senate Atomic Energy Committee, proposed a Marshallization of Russia with a bribe of \$50 billion to end the atomic arms race. Senator Millard Tydings proposed the old disarmament plan. The latter made plain that the U.S. would not surrender its atomic weapons before general disarmament took place, since they give the U.S. its "infinite superiority."

Even if there was the slightest possibility of achieving world disarmament, Tydings is on safe ground, as he knows that the technological superiority of the U.S. would give it a head start in a future armaments race, for it could outproduce Russia.

However, because the proposals of the senators seemed at least to indicate a desire for delay, they had some popular appeal to the people, who would like to see an end to the atomic armaments race and the "war neurosis" that afflicts society.

The Truman-Acheson response to these proposals was negative. But their differences are only on the surface. McMahon and Tydings are just as much for the production of the super-weapons, just as ready to fight Russia, as Truman and Acheson. All believe you can't do business with Russia. Neither of the proposals can get a real agreement with the Russians, nor halt the drift to war.

So far as Stalinist Russia is concerned, it relies on its own military strength and the support of its foreign legions against the West.

Any agreement which might come out of the talks, and an agreement is least likely, has already been labeled "another Munich." The more likely result of a new offer to the Russians would be a new deadlock. At this point the "new approachers" could only say:

"Well, we've done everything we could. We've exhausted every offer. There's only one way left—we must meet force with force."

The New Vocabulary

Neither side is prepared for immediate war. Yet such a situation could strengthen the voices of those who call for a preventive war, the school of "Let's drop the bomb now and get it over with." If one supports the theory that modern war originates in the provocation of an "aggressor" or that "democracy is defending itself against totalitarianism," one falls victim to such logic. The advocates of the preventive war may even claim moral superiority, since with the initial advantage of the United States and its atomic stockpile, Russia might be eliminated quickly and only a fraction of the world's population eliminated.

The decision to make the A-bomb was that of a few men, but the decision to go ahead with development of the H-bomb was the responsibility of a single man, Truman. The people were not consulted, just as they were not consulted on the question of war. Arguments are being heard that the new types of weapons facilitate taking the power to decide the question of war away from even the bureaucratic body of Congress and placing it in one man's hands. Thus, the new weapons are at once a product of and a stimulus toward the totalitarian trends of the government. Secrecy, classification, screening, loyalty oath, security, purges, wiretapping, spy trials, attor-

ney general's list—these are the new catchwords of our vocabulary.

Observe for a moment what is occurring in the scientific endeavor surrounding nuclear physics. A National Science Foundation being set up by the government would require the FBI to probe every foundation employee and every student receiving a scholarship. Such restraints have drawn the protest of the Federation of American Scientists. The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists is studded with protests against the shackling of research by associating scientific ability with a given set of political opinions.

Preview of M-Day

A sample statement from the Bulletin asserts, "A twenty-year-old college student who is learning standard, unclassified [non-secret] physics as a recipient of an AEC fellowship will be seen reading *Das Kapital* at the peril of his livelihood and his entire future. This is exactly the persecution for 'dangerous thoughts' which we found so amusing and foreign to us in pre-war Japan."

Yet the physicists who have developed atomic energy tell us over and over that the "secrets" of the new weapons are not secrets. The Russians apparently have them now. There are other reasons, connected with the decline of our society and the preparations for war, that motivate the tightening of regulations. Feverish preparations are going on behind the scenes of the diplomatic maneuvers in the cold war for an economic crackdown without precedent as soon as the "shooting war" begins.

The National Security Resources Board envisages the following:

- (1) An immediate wage-price-rent control freeze with no appeals.
- (2) Rationing of major products and food and allocation of materials.
- (3) Overnight conversion from civilian to military production with no questions asked; ending of all such luxuries as passenger cars.
- (4) Draft of workers into industry as well as the armed forces. Movement of workers from city to city as deemed necessary.
- (5) New war taxes, heavy sales taxes on civilian goods from the very first day.

The administrators of the coming M-Day for the economy are now being trained at Columbia University.

Diplomatic Hiroshima

The big fallacy in the thinking of the mass of people who hate war but who are conditioned by the mass media of capitalist propaganda is that we are living in The Great Democracy, The Absolute Democracy, and that we are fighting to defend ourselves against The Totalitarians. Behind this thinking lies a more primitive motivation: the desire for self-preservation. It is easy to identify the latter desire with allegiance to the system so long as it remains democratic and so long as it remains superior to the "enemy." The people are caught up in the imperialist dilemma: either Russia or us.

But we do not live in a democracy-in-a-vacuum. Our democratic institutions grew out of a particular historical tradition and are sustained by enormous economic wealth. Our democracy is warped and incomplete; it is a capitalist democracy and it is steadily being curtailed. It did not prevent unity with totalitarian Russia in the last war. It does not prevent the efforts of the administration to rescue Fascist Spain. It does not preclude totalitarian practices at home.

Nor is American politics with relation to Russia designed to eliminate the roots of totalitarianism there. Quite the contrary. U. S. policy can only strengthen the hand of the Stalinist regime in its hold on the masses. Truman's brandishment of the hydrogen bomb constitutes a cold-war Pearl Harbor, a Hiroshima of diplomacy. It is power politics, war by other means.

Ilya Ehrenberg has already compared the U. S. super-bomb with Hitler's "secret weapons" for the benefit of the Russian people. A comparison of the big to-do in the UN to outlaw genocide with American pioneering in genocidal weapons must have suggested itself by now to him. For all that decadent capitalism now offers is an H-bomb capable of wiping out all of mankind.

(Continued bottom of next page)

U. of Calif. Faculty Fights Loyalty Oath, Wider Resistance Front Needed to Stop It

By A. GARBER

The Board of Regents of the University of California, in its ultimatum of February 24 demanding that all employees of the university sign an anti-Communist oath by April 30 or be dismissed, precipitated the most shameful academic crisis in the ninety years of the school's existence.

Confusion and bewilderment govern the Academic Senate. Graduate and undergraduate students have been deeply agitated. The university's Non-Senate Academic Employees Association has been thrown into turmoil. The decision of the regents, defined in terms of employer-employee relationships, amounts to a lockout effective May 1 for all those refusing to sign the loyalty oath.

What struck the seven campuses of the University of California as a startling and imperious decree has been brewing since mid-summer, 1949, when the proposal that a loyalty oath implementing the university's non-Communist policy was first introduced. For several

Profs Pull Their Punch

Even the latest statement issued March 1 by Dean Hildebrand's committee and signed thus far by 57 deans, department chairmen and faculty members calls for no concerted action. It merely outlines the consequences ensuing when the regents apply their decision.

It states that a number of outstanding members of the faculty will be discharged and an additional number will resign immediately, others leaving during the next several years; that faculty morale will be shattered, that a steady flow of young scholars will not be attracted, and that the university will be condemned by such organizations as the American Association of University Professors.

Although the threat of resignation by the major part of a school's faculty can be effective, the weapon is considerably dulled when the threat is spread over the "next several years." Moreover, the regents knew full well the consequences of their ultimatum when they issued their demand last week, and it will take far more than loosely coordinated resignations to shake them from their course.

The battle for academic freedom at the university is not lost nor is it hopeless. A hornet's nest of opposition to the regents' ruling has developed. The university's Non-Senate Academic Employees Association, composed of teaching assistants, lecturers and faculty members below the rank of instructor, affirmed its "wholehearted support [for] widespread faculty opposition." It urged those who had not signed the oath to

continue withholding signatures, and reaffirmed its opposition to the dismissal of Irving David Fox, teaching assistant in the Department of Physics, on the ground of his Communist political affiliation.

The Graduate Students Association also pledged full support to the Academic Senate and demanded the immediate reinstatement of Fox. The Academic Freedom and Students' Rights Council of the Associated Students called an emergency session to plan means for aiding the faculty. And the Daily Californian, student publication on the Berkeley campus, took an editorial stand against the regents.

So widespread and immediate a response from concerned campus organizations points to a course of action. Instead of bowing before the regents' lockout, the Academic Senate still has time to call for a series of demonstrative campus meetings. Professor Warner Brown's declaration, "I think the regents have been derelict in their duty and should be thrown out," can become the rallying cry at the university.

And why not a faculty strike, endorsed by the student body? Or is academic freedom so trivial an issue that strike action in its support is unjustified? Of course, as long as the issue is viewed in terms of the type of loyalty oath to be endorsed and not as a struggle for academic freedom, then the acts of the university personnel must be feeble and meager in effort.

The current ultimatum of the Board of Regents stems from its ten-year-old stand against academic freedom. In 1940 the regents decided that any member of the Communist Party per se was to be excluded from the faculty. No major voice of protest was raised then, and so the regents pursued their logical reactionary course until today they threaten to intervene in the political thought and action of each professor and instructor.

Several opportunities were presented since 1940 for a determined stand on the part of the university faculty. For example, about a year

ago Harold J. Laski of the University of London, socialist and a leading theoretician of the British Labor Party, was invited to speak at UCLA. At the last moment, however, that invitation was shamelessly withdrawn by the authorities on the ground of an evasive administrative excuse. A university which prides itself that it possesses the stature of the Universities of Chicago, Harvard and Columbia acted in that case with the bigotry and narrowness associated with third-rate cow colleges.

Several opportunities were presented since 1940 for a determined stand on the part of the university faculty. For example, about a year

Harvard, Chicago Said No

UC president! Is it true, according to Regent John F. Neylan, that Sproul first originated the call for a loyalty oath in March, 1949? Where was Sproul during the nine-month-long conflict between the Academic Senate and the Board of Regents? Why does he cast a last-minute vote against the loyalty oath ultimatum and then sulk sulk sulk while the battle rages all around him?

Perhaps his political ambitions prevent him from taking a strong principled stand; perhaps he is propped into the kind of tepid middle-of-the-road policy so well practiced by his cronies, Governor Warren. Greatness in a university lies not in its number of students nor in the amount of money devoted to nuclear research. Nor can the issue of academic freedom be left in the hands of two-bit-political aspirants.

Similarly, when the University of Chicago was faced with a state congressional investigation of Communist activities in its student body and its faculty, Chancellor Hutchins openly accused the state investigating committee of efforts to encroach upon the long-established academic freedom prevailing at that school.

How unlike these actions is the stand of Robert Gordon Sproul,

House Votes Science Foundation Bill With an FBI Man on Every Microscope

By FRANK HARPER

PHILADELPHIA, Mar. 5 — On March 1 the House of Representatives voted in Washington to establish a National Science Foundation, a new federal government agency to foster and coordinate basic scientific research. The House bill was similar to the Senate version passed in June, 1949, with the addition of several anti-democratic "loyalty requirement" amendments.

One such amendment stipulated that anyone connected with the foundation must be cleared by the FBI and another introduced by Democratic Representative D. J. Flood of Pennsylvania applied this clearance requirement specifically to nationals of any foreign government in any way associated with the NSF.

As reported in LABOR ACTION of February 13, most scientists and scientific organizations had worked for the creation of the science

foundation but opposed any security provisions of the amended House bill are much more sweeping and severe than those anticipated by any sponsoring scientific group. Since the foundation was designed to aid, foster, direct and finance basic or pure research and not to become involved in applied military research, it was felt that security regulations were not only superfluous but would hamper free inquiry, discussion and cooperation which has existed on an international level in basic science.

WORSE THAN EXPECTED

Because of the precedent in the Atomic Energy Commission which requires FBI checks of fellowship recipients, it was feared that some similar provision might be written into the science foundation legislation. However, the sweeping loyalty requirements for all phases of the NSF work shocked and alarmed even those who had be-

come resigned to accepting the more limited restrictions. The foundation is to be directed by a 24-man board of scientists and public figures appointed by the president and administered by a \$15,000-a-year director also appointed by the president. It is possible that many scientists will refuse to serve on the board just as the National Academy of Science has refused to administer the AEC fellowships.

In all probability the foundation bill will be altered in the Senate to conform closely with the House version and will then be signed by President Truman. The NSF was desired by scientists because it represented science free of the dead hand of big business and the military; now it represents science under the heavier but much heavier hand of the Truman loyalty purge.

The National Education Association in 1949 voted almost unanimously that Communists should not be permitted to teach, and yet in the same breath it strongly opposed loyalty oaths. The American Association of University Professors last year stated that Communists should be permitted to teach as long as the Communist Party is a legal organization in this country, and at the same time it recommended the dismissal of teachers advocating forcible overthrow of our government, those who used the classroom for a pro-Communist forum, or those who by their political thinking showed more than a normal bias to be uncritical.

To say the least, these decisions of top academic associations are bewildering if not stupidly contradictory. Yet these decisions find an explanation in the reactionary pressures exerted by a growing war hostility between the United States and Russia.

The living testimony of the shabby view on academic freedom by university personnel now exists at the University of California, and its consequences are far more far-reaching than nine campuses. Should the Board of Regents succeed in enforcing its ultimatum, the pattern for scores of other such boards will have been established in the entire American college system.

cannot scare the Russians without scaring ourselves. The reason lies in the nature of the new weapons and the nature of modern war. War today is not a fight between professional soldiers or even "the people in arms." It is total war, directed against all of society.

The present fate of mankind is the result of the division of the world into two imperialist power blocs. They have divided the earth between them. All countries, major, minor, nominally independent or colonial, totalitarian or democratic, are subservient to the super-powers, politically or economically, or both. Whatever the disguise, the struggle is over power, wealth, the right to exploit people. This is the sum of class society, capitalist and Stalinist.

For the ex-socialists or those who have never accepted socialist ideas on the grounds that they are utopian, it should be clear by now that socialism—which would abolish exploitation, nationalism, imperialist war, poverty—has moved from the realm of the possible or probable into the realm of necessity in order to save life itself.

Forced Labor in U. S. Bared —

(Continued from page 1)

dian tribes; (7) anti-labor restrictions, especially the Taft-Hartley Law.

Peonage, says Watts, is the Southern states' modern replacement for the chattel-slave system, most commonly among the cotton sharecroppers of the deep South and among the turpentine workers of Florida and Georgia.

The system works through the plantation owners' keeping the cropper in perpetual debt: the latter is furnished with seed, supplies, food and tools for credit, but at exorbitant prices, and with the accounts kept solely by the plantation owner with unchecked possibilities and practices of fraud. No matter how hard the sharecropper works, he can never work free under this setup. If he attempts to leave he is either detained by force or arrested and handed back.

Boxed on this page is a sample case of how this works. The case deals with the way in which the police authorities act as agents of the exploiters through systematic arrest for "vagrancy" to provide additional labor for the lords of the manor, even on a mass basis, in a manner reminiscent of the way in which the Russian GPU steps up its purges when more labor is needed in the Kremlin's slave camps. As in Russia, not even a trial need accompany the drumhead recruitment of forced labor in this fashion.

The intent of the 13th Amendment, charges the report, has

been totally ignored by the states involved, "which have constantly refined their criminal fraud statutes to avoid the letter of U. S. Supreme Court decisions." Nor has the federal government made any serious attempt to enforce laws on the books which would apply. "The Civil Rights Section of the Department of Justice with its six lawyers and no power of independent investigation is in sharp contrast to the Anti-Trust Division with its 320 lawyers and full investigative powers."

GOVERNMENT WINKS

The worst situation of foreign contract labor centers around Mexican workers in the Southwest and details are also given on West Indian workers in Florida and Connecticut. Arrest for "vagrancy" also figures in Florida as a forced-labor-recruiting device.

The virtual slave labor of Mexican workers in the Southwest and Middle South states involves hundreds of thousands: in two months of 1949 as many as 118,575 Mexican nationals were legally imported for farm work and in addition at least 200,000 illegal entrants cross the border every year "with little interference from the 'Border Patrol' which winks its eyes."

"In October 1948 so many of them crossed the border at El Paso, Texas, that large-scale farm operators like the Great Western Sugar Company backed up special trains to haul them away." The

Immigration Service put the label of legality on this proceeding by registering the entrants and PAROLING them to the custody of the farm operators, thus rendering them completely at the mercy of the latter.

The situation of the illegal entrants (the "wetbacks") is worse than that of the legal workers—but cannot be much worse. "Mr. John P. Swenson of the U. S. Immigration Service and some of his subordinates agree that slaves were treated better than the men on many farms they visited."

A newspaper reporter is quoted: "On many of the farms there was no provision for shelter, strictly catch-as-catch-can. The men, and often the women, slept under the long cotton wagons, under trees, in trucks, or in the open fields. The flies, valley mosquitoes and other insects of the Southwestern summer crawled over the workers by night. They welcomed sunrise each morning as an escape to the fields."

Of the 110,000 Japanese and U. S. citizens of Japanese descent piled into concentration camps after evacuation from the West Coast, the WDL charges say: "They were supplied with food and lodging in such camps but were expected to supply their own clothing and in order to obtain the ordinary necessities of sanitary living they were forced to work. This work was mostly farm labor; they had no choice of occupation and their remuneration was very small—in no way

JUSTICE A LA GPU—IN FLORIDA

Typical excerpt from a WDL investigator's report, on Broward County, Florida:

"On February 9, 1944, eight men and six women were arrested by Chief Deputy Sheriff Robert H. Clark at the farm of Dewey Hawkins, mayor of Oakland Park . . . for refusing to pick beans at the wages offered. They were charged with vagrancy and fined from \$20 to \$35 by the sheriff without a trial.

"On Friday, March 24, 1944, at about 11 a.m., seven men were picked up in the Negro district of Fort Lauderdale . . . and lodged in the county jail, charged with vagrancy. Two of the seven men worked nights as longshoremen and were off duty at the time of the arrest. Each of the longshoremen was fined \$35 by the sheriff without a trial."

These are only specific examples of the common practice.

comparable to that paid free labor for similar work. If they objected to the conditions of their employment, their only alternative was to remain within the barbed wire confines of the camp and live on the subsistence standards provided by the government.

"It should be borne in mind," the report reminds, "that the pattern . . . was unprecedented in the history of the United States. Not only was it a penalty imposed upon specific ethnic and religious groups as such, but it was the establishment of a principle of unpaid labor coerced by the government which may well be used against other groups in other situations, such as labor groups in strike situations."

The least known situation highlighted in the indictment is that of the Pribilof Indians off the coast of Alaska, who supply seal skins. The Fouke Fur Company of St. Louis has an exclusive contract with the Department of the Interior for all such skins. The

native gets an average of less than \$1 per skin—two per cent of its real value in its unprocessed state—and are prohibited from doing processing themselves. "If they remain in their homeland they are forced by the government of the United States to work for the Fouke Fur Company. If they attempt to leave the islands they are told that they will never be permitted to return, even for a visit to their families."

UN WON'T DO IT

The story of the Taft-Hartley Law is, of course, familiar to LABOR ACTION readers. The report to the UN concludes on that question:

"The worker recalls with apprehension the wartime use of troops as strikebreakers and knows that the government has the power to take such action again. He knows further that in other countries of the world where the government has assumed control of the unions it has been a prelude to the destruction of free labor."

In several places, stress is laid on the idea that the existence of forced labor is not only a human and moral abomination but that wherever it exists it tends to, and is used to, grind down the conditions of free labor. This is also a large part of the function it serves in the United States.

That the UN will or can do anything at all about the violations of democracy and freedom described is, of course, not to be expected. The submission of the report to its subcommittee could serve and has served the purpose of throwing the spotlight of publicity on them.

In each case, the practices are intimately tied up with the insatiable drive of the profit system to exploit the wealth-producing labor of the workers for the gain of the owning few, with human dignity, freedom and democracy of no account where they get in the way of profits. The aroused labor movement has met and beaten down similar conditions before, but their roots in the nature of capitalism have not been pulled out.

The Workers Defense League and its Commission of Inquiry have done a praiseworthy job in showing the labor movement some of the crimes to be fought here in this country.

French Strikes - -

(Continued from page 1)

wage increases.

But most important of all, the strike is not the property of the Stalinist-controlled CGT unions. All the union federations—Catholic, Force Ouvrière (reformist), CGT and Autonomous—are on strike.

The strike is solid and there is no telling how much further it will spread. It seems like the true heir to the partially successful 24-hour general strike of last November 25, which was the first workers' demonstration on a large scale grouping most of the unions since the "Cominform" strikes of the previous year had caused the split in the CGT and the driving into passivity of many disgusted workers.

OUTREACHED THEMSELVES

Shortly before the November 24-hour strike we had good evidence of the inability of the CGT to conduct a successful struggle by itself any longer when a three-hour general strike called by it in the Paris area was a complete flop. Again, before the present strike wave, the CGT tried a political strike—a national strike of all miners and railway workers, with a program including political as well as economic slogans. This strike, early in February, was a total disaster and ended any claim of the CGT to lead mass struggles of the working class by itself.

The employers were taken by surprise by the present wave, which had been preceded by a series of lockouts in which the offensive was entirely in the hands of the employers. In December and January, one by one employers in a dozen large factories scattered through France had precipitated these lockouts. Sometimes using a department wildcat walk-out as a pretext, sometimes without any pretext at all, the employer would lock out the whole plant and agree to a resumption of work only on the basis of the discharge of the key militants in the shop.

At the same time, occupation of the factories by the locked-out workers would be prevented by the assignment by the government of thousands of "Republican Se-

curity Companies," the strike-breaking troops organized three years ago by the "socialist" minister of the interior, Jules Moch. At the Hispano-Suiza lockout in December, for example, there were 2,000 troops assigned to a lockout of 1500 workers!

The fact is that the avarice of the bosses has been their own undoing by goading the workers to the point where they undertook the only form of action that could be successful—namely, a generalized strike struggle, where the solidarity of hundreds of thousands of workers would make the strikebreaking actions of the government futile.

SP STILL A FIGLEAF

The Socialist Party of France, thoroughly discredited, finally got out of the government last month, using a demand for a slightly larger workers' bonus as a pretext. They have finally decided that they cannot stay in the government and hope to reforge their ties with the workers.

But even out of the cabinet, they make a mockery out of their withdrawal by giving the government their support in the Chamber of Deputies even on the very measures on which they split. True, they did not vote for the emasculated workers' bonus presented by the government. They merely abstained after making sure that abstention would result in the government gaining a majority.

Now they have gone further by voting for government bills dealing with sabotage. These bills propose to supplement the previous death penalty for sabotage by lighter sentences of 5 to 10 years for certain spelled-out forms of "sabotage." Offhand this might seem like a weakening of the law. Actually it means that protest demonstrations against the war in Indo-China and strikes in which workers refuse to handle war materials will be treated as sabotage.

So long as the death penalty was the only prescribed punishment, naturally no jury would apply it where a political demonstration was obviously all that was involved. The Socialists, after hemming and hawing, finally voted for the bills after amending a

couple of commas. Thus they continue to allow the reactionary Bidault government to cover itself with their support and continue to refuse to give the workers' movement lead.

At the present time the Stalinist CGT has called 24-hour strikes of dock workers throughout the country to protest against arms shipments from the U.S. Because the Stalinists' reasons for protest are vastly different from those of workers opposed to all imperialism, these walkouts can only endanger the spreading economic strikes. The next few weeks will tell the story on the new labor offensive in France.

Miners' Victory - -

(Continued from page 1)

can avoid it. So the miners won acquittal and the administration prepared to seize the mines.

How was the acquittal arranged? Two methods could have been used. Perhaps Judge Keech, a former presidential assistant, was simply "tipped off." Given the increasing political prostitution of the American judiciary today, that is entirely possible. Or perhaps, as Senator Taft has charged, the government lawyers deliberately presented a weak case. Perhaps both took place.

At any rate, the UMW leaders suspected some such move and expected to win. The union could have chosen a jury trial. Such a trial would have dragged on longer and the chances of conviction would have been less, if the trial were serious. But the union waived a jury trial.

BOSS FRONT CRUMBLED

Why, then, did the operators sign? One important reason has been overlooked. Their solid front was beginning to crumble. A few days before settlement was reached, operators in the Indiana and Illinois fields decided to give in to union demands. Some signed and others were ready.

It had become apparent to them that the union would not back down, so they undoubtedly decid-

ed to sign and get the jump on their competitors while the price of coal was double the usual price. Solidarity is just as important to the operators as to the union, and the solidarity was going up in smoke.

Then, too, the operators were not keen about seizure. They had miscalculated the strength of the union. They expected seizure would have to curtail their profits and give concessions to the miners before the miners would work for the government. They knew that they would have to continue such concessions when the mines were returned to them. So why not give the concessions immediately and avoid seizure?

Then, too, the operators are not enthusiastic about the mines being operated without them. This would be a clear demonstration to the nation that they were really unnecessary, that they are really parasites.

HOLLOW GAIN FOR OWNERS

There is a further reason why the big operators wanted to avert government seizure. The big operators are busy trying to squeeze the small operators out of business and monopolize the industry. Government seizure would postpone their plans. Now such plans can proceed apace. The big operators, with modern plants, will not

be hurt by the increased labor costs. The small ones will.

The big operators, after all, did not force the strike because they could not afford to give in to the union. They forced the strike because they believed they had a chance to cripple the union and because, tied to steel and other industries as they are, they wanted to "hold the line" against the demands of labor this year.

What did the operators gain by the elimination of the "willing and able" clause? All face-saving claims to the contrary, it is largely a hollow victory.

The "willing and able" clause permitted Lewis himself to call strikes at any time without violating the contract. Under the new clause, Lewis will not be able to call the strikes, but if the miners themselves strike, the union would not be liable for damage suits. It is doubtful if the operators really believe they have gained much. If they do, they are in line for rude disillusion the next time the miners decide a strike is necessary.

The strike is over but the miners are still in need. They will not draw pay for some time. They are deeply in debt. They still need food and money. It must be forthcoming for several weeks yet. Let every workingman remember—every have won a great victory for us all.