

# LABOR ACTION

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## Labor Walks Off Wage Board in Protest; Can Keep Free Hand Only by Staying Off

By BEN HALL

By one dramatic action, representatives of the union movement stilled the quiet and unhampered progress of big business in determining national policy. Under instructions from the United Labor Committee of the AFL and CIO, labor's representatives resigned from the Wage Stabilization Board, and thus at one blow turned a bright light on the accumulating political and social measures aimed against labor.

Since the formation of the Wage Board this crisis has been simmering. When the wage freeze was first imposed, the unions hoped to live amicably with it. They consoled themselves with the illusion that its anti-labor effects could be counteracted by favorable explanatory regulations.

But this past week the "public" and industry members of the board tried to ram across its infamous "Regulation 6" which would ban wage increases if they exceeded a limit of 10 per cent over the level of January 1950, and legalize "fringe" increases, like pensions, hospitalization, and insurance, if they did not fall within the 10 per cent figure. Labor representatives demanded the endorsement of wage increases of 12-13 per cent above the level of June 1950 and the removal of all restrictions on "fringe" benefits. But the board voted 6-3 against labor. The resignations followed immediately.

Regulation 6 now lies on the desk of Eric Johnston, Economic Stabilization Administrator, awaiting his signature before it becomes effective. He cannot decide whether to sign it or not because the vigorous opposition of labor makes him hesitate.

### WOULD BE PRISONERS

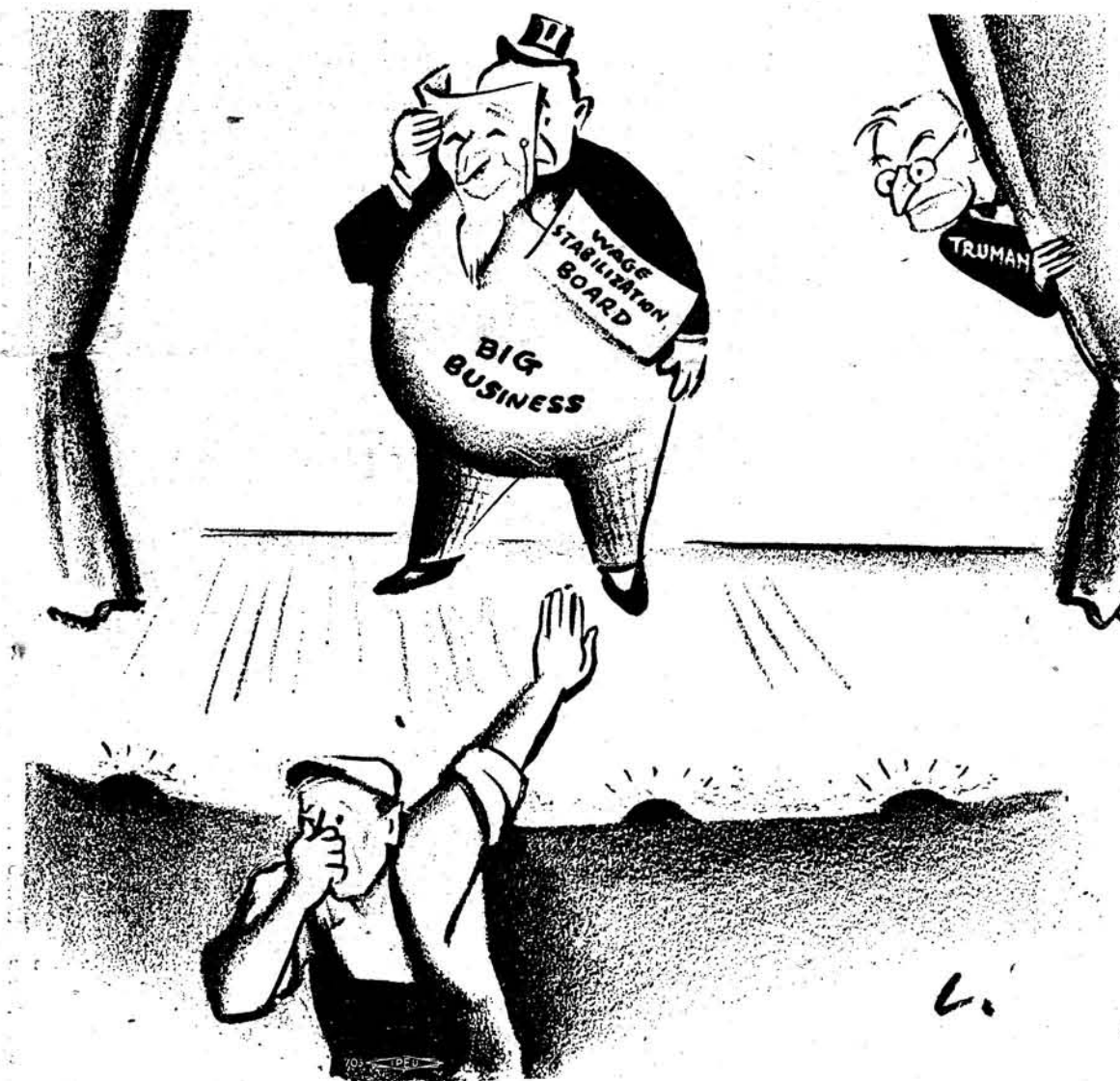
The labor representatives uttered only a feeble protest against the original freeze order a few weeks ago. Their tractability encouraged their opponents to go further. "If their opposition is no more than a gesture" said the New York Times in reporting the dispute over Regulation 6, "there is a good chance that the proposal will be adopted by a vote of public and industry members."

But somewhere there was a miscalculation. The labor men did protest; and their protest went beyond a simple gentlemanly gesture. It became clear that if they remained on the board they would become prisoners of the majority and that their presence would only give the combined board a mantle of lofty impartiality for its continuing anti-labor decisions.

Regulation 6 would hack away at United Auto Workers contracts. It would allow the operation of escalator clauses only until March. It leaves in doubt annual improvement wage increases. Consequently, it undermines the union's contracts; for the union had agreed to sign

(Continued on page 2)

(Turn to last page)



## Anti-Truman Feeling Grows in UAW

By WALTER JASON

DETROIT, Feb. 18 — An emergency meeting of the international executive board of the United Auto Workers (CIO) prepared for every action necessary to regain its wage provisions in all major contracts, EXCEPT the one decisive action which the whole labor movement would understand—a blast at and repudiation of the man responsible for threatening to wipe but UAW gains. That man is Harry Truman, Democratic Party president, whom the UAW helped put into office.

The UAW notified all auto companies that they faced a strike if the anti-labor wage policy of

the Wage Stabilization board were signed Monday by Eric Johnston.

As it now stands, the Truman wage policy wipes out the annual improvement factor in UAW contracts, thus depriving the auto workers, nearly 1,000,000 strong, of 4 cents an hour wage increase on June 1.

It also takes away the escalator clause after March 1, when the UAW is to receive 4 or 5 cents an hour, due to the rising cost of living in the past three months. On June 1, another sum of equal size would be forthcoming, since the Truman administration deliberately carries out a policy of "controlled inflation," calculated to lower the workers standard of living. This 4 or 5 cents on June 1 is not permitted under the pres-

ent policy order of the Wage Stabilization Board.

### WHITEWASH TRUMAN

The UAW executive board voted to back the United Labor Policy Committee, consisting of AFL and CIO leaders, in its policy of breaking with the Wage Stabilization Board, from which three labor representatives withdrew this past week.

The UAW board also voted \$100,000 for a special advertisement campaign to expose the Wage Stabilization Board.

But the one major need of the day, a political break with the Truman Democratic Party administration, is completely avoided by the UAW leaders, who nevertheless know that Truman is responsible for the anti-labor policies of his Wage Stabilization Board.

In fact, a Washington dispatch says that the top CIO and AFL leaders are placing their hopes on President Truman to change the present policy of the WSB.

Another UAW proposal is a multi-million-dollar defense fund of all unions to fight the disastrous effects of federal wage control, but this is not likely to get much attention from other labor leaders.

### TURNING POINT NEAR

The gravity of this crisis is not felt deeply in the auto shops at the moment, because the auto workers are getting a cost-of-living bonus on March 1, and because the UAW top leaders are somewhat cautious in acquainting the ranks with the real facts in the case.

# Pittsb'gh ACLU Head Gets The 'Anti-Red' Treatment

By GERRY McDERMOTT

PITTSBURGH, Feb. 14—"Ask not for whom the bell tolls; it tolls for thee." These are the lines from which Ernest Hemingway took the title for his famous novel.

A recent issue of LABOR ACTION mentioned the hesitation of the American Civil Liberties Union to defend the civil liberties of the Communist Party, in connection with a discussion of the views of Norman Thomas, a member of its board. The ACLU has forgotten, apparently, that the drive against the Stalinists by undemocratic means is only the beginning of an attack on genuine socialists, radicals, the labor movement, and even liberals. When the democratic rights of an unpopular minority go undefended, the whole floodgates of reaction are unloosed.

There is no better illustration of this truth than the situation in the city of Pittsburgh. Here, the forces of reaction are loosed upon — the ACLU.

The representatives of the ACLU in Pittsburgh has been a lawyer, Mrs. Marjorie Matson. In addition to a private practice, she has served as an assistant district attorney. (This can be a rather compromising position for a defender of civil liberties to hold, but that is another matter at the moment.) Mrs. Matson is a New Deal liberal and prominent member of Americans for Democratic Action who hoped to go further in politics from her present niche in the ruling Lawrence-Kane machine of Pittsburgh.

These ambitions, however, have been shattered. The Republican attorney general of the state, Charles J. Margiotti, has unloosed a campaign to drive Mrs. Matson from office. The charges trumpeted against her boil down to one accusation—she is some sort of a "red."

**WITCHHUNT RAGES**

This is not the first time the funeral bell has tolled in Pittsburgh over the grave of someone's democratic rights. As a matter of fact, it has been going more like a fire alarm for —

**IN UAW —**

(Continued from page 1)

If the contracts of the UAW are not permitted to continue in operation by a revision of the present WSA policy, the coming convention of the UAW in April will surely mark a turning point in the present labor-Union alliance, for the UAW leaders may be forced into an open break with Truman under the pressure of belligerent and bitter secondary leaders who are closer to the growing dissatisfaction in the shops than are the top leaders. By April the ranks will know that their 4 cents an hour annual-improvement factor and another cost-of-living bonus have been taken away, unless the Truman administration backs down.

It is very interesting to notice how the most vocal pro-Democratic Party and pro-Truman politicians in the UAW are very silent these days, and how widespread the anti-Truman feeling is in the shops. The top union leaders didn't blast Truman for his strikebreaking role in the railroad walkout, but this did not escape the men in the shops, and criticism of Truman was very loud.

The uneasiness and dissatisfaction in the shops will probably reflect itself in another way during the next two weeks. UAW local union elections in many key plants take place in the next few weeks. The results will be worth noting. Ford 600, Dodge 3, Chrysler 7, Briggs 212 and Ford 400 are among those holding their elections soon.

Here is the type of evidence brought against her:

● As a college student in the early thirties, "she had the reputation among her fellow students of having Communist tendencies."

● She was alleged to have once participated in a protest demonstration against a speech by General Douglas MacArthur in 1932.

● She had once spoken at a rally in support of a utility strike.

● In the not very recent past, she had defended the rights of the CP to pass out literature, in her capacity as attorney for the ACLU.

● She had been seen talking to two allegedly Communist lawyers in the lobby of the courthouse.

#### SCOUNDREL IN LEAD

But as the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette, one of the city's dailies, observed, "The real basis of Mrs. Matson's trouble . . . is her activity in behalf of the American Civil Liberties Union. . . ."

That the charges are so much rubbish is obvious at a glance. But these and similar accusations have been spread through the papers almost daily for weeks. Mrs. Matson has not been removed from office as yet, although the attorney general of the state apparently has the right to do so. He has not done so because he is trying to force the Democratic district attorney to do so, instead.

But Mrs. Matson has been granted "a leave of absence," supposedly at her own request.

The state attorney general who is hounding Mrs. Matson, C. J. Margiotti, is one of the filthiest politicians in a state famous for filthy politics. Among his clients in private practice have been Big Bill Lias, the vice king of near-by wide-open Wheeling, West Virginia, and the Garsson brothers, of the World War II May-Garsson munitions scandal, as well as a host of lesser known racketeers and criminals. He is so obnoxious that the state senate so far has refused to confirm his appointment, although he continues to serve on a temporary basis.

Here is a typical product of the witchhunt—a scoundrel like Margiotti uses the situation to bolster his own career at the expense of an honest and competent public servant.

#### LESSON FOR LIBERALS

One of the most sinister aspects of the whole affair is that Margiotti has come into possession of private correspondence between Mrs. Matson and the ACLU. It has not as yet been disclosed how this came about. At any rate, the letter itself is interesting, particularly that part of it that tells why Mrs. Matson was not doing anything about the civil-liberties situation in town. This reads: " . . . at the moment I am in the midst of a campaign to secure the Democratic endorsement for the office of state senator. Objection is being made to my candidacy by certain individuals because of my connection with the ACLU. . . ."

This was written a year ago; now the whirlwind is harvested, and Mrs. Matson is finished politically for a long time to come. She was willing to remain quiet about her beliefs, at least in part, but the reactionaries weren't.

There are certainly few cases which point up so neatly the self-defeating consequences of the growing reluctance of liberals and civil-liberties advocates to defend the rights even of the Stalinists, under the impress of the "anti-red" witchhunt.

This is not a matter of gloating over Mrs. Matson's predicament in this respect. The right of an advocate of civil liberties to hold office should be defended most vigorously precisely by socialists and the labor movement.

## LABOR SCOPE

### DUES HIKE ISSUE DEBATED IN UAW

By BEN HALL

If there are conservative workers who oppose the dues increase because of their backwardness and their failure to appreciate their own union, there are also bureaucratic officials who favor it because they drool at the thought of a bulging treasury which would allow the expansion of a subtle and not-so-subtle patronage setup. If they could, such men would rudely ignore the misgivings of militants and put over the increase by an imperious command upon an intimidated membership. But such methods will not win out in the UAW. The ranks will weigh the merits of the proposal.

The UAW, in common with the rest of the labor movement is preparing itself for a stiff fight to maintain its contracts against wage-freezing "stabilization." Many active militants and local leaders favor an increase in dues to build up a war chest and strike fund to strengthen the union for coming struggles.

A strong fighting union is worthy of financial support from its members; if the workers don't pay to run their union, who will? If this line of thinking answered all questions, the issue would be simple.

Naturally, among the opponents of the dues increase will be found those "scissorbill" conservative workers who begrudge every penny they pay to their union, who are only one notch above the "free rider." But many active and loyal union men are wary of endorsing a dues raise because they are suspicious of the motives of their officials.

The delegates will have the responsibility of making that decision; they will test the arguments of the top leadership against their own experiences. If they vote against a dues increase it will be their method of protesting against bureaucratic trends; if they vote for the increase it will be a mandate to the leaders to carry out their promises for a fighting program.

But as the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette, one of the city's dailies, observed, "The real basis of Mrs. Matson's trouble . . . is her activity in behalf of the American Civil Liberties Union. . . ."

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# India Aid Still Held Up, Congress Plans 'Strings'

By H. D. SPECTOR

The Truman administration has finally moved to supply aid, in the form of shipments of grain, to the people of India who are suffering from one of the most devastating famines in their history.

After a year and a half since the first request for grain was presented to the State Department, bills to this effect have been introduced into both houses of Congress.

The administration's delaying tactics on this vital need for nearly a hundred million people has already served one of its purposes. As we have already described in LABOR ACTION, it used this delay—and the threat of no aid—as a club to beat out its majority in the United Nations in the vote which declared China an aggressor.

While India itself did not yield in its vote on this question, the open display of the U. S. mailed fist helped to intimidate and blackmail the others—so that Burma alone joined India (among the non-Stalinist nations) in opposing Washington in that vote. There is little doubt that if and when the full story of the backstage dealings in that ballot is told, it will make one of the dirtiest tales in international diplomatic history.

But, as we commented on February 5, "Now that the U. S. has succeeded in slugging its resolution through the UN, Washington may consider that it can afford to turn 'magnanimous' and aid India. . . . It may also yield to that section of bourgeois opinion which thinks it 'unwise' to show the mailed fist in full view."

And it was indeed true that the sordid display of open U. S. mercenary pressure on the vote of the UN was too much even for many right-of-center elements in the country. Newspapers as conservative as the N. Y. Times were frank in viewing Washington's policy toward India as political blackmail and "deploring" it.

Herbert Hoover got in on the show by visiting the president as an advocate of a turn in policy. That particular sideshow could have been especially revolting to anyone whose memory was long enough to include the story of Hoover's own activities after the First World War as head of the U. S. relief mission in Europe: Hoover has still not been outdone in his blatant use of promises and withdrawals of relief for imperialist purposes, particularly to threaten reprisals to counter the revolutionary upsurge on the continent in those years.

But the introduction of aid-to-India bills in Congress does not yet relieve the Indian famine. The administration still refuses to accept the Indian government's own proposal—a loan through which the needed wheat could be obtained—which would not necessitate congressional action and its consequent delays.

The passage of any kind of bill may be neither smooth nor speedy. By insisting on considering aid to India only as a "gift," rather than through a loan, Truman and Acheson have assured further procrastination and have given every reactionary and super-patriot in Congress a chance to shoot at the plan—and to shoot holes in it.

But even assuming that some kind of bill will be passed, and leaving aside how many people of India will starve before American "philanthropy" becomes operative, a big question is whether any strings will be attached to the "gift," implicitly or openly, and what these strings may be.

The administration's own bill is not without such strings. It provides for the administration of the relief grant by the ECA

(Marshall Plan) supervisory machinery, and this can mean various things—that is, it can mean various degrees of intervention and supervision over Indian economic policy by the U. S. representatives. One of the results of the administration's chosen procedure is that the field is wide open for subtle amendments to be attached by ravening fire-eaters in Congress which would give ECA controllers a wedge into Indian domestic affairs.

Thus, the problem is by no means over. And the U. S. labor movement's leaders have kept their shameful silence. And no doubt these same labor leaders, as they have been doing, will continue to send their representatives to teach them how to defend democracy! For well enough known reasons, these representatives will not, however be thrown out on their ears.

#### REAL PURPOSE

The fact is that the partition of India—as the end result of centuries of British imperialist rule—meant the distortion and misshaping of the economies of both countries. Those who supported this partition, including the United States can scarcely reasonably insist that the states thus sundered behave as if nothing has happened.

To say this is to excuse neither the Nehru regime nor the Pakistan regimes, both of which are plainly guilty of tendencies toward ultra-nationalism and self-sufficiency — tendencies which are typical of all the national states in the world of today. We are concerned at this point only with the hypocritical and self-righteous outcries of the U. S. government and press at the policy of the Indian government toward encouraging jute growing.

And finally, while India pushed jute growing, it is also true that at the same time it expanded its wheat production. More wheat is grown today in India than at any other time in its history, partially because of policies fostered by the government.

The accusations about India's responsibility for its own famine which have filled the U. S. press are, therefore, not only hypocritical but are calculated to serve an insidious purpose, namely, to whip up that spirit in Congress, or—since it is scarcely necessary to do much whipping up with the present composition of that body—to lay the basis in the public mind, for the insinuation of the U. S. reins over India through the same instrumentalities as have worked with the Marshall Plan countries.

As a counterweight to the obvious crime of the U. S. government's one and a half year's delay, the charge was made that the Indian government was substantially responsible for the sweep of the famine because it had refused to purchase wheat from Pakistan, and because it had encouraged jute production rather than wheat production at home.

On the basis of such charges, the cry is raised in and out of Congress that if India is to get aid it must get it under the supervision of the American uncle, to see to it that it is used in the right manner. Therefore the pressure for conditions, agreements and strings.

What is not told with regard to this charge is that the Delhi government had to push jute growing in the past period in order to avoid another famine—a famine of industrial raw materials.

The partition of the former Indian dominion between India and Pakistan bisected the country economically. Jute growing was left in Pakistan while jute manufacture was in India. The large cities of Northern India suffered from unemployment and shutdown of production.

The purchase of jute from Pakistan, as an alternative to growing jute in India, was sabotaged from Pakistan and Pakistan was the first country to follow England in devaluating the pound sterling, and its government devalued it further and lower than the others in the British Commonwealth. The purpose and effect of this was to

## RFC Corruption Exposé Points into White House

By PETER WHITNEY

In a swift reversal of his position, President Truman has urged Congress to overhaul drastically the administration and functioning of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. He thus got himself off the sagging limb on which he had perched himself by his original insistence on renominating the present five directors of this powerful government lending agency. Three of these highly placed directors had been charged with improper use of their powers—and the taxpayers' money—by the Senate banking subcommittee.

The subcommittee's report, based on months of inquiry, revealed that the RFC directors had been guilty of favoritism in the granting of loans and had yielded to political influence, especially when exercised by persons close to President Truman, as well as widespread mismanagement and misbehavior. In sworn testimony before the subcommittee, a leading Washington lawyer claimed that two of the directors "were in his hip pocket."

The coffers of the state, closed to those unbefriended by hip-pocketers, opened quickly enough to the right parties. Thus, George Sax had no difficulty obtaining a loan of \$1,500,000 to add the swanky Hotel Saxony to Miami Beach's skyline. Senator Fulbright, who heads the subcommittee, pointed out that the loan was not a legitimate use of public funds, but a loan to build a luxury hotel, "and the public interest was not served at all." Whose interest was served may be revealed after he inspects the guest records of the hotel.

#### "ASININE," HE SAYS

The subcommittee delved into some other loans, for which they could find no logical explanation. Among the beneficiaries of the RFC's generosity and "illogical" practices were: the Lustron Corporation, the Texmass Petroleum Corporation, Waltham Watch Company, Central Iron and Steel, and the Mapes Hotel in Reno. These and other corporations found the RFC easy pickings because of the "extraordinary" powers of persuasion possessed by certain associates of President Truman, representatives of the

Democratic National Committee, and certain Washington lawyers.

The subcommittee's report stated rather wistfully that it was not trying to abolish influence in Washington—that would be too much to hope for—but it was trying to make the RFC strong enough to resist it. The scandalous situation had just gone a little too far, even for Washington standards, and the subcommittee's report, approved by the Senate banking and currency committee, called for drastic reorganization.

Despite the detailed and substantial nature of the report, President Truman denounced it as "asinine" and proclaimed that his administrative assistant, singled out in the report for his intervention in obtaining loans, was under no necessity to explain his RFC activities to the Senate. Further thumbing his nose at the committee's report, he promptly—in his "loyal" fashion—renominated the five directors of the RFC.

A battle between the White House and the Capitol seemed inevitable, until Truman backwatered and sent a new message to Congress, calling for a single administrator of the RFC and a tightening up of its lending procedures. The president made no attempt to answer the committee's charges but his proposals are obviously intended to satisfy some of their criticisms. His message is now before the committee, which intends to investigate deeper into this unsavory mess.

A most understanding senator on the subcommittee is Paul Douglas of Illinois. Informed of Truman's "asinine" reaction to the committee's revelations, he psychoanalyzed: "In all of us there are deep volcanoes of emotion going on." Or could it be a guilt feeling exploding?

Douglas further diagnosed that "The RFC has picked up a fine collection of germs and its resistance is at low ebb." Unfortunately the peculiar kind of germs which breed around government agencies handing out millions of dollars multiply very rapidly. Praiseworthy as the committee's aim may be to eliminate these germs and build up the RFC's resistance, so long as the almighty dollar dominates Washington, just so long will we have influence and pressure utilized at the expense of the public welfare.

## ISRAEL

# Cabinet Falls, New Election Due

By AL FINDLEY

Commenting on the results of the recent municipal elections, we wrote in LABOR ACTION that the religious bloc, although still very influential, had lost its power of blackmail in Israel politics. The cabinet crisis in Israel bears this out.

The present coalition cabinet has fallen for the second time. Though it seems probable that new elections will be held, there is still a possibility that the present coalition may be patched up. The first cabinet resignation came when the religious bloc demanded a new economic policy more favorable to the capitalist class. The present cabinet crisis came on the religious issue.

However, the question was not raised by the religious bloc which had no real desire to precipitate the fall of the cabinet. It was the General Zionists (the conservative party of the bourgeoisie, which is pressing hard for a new election) who used the religious issue as a good point on which to topple the government.

Israel has four official Jewish school systems: a general one, a Histadrut school system that in practice is divided into two (Mapai and Mapan), and two religious school systems operated

by the two main parties within the religious bloc.

Some two years ago the Mapai and the religious bloc had reached an agreement that the children of immigrant camps be treated as follows: all children of Yemenite Jews to go to schools of the religious bloc; other parents may choose from any of the official school systems.

#### QUESTION OF SCHOOLS

Later the government established Maaborot—often referred to as work camps—which in reality are transition camps that may become permanent. The religious bloc demanded that the procedure of the immigration reception camps be applied to the Maaborot.

But the religious bloc, having lost its position of strength in the last municipal elections, were unable to get the Mapai and the government to accept their point of view. The question has been further complicated in that the Mapai has opened religious schools within the Histadrut school system. The religious bloc fears that the prestige the Mapai government bureaucrats enjoy in the eyes of the immigrants will lead them to choose the Histadrut schools.

A government report to the

Knesset reiterated the old agreement about reception camps but stated that the residents of the Maaborot were not included and should have the same rights of choice as enjoyed by all residents of Israel. The General Zionists presented a motion to reject the government's report. All the opposition parties from the Communist Party and Mapan to Heiruth voted against the government. The religious bloc too had to vote against the report in order to pressure its principle. The Mapai, who have little to lose and may gain from a general election, made the question one of a "vote of confidence." A majority of 49 to 41 rallied against the government and the cabinet resigned.

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# The ISL Program in Brief

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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# YOU and SCIENCE

## SCIENCE GROUPS LOSING PERSPECTIVE

By CARL DARTON

Most of the activity of scientists' organizations, such as the Federation of American Scientists, has become, of necessity, defensive. As explained in a recent FAS annual report: "Under the impact of national and international events, FAS found itself vainly protesting actions irrevocably taken, too often striving for an acceptable compromise rather than a desirable solution."

While the influence of FAS and publications such as the *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists* has not been inconsequential, one must admit that they have not been able to mobilize great interest among even the scientists. Most of the 14 local chapters which combined to form the FAS in 1945 are now defunct and the organization is now largely one of "membership at large." There are very few active rank-and-file members. The truth of the matter is that the witch hunt among the scientists has taken its toll and has frightened students and young scientific workers from joining such organizations. Only the big-name scientists, whose prestige is well established, can afford to participate in organizations dealing with social and political problems.

Secondly, the National Science Foundation has had a discouraging evolution. When it was finally established by law in the middle of 1950 it was clearly fated to be hampered by lack of funds and by security measures. Months then passed before President Truman got around to naming the members of its board. The board has had but two meetings and has not been able to agree upon the all-important directorship. Now it is almost certain that if NSF activity is limited to fostering basic research, as scientists have advocated, there will be very little money granted for its operation. However, if the foundation plays a role in the war mobilization of scientists then its pockets will be much better lined.

Scientists have been so dissatisfied with all the aspects of the security, loyalty, and secrecy measures that they have been among the most vocal advocates of a complete re-examination of the entire program. Concretely they have suggested an investigation committee similar to the recently constituted Federal Commission on Internal Security and Individual Rights. It is expected that scientists and their organizations will place their viewpoints before this commission headed by Admiral Chester Nimitz.

The Korean War and the drift to total war has changed the picture so completely in recent months that many of the scientists we have been describing have seemingly lost their perspective. An FAS spokesman writes: "Peaceful utilization of the results of science, international control of atomic energy, deeper and broader understanding of natural phenomena—all appeared to move away into the indeterminate future. . . . At the year's end the future looked no brighter, and FAS was grappling with issues—mobilization of science for war and civilian atomic defense—posed by the kind of a world it has sought to prevent."

### What Can Scientists Do Now?

Eugene Rabinowitz, editor of the *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists*, is even more discouraged and resigned. He writes: "Scientists—whose profession requires a recognition of facts, however unpleasant—cannot but admit that their campaign has failed. Even in America the success of their educational efforts fall far short of persuading the majority of the nation that with the emergence of atomic weapons the meaning of national security and national sovereignty, national sacrifice and national prosperity had radically changed."

Rabinowitz now proposes very limited activity: "While the present emergency continues—and it may continue for many years—scientists and others who think in terms of rational reorganization of the world will have to be patient and humble. For the time being they will have to be content with contributing to the solution of day-to-day problems."

This writer cannot agree with the perspective which the spokesmen of the FAS and the *Bulletin* offer to their organizations in the present period. It deserves discussion not only by this column but by readers who are interested in the problem. As Rabinowitz writes further, despite his dim view of the future: "scientists, more than anyone else, should, and we believe will, preserve the fundamental conviction, born of close association with the powers liberated by modern science for the destruction of mankind or for its progress toward greater security and freedom: the conviction that mankind is ready and willing to terminate the endless sequence of wars, and to create new forms of social organization under which the limitless capacities for effort and sacrifice will be directed in a rational way toward constructive ends."

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# Reading from Left to Right

ARMS AND THE GERMANS, by Agnes Meyer.—Progressive, January.

Since her return from a recent trip to Germany, the wife of the publisher of the conservative Washington Post, Eugene Meyer, has probably been getting some stares from plump friends. She has had some hard things to say about U. S. occupation policy in Germany and its results. In the *Progressive*, as elsewhere, part of her fire is directed against the fact that American rule has put the anti-labor troglodytes back into power. (This was even before the recent rehabilitation of Krupp).

"But instead of creating a brave new world with the billions of Marshall Plan aid that we have poured into Germany, we have merely put back into power the old type of leadership that could not cope with mass unemployment and therefore made Hitler possible. Moreover in the allotment of Marshall aid, we have not insisted on control of the wage scale; we have made it look as if we were out to build up the big employers, in the hope that some of the gravy would trickle down to the workers. As a result, wages in Germany are shockingly low. . . ."

"We have made it look that way," in Mrs. Meyer's mild phrase, because "we" (that is, "they," the U. S. authorities) wanted it that way: there is no other way that a rehabilitation of capitalism and the industrialists could work. The trickle-down theory of prosperity is inherent in the profit system in any country. Mrs. Meyers continues:

"The concept of 'free enterprise' held by Economic Minister Ehrhardt and his followers among the West German financial interests can only be described in American terms as pre-World War I. . . . Many people—even some liberal officials—regret that the workers did not stage a revolution at that time [the war's end] in order to serve notice on their former leaders that the traditional humility and obedience of the German masses was a thing of the past. . . ."

not stage a revolution at that time [the war's end] in order to serve notice on their former leaders that the traditional humility and obedience of the German masses was a thing of the past. . . .

"Above all, the men who returned from the battlefields and their families are permanently fed up with militarism. They abhor it. The older people yearn for security and peace. The younger ones are struggling to get an education and a job so that they can marry and live a decent, modest life for the first time since they were born."

"It is therefore not surprising that the immediate response of the German people to the vital need of defending their country is one of revulsion. They hate communism more violently than any other people, for they saw the stark poverty in Russia during the invasion and the incredibly barbaric behavior of the Russian troops when they in turn invaded Germany. Yet many of the employed and unemployed said to me lethargically: 'Let the Russians come. We couldn't be any worse off.'"

"Actually they don't really mean this. . . ." She adds later: what the German people want and need is an "ideal"—that is, we may interpolate, they seek a "way out" for which they can fight with enthusiasm, and do not see it in support of either Western or Eastern imperialism. There is, of course, no tradition of "humility and obedience" in the German workers' mass movement, which even today is one of the most combative in Europe of a non-Stalinist character, but we can sympathize with the regret that there was not post-war revolution in Germany. Mrs. Meyers herself may have in mind a very limited "revolution" but it could not have stopped at merely "serving notice."

# WORLD POLITICS

## TITOID REVOLT IN ITALIAN CP SPREADS TO NEW REGIONS

By PAUL ROBERTS

The rebellion in the Italian Stalinist movement, described in last week's **LABOR ACTION**, continues to spread. In addition to the turmoil already taking place in the region of Bologna, the rebels are gaining recruits in other regions of Italy.

Center of the revolt in many localities is often to be found in the movement of war-time resistance partisans. This movement was very active in Northern Italy in the military struggle against the Nazis and particularly against the remnants of the Mussolini Fascist forces. It was—and with the exception of the unions, continues to be—the principal Communist Party-controlled mass movement in the country.

In the latter part of the war close ties grew up between the Italian partisan movement and the Yugoslav partisans under Tito. As we mentioned last week, the Yugoslavs, since their break with the Cominform in 1948, have been extremely busy doing everything possible to continue and strengthen these ties.

Among the results of this Tito feeling among the partisans we can count the spread of the revolt to the region of Florence, where on February 18 groups of partisans began tearing up their CP cards. Further north, dozens of CP members at Asti, near Turin, also resigned.

The largest break from the Stalinists was thus far reported that on February 18 at Gravina, a small town in the poverty-stricken agricultural province of the Puglie, in Southeast Italy, where 200 CP members, mostly peasants and agricultural workers, quit at one time.

That same day also saw the return to Italy of Pietro Secchia, who has been to Moscow twice since the start of 1951. Secchia, one of the top half-dozen Stalinist bosses in the country, is understood to have been called to Moscow to receive orders from his masters on how to fight this re-

bellion. The usual method of widespread explosion of everyone who even looks as if he might get "independent" ideas before he has a chance to resign will very likely be employed.

In the meanwhile, the rebels are busy issuing statements. Rebel leaders Magnani and Cucchi, both of whom are deputies, have issued one new statement, denouncing the Stalinist "peace campaign" as a smokescreen not only for Russian war preparations but also for the spread in CP ranks of the idea that only a "Red Army" invasion can overthrow capitalism. Another statement by Magnani and Cucchi denounces the Western powers as imperialists and repeats the early Tito line that Russia is still a socialist state. Like the Yugoslavs, they will probably abandon that line before long.

### CURIOSA

The former Italian section of the official-Trotskyists, Romeo Mangano's Communist Workers Party (POC), which split from the Fourth International because it was insufficiently sectarian, has rounded out its line. Mangano and his friends, most of whom are centered in the "Soviet" (sic) of the little town of Foggia, have now decided that their adherents must refuse to support strikes led by the old unions and should leave the unions they belong to. "Wherefore art thou Romeo?"

### FOOTNOTE

Thus far there has been no talk at all of any influence upon the rebellion by the little official Trotskyist grouplet. If the rebellion had taken place a few months ago it would have been easy for the "Fourth Internationalists" to try to get on very friendly terms with this Tito-like rebellion, for in passing from a Stalinist position to a position "independent of both camps" (and now even fur-

**New York Socialist Youth League FORUMS**  
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IRVING HOWE  
Co-author, "The UAW and Walter Reuther"  
LABOR ACTION HALL, 114 W. 14 St., N.Y.C.—8:30 p.m.

# BOOKS and Ideas Vera M. Dean's Latest Book Spotlights — The Liberal Dilemma in Foreign Policy

By SAM FELIKS

In Vera Micheles Dean's *Europe and the United States*, we are introduced to a social Darwinist operating in the realm of twentieth-century politics. Written before the outbreak of the war in Korea, this book has a strange lack of sense of the seriousness of the crisis that faces the world today. The danger of a conflict between the rival imperialisms is recognized, but to Mrs. Dean this is only another step or a temporary setback on the ladder of social progress.

It is her tendency to understate the extent of the present conflict and her uncanny ability to find some progress everywhere, even in the cold-war maneuvers of the United States and the aspirations of the Russian bureaucracy, that has led other reviewers to attack Mrs. Dean as being insufficiently aware of the dangers of Stalinism. The closest that we can come to this type of fuzzy thinking is to point to the Wallaceite liberal on foreign policy.

*Europe and the United States* gives an adequate summary of the breakdown of Western European capitalism and the necessity for American capitalism to intervene to rescue it. The problems of the post-war world are not merely due to Stalinist expansionism but to the destruction wrought by the last world war and the decay of the old society: "it is by no means so certain as it seemed to many Americans during the past four years that all of the world's problems are attributable solely to Russia and communism, and that once Russia and communism have been obliterated, peace would reign throughout the world."

But in the evaluation of the conflicting social systems that threaten the world with atomic war, the best that Mrs. Dean can offer is a kind of "cultural pluralism." There are a number of choices, any one of which might be as good as another, so take your choice. "To assert that socialism in Western Europe, or communism in less developed areas, is the one and only answer to the problems of the twentieth century is just as dogmatic as to assert that untrammeled private enterprise offers a cure-all for the ills of that development, no matter what their past tradition or present state of nations. It should be obvious by now that there is no single formula that will fit the vastly diverse needs of the United States and India, of Germany and Yugoslavia, of Britain and the USSR."

It becomes clear that to Mrs. Dean the problem does not lie in the realm of social systems or any other institutions of society but in the individuals who run the governments or the historical nationalistic aspirations of the nation. And it is an abstract "nationalism" that bears the brunt of her analysis of the cold war.

### For "New Balance of Power"

Vera Micheles Dean's social Darwinist ideas are most clearly presented in her conception of the role of the Marshall Plan and the ideological façade that the U. S. is attempting to put forth against the radical appearing appeal of Stalinism. "The Marshall Plan recognized that communism thrives on misery and chaos, and that what is needed is not to fight the outward symptoms, but to eliminate the basic conditions that breed communism. . . . In order to combat communism effectively, the U. S. may have to propose and help carry out some of the economic and social reforms urged by the Communists. . . . Should this happen, the ideological issue between the U. S. and the USSR may boil down to divergences not so much about ends as about means."

Here is a Pollyanna view of the cold war. It is fear and mutual mistrust between the rival powers that prevent peaceful competition between the two, to see who can "deliver the goods" and therefore climb to the next rung of the Darwinist ladder of progress. The appeal is to the throne to make the needed changes, although Mrs. Dean correctly emphasizes that the U. S. has to make a change in policy in order to meet the appeal that Stalinism demagogically makes.

Even the cold war itself is going to produce progressive consequences: "The Western democracies, which were in imminent danger of becoming stagnant [are stirred] into renewed efforts to fulfill the promises they had been holding out for over a century to their own as yet under-privileged citizens and to the non-industrialized areas of the world." The "renewed efforts" by the U. S. were mostly in the line of a Marshall Plan, about whose purposes not even Mrs. Dean has many illusions, and the support to an amazing series of reactionary allies throughout the world. In fact Mrs. Dean is generally critical of many of the specific features of U. S. foreign policy because not even the attempt is being made "to fulfill the promises."

To Mrs. Dean, peace means "a new balance of power within the framework of the UN." What this "new balance of power" is to be or how to approach it is left to the imagination. Here her approach is that of the World Federalist movement: "It certainly seems unrealistic to expect more from ourselves, and other people, in international organization than we are able to accomplish in domestic affairs. Nor must we forget that it has not proved easy, through the centuries, to reconcile fundamental differences within nations, and that even the most advanced Western countries, like Britain, France, and the U. S., have gone through civil wars and revolutions before achieving a measure of stability." But, in terms of her own implicit analogy, these "civil wars and revolutions" on a world scale represent the world war that she proposes to avoid!

And in the last analysis "if we want to see improved relations between nations, or within nations, and if we want less self-seeking and more social responsibility, we have to find some way of imbuing

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human beings with these ideals." But in spite of this approach to the world situation, Mrs. Dean, because of her position in the Foreign Policy Association, can and does offer a good summary of the last six years in the cold war. She is critical enough of U. S. foreign policy and the many reactionary allies in the U. S. war bloc, of the American strategy of acquiring military bases all over the world; and she has less illusions about the Marshall Plan than some of its "socialist" supporters.

In Western Europe, Mrs. Dean at one point even proposes that "the best hope for Europe would seem to be the possibility of strengthening the UN through more active participation by the smaller nations—the potential international 'third force'—which might ultimately act as a buffer between the superpowers." However, even without going into the potentialities of a non-ideological "third force," Mrs. Dean is forced to admit that it is "difficult for the Europeans to form a union of their own . . . without reference to the interests they have in obtaining this country's [the U. S.'s] support." It is because Western Europe is tied ideologically to the U. S. that it is difficult to conceive of the present governments forming the basis of a "third force."

This problem is sharpened when the alternative courses of action are posed. It develops because the author is tied to the belief that these governments best represent the interests of the people and are capable of developing a progressive solution to the present crisis.

"To the extent," writes Mrs. Dean, "that this country, consciously or unconsciously, takes over the role played by Russia's previous opponents, of containing Russia or menacing its security by building alliances and acquiring bases along its periphery, to that extent we must prepare for an eventual military showdown with the USSR. If our purpose is to put an end both to Russia's military power and to the Soviet system, then war probably offers the only effective course. . . ."

For her, then, the alternatives are: either war (which of course she opposes) or an arrangement with the Kremlin to live with the world power of Stalinism and let live. There is no room in her ideology for an attack on the menace of Stalinism in the world through political means rather than through military conflict. She sees the same alternatives as does the State Department, and revolves within the same circle of ideas.

The not unimportant difference, it goes without saying, is that whereas she chooses conciliation with Moscow (inevitably through something close to appeasement), Washington sees only the military solution. The first requisite for a real "third force," however, is a third political program: an anti-capitalist revolutionary appeal to the peoples of the Eastern countries against their regimes. But this is possible only on a socialist basis.

# Margarete Buber's 'Under 2 Dictators'

UNDER TWO DICTATORS, by Margarete Buber. Dodd, Mead, \$4.00. By P. R.

Margarete Buber, widow of Heinz Neumann, the German CP leader liquidated by the Russian GPU, tells of her life in the prison camps of Stalinist Russia and then of Nazi Germany.

A Communist herself, she, like her husband, was accused of having criticized the Stalinist line in Germany. Having gone to Moscow, Neumann was taken away by the Russian secret police in 1937 and never heard of again, while she was arrested soon after and after some months in prison ended up in the Siberian slave-labor camp of Karaganda. It is with sadness that we add that a large number of Spanish anti-fascists who sought refuge in Russia after Franco's victory have since ended up in that same miserable prison camp of Karaganda, just as did the Austrian Schutzbund fighters who fled to Russia after fascism won out in Vienna.

After two years in Karaganda, the Russians, having signed the Hitler-Stalin pact, took Mrs. Buber and scores of other German Stalinists "guilty" (or suspected) of doubting the infallibility of the Kremlin, and handed them over to the Nazis. The Nazis put her into their concentration camp of Ravensbrueck, where she stayed for 5 years, until the German collapse.

The horrors of life in both these camps are well described, although the over-friendly description of the American soldier at the end, coming from this woman with a highly political past, looks a bit like currying favor with the American bloc (or reading public?).

The comprehensive but human and readable description of the

Stalin prison state and of the almost incredible never-ending line of CPers of all ranks and nationalities on their way to jails and slave-labor camps make this a book which would certainly have a healthy effect on any person with Stalinist inclinations who could be gotten to read it.

It is interesting to note that as the German economy began to fall apart toward the end of the war, physical conditions in Ravensbrueck began to resemble more and more those in Russian Karaganda, although especially before then, according to Mrs. Buber, the German camp was less unbearable than the Russian one. The feeling of being in some way a part of a socially hopeful and progressive opposition which partially consoled so many inmates of Nazi camps was a feeling that was difficult to achieve under the brutal power juggernaut in Russia which made the individual prisoners feel hopelessly alone.

Although this book is valuable for one who has not yet read a good description of the barbaric camps, serious students of the German camps will find more thorough studies from the psychological and political angles in the books of the French ex-leftist David Rousset (*L'Univers Concentrationnaire* and *Les Jours de Notre Mort*), and from the social, and above all factual, detail angles in the work of the German anti-Nazi Catholic, Eugen Kogon (*S. S. Staat*).

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# BRITAIN: GUNS AND STRIKES

## Workers Resist BLP Armament - Wage Policy

By GORDON HASKELL

The British railroad strike marks a new stage in the development of growing friction between the Labor Party government and the rank and file of Britain's workers.

During the past few weeks there has been a whole rash of strikes in the machinist trades, and the wildcat longshoreman's strike has been going on for over two weeks with varying degrees of participation at the different ports. If the railroad strike should become general in scope and last for a number of days, the political consequences might well turn out to be as serious as the economic ones.

The railroad strike and the generally rebellious mood of the workers can best be understood against the backdrop of the world-wide preparations for war.

In the cold war the British Labor government has been a loyal ally of the United States. As such it has received the short-run advantages of the alliance, such as Marshall Plan aid. But for these advantages a price had to be paid. Part of the price was a loosening of economic controls with relation to the rest of the world. Another part is, of course, the agreement to arm Britain as rapidly and fully as possible.

Both these decisions, neither of which was probably avoidable as long as the Labor government conducts its present foreign policy, was bound to have a serious effect on the standard of living of the workers, and hence to stimulate their opposition.

### Austerity and Arms

However, the opposition of the workers does not show itself in the form of a political movement aimed at changing the foreign policy of the government, or at least not primarily in such a movement. It appears in a much more immediate and direct way, in strikes and opposition to the domestic policies of the government which follow in part as consequences of its foreign line.

The political content of these strikes resides solely in the fact that the Labor Party spokesmen are not able to restrain the workers by convincing them that the foreign policy which their conventions (both trade union and political) have endorsed inexorably require the strictest kind of austerity and no wage raises at home.

In reporting on the last Trade Union Congress we pointed out that the delegates endorsed the government's policy in the Korean war by an overwhelming majority. At the same time, they rejected a Stalinist-inspired motion on controlling the atom bomb by a much smaller majority. Finally, they voted to end the policy of voluntary wage restraints carried out by their general executive body.

LABOR ACTION (September 18, 1950) commented on the lineup in these three votes as follows: "The war in Korea is, after all, far away from Britain. The actual physical support given to the United States by the British government has been small, and even the announced policy of rearmament is put forth as something which will not necessarily reduce the present standard of living of the workers.

"The atom bomb, however, has much more immediate and dangerous potentialities for the British people. On that a much larger percentage of the workers are anxious to have every possibility explored. And although the question of wages is clearly tied up with the role Britain will have to play as part of the American war camp, the workers are willing to overlook this tieup and vote for their class interests."

Since that was written the tieup has become much more evident. Just last week the Labor cabinet proposed another 23 per cent increase in the armament budget, which will bring the expenditures for 1951-52 up to 43 per cent more than was envisaged for that year before the war in Korea started. It will bring close to a million

### In Nationalized Sectors

men and women under arms, at an annual cost of 1.3 billion pounds.

Whereas in the United States the economic effects of an even much greater armament program are felt first as inflation, to be followed by real shortage only after several months, in Britain's lean economy the shortages have already appeared on a large scale. At the same time, the government has been compelled under international monetary agreements to permit the importation of a large number of foreign consumer goods. Thus the British worker finds his meat ration cut drastically, other essentials available only in tiny quantities, while the luxuries which are beyond his means lie in profusion on the shelves of the stores.

At the same time he knows that profits stand at unusually high levels throughout most of British industry, and he cannot understand why, therefore, his government asks him to forego wage increases while his enemies on the other side of the bargaining table are doing very well by themselves.

The fact that the recent strikes have taken place more in the nationalized industries than in the private ones is probably not too significant. The railroad workers and dockers have been underpaid for some time, and the militancy they are showing is probably more a result of this and of the traditions of the particular unions and industries involved than of any greater tendency to strike against nationalized industries. Yet it may very well also be true that the workers in the nationalized industries feel themselves particularly hit precisely because they had higher hopes for fair treatment from the nationalized industries.

### Fighting Effects, not Policies

Ever since the British Labor Party came to power and began to develop its far-reaching programs of nationalization and social services, it has been clear that in the long run the fate of the Labor government would be decisively influenced by the development of worldwide events. The British economy is too narrow and feeble a base for the development of a "full employment" economy along Keynesian lines, let alone for the development of actual socialism. That is one reason why LABOR ACTION has insisted since the Labor Party came to power that a truly internationalist socialist foreign policy was as important for the future of the British working class as anything that was done on the domestic field.

The impact of the cold war and of the American policy of containing Stalinism primarily by developing superior military forces now tends to put an end to the social gains made by the British working class under the Labor government, as well as to those of the American working class made under the Fair Deal. At least this is the present tendency of the policies of both governments.

In both countries the working class is showing signs of resisting the application of this policy, while still accepting the general outlines of the foreign policies of their respective governments. They are beginning to see that "their" governments in London and Washington are acting like traditional capitalist governments when it comes to distributing the burdens of rearmament which are made necessary by their foreign policy. So far their resistance has been confined solely to the effects of these policies, and not to the policies themselves.

### Two Ways of Struggle

For the British workers this creates a problem which is more complicated than that which confronts the American labor movement. The British workers cannot walk out of their equivalent of the Wage Stabilization Board. The government run by their own party is the stabilization board. Thus they can either strike against their government, which they are doing, or they can use their political power inside the Labor Party to assert the interests of the rank and file against the policies and interests of the party leadership.

They are not in a position to do this, however, until a strong political movement arises which offers an alternative foreign policy. In the long run they will either have to build such a force, or their present wage struggles are bound to collapse through a sheer lack of consistency. In practice this means that the workers may be led to give up the struggle for their economic demands because they will not be able to make out for themselves a reasonable argument for continuing it.

So far the Stalinists have stood the best chance of gaining from the situation. Their foreign policy, which is fundamentally directed toward a capitulation to Russian imperialism, can give a consistent argument against the armament program itself as well as an argument against the way in which the burdens of this program are being distributed.

### Sacrifices for Whom?

The only alternative is an equally consistent program which is directed toward gathering the workers of the world together against both Stalinism and capitalism. It would seek to support and join with all anti-Stalinist workers' and peasants' movements which are struggling against capitalism or against foreign domination. It would mean that Britain would have to break with U. S. policy in Asia and in the rest of the world where it seeks to maintain in power reactionary capitalist or feudalistic classes.

It would be demagogic to claim that such a foreign policy would automatically make possible an increase in the standard of living of Britain's workers. If it were employed, however, it would soon be possible to see what sacrifices are absolutely necessary from the point of view of the struggle against Stalinism, and it would fit in with such a policy for the workers of Britain to establish real equality of sacrifice within their country.

In any event, the first prerequisite for a working class which is advancing is to refuse to make sacrifices which can only benefit the class enemy. The striking workers in Britain are doing their best to refuse. If the present strike wave is to have a really progressive issue, the next thing the British workers must learn is that they cannot continue to accept a fundamentally reactionary foreign policy without paying for it in their standard of living.

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# Defiled Sanctuary: the Basketball Fix

By PHILIP COBEN

The basketball scandal has hit New York right over the heart. Three heroes of the CCNY Cinderella team, which last year had performed the unprecedented feat of winning both the National Invitation and NCAA tournaments, had sold out. They had dumped points for a sure-thing gambler. Last month, Manhattan College players had been involved; the case of CCNY's Roman, Roth and Warner was quickly followed by the exposure of three Long Island University stars. But it was the news about the boys from CCNY, who had come from nowhere to beat them all, that was being discussed even by non-sports columnists in terms of "sheerest heart-break," "tragedy," "so painful that one winces a bit even in writing about them."

The city is asking "How could it happen to them?"

It was "the defects of inner strength of character." It was "a melancholy display of weakness." It was "this cancerous growth—these youth-ruining gamblers and their little runners and pay-off men and suborners of corruption who cover everything they touch with slime." It was the fault of the college authorities.

"If they're guilty, I have no sympathy for them," said the CCNY basketball coach.

This isn't going to be a defense or apology for the players who took bribes to fix the games, nor is it a matter of asking sympathy for them. But let's not have any hypocrisy with the tears over the CCNY boys' fall from grace, any cant about "strength of character" in the style of a high-school principal addressing his little charges, any Pecksniffian sniffles about the sad temptations offered by loathsome gamblers who go about seducing our fine upstanding American boys, or any of the other cribs from George Washington's copybook.

All right, it's perfectly true that Roman, Roth and Warner did not have sufficient strength of character to resist the temptation of easy money which could and did destroy their careers. But a couple of months ago, the whole National Collegiate Athletic Association dumped its "strength of character" code without even eliciting an inch of comment by the press editorialists.

They called it their Sanity Code. It was adopted three years ago in order to curb the system whereby a well-heeled university virtually hires a winning team. The code merely tried to put a ceiling on the amount of money which schools and their alumni could pay football players and other "amateurs." It was scrapped because the NCAA decided that, since no one was observing it anyway, it would lessen the sum total of hypocrisy in the world if they erased it from the books.

College athletes are paid off on a widespread organized scale. They get theirs. You don't expect them to play for the glory of the game, the cheers, the plaudits, the admiration—do you? They're not suckers, they're smart. Make it pay—it's the American Way.

But they don't throw games. Their employers, the universities, have insurance against it. They provide a high-paying job for the kid's old man. They give him a Cadillac convertible and plenty

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of spending money. They set him up in a business. This kills two birds with one stone: it maintains his amateur standing and his strength of character.

Now obviously there's nothing wrong with this. You want them to be idealists or something? Did you ever hear of an idealist making money, or supporting a wife and kids? Can you afford to get married on the strength of a crowd's cheers? Get yours, fella, while there's a fast buck around. Don't be a dope.

They not only stay out of jail but grow up to be prosperous businessmen.

Ed Warner lives in a Harlem tenement. Ed Roman didn't know where he was going to get the money to carry on post-graduate study in psychology. Al Roth said:

"I wanted to put aside some money. I was tired of asking my father all the time. I'm getting out of school in a year and a half. I'm studying real estate in business administration and I thought I'd like to set myself up in business. I don't know what I'll do now. My father drives a truck with beer and soda. I guess I'll have to go help him on the truck."

So lots of kids want to set themselves up, but they don't go rob a bank, do they?

There aren't lots of kids who are the center of a big-money operation like the sudden commercialization of the CCNY team's glory. Hundreds of thousands of dollars swirled around them, as they played before packed paying customers at Madison Square Garden. The Garden promoters and the school split the money, big money. The bets that rolled around them probably amounted to more.

If you have strength of character, that doesn't matter. You're just playing because you like to play basketball, you're a dedicated athlete, you're a Vestal Virgin in the temple of Sport, dedicated to fair play and team spirit and all that. You're Galahad. What has money to do with you or you with money? That's if you have strength of character and no melancholy weaknesses. Anyway, on your way home in the subway from game and glory, you ought to be thinking about when you're going to be drafted.

"What's the difference between a professional and an amateur? . . . One inch of wood. Heh heh heh. Get it?" Under or over the table—the old joke still circulates. It's as much taken for granted as income-tax evasion.

The same issue of the N. Y. Post with the heartbroken stories about the basketball scandal also read:

"The No. 1 racket in our land today is tax evasion . . . one of America's biggest, ugliest, meanest rackets is due to become even bigger, uglier, meaner. Tax evaders are cheating our Treasury out of at least \$1.5 and maybe as much as \$2 billions a year. . . Tax crooks have accumulated well over \$5 billions in their dirty kitty during the last 10 years . . ." etc., etc. (Feb. 20.)

This isn't being done by crooks "who cover everything they touch with slime." It's good business. If you can get away with it, you're smart. What counts is success. Nobody ever got rich working for another fellow. Take care of yourself first. Money talks.

"They [the three arrested LIU players] were entertained lavishly by Sollazzo [the sure-thing gambler], he said, and during the fall were invited to his luxurious apartment at 115 Central Park West, the building which also houses Frank Costello, reputed 'underworld prime minister.'"

You got something to sell, ain't you? Wise up, it's just like everything else . . .

Ex-Mayor O'Dwyer used to be entertained lavishly in the same building by his friend Costello, and he's not yet driving a beer-and-soda truck down in Mexico.

But the basketball players accepted a bribe. That's illegal. Or it depends on how you look at it. Anything wrong if a salesman lavishly entertains an out-of-town buyer, and pays for his

hotel bill and other conveniences for a gay time in New York? That's not a bribe, that's business. It's not only legal but the salesman will insist on reporting it to the government—on his income-tax form. Anybody who doesn't do it is a sucker. It's the American Way.

But we want to believe that sports are different. As one CCNY student, interviewed, said: "I think it's a pity that this has happened. Sport is one of the few activities like arts and science that has real competition and until recently no corruption. It's a shame that the corruption and decay in other parts of society has reached the college."

The student does not remember the scandal when the Chicago White Sox threw the World Series in 1919, and he may really believe that the corruption of our society has left art and science undefiled. But it leaves nothing untaunted—not even its critics.

A society cannot set up one set of standards for "practical life," a set of standards which includes scorn or pity for impractical people who do not accept them, and expect chosen sectors to remain untouched. It takes strength of character (among other things) to reject the values of a mercenary, dog-eat-dog, decaying society, founded on the test of wealth as the badge of success; but it takes hypocrisy for the advocates of these values to say to anyone "I am holier than thou."

Hypocrisy is the homage which vice pays to virtue, and, being involuntary, the homage is perfectly sincere. We sincerely admire, as human beings, selflessness, idealism, altruism, disinterested sportsmanship, fair play, and team spirit. We also sincerely have contempt for them as impractical, visionary, utopian and unrealistic—except when embalmed in history books and biographies. It is not difficult for this contradiction to exist in our minds, because it exists in our society.

Our society demands, by the rules of the game, that businessmen be ready to cut their competitor's throats; but it demands that young men "prepare for life" by practicing fair play. Our society proclaims that the greatest success in life is to be able to exploit the labor of others; but it is horrified when its youth learn this too soon. Our society accepts that the measure of man is the dollar; but it expects the highly commercialized industry of the sport world to be immune to this philosophy.

Max Lerner, the N. Y. Post's columnist, was deeply moved by the downfall of the CCNY idols. He was moved to recall lines from William Blake. Here is the whole of the poem, "The Defiled Sanctuary," from which he quoted the middle portion:

I saw a chapel all of gold  
That none did dare to enter in,  
And many weeping stood without,  
Weeping, mourning, worshipping.  
I saw a serpent rise between  
The white pillars of the door,  
And he forced and forced and forced  
Till down the golden hinges tore.  
And along the pavement sweet,  
Set with pearls and rubies bright,  
All his shining length he drew,—  
Till upon the altar white  
Vomited his poison out  
On the bread and on the wine,  
So I turned into a sty,  
And laid me down among the swine.

We have seen the serpent. It is true that Roman, Roth and Warner lay down among the swine. But it is not the swine who have a right to spit at them.

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# Labor Walks Off Wage Board --

(Continued from page 1)

up for long periods (5 years) only after winning such concessions. "The action of American labor to withdraw from the Wage Stabilization Board is justified on the basis of both economic and moral grounds," said Walter Reuther.

Meanwhile, the UAW has announced to all companies under contract and to the administration in Washington that it will strike, if necessary, to enforce all contractual provisions. Its April convention will be asked to endorse this stand . . . and it will.

70,000 CIO textile workers announced a strike, the very day of labor's break with the board. Emil Rieve, their president, was the CIO representative who withdrew. They demand a 15 per cent wage increase, a cost-of-living clause, and \$11 a month in fringe benefits. Such demands would be ruled out by the board. The strike becomes an action against the bosses and against the board.

### LAST STRAW

The CIO Shipbuilders, in negotiations with Bethlehem Steel, had just about won a 15 per cent wage increase; it was arguing fringe benefits and retroactivity when the Wage Board bombshell fell. At once the company withdrew its offer. Discussions were totally disrupted. A work stoppage now looms for February 28. Such a strike, like the textile strike, would be aimed at the administration's Wage Board as well as at the employers.

Packinghouse workers await action by the board on a recent agreement signed with the Big Three packing companies for a 9-cent hourly increase. CIO locals

have already authorized strike action if the board does not act favorably by March 25. Now that events are moving so rapidly, it would not be surprising if this deadline was advanced to coincide with the big push of the whole labor movement.

The wage order became the focus of labor's resentment and growing opposition but it was only the last straw. Labor now demands not simply a revision of the order but a complete turn by the administration on key questions of domestic policy.

Even if the wage fight leads to complete victory, big question marks would remain. Testifying in Washington, Johnston insisted that wage controls must be supplemented by higher taxes, "You can help make them effective," he said, "by draining off excess purchasing power through higher taxes all along the lines." What is won through negotiations or strikes can be stolen by taxes.

In its vigorous denunciation of present administration policy, the United Labor Policy Committee extended its attacks far beyond the wages question.

### POLITICAL THREAT

On prices, it said: "The price stabilization program is a cynical hoax. . . . Every consideration possible is being given by government price agencies to enhance . . . and protect fat profits."

And on rent control: "Instead of moving quickly to extend and to tighten the rent control law, the government is moving placidly toward the March 31 deadline when all rent controls expire."

And on taxes: "Many industries are escaping taxation through special privilege loopholes in the law. No serious attempt is being made to plug these loopholes."

And on manpower controls: "There can be no justification for Mr. Wilson's transfer of the manpower functions to the Office of Defense Mobilization other than

a desire for monopoly power in preparation for the possible imposition of compulsory job controls upon the workers of this nation."

And in summary: "Not a single policy decision so far has reflected in any way the recommendations of labor or any other group except big business."

In announcing the withdrawal of labor members, the committee explained, "Our decision cannot and must not be interpreted merely as a protest against an unfair and unworkable wage formula. . . ." The aim of the resignations, strikes and strike threats becomes political in its implications.

### WALKOUT GOT RESULTS

A squeeze is exerted on the administration. And on what administration? On the Truman government—elected, praised, supported, congratulated, hailed, and shielded from criticisms only up to yesterday by the same labor officials who exhortate it today.

And it is to Truman that all demands are, in the final instance, presented. After calling his textile workers off their jobs, Emil Rieve appealed to Truman, reminding him that he had been "elected to office on a Fair Deal program" urging him "to take the mobilization program out of the hands of big businessmen."

After reports of the split in the board one union official said: now we're acting like union men again. And he was correct. The unions have, at least for the moment, freed their hands for action. They are not now acting as a cover for Truman. They are able to take up the fight for the interests of the people. That is the right way. But to continue the hard battle for the workers, the unions must keep the freedom they have proclaimed and go forward to break off their ties with the Democratic Party.

By breaking with the Wage Board, the unions have accomplished in a moment what months

of gentle petitions and polite letters could not do.

It seems ironic, then, that most unions now demand that labor be given more places on more governmental boards! Will they call off their protests and send their members back to work if they receive not three men on one board but thirty men on ten boards? That makes no sense at all. Labor's representatives on the Wage Board only ornamented Truman's rotten wage program. If they decorate a dozen boards, they will only hide the ugliness of his whole program.

The international executive board of the UAW has, on the contrary, properly denounced the "myth of labor representation" on other government boards also. Its statement says:

"We fully approve of the action of the labor members of the Wage Stabilization Board in withdrawing from that agency. Other representatives of labor are serving on other advisory committees to mobilization agencies. In the light of the unmistakable pattern of big business control of the agencies of government, those representatives are actually mere window dressing. We do not believe that this myth of 'labor representation' should be carried any further and will support proposed action by the United Labor Policy Committee directing withdrawal of its representatives from such agencies, where they are, under the present arrangement, providing only window dressing."

WINDOW DRESSING  
Window dressing is indeed what the labor members of the anti-labor board are. But if this has been made clear to the top CIO and AFL leaders, it has been made clear by the crude, open, high-handed and unashamed fashion in which GE president (alias Defense Mobilizer) Wilson has been carrying on. But would the labor representation be any less of a myth, at bottom, if Wil-

son had been less obvious and open in his contempt for his labor "adviser"?

The fact is that labor representation on the wage-freeze board cannot be anything else than window dressing, even if Wilson backs down or if another and cleverer Wilson takes his place. Because the labor men cannot defend labor's interests effectively as long as they accept the wage freeze and the responsibility of enforcing it as board members! They can defend labor's interests only if they leave their hands free and untied, as they are at this moment.

### QUIT HIS PARTY TOO!

"In the light of uncertainties in the world situation," says Walter Reuther, "the government must recognize that the emergency we face is possibly of long duration and therefore the long-range equity of workers and low-income groups must be considered in a different light than might be the case if the emergency were of a short or definable duration."

Throughout this "long duration," the unions can defend their members only if they continue militantly and consistently the course of action opened up by recent events. If the resignations from the Wage Board were justified, then labor must refuse to sit on all such boards. And if it is correct and effective to oppose the policies of Truman's governmental boards, then how justify supporting his party?

As on Wilson's board, so also in Truman's party, the "myth of labor representation" is nothing more than window dressing for the actual control exercised by the machine bosses.

By walking out of the Wage Board, the labor men have already gotten the offer of more concessions than they were able to get by staying in and glovering. The same thing is true of Truman's party!

Labor's road leads away from the Democratic Party and toward a new independent labor party.

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### A BLOW AT SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE—

## Catholic Hierarchy Puts Thru 'Miracle' Ban

By MARY BELL

NEW YORK, Feb. 19.—In an action without precedent, the state Board of Regents last week revoked the license to exhibit the Italian film, "The Miracle." The Rossellini-directed film, winner of the Annual Film Critics Award for the best foreign motion picture, has been a storm center since last December when city License Commissioner McCaffrey, a past national commander of the Catholic War Veterans, invoked a six-day ban which was lifted when Supreme Court Justice Steuer ruled that he had exceeded his authority inasmuch as the state Motion Picture Division had already granted a license.

Then Cardinal Spellman, head of the New York diocese of the Roman Catholic Church, attacked the film as "sacrilegious" from his pulpit on January 1 and urged Catholics to boycott it. The statements of the cardinal, who is to be remembered for his breaking of the Calvary Cemetery grave-diggers' strike by use of scabs, encouraged the picketing by various Catholic groups of the Paris Theater where the film was showing.

Action of Catholic pressure groups to censor this medium of public entertainment and inflict their interpretation of art on the public has aroused indignation in all quarters. "A shocking instance of raw censorship" and a "serious blow at the First Amendment of the Constitution, which protects freedom of expression," reads the joint statement by playwright Elmer Rice, head of the National Council on Freedom from Censorship and the New

York Civil Liberties Committee, both affiliated with the American Civil Liberties Union.

The Rev. Solon D. Morgan, minister of the Flushing Unitarian Church and president of the Liberal Ministers Club, which had earlier asked the regents not to revoke the film's license, labeled their action a "violation of the principle of separation of church and state."

### CATHOLIC POET OBJECTS

The decision marked "one more triumph for decision by pressure rather than by persuasion, and for action by censorship rather than common sense." Rabbi William F. Rosenblum told the congregation of Temple Israel. "This will make our country not so much safe for differences but oversensitive to difference, a situation highly to be undesired."

In a restrained but firm letter to the New York Times of February 1 which attracted wide notice, the poet Allen Tate, writing as a Catholic layman and from a Catholic point of view opposed to that of the church hierarchy, objected to the actions of Cardinal Spellman. While as a Catholic he cited the higher authority of the pope who did not see fit to intervene when the film was shown in Italy (where it also won prizes), he also made clear that in his view governmental action to ban the film was in any case in contravention of the principle of the separation of church and state.

The church, he argued, had the right to enjoin its members from seeing the film and to appeal for a boycott, but should not call upon the government to take

secular (non-church) action. He contended in addition that the final disposition of the film, as of any work of art, was not up to the decision of either the secular or religious body: if the film was not good as art, it would die of itself.

Exhibited as part of a trilogy called "Ways of Love," which includes the French films "Jofroi" and "A Day in the Country," the banned film had been well reviewed and, until the Catholic attacks raised it to the level of sensation, had been enjoying the small succès d'estime that is the way of such films.

The theme of "The Miracle" is that of an idiot woman seduced by a stranger, believing that he is St. Joseph; she bears a child under the delusion that she has conceived miraculously. The talented Italian actress, Anna Magnani, plays the leading role. The Catholic criticism has read into the play a travesty on the dogma of the immaculate conception. Members of the Board of Regents also said they found that the picture associates both Protestant and Catholic biblical versions of the immaculate conception with "drunkenness, seduction, mockery, and lewdness."

### FOISTED ON PUBLIC

The application for a stay of the Regents' order pending an appeal to the State Supreme Court next month by attorneys for Burstyn, distributor for the film in this country, was denied by Supreme Court Justice MacAffer.

In the decision not to stay the ban, the argument of the court was based on the assumption "if,

ultimately, this picture should be suppressed," nothing was shown that would result in irreparable damage to the petitioner. Such a statement, added to the original revocation of McCaffrey, the attacks of Spellman, the Catholic boycott and picketing and the regents' ban, point to a difficult time ahead for freedom of expression.

While the state education law permits a review by the regents if a license is rejected by the Motion Picture Division, it makes no reference to the powers of the regents themselves to revoke a license. It is in this respect that the action is unprecedented, for the regents have never before revoked a license once it was granted by the division. The film was twice passed as acceptable by the Motion Picture Division and by the National Board of Review.

As it stands now, the result is a victory not for Catholicism but for the power-hungry Catholic hierarchy headed by Cardinal ("I am proud to be called a strike-breaker") Spellman. It is especially to be regretted, that the leaders of a minority religious group which has itself often suffered under persecution should attempt to inflict its religious prejudices upon the public as a whole in places where it has influence, power and the ear of the government. It can only serve to bring opprobrium upon itself and stir the fires of religious controversy.

LABOR ACTION stands entirely with those liberal and democratic elements of every kind who condemn this arbitrary and authoritarian imposition on the public.