

LABOR ACTION

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Personalities And Politics

By L. G. SMITH

The personalities of the two major presidential candidates have been getting a good deal of attention from the columnists and other heavy thinkers of the daily press. The reasons for this seem to be threefold in nature: First, American politics have been traditionally viewed much more in personal terms than is the case in most other countries. Second: there hasn't been too much else to write about since the Democratic convention adjourned. Third: the personalities of Eisenhower and Stevenson are much easier to discuss than their specific ideas on the major problems which face the American people, as they have both been exceptionally vague about them, both when they have seemed to agree and when they have seemed to disagree with each other.

Even the more knowing writers have been speculating broadly about "who is the better man" or chewing over thoughts like "Eisenhower is a man of action, while Stevenson is a man of thought." Of course, the real questions are rather: What are the products of Eisenhower's action likely to be, or what will be the results of Stevenson's thinking?

Most of the writers seem to agree that, for reasons which are none too clear, Eisenhower stands to the left of most of his fellow Republicans while Stevenson stands if not to the right at least in the middle of the Democratic Party. Both of them are against high taxes and heavy government spending, and both are against centralizing too much power in federal hands. Both are men who place much store in religion as a vitalizing factor in public life. They do not stand too far apart on questions of foreign policy.

What's a "High Level"?

This similarity of general approach or feeling about matters of public concern, the columnists conclude, will result in a campaign which will be conducted on an exceptionally high level. We can only conclude that what they really mean is that the campaign will be meaningless with regard to the purpose which political campaigns are supposed to fulfill: to give the American people a choice between alternative proposals for running the country.

We doubt very much whether the campaign will be waged over the question of whether Stevenson is more likely to bring about a spiritual regeneration of the American people than is Eisenhower. The former may try to continue to present the picture of a man wrestling with his soul, and the latter of a man endowed with a great heart who had

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For This They Shell Out

Shedding tears as big as ping-pong balls, newspapers have been running an almost daily tabulation of the "terrible" cost of the steel strike in terms of wages lost by the steel workers.

But they have failed to mention that up to July 9, the 62 steel companies involved had spent about \$50,000,000 in newspaper ads and direct mail in a "saturation barrage" campaign to confuse the American people. The American people will pay for that bargain themselves, since the companies can charge it off their income tax as "a cost of doing business."

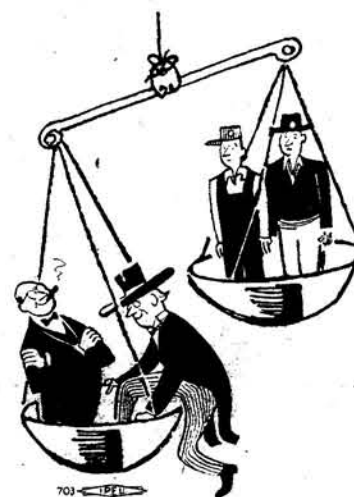
The estimate was contained in an article in *Forbes*, a management magazine, gloating over the steel industry's "smartness" in "fighting its battle . . . in the mind of the man in the street." It estimated the cost of the full-page ads at a half-million dollars a day, plus another million for direct-mail propaganda.

—So. Calif. Teamster, July 23.

The Fair Deal Goes Right To Woo the Dixiecrats

Balance of Power In Chicago

By GORDON HASKELL



One of the most unique institutions in American political life has come to a close. In no other country do the political parties choose their candidates for the top public offices in the fashion of the conventions of the Democratic and Republican parties here. Now that the thunder of the demonstrations, both genuine and synthetic, has rolled by, now that the drama and the dreariness of the rollcalls and the big wind of the interminable speeches are over, the opportunity presents itself for every thinking person to get a clearer picture of what has been happening, and what is likely to happen in American politics.

The conventions of the two major parties are great shows calculated to attract the attention and cement the allegiance of the electorate for the political campaign which is to follow. But they are also much more than that. Like the election itself, they are yardsticks by which the political evolution of the various social forces in America can be measured. This is true whether the real deals and decisions

(Turn to last page)

Who Won on Civil Rights At the Dem Convention?

By MARY BELL

The Republicans, who like to pose as the inheritors of Lincoln, turned up a plank on civil rights at their 1952 convention which, as expected, left the primary responsibility for solution to the problem of civil rights to the states. They gave only faintly audible lip service to any federal governmental responsibility for this question, and in line with their conscious bid for capturing votes from the Democrats in the South, they have moved to the right of their program of previous presidential election years. They hoped, as was reported earlier, that the Democrats might save their hide on this score.

And the Democrats nearly did just that.

ON PAPER

The Democrats hail their program as more progressive than ever before, and say this specifically of their civil-rights plank, but this is only true on paper and then partially. As opposed to the "states rights" plank of the Republicans, their platform calls for "legislation to further just . . . treatment in the area of discriminatory employment practices" at all government levels, and hence is superior to that extent.

But the Democrats do not call specifically for an FEPC as they did in the past. Yet, at the same

time the liberal-labor coalition had tried to insert a clause to end the Senate filibusters which have blocked all civil-rights legislation up to now. Even though compromised, the platform still urges "that action be taken at the beginning of the Eighty-Third Congress to improve congressional procedures so that majority rule prevails and decisions can be made after reasonable debate without being blocked by a minority in either house." The Southerners, of course, can still filibuster against a rules change to prevent filibusters.

UNEASY ALLIANCES

A platform is a strange thing, as everybody knows, so far as American bourgeois parties are concerned, representing as they do conglomerate formations and blocs of conflicting and competing interests. Even with its great conflict, the Republican Party is more homogeneous than the Democrats, the latter encompassing in uneasy alliance the unconstructed Southern bourbons like Byrd, Battle and Byrnes and the labor, liberal and minority groups, including the Negroes. Taken as a whole, each platform gives a rough measure of the respective party, but is not to be taken at face value. For instance, the Republican program interpreted by Senator Taft would have been different in campaign and results from the same program espoused by Eisenhower as the

candidate. The same is true for the Democrats.

The platform is also in part a vote-getter, because there's many a slip between a campaign promise and the achievement of legislation, as witness the fate of civil-rights legislation itself, which has all but drowned in a sea of filibustering and Republican-Democratic agreement.

If the schism in the more conservative of the two capitalist parties rends the "Old Guard" from the "internationalist" wing, in the Democratic Party it is between the South and the rest of the party. The rift is even more deepgoing among the Democrats, the Dixiecrats having split in 1948 to run their own candidate. There is no doubt that the Republicans would like to pick up Dixiecrat votes and more open support, if they could.

WATERED DOWN

The strategy of the Democratic Party bosses was to elect a strong candidate to beat the popular national symbol named by the Republicans and to maintain behind him the united force of the party, including first and foremost the strong Southern bloc, with its weighty electoral votes.

The liberal-labor coalition, grouped behind Senator Kefauver and Averell Harriman as the more liberal candidates, sought by their "loyalty pledge" to put a Fair Deal stamp on the convention as against the "middle-of-the-

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LONDON LETTER

Left-Wing Resolutions Flood In For the Labor Party Conference

By DAVID ALEXANDER

LONDON, July 22—Yesterday the Labor Party published the resolutions to be presented at the 51st annual congress of the party, to be held at the end of September.

Many interesting comments can be made on these 250-odd resolutions which have been presented by party subdivisions. In general, the tone of all of them is militant. A typical example is that to be presented by the Liverpool Exchange constituent party:

"While conscious of the limited degree to which any government can influence and control external capitalist forces, Conference reaffirms its belief that the maintenance of full employment . . . remains impossible whilst the most militant groups can let off steam. Although one would like to think that the mood of a conference decides the formulations of policy, this is true only to a limited extent. The fact that the Bevanites were so strong in last year's Executive does not seem to have made much difference to Labor's policy."

Or from Newcastle: "Conference affirms its belief that the system of capitalism holds out no hope of any solution of the basic problems facing the world today. . . ."

I could quote very many more and equally militant resolutions. The striking and heartening thing is that the left-wing view will completely hold the floor at the next conference. There are virtually no right-wing resolutions.

Among measures called for are:

- Equal pay for women in industry.
- Nationalization of all industries.
- Abolition of "tied cottages," i.e., housing accommodation for farm workers conditional upon their working for a particular farmer.
- Decrease in the size of the rearmament program.
- Renationalization of all denationalized industries without further compensation.
- Abolition of Health Service charges.
- Increased old-age pensions.
- And many more.

LINE OF DEFENSE

It will readily be seen that there even a few of these measures to be carried through, England would be much further forward toward socialism. Since there are no right-wing resolutions, even a most backward Executive will have considerable trouble in selecting the least progressive.

In previous years the leadership of the party has had two lines of defense. First, since there are so many resolutions on the table, they arrange for them to be lumped together, and a blend of those of the weakest strain is made; in order to make a compromise, simple but comprehensive resolutions are passed. This tends to rob most of them of their fire, while giving the appearance of democratic regulation.

Secondly, when—as all the posters strongly believe—Labor

Leon Trotsky's

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does come to power at the next election, they can frustrate the hopes of the left wing by means of the Labor Party published the resolutions to be presented at the 51st annual congress of the party, to be held at the end of September.

There is a feeling among many left-wingers in this country that the party conferences are rather safety valves whereby the most militant groups can let off steam. Although one would like to think that the mood of a conference decides the formulations of policy, this is true only to a limited extent. The fact that the Bevanites were so strong in last year's Executive does not seem to have made much difference to Labor's policy."

In foreign affairs we see an unfortunate tendency. Many left-wing resolutions have been worded by Stalinists so as to oppose American or British imperialism but with an implied approval of the Russian regime. Unfortunately the rank and file of the Labor Party is not yet sufficiently sensitive to the cacophonies of Stalinist phrasology. As a result there has been considerable confusion between the genuine left wing of the party and the Stalinist inflammation at the periphery.

While Eton and Slough says "this Conference calls for unity between the democratic socialist parties of the world against both Russian and American power blocs," we see the work of some

Personalities & Politics—

(Continued from page 1)

the misfortune to be located behind the door when the brains were passed out. But the campaign will be fought over who and what was responsible for Korea, and the depression, and the current war prosperity.

It is one of the ironies of current American politics that the specific programs on which the two major candidates seem in closest agreement are precisely those on which reality is bound to be most precariously related to their wishes and promises. These are their pronounced aversion to high taxes, large-scale government spending, and centralization of power in federal hands.

The War Economy Will Decide

For whoever wins in this campaign will be forced to administer a government in the midst of a Permanent War Economy. There may be legitimate argument on all kinds of questions related to such a state of affairs: just how soon and in what degree it will affect our civil liberties; just how much and how rapidly it will inflate the currency; whether or not it precludes the possibility of large-scale unemployment. But on one question there can be no argument: that its general tendency is toward high taxes, tremendous government expenditures, and a continual centralization of powers.

In the context of a war economy, a reduction of federal expenditures on a scale which could have a major effect on taxes could only be achieved by one method: the virtual elimination of all the social services and programs, including the price-support schemes which have bolstered the agricultural sector of the economy. Neither candidate advocates gutting the social services, as this would be political suicide. They can be chipped away, as they have been by the dual action of inflation and the 82nd Congress, but they cannot be abolished out of hand.

And short of that, the government bureaucracy is bound to remain large, federal expenditures in the tens of billions, and taxes high. If, at some time in the future, the tremendous productivity of American industry coupled with the

Majority of French PCI Splits from 4th on 'Entry'

By LUIS ALONSO

PARIS, July 20—The French official-Trotskyist group has definitely split, as a result of the pro-Stalinist "entry" policy adopted by the leadership of the Fourth International. [For the background, see LABOR ACTION for June 2, "The 4th International Closes the Circle."—Ed.]

The Parti Communiste Internationaliste, French section of the international, was to hold its national convention this week. Instead of one convention there were two, each calling itself the "real" PCI.

This, the last of a long series of splits, caused largely (and in this case, entirely) by the pro-Stalinist orientation of the so-called Trotskyist international leadership, really gets the "official" group in France down to rock-bottom—only a tiny handful, perhaps not even a score, of people in all of France followed Pierre Frank in his break away from the rebel majority of the PCI which refused to go along with Frank and the international on the latter's newest pro-Stalinist line.

ON SCHEDULE

The international secretary, Pablo, has for some time been preaching the liquidation of the Fourth International groups into the mass Stalinist parties where the latter are the predominant force in the working class, particularly in France and Italy.

This split has been brewing for some time. It almost occurred last winter when Frank, at a meeting of the Central Committee, declared his "entry" position adopted after a vote of 5 in favor and 12 against—the majority of 12 being obviously "non-Bolshevik" and therefore a contemptible minority, who were suspended on the spot. The scrap was temporarily patched up, however; the argument, and the split, was put

off until this summer, when it happened on schedule.

During that period, the combination of the pro-Stalinist pressure from Pablo and Frank, plus the lack of a clear orientation by their opponents—led by Lambert, Favre-Bleibtret, Martin and the Renault auto people—did achieve some definite results. The one positive achievement of the French group in recent years had been the launching and extension of the trade-union "Unité" group. This group, fighting militantly for the unification of the labor movement, had spread its influence far beyond the ranks of the PCI. People from all sorts of horizons had begun to join. That evidently scared the Fourth leadership to death. This spring, with the collaboration of some reformists who were unduly worried by such "Trotskyist" growth, the PCI succeeded in killing off the "Unité" group.

CANNON MUM

The naive nature of the Lambert majority can be appreciated when we mention to whom it was and he and his supporters appealed for help against the bureaucratic pro-Stalinist attitude of the international secretary: to James P. Cannon, of the American Socialist Workers Party. (The SWP is not affiliated with the international, because of U. S. laws, but Lambert no doubt thought that Cannon's influence could help.) Cannon has twice ignored appeals from Lambert and there is no reason to expect him to say anything when, in the near future, the international leadership "officially" expels the rebellious PCI majority from its ranks.

What few workers were left in the PCI stayed with the Lambert majority group and refused to follow Frank in splitting and supporting the Pablo international line.

Franco Pushes Attack on POUM

By a 'LA BATALLA' Correspondent BARCELONA, July—The repression against the POUM (left socialist movement of Spain), began last April 28 on the eve of the May 1 International Eucharistic Congress in Barcelona, is continuing.

The Falangist fascist police, who have made numerous arrests in Barcelona and other Catalan cities, are not yet satisfied. They want more. They aim to break up our underground movement.

Up to the present, only 14 comrades have been prosecuted before a military court. However, the number of those who have been jailed is much higher. (We do not specify the exact number for reasons which our readers will easily understand.) And the police are searching frantically for some of our bravest militants who managed to escape the clutches of their persecutors.

The military judge in charge of hearing the case against our comrades has not even specified the charges. For the time being he has been content to prosecute them on the basis of the fabricated evidence supplied by the Barcelona police chief.

DEMAGOGIC TALK

This much is clear, that the police and the military are in a hurry to put on a monstrous trial against the POUM. In the meantime the minister of justice continues to put out statements about "pardons" and "amnesties."

Pardons? amnesty? Here in this city we see and feel nothing but a mounting wave of repressive measures.

Señor Iturrundi, who claimed to be "much more humane" than his predecessor Fernandez Cuesta, has made a speech in the Spanish-American Penitentiary and Penal Congress, recently held in Madrid, in which he said that

"God willing," the number of prisoners is going to be kept down, before the end of the year, to the smallest possible total.

This curious "God willing" justifies the worst fears. Because "God willing," in Dueso (Santonia), in San Miguel de los Reyes (Valencia) and in other prisons and jails of Spain, there are substantial groups of prisoners who finished serving out their terms months ago, who ought to have been freed without needing any amnesty, but who continue in jail. That fact was proved by an International Commission which not very long ago visited the penitentiary establishments mentioned above.

REGIME VULNERABLE

But let us turn this digression about Señor Iturrundi and his pardons and amnesties, and return to the main point of this report.

In the specific case of the repression against the POUM, we do not know how far the Franco authorities will go. But one thing seems certain: only an intense and effective international campaign can save our comrades from the dangers that threaten them.

What happened in the case of the Vitoria prisoners speaks very eloquently in this connection. In spite of appearances—and how deceitful they are!—the Franco regime is weak and vulnerable. The international campaigns against its crimes do not drop into a vacuum now and have much more weight than they seem at times to have. Above all today, when the regime is trying to strengthen itself by showing a merciful and magnanimous face to the outside.

Our friends all over the world, the working class and democratic forces regardless of tendencies, have the duty of putting on such pressure that we will be able to snatch the imprisoned POUM militants out of Franco's claws.

Un-Americaners Poised Over Chicago but Job May Be Tougher

CHICAGO, July 25—The appearance of the House Un-American Activities Committee here is expected shortly. From past experience with its performances in places like Detroit and Hollywood, its pattern of operations can be predicted.

Under the glare of television cameras it will call up a series of witnesses, former members of the Communist Party, union officials, school administrators, anyone who might be expected to have personal knowledge of the identities or activities of local "reds." These witnesses, their memories having been refreshed beforehand, will proceed to name dozens to hundreds of individuals whom they have known or believed to be active in the different organizations considered "subversive." Then, depending upon the amount of newspaper coverage and the amount of lynch spirit aroused, there will be firings, investigations by local officials, and all of the paraphernalia of a local witchhunt.

There is reason to believe, however, that the pattern in Chicago may be somewhat even if not totally, different from elsewhere.

In the first place, the newspapers' attitude toward the proceedings is likely to be somewhat different. The Tribune, of course, will feature the hearings with all of the usual imprecations and calls for public and private action. Lynch language from the Tribune, however, is an every-day phenomena and may not get anyone excited aside from its regular readers (who, the publisher is proud to announce, are still overwhelmingly for running Taft for president).

The Sun-Times, with its partiality for opposing what the Tribune espouses, may even decline to participate in the public circus by deprecating the significance of the hearings. And the

Daily News, Chicago's suburban organ of middle-class respectability, is likely to consider local radicals somewhat less than worth discussing. If it follows past practice, the News is likely to use the hearings to show how few "subversives" there really are in Chicago the City Beautiful. Aside from these papers there is only the Hearst organ, which few read.

THEY CAN BE BEAT

A "poor press" may do much to lessen the effects of the local appearance of America's congressional witchhunters. But the potential damage they may do will also depend upon the amount of public sentiment aroused against the proceedings on the part of non-Stalinist elements in the Chicago labor and liberal circles. If, unlike places like Detroit, publicly known figures can be induced to denounce the committee and its operations and to refuse to cooperate with it, then much of the effectiveness of the hearings may be dissipated.

The faculty of the University of Chicago, which through a long series of "investigations" has learned something about the way to deal with them, may participate in efforts along these lines. Certainly the efforts of local socialist groups should be directed toward mobilizing and supporting any such movement aimed at the defense of individuals and groups from persecution on account of their political beliefs.

Naturally, the Stalinists will attempt in their own way to accomplish the same ends, but one of the prerequisites for any defeat of the witchhunting committee will be the exclusion from the defense of Stalinist elements, who are already seeking to link their opposition to the House committee with their propaganda about germ warfare in Korea, etc.

Within a broad community-wide movement it should be the

task of socialists to point out that defense of the right to be a Stalinist does not imply political sympathy with Stalinism. In addition, however, to any participation in broader movements, Chicago socialists should consider independent efforts to make known their views about the House committee and its activities.

SYL School Planned for New York

The Socialist Youth League has shaped up its plans to hold an end-of-summer socialist school in New York City. Scheduled for the post-Labor Day weekend, the school will extend through three days and feature three series of lectures by ISL speakers. In addition, special lectures, seminars and social affairs are being arranged.

The purpose of the school will be to give new members, sympathizers and interested youth an opportunity to receive at first hand a valuable education in socialist theory and politics. The lectures have been designed both as an introduction to different aspects of socialist theory, and also as a guide to the analysis of current political and economic trends. In all cases there will be an opportunity for the students attending to discuss the ideas presented in the lectures.

Plans call for putting out, for each class, a mimeographed bibliography and short outline, to be ready by August 15. The school itself will start Thursday, September 4. Copies of this material will be obtainable by writing to the national office of the SYL at 114 West 14 Street, New York 11.

Considering that one of its most important functions today is the dissemination of socialist ideas among young people, the SYL will not limit attendance at the school to its own members but is inviting all who are seriously interested in learning about socialism. For this reason it is keeping the registration fee at the purely nominal figure of 50 cents per lecture series, or \$1.50 for the entire school course. It is hoped that in addition to those who will attend from around New York there will be a considerable attendance from the East Coast and Midwest.

PAMPHLET COMING

The first pamphlet to be published by the SYL will soon be ready for distribution. Written by Max Shachtman, the pamphlet consists of an article which originally appeared in LABOR ACTION under the title, "An Open Letter to Dean Acheson."

In its present form, it appears with an introduction explaining why the SYL considers the material presented to be of vital importance for an understanding of American foreign policy today. The pamphlet itself is a popular exposition of the position of Independent Socialists with regard to the current course of American foreign policy.

The pamphlet is the first in the series of popular pamphlets which the SYL is planning to produce in mimeographed form, using heavy paper and an attractive type. Units which wish to order copies may secure them by writing to the SYL national headquarters. The price is ten cents per copy, seven cents for ten or more.

Civil Rights at Dem Convention—

(Continued from page 1)

road Fair Deal" Stevenson forces, and aimed the pledge particularly at Louisiana, South Carolina and Mississippi, which had bolted the party in 1948.

Under the influence of the Stevenson moderates, the "loyalty pledge" was watered down to a compromise by vote of the convention. Virginia, South Carolina and Louisiana refused to abide even by this version. Then, under the chairmanship of Senator Sam Rayburn, who rarely let his task of impartial arbiter of the convention overrule his Southern sympathies, Virginia was admitted to seating rights, Stevenson's own Illinois delegation turning the tide. South Carolina and Louisiana easily followed.

This was the liberal-labor coalition, the most uncompromising on civil rights, "gavelled" into defeat. But not by Southern interests alone—the moderates of the Democrats and the city bosses knew what they were doing. And in the end the liberal-labor bloc itself retreated from its original position.

RESULT: SPARKMAN

The result of these maneuvers and the smoke-filled deliberations of the bosses, which do not show on TV and which are never fully known till long afterwards, was the selection of a Southern running-mate for Governor Stevenson, Senator John Sparkman of Alabama.

While Sparkman is not an "unreconstructed Southerner" and has supported the administration on other questions, and while he promises to support the present Democratic platform, his position on civil rights and his role in the Southern bloc on this matter is unmistakable. His selection is an

attempt to retain the support of the South and a slap at liberals, labor and above all, the Negroes who have supported the Fair Deal program and party in the past on the basis of its stand on civil-rights legislation.

While no criticism has been heard from CIO and AFL leading spokesmen on the matter of Sparkman, Negro leaders have been vociferous. Representative Adam Clayton Powell Jr. of Harlem said (N. Y. Times, July 27) that "Senator Sparkman's selection would make it impossible for him and other Negro delegates from New York to campaign for the Democratic national ticket." He is said to be for the confining of campaign activities to local offices.

NEGROES KICK BACK

Powell, who together with the other Negro delegates to the convention left the floor prior to the nomination of Sparkman in a demonstration, said, "Unfortunately, Sparkman is a sectional captive and it is as impossible for him to get the Negro vote in the North as it is for me, a Negro, to get the white vote in the South. Some day the situation might be different. But that time hasn't come yet."

Assemblyman W. Byron Rumford of Berkeley, Calif., said it would be "very difficult for me to support Senator Sparkman . . . while he is a liberal in the Southern sense, we cannot see things the same way. It seems to me that we from the North and the West should have been the ones who fought the 'loyalty pledge' in the early stages of the convention instead of the Southerners."

It is anticipated that the New York Liberal Party will endorse

the Stevenson-Sparkman ticket but will be able to arouse much less enthusiasm than formerly on the part of the rank and file.

Senator Lehman of New York, one of the Harriman leaders, also issued a statement after the nomination of Sparkman indicating his qualms on this issue. "If he (Sparkman) is to win the support of New York and of liberals generally in this election, he must accept, without reservation, the fine civil-rights plank in our platform. He must not only accept that plank but advocate its effectuation as the policy of the Democratic Party."

The N. Y. Herald Tribune of July 27 reports that Walter White, executive secretary of the NAACP, forecast that it would be "difficult, if not impossible" to get Negro votes for Senator Sparkman. He pointed to his voting record which he characterized as "one of consistent opposition to the civil-rights objectives of the Democratic Party leaders."

From the Republican convention, which is pretty generally recognized as the party of "privilege," and which was keynoted by MacArthur, McCarthy and Hoover, it was expected that a poor civil-rights plank would emerge. From the Democratic Party, which claims to be the party of the people, and which was so heavily supported in the last elections by labor when it was deserted by the Wallaceites and the Dixiecrats, the compromise on civil rights both in platform and candidate is shameful, if not unexpected.

All the more shameful is the continued allegiance of the labor movement to this party—the labor movement which is wedded to civil rights for minorities and which is compelled to make a piecemeal transformation in the territories controlled by the Southern wing of this party as it tries to organize the South.

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

These two camps of capitalism and Stalinism are today at each other's throats in a worldwide 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!

INTERESTED? Get Acquainted

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MARXISM for TODAY

The Liberal Lexicon on 'Internationalism'

By PHILIP COBEN

One of the most pernicious abuses of the English language for the purpose of political obfuscation is the way the term "internationalist" is used by American liberals.

To be sure, anyone has the right to write his own dictionary and announce that hereinafter we shall all call a chair a "table," or a vulture a "dove," or a witchhunter a "democrat," or poison a "love potion." It's just a matter of terminology and one word is as good as another. The professors and assistant professors of sociology do it all the time when they write books, as they invent their original nomenclatures for social phenomena. There must be a limit somewhere, however, in playing this game of pinning labels on the wrong part of the donkey.

That fine word "internationalist" once had a meaning, as we will have to remind ourselves before we're through. Sometime during the reign of the New and Fair Deals, however, in the hands primarily of the liberals, it came to be counterposed only to "isolationism," as its opposite. Furthermore "isolationism" has been given the exclusive connotation of being reactionary, or at least rightish.

Now historically, at any rate, this absolute counterposition of "isolationism" and "internationalism" is far from being quite accurate. These polar opposites have met in unity before, albeit on a low level of political development. James Russell Lowell, who was perhaps America's most radical poet, could write—

"O my friends, thank your god, if you have one, that he
'Twixt the Old World and you set the gulf of a sea"

and, on the other hand, also this—

"Where'er a single slave doth pine,
Where'er one man may help another—
Thank God for such a birthright, brother!—
That spot on earth is thine and mine!
There is the true man's birthplace grand,
His is the world-wide fatherland!"

The first is obviously "isolationist" and the second clearly "internationalist," and yet there was not half as much a contradiction in his mind as there is in the case of the contemporary liberal who concedes that Eisenhower has the merit of being an "internationalist." There was a strain of national chauvinism in Lowell, but no strain of national provincialism.

But that was a simpler day, before American imperialism had blossomed to its present importance. A man could be content with staying in his own backyard while looking on the peoples of the rest of the world as his brothers. During the First World War (also a simpler day) "isolationist" sentiment was to a great extent anti-war sentiment, and if it was often a naive sort of anti-war sentiment it was nonetheless far from reactionary. The same was true during World War II and the same element exists today.

"IMPERIALIST" IS A DIRTY WORD

But it is in the case of the term "internationalism" that the real hocus-pocus has been committed. For the liberals, any reactionary politician becomes an "internationalist" statesman once he recognizes that "America must accept her responsibilities in the world," supports Washington's system of alliances, pacts and blocs, is ready to vote sufficiently large sums for the Atlantic Pact and the Mutual Security setup, or for measures labeled Point Four. If, however, he wishes to scale down military expenditures, advocates reliance on air power to win the war rather than subsidies to Europe, or thinks that Europe has already gone to the dogs and can't be saved whereas Chiang Kai-shek's jaegers on Formosa are the world's hope, then he is labeled an isolationist—in the New York Post, the Nation and New Republic, the New Leader, and points right.

Now any of the above questions are legitimately moot points among those interested in defending America's imperialist interests in the world, and they point to significant tendencies in American foreign politics, and they also are related to remnants of real isolationism. But the one thing they have nothing to do with is internationalism.

Unless, of course, you've got that new dictionary which the liberals have written. In this new dictionary, "internationalism" means merely something like "world-minded." This can be made more concrete. Who are these people who have become more world-minded as distinct from the retarded isolationists? They are the politicians, publicists and pundits who favor an active and aggressive policy by American capitalism in defending its world interests, who understand most clearly in the first place that American capitalism has world interests.

They are the ones who have responded most knowledgeably and consciously to the imperialist role of the United States in world affairs.

The imperialist role of the United States has come relatively late on the world scene, and the international-mindedness of the American bourgeoisie has followed. The builders of the British Empire did not lack international-mindedness, and naturally the British imperialists are prime examples of "internationalism," if we use the new liberal lexicon. Naturally, it goes without saying that the Kremlin is full of "internationalists." The Japanese war lords were no isolationists, not they, and were as good "internationalists" as Eisenhower or the late Senator Vandenberg, who was taken to the liberal bosom thereof.

As an ex-GI it is not guesswork when I say that American GIs and particularly military guards can be as brutal as any in the world. Japanese prisoners of the U. S. were often beaten or shot without provocation; surrendering Japanese were shot down or run over by tanks. Our GIs are indoctrinated to the belief that the so-called yellow race is only subhuman at best. All Koreans are regarded as "gooks" by all levels in the army, fair prey for killing, beating, raping, or looting.

BASIS FOR INTERNATIONALISM

This liberal neo-internationalism turns out to mean essentially nothing but the imperialist outlook. "Imperialist" is now, of course, an "outmoded" Marxist term which must never be used by the pens of good and honest supporters of Fair Deal foreign policy. It is strictly to be reserved only for people who lived in other times, who live in other countries, or who fail to vote the right way in Congress, in which latter case it becomes synonymous with "dinosaur."

This use of "internationalist" for "imperialist" is a stunt in lexicography worthy to be put beside the Stalinist penchant for defining totalitarianism as "people's democracy," or slave camps as "social security," or aggressive imperialism as "the fight for peace."

For socialists, internationalism is not merely a general sentiment in favor of the international brotherhood of peoples. It has a much more concrete foundation, given to it by Marxism.

The division of the world by national boundaries is obsolete. The world-federalists, of course, have grasped this thought too, but much of their social and political naïveté flows from their failure to understand the underlying reasons. These are rooted essentially in the economic development of capitalism.

The productive forces of capitalism long ago broke through the hoops of the national boundaries. At the heart of world politics lies the contradiction between the essential interdependence of the world economy and the compartmentalization of the planet among competing national states. And that contradiction holds as well for the Stalinist social system. It is interesting that Vandenberg, in presenting his "international" imperialist view in Congress, on one occasion lectured his fellow senators about the impossibility of capitalism-in-one-country (his term), just as the Kremlin's imperialists have abandoned their "socialism-in-one-country" in favor of Stalinist expansionism.

The brotherhood of man, for Marxists, is in the first place the solidarity of the oppressed classes in all countries against the ruling classes in all countries. It is a class internationalism. The exploiters have never been chary about linking their fates and efforts with those of foreign exploiters wherever their joint class interests are threatened. The very Herbert Hoover who is the arch-isolationist today for so many liberals is the same Herbert Hoover who did the shoring-up job for fostering capitalist regimes in Europe in the post-World War I period, using food and coal supplies and the threat of their withdrawal to bludgeon the forces of socialist revolution. He has reason to resent being called an "isolationist" today. If he is for the "fortress America" idea today, it is not out of provincialism or the shortsightedness of the dinosaurs.

Our aim is the socialist federation of the world; the means is the international solidarity of the working class of the world, against all exploiters, capitalist and Stalinist. This is socialist internationalism.



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Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor...

The Kojé Imbroglío: Two Opposing Views

To the Editor:

I am disappointed with J. M. Fenwick's article about Kojé in the June 30 issue. At times his analysis seems to be more that of guesswork than anything else—guesswork plus preconceived opinions and impressions. None of us are "experts" who know the important facts about the Korean prisoner situation. But why are we to assume, as Fenwick appears to do, that the deposed Kojé camp commanders had a "soft" policy toward prisoners, which was "obviously a compound of unawareness, traditional American democracy, and a desire not to provoke unfavorable incidents?" (Emphasis mine.) "Democracy" in the army, an army in combat, and especially as concerns handling of prisoners who are regarded as racially inferior (not to mention their Stalinist affiliation)! That is too much.

As an ex-GI it is not guesswork when I say that American GIs and particularly military guards can be as brutal as any in the world. Japanese prisoners of the U. S. were often beaten or shot without provocation; surrendering Japanese were shot down or run over by tanks. Our GIs are indoctrinated to the belief that the so-called yellow race is only subhuman at best. All Koreans are regarded as "gooks" by all levels in the army, fair prey for killing, beating, raping, or looting.

Has Stalinophobia taken hold of some to the extent that we dismiss all Stalinist charges as mere propaganda and incline to believe most of what our propaganda artists report? Fenwick's article seems to assume a lot. If we are to guess, why not assume that the Stalinists have some truth in their charges of brutality, etc.?

Korean war veterans I've talked to admit stories of unwarranted brutality. Simply because the Kojé prisoners were allowed to have their own internal administration, which was impossible to check in such big compounds, does not indicate any kind of "traditional American democracy from above," from the army brass. American guards, according to reports, have been only a little less brutal than Syngman Rhee's troops, who have a political hatred for the Stalinists. Our troops who hate the prisoners do so mostly on racial grounds, documented by many press reports and what the veterans say themselves about the "gooks." There is no democracy even in the brigis for erring GIs.

What does Fenwick mean about the "cowardice" and "stupidity" of the former Kojé camp commandant and the other generals? It is a fact that they have not repudiated since what they said about the existence of "forced repatriation, bloodshed and violence," "arming of (anti-Stalinist) prisoners" which was revealed in the forced promise.

Of course, Washington, Ridge-way and General Clark denied the allegation, which is only natural. But are we to swallow what these sources say, even as we recognize the Stalinist propensity for lies and exaggeration? The officers were only "stupid" in getting kidnapped - and losing their jobs.

There had to be scapegoats and "face-saving" for America. It is not the job of a commandant to make things "look good" for his government in the ideological war. That is the State Department's job and that of the writers and journalists who are eager to whitewash the government. Fenwick may also have given more space to the general who didn't know what the war was all about. General Huddleston, commander of the 40th Division in Korea, was about to become a civilian, so he felt free to speak his mind. G. C.

To the Editor:

LABOR ACTION has been, for the most part, reticent on the subject of the Korean war, since the beginning of the conflict. We might have hoped that this discretion would have been reinforced by the disgraceful spectacle of the Militant, organ of the Socialist Workers Party, parroting the Stalinist line on the war. However, LABOR ACTION of June 30 unexpectedly appears with two articles on the Korean war: one by Fenwick on the Kojé episode, and one by Haskell on the I. F. Stone book. I am not quite sure what this sudden interest in Korea signifies, since both writers manage to conceal their precise views rather successfully. And I shall say nothing about Haskell's article, which is merely a non-committal summary of Stone's viewpoint, modified, on the one hand, by criticism of the Chinese and North Korean Stalinists, and on the other hand, by a kind of whitewash of Stone. But Fenwick's article contains several contradictions of a highly confusing nature, which deserve comment.

"The ability of the Stalinists to influence the North Korean and Chinese prisoners," says Fenwick, "and, conversely, the inability of the United States to make any serious inroads among them, rests basically upon the Stalinists' anti-landlordism and their opposition to capitalist imperialism—in sum, their anti-capitalism." Since the article is about Kojé, I assume that this applies to Kojé. In the very next paragraph, Fenwick ruins the beautifully simple effect of this explanation of everything east of Suez by remarking that the "tightly-knit [Stalinist] organization" on Kojé found itself obliged to "freely" employ "murder, violence, and intimidation" in order to gain control! Fenwick cites the concern for "traditional American democracy" as one of the reasons for the brass's "policy of laissez-faire" on Kojé. And as for the UN screening of the prisoners, which revealed in a spectacular manner how anxious most of them were to avoid returning to their capitalist-and-landlord-free homelands, Fenwick correctly states that "the action was one which the Stalinists could not afford to let pass, for it threatened their assiduously disseminated propaganda as to the popularity of the North Korean and Chinese regimes." But then, in the next sentence, he speaks of the Stalinists "reacting to the open and veiled intimidation by the United States and other UN personnel"! Here

we have the UN personnel on Kojé, in some degree moved by a concern for traditional American democracy, instituting a policy of laissez-faire, against which oppressive regime the Communist leadership of the prisoners, secure in its popular support achieved by anti-capitalism and murder, is able to lead a revolt which is both a spontaneous reaction to intimidation and also a mere maneuver to avoid the exposure of the whole Stalinist propaganda campaign.

I regret to say that toward the end of his article, Fenwick serves up a little horror story, which can be interpreted in only one sense. He speaks of "an entire

regiment of paratroopers... armed to the teeth and backed up by tanks and flamethrowers... breaking them up into what are referred to as 'manageable' units, killing many of the almost helpless prisoners in the process." The author does not feel it necessary to mention that the Stalinist leaders provoked the action as a matter of cold calculation for no more exalted purpose than to furnish raw material for propaganda. And note the sinister effect of that word "manageable" in quotes. The prisoners are going to be deprived of their basic democratic right of torturing and murdering the dissidents in their own ranks!

H. D. COLEMAN
St. Louis

The elaborate staging of the kidnapping and the Stalinist consolidation of the internal regime of the camps were something more than a simple reflex action provoked by bad camp conditions. Almost everybody with political sensitivity knows that the demonstrations were intended for use at the Panmunjom truce negotiations—and were so used.

The "important facts" are all available. The ones which G. C. apparently waits for are those which are made available when one of the participants confesses his past acts and intentions—and that sort of information is vouchsafed us very seldom and normally very much after the fact in the real world.

If we waited for the emergence of this sort of data we would be silent 99 per cent of the time in the face of political events. Even G. C., as we have seen, has not hesitated to commit himself on the basis of even fewer data than were actually available to him.

A NOTE ON "EXPERTS"

A final word on the matter of "experts" (with the quotation marks, naturally, which are standard equipment in this approach, and have replaced the outmoded "[ha! ha!]" which used to follow the hal!)

Too often among us, "expert" can be defined as "any opponent," especially one in a field not normally covered by our press. The time is ripe and overdue for us to drop this form of depreciation of our tendency. Anyone who takes the trouble, as I recently did, of reading around in the liberal, left, and avant-garde press, and witnesses its almost total ruin will return to our press with real pleasure.

Our forces are badly limited in number and by available free time but our analyses over the past ten years have by and large never been touched anywhere else. Let G. C. pick up the famous, liberal newspaper, the Manchester Guardian, and, between articles on bird watching and dispatches from Alistair Cooke elucidating Darkest America, try to find a road out of the present crisis short of an atom war.

Or let him pick up Partisan Review and see what the assistant professors of English in this country are thinking. And what they are thinking is a towering monument to the power of a \$5,000 a year job and a captive student audience to make one forget the assault on civil liberties and free inquiry, the Korean War, the plight of the Negro and the working class more generally, the crisis of the rest of the world, the renascence of religion, and the postponed but inevitable war which will find the atoms of assistant professors of English and full professors alike jostling each other in that famous mushroom-shaped cloud.

Or read the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, the publication of the most socially conscious of some of the best brains of the country, and find out how naive men can be outside their profession.

Or open up the pages of the American Journal of Sociology and see American sociologists in their workshops happily engaged, ideologically speaking, in inventing the wheel, perfecting bronze weapons, discovering the world is round, and hacking out new, revolutionary totem poles.

Let's put an end to these snide remarks about experts—with or without quotation marks. Dear G. C., of politics and closely related subjects we are experts.

It goes without saying that these articles have to be read critically against each other, analyzed in the light of our socialist world outlook, and read with awareness of the almost total capitalist environment which bears down upon us. It is G. C.'s misfortune not even to have grappled with the problem seriously.

G. C.'s statement in the next paragraph that U. S. troops are at least "a little less brutal than Syngman Rhee's troops" bears witness, as a matter of fact, that

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

gone in selective inattention. He says, "The author does not feel it necessary to mention that the Stalinist leaders provoked the action as a matter of cold calculation, for no more exalted purpose than to furnish raw material for propaganda." This was, I thought, unless I am losing my grip on the English language, one of the points I made in the article. As a matter of fact, I began the section on the Stalinists as follows: "The Stalinists, of course, no matter what the situation they find themselves in, are permanently on the alert to create political capital." That they exploit legitimate grievances of the masses to do this is, of course, a platitude of our movement. And I concluded the article by stating: "The cynical Stalinist leadership could hardly have asked for a happier denouement."

It was precisely for making this point and, in his opinion, in not finding the cause of the conflict in the brutality of U. S. methods that provoked G. C. to make his charge of Stalinophobia against me.

Coleman lays all the blame upon the "cold calculation" of the Stalinists. To this oversimplification I cannot subscribe, if only upon the basis of published evidence alone, as I indicated in replying to G. C.

IDEALIZING U.S.

When Coleman gets through with his warm-up period and makes a relatively positive statement toward the end of his letter the full absurdity of his point of view becomes apparent. He accuses me of serving up "a little horror story" in describing the break-up of the camps, the real reason or which, if I understand Coleman correctly, was to eliminate the "torturing and murdering of the dissidents in their own ranks."

Had this been any factor in provoking U. S. action the camps would have been broken up months earlier when stories concerning the internal regime of the camps began to circulate even on this side of the water. The incident which set off the breaking up of the camps was the kidnapping of the helpless commandant and the world scandal which developed thereupon.

Coleman idealizes the whole United States position. When he speaks of "the UN screening of the prisoners, which revealed in a spectacular manner how anxious most of them were to avoid returning to their capitalist-and-landlord-free homelands," he is apparently unaware that at least one of the results of the Kojé Island disturbances was the revelation that the rigorous poll of the captured troops turned out to be in the main an estimate made by U. S. officers. Certainly the screening made after the fighting has produced anything but spectacular results.

Of Coleman's happy reveling with my alleged contradictions I want to content myself with two observations for the moment: I don't view the world as composed of simple polarities, as does Coleman. I feel no necessity, for example, to choose between one of the two big contending imperialist world powers. Nor do I regard each of the powers as driven exclusively by some simple, basic force, as Coleman seems to.

This makes political analysis more difficult, of course. It would obviously be much easier to work with Coleman's Absolutes. It is a policy of mine, however, to avoid all churches, spiritual and temporal alike.

James M. FENWICK

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An Obituary for Maynard Krueger —

THE 'SOCIALISM' THAT DIED

By HAL DRAPER

It certainly cannot be said that Maynard Krueger has slunk out of the Socialist Party in the dark of night. He has heralded his departure from the SP with almost as much fanfare as if he were a former managing editor of the *Daily Worker* resigning from the Communist Party, although the bourgeois press has not cooperated on as big a scale. He saw fit to announce his resignation to a Town Hall audience in Chicago, in the first place, and now he has written his "I Confess" or "Twelve Years in a Quandary" for the columns of the magazine *The Progressive* (August issue).

We consider his article "Is Socialism Dead in America?" of great interest, though not for the reasons which he himself would assign. You will rarely find quite as flatfooted and explicit a presentation of the kind of "socialism" he describes—the kind of "socialism" which he has held, the kind he maintains he still holds, the kind which (with whatever admixture and hedging) has been typical of the Norman Thomas school of socialism, the kind which is now dead or dying and in turn is in process of being the death of the Socialist Party itself as now constituted.

The kind of "socialism" he presents here is no individual aberration of Krueger's. Krueger was national chairman of the SP from 1942 to 1946 and has been a national leader of the party over two decades. In addition, I can testify personally that his ideas are a typical strain in the ideology of the SP. Things are tough all over for the American socialist movement, as we have said before, but it is this conception of socialism which is leaving the SP with no role to play and no reason for existence.

The crisis of socialism and socialist ideas today, brought on by the aftermath of the Second World War and the rise of Stalinism on the background of the decay of world capitalism, has pinpointed one fact without possibility of dispute: The basic question for socialists is precisely this one of the conception of socialism, or rather it is this which lies behind all the important questions of the movement. It is so when one considers the caricature of socialism which the Stalinists parade, when one considers the socialism of the Fourth International Trotskyists, and it is also so in the case of the Socialist Party's socialism.

This is what makes Professor Krueger's balance sheet interesting.

GOP "Socialism"

No, socialism is not dead, says Maynard Krueger. In fact, he finds more of it than ever in the United States.

Here is his statement, which says more about his conception of socialism than if he had muddled things up by trying to get highly theoretical. The italics and emphasis are his very own:

"Ideas and values which are socialist in character are more generally accepted by the public than they were 20 years ago. They manifest themselves in many accepted government policies, and in some which are increasingly popular but are not yet accepted. There is more socialism in the Republican platform of 1952 than in the program of the first New Deal Democratic administration, which was sufficient to pull away from FDR about three-fourths of the 1932 Socialist vote."

This is itself enough to suggest the idea. What conception of socialism can this socialistic professor have had? He is quite explicit about it, and let us present his own words at greater length since, as we mentioned, we will not again very soon have a chance to see such a chemically pure case.

In one place the increase of "socialist" elements is equated with "the practical business of increasing social controls where they ought to be increased." In another, he argues that "No administration will allow unemployment to rise above five million without taking remedial steps which will involve increased social controls." The

statement itself is probably true; the point is that he makes clear that *this* is what he means by the march of "socialism" in the United States.

Here are some other typical statements which are clearly presented as involved in the trend toward "socialism":

"When the control units become very large, neither the consumer nor labor nor management is willing to leave the wage-price-profit relationship exempt from social control through public policy. That relationship, and the rate and allocation of investment are the heart of economic planning.

"A third factor making for increased public, as against private, decision-making is the impact of recurrent crises in foreign affairs. In each such crisis, there is an assertion of the primacy of a public interest over private, and a corresponding increase in the area of public control over the economy. . . .

"Now, if it is true that social decision-making has been increasing, and if it can be expected to continue to increase . . . I want to raise this question: What, then, should socialists be doing in a time like this? . . ."

Elsewhere he lists some "forms of social enterprise," i.e., forms of enterprise with socialistic elements. The list includes, of course, government enterprise like the post office and TVA, but it also includes: "the non-governmental, formally private, functionally socialized non-profit enterprise, such as the cooperative, *The Progressive* [the magazine], or the University of Chicago [where Krueger teaches political economy to defenseless students]."

He adds that there are also "additional hybrid forms," which means that the above are unhybridized, or pure-bred, "socialistic" elements.

Idealizing Statism

It is quite plain, then, that Krueger equates tendencies toward socialism with any tendency toward increased state controls. Any state control whatsoever, any intervention of the state in making economic decisions, is an installment of "socialism." The two concepts are completely—100 per cent—identical throughout his discussion. Thus the extent of "socialism" is to be measured:

"In the context of current political controversy, it is no longer possible to use the term socialism to mean a society in which all economic decision-making is collective or public. Nor can the word capitalism mean an economy in which all economic decisions are made by private enterprises seeking the Holy Grail of the profit margin." These, he goes on to say, are the extreme poles, neither habitable. What is possible is only a more or less mixed economy, the "socialistic" elements in the mixture being those where the decision-making is "collective," i.e., statified.

Note that, for Krueger, it is not decisive to ask the question "state control for what purpose?" or "state control by whom?" No doubt these questions are of concern to him, but not for the purpose of determining the basic "socialistic" content.

Even a professor of political economy at the University of Chicago knows, of course, that the concessions to statism made by the Republicans are matters of state intervention in the economy for the purpose of ensuring the stability of the profit system and private enterprise in the commanding heights of the system. He probably even knows that the same is true for New Dealism and Fair Dealism, in different degrees and with different methods.

It is not decisive for him because on the basis of his concept of socialism, it is the capitalists who are themselves compelled to bring in the "socialistic" elements, thereby changing their own system. This kind of "socialism" is not the consequence of working-class (or, if you wish, "people's") struggle; capitalism itself grows in to socialism with the inevitability of gradualism:

"Thus, while it is proper to say that the TVA is a socialist element in the economy, it is im-

proper to assume that the sponsors or the administrators of TVA are necessarily socialists. It has been clearly demonstrated in rare and honorable cases that the administrator of a capitalist enterprise need not be politically a capitalist, and may, indeed, be a socialist.

"The National Association of Manufacturers and the American Medical Association are wrong when they say the New Deal and Fair Deal are socialist. They are right when they say that both Deals increased the amount of socialism in the United States. They are almost entirely wrong when they say that New Dealers and Fair Dealers are socialists for such use of terminology makes it necessary to say that Senator Robert Taft is a socialist when he intermittently favors federal aid to education or public housing."

"Fresh Thinking"

All this could be further discussed by showing the complete identity between this view and that of the very crudest varieties of social-democratic reformist gradualism that have ever been expounded. It might even be useful to do this in view of Krueger's apparent impression that, in presenting his concepts, he is doing some "fresh new thinking."

What is pitiable and ironic about Krueger's political thinking processes is that he actually goes out of his way to complain that "the [SP] party socialists have done less thinking in five years than is manifested in any two issues of *The Progressive*." This may point to a truth about the state of political thought in the SP, which has never been strong on any kind of socialist thinking, even though we may draw the line at the claims for *The Progressive*; but is Krueger at all aware that, whether he is wrong or right, he is repeating in very unsuitable forms some of the staled and oldest reformist notions that ever gathered moss in the Second International? We suspect that he does not.

He is not alone in that. Anyone who wishes can find enough specimens of the type who stridently demand "bold new approaches" to socialist problems and decry "sterile repetitions of traditional views"—which is very fine in itself—only to reveal at the first positive statement that what they themselves wish to substitute for the "old" socialist views are much older non-socialist views, or what they want to substitute for "hoary" Marxist ideas are much hoarier and superannuated non-Marxist views.

There is even danger, because of such characters, that the very term "fresh new thinking," which burbles from their pens so casually and so ignorantly, will come to take on a derisive connotation in spite of the indisputable fact that original rethinking on socialist problems is indeed an important need of the movement.

But, without going back to the ancestors of Krueger's kind of socialism, its nature can be highlighted in terms of present political realities. He himself indicates one.

Taftite Criteria

His concept of socialism is precisely that of the Taftites, Eisenhower, NAM and their ilk who speak of the "creeping socialism" of the Fair Deal. His very mode of disclaimer illustrates it beyond question. Whatever their public sloganizing may seem to say, most—or at least the more intelligent—of the above-mentioned gang do not really think that Truman is a socialist, himself. But when they point to the "creeping socialism" which is endangering their system, Krueger agrees with them (with the value-signs reversed). What he is agreeing about, with these saurian anti-Fair Dealers, is exactly their CONCEPTION of socialism.

But, on the basis of this essential agreement, some other agreements follow. Because the saurians view "socialism" as synonymous with increased state control and intervention in the economy, they quite properly go on to equate both with—Stalinism and fascism.

And they are entirely right, once you grant their underlying conception.

The kind of "socialism" which Krueger ex-

(Continued bottom of next page)

BOOKS and Ideas

Wilmot's "The Struggle for Europe"

A Guide Through the Fog of World War I

THE STRUGGLE FOR EUROPE, by Chester Wilmot. Harper & Brothers, New York, 55.

By WALTER JASON

For a long time there has been a real need for some capable person to fit together the jigsaw puzzle offered by the many memoirs, slabs of personal and political history, and official reports of World War II, and to present a comprehensive review of this great struggle in the totality.

The remarkable success of Chester Wilmot's *The Struggle for Europe*—especially in England—lies in the fact that this 766-page volume does to an adequate extent fill precisely that need. It is a work that may profitably be studied from many conceivable angles.

Its devastating portrayal—more exactly, debunking—of the "German officer" caste during the last war is a case in point. Not that the Brass Hats born in the tradition of Scharnhorst, Schlieffen and Ludendorff were incompetent in their trade. They were superior, if anything, to the staffs of the Allied armies. But they were moral and political cowards, unfit for a decisive role in modern society, subservient to a man they despised, because he despised and used them as he saw fit.

The authoritative analysis of

German war economy, buttressed by exceedingly interesting and sound statistical material, furnishes a valuable antidote to any remnants of the talk about a "new social order" in Hitler Germany that was peddled in many circles, among others by Burnham and Macdonald.

"Between 1939 and 1942 the bulk of the economy was permitted to operate in leisurely, semi-peace-time fashion . . . production of peacetime civilian goods continued." It was not until 1944 leadership four times in two years that German war production hit its peak.

FDR ON PAN

Among the key questions of that war that Wilmot dissects are (1) why Hitler let the British escape with over 225,000 men at Dunkirk; (2) why he couldn't invade England; (3) why he had to attack Russia—whose imperialist appetites are fully revealed in the war documents captured from the Germans; (4) why he was fooled by the Normandy invasion; and (5) how Stalin outmaneuvered the Anglo-American bloc in diplomatic negotiations at Yalta, etc.

Wilmot's major political criticism, however, is directed at the late President Roosevelt for his policy of "unconditional surrender," his misjudgment of Stalin, and the gross overestimation of Jap-

anese military power by the American General Staff that led to making so many concessions to Stalin in return for his promise to enter the war against Japan.

The duplicity of the promises for the second front, the feud between Montgomery and Bradley, the MacArthur-Marshall struggle—all these important aspects of the war receive their due attention. It makes fascinating and pertinent reading today, in this election year when each of these issues in their own way intrude into the American political campaign.

In passing, one obtains a more balanced study of personalities like General Eisenhower, a talented organizer of a heterogeneous team which included "Blood and Guts" Patton, chauvinistic Bradley, and England's version of MacArthur, Montgomery. Tough combat commander Matt Ridgway shows his mettle through these pages of battle and war.

Wilmot overlooks one major factor in the Roosevelt-Churchill policy of "unconditional surrender." This was the joint desire to occupy a defeated Germany before any social revolution took place in the aftermath of defeat. From that standpoint, seizing and dividing Germany makes sense. It was the only safe, if costly, policy for the anti-Hitler combination.

The author does better in show-

ing why Hitler's attack on Russia not only makes sense but was a necessity. Overlooked far too often today by the hindsight strategists of World War II is what would have happened in Europe and the world if the other imperialist powers had exhausted themselves in mutual extermination while Stalin's Russia sat out the struggle. Without first defeating Russia and utilizing its economy, Hitler knew he couldn't cope with the giant industrial capacity of America. Nor could he exhaust the Reich in any struggle with greedy Stalinism ready to pounce on a war-torn and feeble Europe.

BIG IMPACT

In terms of military study, the detailed criticisms of Allied and German strategies, tactics, miscalculations, blunders, and successes are valuable in penetrating the "fog of war," and in forming sound judgments on current military debate. The Normandy invasion and the German counter-attack at Ardennes are given a very fine dissection, and airpower is shown for its real worth—as a decisive but not exclusive arm.

However, neither Wilmot nor any other writer dares put the whole bloody business of battles in their proper and painful perspective. For in a war of attrition—and modern total wars are pre-

cisely that—all that really counts is destruction. And the military power that creates the greatest destruction, with the least to itself in return, and lives through the holocaust, is the "victor." It was the totality of bloodletting and destruction, no matter where the scene, that counted.

And Hitler's victories in the early Russian campaign cost him as much as some of his later defeats; they all combined eventually to reduce Germany to its knees.

In the military world, nothing seems to lead to defeat like success. France lived in the stupor of the Maginot-line mentality based on the success of defense in World War I. After World War II, the *nouveau-riche* military caste in America made the debacle in Korea inevitable since it based its theory of invincibility on the successful result of the last war. The Stalinist military machine learned the hard way during its titanic struggle with the Wehrmacht, as its disciples in Korea testify.

The overwhelming impact of the Wilmot book, however, is that never has the world seen so much struggle, sacrifice and suffering for so little results in the progress of man. What a different world it would be today if all that energy and toil had been used to construct a new world instead of self-extermination in the old!

The 'Socialism' That Died —

(Continued from page 6)

pounds ("fresh thinking") is the kind of "socialism" which exists under the Kremlin's heel. It is the "socialism" of the Stalinist system.

The biggest mistake the reader can make at this point, I think, is to regard this as a far-fetched analogy. On the contrary, it is the fundamental key to explain the political behavior of the whole tendency of Stalinist sympathizers and Stalinoid liberals—whose illusions about Stalinist Russia are based on THIS equation of complete statification with progress and socialism. Needless to say, but less important, it is made explicit in the present degenerate ideology of the official-Trotskyists, who therefore demand the "defense of the Soviet Union."

But Krueger is not a Stalinist or any kind of Stalinoid? Of course not; he is a good American patriot. We are pointing to a basic common ground between the Kruegers and (say) the I. F. Stones, not to their identity. Krueger would no doubt point to the question of democracy to distinguish his "socialism" from that of Moscow; and that much would be all to the good; but this criterion, for him, would be completely unrelated to, and inconsistent with, his basic views on the nature of socialism.

Similarly, the saurian-Republican view on "creeping socialism" logically identifies the tendency of statism with fascism. And does not also Krueger's formulations do that? Read them over again and see how many of his statements would apply even more to fascism than to the Fair Deal.

We have made quite a grand amalgam here. It is not for the purpose of "smearing" Krueger with references to unsavory political movements. Still less is it for the purpose of obscuring the differences between reformism, Taftism, Stalinism, fascism, Cannonism, etc. We are concerned, for present purposes, only with one concept which visibly runs through all of these ideologies, provides a common starting point from which they diverge.

It is common to all of them because it flows from an over-all and all-pervasive tendency in economic and social development: the tendency toward the statification of economy, the bureaucratization of social and economic life. It is a tendency thrown up by the intensified disintegration of world capitalism in our epoch, side by side with the bureaucratic-collectivist expansionism of the Russian system.

This tendency toward state intervention and

control will not be turned back or turned off. The great issue of our epoch, which is to be resolved in social struggle, is whether this will continue to be imposed from above by reactionary ruling classes, for the subjection of the masses, or utilized and given a progressive social content by the masses from below. Whether society's need for collectivization will be satisfied in bureaucratic forms by the existing reactionary classes, capitalist and Stalinist; or whether society will be collectivized in the interests of the working people and by their struggle against the exploiters.

Socialism vs. Bureaucratization

It is only the second which represents the road to socialism and which defines its content today. It is also only this approach which permits a consistent and meaningful rejection of Stalinism on democratic ground.

When Krueger identifies the bureaucratization of capitalism with "socialistic" tendencies, he gives himself more than enough reason to take the political step he has announced. For this kind of "socialism," certainly, no socialist movement is necessary! For this kind of "socialism," certainly, one must look to the powers-that-be that are willy-nilly carrying through the trends demanded by the needs of capitalism, and these are to be found in the Republican Party and even more in the Democratic Party.

The process is not very welcome to the capitalist agents themselves; for it *does* change their cherished system, even though *not* in the direction of socialism. They hold back, they take the necessary steps reluctantly, incompletely, sometimes unwittingly, they zig-zag in their course, trying to go back whenever a step backward on the road looks possible; as in all of historical development there is no one-to-one correspondence between the inherent tendencies pushed forward by social needs and the day-to-day maneuverings of shortsighted politicians yielding to a multitude of unequal pressures.

In a real sense, people like Krueger (using him only as the example before us) can become a much more conscious "vanguard" element in this trend toward the bureaucratization of capitalism than even the "legitimate" representatives of capitalism themselves, who are men with nostalgic though outmoded reservations about the past. The governmental woods are crawling

with ex-socialists and ex-radicals like him who think they are working for historic progress as they idealize the bureaucratic tendencies of capitalism.

This, in fact, is what they mean by "continuing to work for socialism" even though they spit on their socialist past, break with its ideas and ideals, and scorn its movement. Krueger, like so many others who went down the chute before him, also promises to remain an exponent of socialism "in the liberal-labor coalition" which he looks to, "in or just outside the Democratic Party." It is not his sincerity we doubt. He will continue to work for his kind of "socialism." And—now that he has at last found "political realism," "an effective arena," and the other soul-satisfying formulations for the abandonment of the struggle for a socialist democracy—if he finds himself acting like any other non-saurian capitalist apologist, there will not even be reason for him to see an essential contradiction between his past and his future. The line of continuity runs straight from the inbred reformism which permeates the Socialist Party.

We have discussed the wriggings of the SP's line on the war question in a couple of previous issues of LABOR ACTION. Partly, the present discussion lies behind that question, not only for the SP but for a much larger number of ex-radicals. In the cold-war they see not merely a lesser-evil choice between capitalist democracy and Stalinist totalitarianism. They have illusions about the former similar to those which the Stalinoid liberals have about the latter: they see it as changing, and they see it changing eventually to something closer to their heart's desire. Or, to reverse cause and effect, they persuade themselves that this is so in order to go along with the war.

At some point or other, the left-wing elements in the Socialist Party who want to stand out against these degenerative tendencies have got to meet these questions boldly. For them indeed, that fresh new thinking—the litany that the Kruegers intone so stately—is a necessity. Krueger's kind of "socialism" is dead, for a socialist movement, but by the same token the whole ideology of the Socialist Party is dead. Independent Socialism proposes an alternative, a concept of socialism which integrates the basic elements of living Marxism with the needs of a new epoch, as the basis for the ineradicable fight for a better, saner world.

The Fair Deal Goes Right — —

(Continued from page 1)

of the conventions are made in the famous smoke-filled rooms or in open struggle on the floor under full view of the television cameras. Such is the nature of these conventions that even if the deals are made in secret their social import is quickly revealed for the whole world to see.

What actually happened at the Democratic convention, and what does it mean for the future development of American politics? And more specifically, what do the events of this convention reveal about the relationship of the labor movement to the Democratic Party, and hence about the role which the American working class is playing and is going to play in American politics for the period just ahead?

TRADE-UNIONISTS ON VIEW

It is obvious why there was no reason to be concerned in the same way with the Republican convention. Although it is reported that the GOP convention was attended by at least one labor figure as a delegate (old Bill Hutchinson of the carpenters' union, one of the many albatrosses which labor carries tied to its neck), labor played no role whatever at that gathering. Some of the union leaders appeared formally before an insignificant subcommittee to urge the adoption of certain planks in the party's platform. But no one paid any attention to them. They were outsiders who were just making a gesture toward the past when they really believed that labor is non-partisan, engaged in rewarding friends and punishing enemies without regard to party.

The convention of the Democratic Party presented a quite different picture. Here the pretence of impartiality was all but completely abandoned. Philip Murray, president of the CIO was a regular delegate to the convention from Pennsylvania. George Harrison, president of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks (AFL) was also a delegate. So were well over a hundred other trade-unionists, most of them coming from the CIO. And they were not rank-and-file members, or the officers of union locals in small towns who "play politics" on a personal basis.

As the various delegations were polled, time and again the radio audience heard names familiar to everyone connected with labor circles. These were the official leaders of city and state councils, men prominent in their internationals—men who openly and officially represent the organized working class, and whose every vote and every action were accepted as the expression of the political will of the leadership of the American labor movement.

This Democratic convention emphasized the fact that the integration of the labor leadership into the party has reached a new high. Not only have the labor leaders entered into the warp and woof of the Democratic Party; they formed an organized caucus at the convention, thus publicly proclaiming their intention of playing a kind of independent role inside the party.

LABOR BLOC BOWED

Of course, the whole convention demonstrated the narrow limitations within which they envisage their independence. The labor bloc was most closely associated with the wider liberal grouping represented by the followers of Americans for Democratic Action. At a crucial stage in the convention it associated itself with the temporary anti-machine, grass-roots following of Senator Kefauver. Finally, rather than forcing a clear-cut struggle for party leadership, it capitulated to the machine-Southern bloc which put over the Stevenson nomination.

Nevertheless, there was the labor bloc as a distinct and organized faction in the convention, making its alliances and deals; not always in complete harmony within itself, but closer together and more purposeful in its operation as a political force than ever before.

The labor-liberal coalition had come to the convention with one primary purpose in mind. Ever since the "great victory" in the 1948 elections, labor and liberal leaders have been explaining to all who would listen that the victory of the Truman election had been stolen by the bloc of Republicans and Southern Democrats which has dominated Congress on all major domestic issues. At this convention, therefore, their primary purpose had to be to deal a serious, and if possible, a decisive blow to the strength of the South in the party.

Only thus could the election of a Democratic administration in November be a real victory for labor and the liberals. To them, this objective was more important than the presidential candidate. Or to put it otherwise, any one of several candidates for the presidential nomina-

tion (Harriman, Kefauver or Stevenson) would be acceptable if the party could be purged of the strangling embrace of the most reactionary Southern politicians.

Armed with this determination, the labor-liberal coalition seemed to be riding to an unexpectedly easy victory during the first day of the convention. Together with the Kefauver delegates they pushed over the "loyalty pledge" which openly challenged the Dixiecrats to get out of the party. Although it is quite likely that in sinking Barkley's hope for the nomination they were acting as cat's-paws for Truman, their degree of influence was emphasized by the fact that Truman and his advisors chose them and not others to stick the knife into "dear Alben." The Barkley episode was a symbol: without the support of organized labor, the vice president, though a Fair Dealer, had no chance.

SOUTH'S STRATEGY CHANGED

During the first day, it appeared that this convention would repeat what had happened in Philadelphia in 1948, but on a higher plane. At that time the Dixiecrats were full of belligerency and self-confidence. The Democratic Party was going to be defeated in the election for the first time in 16 years. The Dixiecrats thought they were pulling another plug out of a sinking ship which they were in the process of abandoning. The labor-liberal coalition was pretty much of the same opinion. At that time Truman seemed to them not even a lesser evil, and they were frantically wooing everyone from Justice Douglas to General Eisenhower as an alternative. They forced through the civil-rights plank of the platform and the other pledges which gave the Dixiecrats their pretext to bolt the party, not so much because they hoped to win but because they felt that there was not much more to lose in an already hopeless battle.

But the Democrats won in 1948, and without the Dixiecrat South. The victory demonstrated once more, as had Roosevelt's victories before, that the solid South is no longer necessary for Democratic supremacy in American elections. This lesson had also been brought home to the Southern political leaders. The Dixiecrat yell had proved to be a futile Confederate squeal. Although the most extreme representatives of Southern reaction still refuse to run up the white flag, and although some may yet try to bolt to the GOP standard, the majority of the Southern leaders have concluded that unpleasant as this may be, there is no life for them outside of the Democratic Party.

DRIFT TO RIGHT

Thus, in 1952 the labor-liberal coalition was prepared to take the offensive, and on the first day success seemed to be within their grasp. But almost before they knew what was happening, the rug was pulled out from under them. When the convention was over, it was clear that instead of turning to the left and cutting down the strength of the South, the Democratic Party had given the labor-liberal leadership the short end of the stick. The nomination of Sparkman for the vice-presidency was the cruelest blow of all.

Here was one of the seeming paradoxes of American politics. The effect of a stronger and better organized labor-liberal coalition was not to turn the party to the left; the opposite took place. We can be as sure as we are of anything else in life that in the immediate future this event will be used, to the point of boredom, to "prove" that labor cannot and should not seek to play a truly independent role in American politics. "See what happens," the story will go, "when labor tries to strike out on its own, even inside the Democratic Party. It is immediately isolated, and the total result is more conservatism, not a greater advance of liberalism."

This explanation for what happened at Chicago leaves out two factors which are absolutely vital in understanding current American politics.

The more general factor is the continuing drift to the right which affects almost all sectors of political life in this country. This drift to the right has been visible in the attack on civil liberties, in the increased influence of McCarthyism, in the bogging-down of the Fair Deal program of social amelioration. It is a product of the cold war and of the war economy which accompanies it. It is a product, also, of the war-born prosperity and full employment which has so far rested on the vast armament expenditures of the government. Both the working class and the middle class are bribed into social and political passivity on the one hand, and driven toward political conservatism by the threat of reactionary Stalinism on the other.

NOT A SHARP BREAK

This drift has been present since the beginning of the last war, and has continued steadily, with minor interruptions and deviations, since that time. The Democratic Party hopes to ride to power once more not on the achievements of the Fair Deal as a specific social philosophy and program, for there have been no achievements. It seeks to ride to power by identifying in the popular mind the current war-economy prosperity with the Democratic administration. In this respect it can be said that the claims of the Fair Deal to credit for the current prosperity are not much more relevant than were the sentiments of the farmer who (so the story goes) said that he would vote for Dewey in 1952 because he voted for him in 1944 and 1948 and he never had it so good.

This drift to the right is expressed by the nomination of Stevenson and Sparkman. But their nomination does not, as some commentators have claimed, mark a sharp break with the tradition of Roosevelt and Truman and an end to the New Deal-Fair Deal. It is a continuation of the drift which expressed itself in these administrations. This is doubly underlined by the fact that the same convention which nominated Stevenson and Sparkman also adopted the most radically formulated platform in the history of the Democratic Party, and that the campaign will be conducted on straight Fair Deal lines.

But there was a more specific, tactical reason why labor got shunted aside by the convention. And that is precisely BECAUSE labor was more closely integrated into the Democratic Party than ever before!

In 1948 the labor leadership had been grumbling and kicking as seldom before since 1933. Many of them were running after Eisenhower in preference to Truman. The latter had distinguished himself by breaking the railroad strike under the threat of drafting the workers into the army. The Taft-Hartley Act's injunctions and fines had been used against the miners. Both before and right after the convention a number of labor leaders made public speeches in which they pledged their intention of seeking new forms of political organization for the future.

The problem for the Democratic Party in 1948 was to keep labor in line. Truman, as a real politician, made a turn to the left with this purpose in mind. His administration since 1948 has been characterized by a series of gestures in labor's direction, culminating in his handling of the steel strike.

It is not too important to this aspect of the problem to point out that most of his gestures could be made at little or no expense. This was ensured by the coalition of Southern Democrats and Republicans in Congress who could be counted on to block almost any important domestic measure he proposed. It is not the point, in this connection, that labor actually won little if anything during his administration, except through the most determined struggle both in Washington and on the picket lines. The important point is that the face of the administration was turned toward a labor movement which had shown serious signs of disaffection in 1948, and then again in 1951 when it bolted the whole mobilization setup.

IN THE BAG, WITH STRING DRAWN

But in 1952 the labor leadership was once again solidly in the Democratic Party. Their spirit of revolt of 1948 had given place to organizational integration to such a degree that it was clear that whatever happened at the Democratic convention (short of the nomination of somebody like Russell), labor was in the bag, the string was drawn, and there was nowhere for it to go.

The same was not true for the South, or at least certain sections of it. Although the Dixiecrat revolt of 1948 had proved abortive, there was still the possibility that a defection of even a part of the South could prove disastrous. For the first time in many years the Republican Party was preparing a serious invasion of that territory. The candidacy of Eisenhower, coupled with the corruption scandals and the dissatisfaction over the course of the war in Korea, gave the Republicans some serious issues. And the Democrats too realize that by selecting a "leftish" candidate, the Republicans were seeking to attune themselves to the degree of rightward drift which has taken place in American politics, and directly to invade the South by catering to Southern prejudices.

Thus, labor's very integration into the Democratic Party permitted the big machines which control the organization to turn their backs on the labor leadership, at least for the purposes of the convention. To them, the important thing from a tactical point of view was to keep the South as solidly as possible in their ranks. This objective happened to coincide with their desire to defeat the Kefauver group, which presented itself as a grass-roots anti-corruption, anti-machine popular movement. To the extent that labor had allied itself with Kefauver for tactical purposes, they had to share in the fate which was preordained for the gang-buster from Tennessee.

That is the main meaning of what happened at the Democratic convention, and these are the trends in American politics which were brought to the surface and exhibited in the course of this great political circus.

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