

# LABOR ACTION

Independent Socialist Weekly

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MAY 30, 1955

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SPOT-LIGHT

# Why Washington Can't Call Moscow's Bluff on 'Neutrality'

By GORDON HASKELL

## NATO and Culture

One of the N.Y. Times' leading cold-war ideologists, its correspondent Drew Middleton, who apparently has a very conscious image of himself as an apologist for the West, wrote in a think-piece dispatched from London:

"Yet in all these differences and disputes [between the U.S. and its West European allies], both Europe and the United States are assisted by a common heritage. This heritage must be considered in its broadest terms, since it is clear that a Norwegian Socialist minister and an official of Generalissimo Francisco Franco's government have little in common politically. What they do have in common are certain immutable values in art, literature and music. The Europe of Cervantes is the Europe of Grieg, and Shakespeare is as prominent a European as Goethe." (May 8.)

These immutable values make up Middleton's main item of reassurance about the solidity of the NATO alliance as against Russia, which "has squatted in the center of Europe for a decade." That Russia is excluded from this common heritage is further evidenced by the remark, "The Russians are fully aware of the importance of this common heritage in frustrating their plans."

One wonders, therefore, where this cold-war journalist assigns the "Europe of Tchaikovsky," the "Europe of Pushkin," or the "Europe of Chekhov," etc. in rewriting his history of European culture to suit NATO's table of operations. The fascist butcher Franco is tied to the Norwegian socialists by the "Europe of Cervantes" (who, incidentally, never expressed an opinion about the cultural values of Falangist fascism); but it has been a long time since the days of the Grand Alliance when the Middletons rhapsodized about the glories of Russian culture as if Stalin were personally responsible for it all.

New alliances, new rhapsodies. In Stalinist Russia, the old-Bolshevik victims of the Moscow Trials were transformed from "British spies" into "Nazi agents" or "Japanese wreckers" according to the latest foreign-policy line. In democratic America, where such things don't happen, European Culture is outfitted with a Franco fascist uniform and told to salute in accordance with the latest Grand Alliance.

And by the way, what exactly are the Immutable Values which keep the U.S. tight in its embrace with Chiang Kai-shek?

## Testimony

For the 10th anniversary of V-E day at the beginning of May, the Associated Press addressed a leading question to some top generals in the Nazi army who are now working with the Americans and British. The AP asked: What blunders did the Allies make that prolonged the war?

Replies came from five, and without exception they stressed the political error of the "unconditional surrender" demand, explaining thereby why Hitler was able to prevent disintegration on the home front and internal revolt. The Allied policy, they

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The Stalinist government of Russia has launched the most intensive and sweeping campaign the cold war has seen to date. The Austrian peace treaty, the forthcoming visit of Khrushchev and Bulganin to Tito, the recent disarmament proposals, and the announced offer to create a united but neutral Germany—all this is political warfare on the grand scale.

This Stalinist "peace" campaign differs from all the others which have been launched during the cold war in one primary respect. The others demanded, basically, that the American bloc accept a division of the world pretty much on Russian terms.

Even this seemed preferable to millions of people in the world as compared with a continuation of the cold-war crises which seemed constantly to keep the world poised on the brink of the abyss of war. But the effect of such proposals was strictly limited by their obvious self-serving character and by the threatening and coercive moves which accompanied them (Berlin blockade, threats against Yugoslavia, demands for a "friendly" rather than a "neutral" Germany, etc.).

The present campaign, in contrast, has started with the acceptance by the Stalinists of withdrawal from Austria, and with a humiliating trip to Yugoslavia of the top Stalinist leaders to pay court to the "fascist" Tito in whose name leaders of one satellite country after another in Eastern Europe have been imprisoned or executed. These are the kind of "deeds" the Eisenhower administration has demanded as an earnest of Russian sincerity in ending the cold war. Further deeds along similar lines are promised.

Having performed such deeds, the Stalinists are now in a position to demand that the American bloc reciprocate in kind. The failure to do so would put the blame for the continuation of the cold war on the shoulders of the American government in the eyes of the world far more heavily than ever before.

## IN MID-AIR

The reaction of the Eisenhower administration to this new turn in Russian policy has been characteristic.

On the one hand, the president at his news conference, and in his televised "discussion" with Dulles, made some vaguely optimistic statements about the creation of a new atmosphere in world affairs. He even went so far as to appear to regard with tentative favor the idea of the creation of a neutral belt of nations stretching from Sweden through Yugoslavia.

On the other hand, the American government has placed ridiculous procedural restrictions on a meeting of the top leaders of the "big four." The only purpose of these restrictions can be either to provoke the Stalinists into rejecting the terms on which the meeting is proposed, or to stall off any necessity of the American government's giving an early answer to the Russian proposals. (A president who can leave Washington for months at a time on vacation, and whose four- and five-day golfing "weekends" have become a national joke, tells the Russians that he cannot possibly leave Washington for more than three or four

days, even to negotiate the unification of Germany!)

In short, the American government finds that the major line of policy it has pursued in Europe for seven years is suspended in mid-air, and is groping around for some way of bringing it back to earth, or for a brand new policy with which to meet the Stalinist campaign.

Two items in the New York Times for May 23 point up the squeeze in which the government's policy has been caught.

One is an editorial, in which the editors of the Times, worried by Eisenhower's loose talk at this press conference, seek to remind the government of what its policy has been, and what would follow from abandoning it in response to the Russian move.

"The idea of a neutralized Germany," says the Times editorial, "... became a formidable proposition when Mr. Molotov declared.....that Austrian neutra-



lity must set the pattern for other countries and in effect made German neutralization the price of German unification. The Soviets underscored this bid by forming an Eastern 'Counter-NATO' with their satellites, which would permit East Germany to withdraw from it if Western Germany withdraws from the Western alliances... and would evacuate the Allied forces from Germany to their national frontiers.'

"Finally, the Soviets are attempting to widen the neutral area by assiduously courting Sweden and making a top-level visit to Yugoslavia to mend the break with Marshal Tito. But they make it plain that this neutral belt is to be carved out only from areas with Western ties, and denounce even a discussion of the status of Eastern Europe as 'wild' talk.

"The whole plan is so patently a Soviet device to wreck the Paris pacts... that it would not be difficult to cope with it as long as it remained a purely Soviet scheme. But it is finding such support even in the West that it is beginning to replace free German elections as the main issue

in a German settlement. It is hailed by the German Socialists as a step toward the 'third solution' that is gaining ground in Germany. And it gives a new lease on life to French, British, and Italian neutralists who would like to make all Western Europe 'neutral' as between Soviet Russia and the United States which find their equal disapproval."

## "NO DEAL"

The Times then refers to Eisenhower's statement, which it claims, hopefully, "can be only a misrepresentation" of his real views. "This equivocal statement has caused something akin to panic in German government quarters and has prompted Chancellor Adenauer to launch a campaign against German neutralization and to rush German rearmament to tie the Paris pacts down with action." The chancellor "deserves the unequivocal support of his Western allies," for his devotion to the Paris treaties.

And then the Times pictures the chasm which yawns for American policy thus:

"For a neutralized Germany, whether armed or disarmed, could only open up a Pandora's box of new disasters. It would not only end all progress toward European unification, but would also shatter the Western alliance system and force the United States to withdraw its troops from Europe, which would then have no room for them. It would restore the old divided Europe with its national animosities... and would make Germany either... a Soviet puppet, or, if armed enough, an arbiter between East and West, playing off one against the other and open to a new deal with the Soviets at the expense not only of Western but also of Eastern Europe. It would, in short, mark the collapse of American policy in Europe and force that 'agonizing reappraisal' which ratification of the Paris pacts has avoided. For all these reasons, and for the sake of their own peace and security, the Western Powers should promptly clarify their position, and the quicker this is done the easier it will be to nip the Soviet scheme in the bud."

Clear enough, is it not? The Times calls on Eisenhower to remember what American policy has been all about and to stop fooling around with the "neutral belt" idea. Let the "Western Powers"—that is, Washington, since the editorial itself admits that the trouble with the Russian proposal is that it is finding support throughout Europe—simply say "no deal" to the Russians, and stand on their NATO alliance like the boy on the burning deck.

## FEARS

An article by foreign correspondent Harold Callender in the very same issue of the Times indicates why such a posture for American policy might well end up as uncomfortably as did the aforesaid boy on the burning deck "whence all but he had fled."

"In the popular response to recent Soviet moves," he writes, "(experts in foreign affairs in Paris) see Europeans losing their belief in a Soviet danger, and they fear the result may be to weaken the Western coalition built up in the last seven years to meet such a danger.

(Turn to last page)

It's Easy—Just Change a Few Words . . .

# HOW TO ABOLISH THE CLASS STRUGGLE

By BEN HALL

In the preamble to the present AFL constitution we read, "A struggle is going on . . . between the oppressors and oppressed of all countries, a struggle between the capitalist and laborer which grows in intensity from year to year." While this still remains as an anachronism in its constitution, the AFL long ago abandoned the philosophy of class struggle. The proposed constitution for the new united labor movement brings matters up to date and eliminates any such reference.

The class struggle can easily be amended out of a written text, but it is not so easily eradicated from the facts of life. Marx Lewis, writing in the May 15 issue of the *Hat Worker*, gives it gingerly recognition.

"It would perhaps be too much to say that there is no evidence of such class struggle now. Even when workers want to forget the past, and even when they recognize, as most of them do, that they can gain more by increasing the wealth from which their share must come than by constantly fighting over a share that remains static or even diminishes, they are forcibly reminded that there are powerful forces in this country that still believe in a low-wage policy, that deny that the workers are entitled to benefit from improved machinery and increased productivity, and that would like to see workers reduced to the status of slaves."

And he concludes, "The U. S. Chamber of Commerce, the National Association of Manufacturers, and other groups which they sponsor are, whether they know it or not, the proponents of the class struggle." And we might add: the labor movement whether it knows it or not, is also engaged in the same class struggle.

A brief glance at some current events shows that our era of "collective bargaining" is not as uniformly peaceful as it seems. The big monopolies tolerate unionism, but it is an uneasy and suspicious toleration enforced only by the real might of organized labor.

## IN POLITICS

Republican women attending a recent conference in Washington were given a little "kit" containing "fact cards" which they were urged to purchase and send to their friends. These cards were to be purchased through a magazine called the *National Republic*. An editorial in its May issue, entitled "Labor Bosses Court Disaster," informs its readers: "Organized labor-unionism in the United States is now in the grip of conspirators operating under rules alien to American liberties."

This is obviously a little nugget planted by the nut fringe of reaction; but how easily it finds its way around the Republican Party!

In more "responsible" quarters, the political drive against labor continues. In Wisconsin, a bill prohibiting unions from contributing to political campaigns became law when it was signed on May 20 by Republican Governor Walter J. Kohler. Four states, Pennsylvania, Indiana, Texas, and West Virginia, already bar the use of union funds in state elections just as the Taft-Hartley Law forbids such expenditures in national elections. Other proposals are blossoming forth that would go even further in curbing labor's political rights.

In New York, for example, bills that died without action would have made it a penal offense for unions to use funds for political action, would have outlawed union appeals for voluntary contributions to election funds, and would have required a majority vote of all union members to approve any such expenditures. Similar legislation, in some cases even more restrictive, has been introduced in Ohio and Indiana.

The AFL *Butcher Workmen* summarizes the intent of these laws as follows: "The general pattern of the new bills is to prevent unions from contributing funds to state political activity and, even more crippling, to prevent unionists from soliciting or receiving funds from union members to be used in political activity. In more extreme cases, even union activity in supporting or opposing legislation would be barred."

The ceaseless pressure against labor politics extends to Congress where a bill has been introduced by a group of Democratic senators to amend the Taft-Hartley Law as follows: "It is unlawful for any candidate or political committee to make any contribution or expenditure in connection with any federal election from funds received directly or indirectly from a labor union, corporation or national bank."

The clause is aimed at labor unions, not at banks; and the joker is the word "indirectly" which would be interpreted to illegalize the CIO-PAC and the AFL-LLPE. The bill spreads its restrictive net to include "all committees, associations or organizations whether political or non-political in character which influence or attempt to influence the result of an election by the preparation and/or dissemination of educational material. . . ."

Also pending is the Butler bill which would extend the "loyalty" program into private industry, even to peacetime production. Thomas E. Harris, CIO attorney, declared before the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security that the CIO was firmly opposed to it.

"It would confer upon the government," he said, "a degree of control over private employment which this country has never found necessary even in the darkest days of war. It would give a government agency the power to decide whether each of millions of workers, whose work bears no more than a remote relationship to the defense effort, would be permitted to work at his job."

And finally, "If the program this bill authorizes is ever put into effect, we will have taken a long step toward requiring that every worker carry a police card attesting to his loyalty in order to get work. And if that ever happens, we will have exchanged the freedom of American democracy for the tyranny of a police state."

These are strong words from the CIO. In its own way, even the conservative AFL Carpenters Union begins to express labor's disquietude over the problems of "security." The May issue of the *Carpenter*, in an article entitled "Let's Quit Aping the Reds," protests against industrial snooping in the name of security.

Unlike the CIO, it has no complaint against government snooping, but it protests vigorously against private imitations. There are now about 150,000 "private eyes" at work in America, the article points out, and "the significant thing is that about 60 per cent of the time of these private eyes is spent working for corporations and prying into the lives and activities of employees in the name of security."

And the *Carpenter* concludes: "The whole concept of management snooping into the private lives of employees is Communistic in principle. It is repugnant to all Americans who believe that reasonable privacy is an inherent American right. Surely security can be maintained by some other method more in accordance with fundamental ideas of liberty and privacy."

## IN INDUSTRY

The UAW is as solidly entrenched as any union; it is recognized; it cannot be wiped out. Yet it cannot rely on simple "collective bargaining." To back up its side of the argument, it has called for strike votes in all Ford and General Motors locals.

The first returns from Ford show a vote of more than 94 per cent in favor of striking if necessary to win union demands, chief of which is the guaranteed annual wage. Meanwhile Walter Reuther

charges, with documentation, that the National Association of Manufacturers is campaigning to raise a fund of \$25,000,000 to prevent the establishment of a guaranteed wage.

Even the UAW is reminded of what can come. Union-breaking is never dead. UAW Local 833 enters the 14th month of its strike against the Kohler Company in Sheboygan, Wisconsin.

In 1934, the company succeeded in breaking a strike by arming a private guard which used tear-gas and guns on strikers, killing two unionists and wounding 48. Now an Associated Press dispatch quotes company officials as saying, "frankly they would not grieve to see Local 833 broken in the struggle." Lyman C. Conger, chief negotiator for the company, threatened: "if anyone would like to speculate on the basis of what happened here after the 1934 strike, they are at liberty to do so."

The union lives not because mutual understanding has replaced class struggle but because labor is strong enough to carry on its side of the struggle. The AFL Machinists Union sent a motorcade bringing the proceeds of a food and cash drive for the strikers: enough food to furnish the strike kitchen for six weeks.

On April 5 the strike became the central issue in the Sheboygan County elections. The Sheboygan Farm-Labor Political League was revived to fight the elections against the so-called Peoples League, backed by Kohler management. For the first time in history, the company-backed candidate for mayor was defeated and a labor-backed candidate won. Two members of striking Local 833 were on the winning slate: Victor Becker, who becomes an alderman, and Vernon Ogenorth, who becomes chairman of the Town of Sheboygan. Another victorious alderman is secretary of an AFL carpenters local in the city.

## IN TEXTILE

The CIO Textile Workers Union continues its month-old strike against the New England mills which are demanding a direct wage-cut of 3 cents per hour and the abolition of other benefits, including paid holidays and social insurance. This would, in sum, be the equivalent of a 10 cent cut. The union replies with a demand for the restoration of the 1952 wage cut of 6½ per cent. Nearly 20,000 workers are on strike, a strike which goes on despite the fact that five mills of the Bates Manufacturing Company, employing 7,000, have settled.

"We had hoped," said union Vice-President William Pollock, "that the statesmanlike position of the workers would be matched by the companies." In vain! Bosses become "statesmanlike" only when the unions are strong and militant.

Says the CIO magazine *Textile Labor*: "An industry which cannot maintain an average wage of \$1.30 an hour, and the most rudimentary fringe benefits, is no longer useful to American society."

## IN ELECTRIC INDUSTRY

The IUE-CIO electrical workers union is campaigning among its own membership to prepare for negotiations with General Electric which open on July 19. The present contract expires on September 15. Locals are now balloting on a union proposal for a "no contract, no work" policy in this year's negotiations. If this is carried and no contract is signed by September 15, the IUE will strike General Electric.

A recent issue of *IUE-CIO News* reported no less than 8 locals on strike, including the 9,300 members of Sperry Local 450.

In the South unionism hits up against a wall of reaction.

The Communication Workers of America (CIO) has just concluded its strike against the Southern Bell Telephone Company, a strike which involved 40,000 workers in 700 cities in 9 states and lasted 68 days. The CWA is a relatively new union and it was striking for no more than a wage increase and for "collective bargaining." The company refused to accept the principle of arbitration.

Thus, to ensure statesmanlike negotiations, the union was forced to battle for

## SPOTLIGHT

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maintained, made the people feel that the stake was not Hitler or Nazism but real interests of the whole nation.

From Field Marshal Albert Kesselring, last commander of the German army in the West: "The Casablanca statement on unconditional surrender undermined German desire for peace, and prevented the Allies from ending the war at a time when Russian influence could still have been held back."

From General Guenther Blumentritt, now a military historian, who was German chief of staff in the West in 1944: "First of all, it was not practical politics for the Allies to demand unconditional surrender. Psychologically, it had the result of forcing not only the Wehrmacht but the people to extreme resistance. Using this hard demand, the Third Reich's propaganda told the people that they had to fight to the last. No doubt this prolonged the war."

From General Hasso von Manteuffel, now a Free Democrat deputy in the Reichstag, who commanded a panzer army in the Battle of the Bulge: "The biggest psychological error was the demand for unconditional surrender. The fighting will of the German soldier was thereby strengthened to such a degree that even in the almost hopeless situation of December 1944, a big German offensive—the Ardennes—was still possible. After the unconditional-surrender demand, and then the Morgenthau plan, the soldier could not look forward to a decent post-war life. Thus he fought to the last, even in circumstances devoid of all hope."

From Col. Gen. von Arnim, commander of the German forces in Tunisia in 1943: "In my opinion, the Allied demand for unconditional surrender destroyed all chances for a successful internal uprising against the Hitler system."

From Vice-Adm. Helmuth Heye, now a Reichstag deputy from Adenauer's party, who commanded one-man torpedoes, frogmen and all small combat units in the navy: "My personal conviction is that the Allies, by issuing their unconditional surrender demand, forced practically the whole German people into one front and thus all resistance movements became illusory."

This German-eye view of the Allied policy is corroborated by other evidence, including the fact that Goebbels was filled with glee when he heard of the Allied announcement, understanding that this was now his main home-front weapon.

Next to "unconditional surrender," the Germans listed the Allied decision to invade southern France instead of the Balkans as a factor lengthening the war.

its life. It set up picket lines at the Oak Ridge atomic works, lines which were respected by the AFL crafts. On May 2, a group of CIO unions raised a fund of \$1,250,000 to assist the CWA strike.

In the course of this strike, latest in the era of statesmanship, cables were cut, telephone exchanges were dynamited, stink bombs were planted—all according to company statements. And the union charges the company with "terror practices": hiring of armed guards, instigating physical attacks on pickets, and firing into picket lines.

AFL non-operating railroad unions, elsewhere in the South, concluded a successful 57-day strike against the Louisville and Nashville Railroad which brought 25,000 workers out on strike in 14 states. Ten allied unions won their chief demands. During the strike, the company called in the FBI in an attempt to charge the strikers with derailing a train. In Tennessee, one striker was shot to death and in Kentucky another was critically wounded by company-armed strikebreakers.

But although these unions have been able to hold on in organized and solid strikes, the drive to organize the South is stalled in the face of government and company resistance. The *Wall Street Journal* on May 9, surveying the state of unionism in the South, reports: "The upshot of it all [union drives] so far at least is a seeming stalemate. The Southern work force remains as it has for years less than 15 per cent unionized." An example of what union organizers face, is a local ordinance passed in Carrollton, Georgia. Union organizers must pay a special license fee of \$1,000 plus \$100 a day for the privilege of signing up members.

The next drive to organize the South will come from the united labor movement. It will not be easy.

In any case, we remind our readers, the class struggle has been abolished—in the text of labor's new constitution.

LONDON LETTER

# How British Election Looks on the Eve

By OWEN ROBERTS

LONDON, May 19—There are now just seven days left before polling will take place in the fourth general election to be held in Britain since the war—seven days during which the contesting parties will be summoning the last dregs of their energy in a final effort to swing the electorate.

Insofar as it is possible to rely upon predictions of the election results the cards seem stacked in favor of the Tory party. This morning the *News Chronicle* published the results of its latest weekly Gallup Poll on voters' intentions: it shows a marked swing to the Tory party of 3½ points. A rough translation of this abstract figure into terms of seats in the new Parliament gives the Tories a majority of over 100 seats—a very impressive figure.

This, however, is based upon the assumption that it is possible to predict with a fair amount of accuracy the results of an election upon the basis of a sample survey. Such predictions have been known to come unstuck, as in the American presidential elections, if I remember rightly. The business of forecasting the result of this particular British election is further complicated by the widespread changes which have been made in the boundaries of Parliamentary constituencies since the last general election was held in 1951.

In the old Parliament there were 625 seats; the redistribution of boundaries has created 5 entirely new constituencies and altered the boundaries of no less than 215 others. This makes many of the constituencies an unknown quantity and renders the forecasting of results an even more hazardous process than it is normally. Generally speaking these boundary changes have not worked in favor of the Labor Party and it is not unlikely that many familiar Labor faces will be missing from the new Parliament because of these changes.

One whose seat is so endangered is Ian Mikardo, a prominent Bevanite propagandist. The town of Reading was previously represented by two MPs; one was Mikardo and the other a Tory. The boundary changes have now merged these two Reading constituencies into one and carved out various chunks from the fringes of the constituency and tacked them onto neighboring ones. The result of all this surgical work is to completely change the character of the constituency and to make Mikardo's position extremely unstable.

## CITY PERKS UP

If the general feeling stays with the Labor Party, then it is just possible that Mikardo will scrape through; but if there is but a slight swing to the Tories, then I am very much afraid that he has had it. Such a situation is not peculiar to Mikardo's constituency but is multiplied throughout the country many times and is likely to upset the calculation of the pollsters.

The British equivalent of Wall Street—the "City," as it is called—has apparently made up its mind that there will be a Tory victory on May 26. The newspapers this morning carried in their financial columns news of sharp rises in stock-exchange prices. The financial correspondent of the *News Chronicle* said that the prices were "behaving as though a Conservative victory at the general election were a foregone conclusion." The *Daily Mail*, an extreme right-wing Tory daily, ran a three column headline over its financial news which read: "Big share gains on Tory election hopes."

It is interesting to note that the share prices of Imperial Chemical Industries—which is threatened with nationalization should Labor come to power—have been steadily rising for some time and have now reached a record high. Steel shares—also threatened by a Labor victory—have also been in great demand by speculators. However, in view of compensation prospects, these movements could be as much an insurance against a Labor victory as anticipation of a Tory one!

## NO CLEAR ISSUES

As yet there have been no really clear-cut issues emerging from the campaign. The Labor Party is concentrating on attacking the Tory record on rising prices during its term of office, in particular the rise in foodstuffs as a result of the cuts which the Tory government made in the food subsidies.

The Tory counter to this attack is the allegation that a Labor government would reintroduce the ration book; this line has been pushed with considerable energy in an endeavor to create a panic amongst the housewives. There is every indication that they intend to try and blow it up into a really big issue during the next week. The Labor Party has constantly, and specifically, refuted these allegations and is devoting much propaganda to this end.

Another issue which the Tories seem likely to work up during the remaining few days before the poll is the question of strikes. During the past few weeks there have been a number of strikes in Britain and, because of the nearness of the election, they have received considerable press publicity.

At the moment there is likelihood of a big stoppage taking place on the docks just three days before polling day, for a dispute has arisen concerning the recognition of the Stevedores and Dockers Union. The Tory press is splashing scare headlines all over the place and the backwoodsmen of the Tory Party are darkly hinting that strong action will have to be taken against strikers in the future.

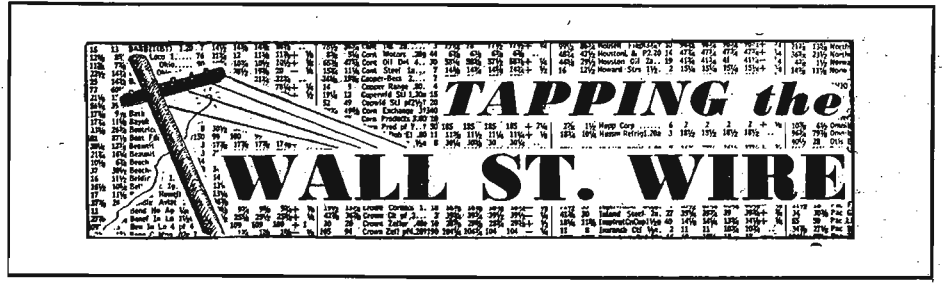
The top Tories, as can be expected, are noncommittal on the subject; they have been representatives of the ruling class too long to show their intentions in such a crude fashion as do some of the over-enthusiastic Tory backwoodsmen.

## CRY THREAT

The signs have not, however, been missed by the Labor movement. Clem Attlee, in a special election message, said that it was vital for all trade-unionists to vote Labor, otherwise their liberties may be endangered by Tory hostility should Britain run into a crisis. The Bevanite weekly *Tribune* makes the issue its front-page story in its current edition and says quite bluntly that the Tories are threatening the workers' right to strike. It will be very interesting to see how the Tory leadership handles this matter during the coming days; it could well prove an important point in deciding the final result of the election.

By the time you read this the result will probably be known, but as yet it still hangs in the balance. The last few days of hard grind now lie ahead of the Labor Party, for it is usually the Labor support which is the slowest to mobilize, and as a consequence the general tendency is for the Labor support to grow in the period immediately prior to the poll. This week-end every effort will be made by the Labor workers to rouse up the electorate and to endeavor to get the maximum Labor vote to the poll.

In a week our immediate job will be over; we can then but sit back during those agonizing hours during which the votes are counted and wait to find whether the Labor Party is to be the government or the opposition. Once that has been determined we start all over again, making our plans in the light of circumstances.



# Despite Boom, Business Still Has Jitters

By SAM TAYLOR

The "new era" American capitalism seems, and to a large extent is, moving along at or near record performances. Day after day newspaper headlines shout that a new record has been established. But it is a performance that is still on the whole below the peaks of 1953. In terms of an expanding economy, two years have been lost right before our eyes.

But this is a performance that breeds very little confidence about the future. The problem of stagnation is a very real one, despite all the hurrahs about the recovery from the recession of 1954. It is, after all, only a recovery up to the previous year. And even if in the next quarter, it does reach a new height, virtually no one has confidence that it will be anything but a prelude to a new recession. This seems to be the best that can be expected—without the stimulant of another shot of the war-economy elixir.

In looking at the recovery of late '54 and early '55, there are two things worth noting: first, the persistent inability to eliminate the recession-level unemployment; and second, the evenness of the price level from the recession to the recovery.

Employment, for example, in April rose to 61.7 million—the best April on record—but the first quarter of this year is still below 1953. This was a seasonal increase of 1.2 million in one month (mostly due to increased farm work). However, unemployment dropped by only 200,000. This left unemployment at 2.9 million, in the conservative estimates of the Department of Labor which consistently understates unemployment.

## SIGNS OF WEAKNESS

The reasons for this are two: the rise in the labor force, and the number of people seeking work. The one million statistically added to the labor force in one month did not just drop out of the sky. To a large extent they have to be considered a reserve of hidden unemployment, statistically manipulated by the Department of Labor to enter and leave the labor force as it is politically convenient. The other major portion are the youth entering the labor force.

Technological advance is the other reason, and perhaps the major one, for this hard-core unemployment. From all points of view but one, 1954 was a recession year. Output per man-hour was the exception. While industrial production declined, productivity increased to about double the long-term trend. Comparing the first quarter of 1954 to the same period of 1955, you find that manufacturing productivity increased by almost 7 per cent.

The big-business press tries to deny that technological improvement, especially automation, will mean unemployment. In general, this is true, but in the real situation we are living in right now, technological advance is indeed creating unemployment. And this is not a situation that is getting any better; as June rolls around, unemployment always rises as more youths join the labor force.

The stability of the price level in the present recovery, far from being a sign of economic health, is an indication of a basic weakness in the "boom." Historically, whenever there is a spurt in business activity, it is accompanied by a general rise in prices. But in the 10 per cent business recovery since the spring of 1954, there has been virtually no change in the general price level.

## BENEATH THE SURFACE

The shakiness of the "boom" may not be apparent on the surface. However, when you look at the inflationary pressures that are in the economy—first, the normal inflationary effects of a boom, and second, the effect of the war economy—it is significant that prices have remained stable. The *Journal of Commerce* commenting on this situation says:

"Large-scale defense spending as a result of the cold war undoubtedly has exerted considerable inflationary impact on the general price structure, even though you may not have been able to see it."

But the net effect of these powerful inflationary pressures is merely to hold prices on an even keel. What this means is that beneath the rosy exterior of the

boom, strong deflationary forces are at work. You don't have to have a wild imagination to see what would happen if the war-economy props were significantly reduced. The hard-headed realists of the business journals, conservatives at best and not mushy liberals, also know what would happen.

Therefore it should not be surprising to find a considerable amount of uneasiness over the Russian "soft" policy today. From the point of view of American capitalism, a detente can only have disastrous consequences for it would undermine the rationale of the war economy. And knowledge of this fact is in no small part in back of the hostility toward "big-power negotiations."

Another great depression may not be in the cards today, but the war economy does not rule out considerable cyclical swings. On this score it is worth while quoting the *Wall Street Journal* of May 9.

"... now that through sheer productive power the American economy has built a full-sized civilian economy on top of the military one, it may be false logic to assume that the civilian system thereby is protected against fluctuations. That might be so if military production, as in wartime, were taking the place of some civilian output. But it isn't, as far as can be judged."

The second half of this year will be of importance in judging just what the war economy can do over a period of time. There is no question of whether another recession is in the cards. It is only a matter of when it will begin. The important thing will be to see if '55 can top the production levels of '53, and if so, by how much?

If this "boom" should only just top the peak year '53 and then dip into another recession, the relative importance of the war economy as a stabilizing and expanding force will be considerably lessened. In such a situation, rising unemployment will be the most significant sign of this stagnation. It will then raise the question of whether the war economy over a longer period can prevent a serious depression, say perhaps after another cyclical swing.

## Jet System

We doff our hat to Walter Buckingham Jr., associate professor of Industrial Management at Georgia Institute of Technology, for stating at a Conference on Automation the best case for socialism we have heard in a long time.

"A British statesman recently referred to the modern industrial economic system as being like a jet plane which cannot slow down without falling out of the sky," Buckingham said. "The interdependence of large corporations with each other, with the government and with all other sectors of the economy has become so complete that unemployment and other maladjustments can no longer be tolerated without seriously threatening the entire framework of our economic system."

"Hence large corporations have become, of necessity, semi-public institutions with responsibilities extending far beyond their balance sheets to the limits of the economy itself. Since they can consciously control the level of production and employment through their wage, price and output policies; they control the welfare of every citizen. In a democracy, then, it is clearly a responsibility of business and the government to insure a high and steady level of output and employment."

"If the Industrial Revolution was the seed from which our economic system grew, then mass production was the flower and automation is the final fruit. This fruit must be eaten and enjoyed or it may rot and fall to the ground. Automation is the logical conclusion of the process of mechanization which is now over 200 years old."

The Conference was held under the auspices of the CIO Committee on Economic Policy, and even if Buckingham does not, the CIO knows damn well that industry has refused to accept the responsibility for the social consequences of automation. . . .

—Reading Labor-Advocate

## THE FIGHT FOR SOCIALISM

by

Max Shachtman

A basic primer on the ideas of Independent Socialism!

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# Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor

## Recommendation

To the Editor:

In response to the discussion [on Christian-Socialism, May 2 issue] I could not resist the urge to call attention to a book, *Cultural Concept of Christianity* by Dr. Arthur Wallace Calhoun; also to an article by him in the *United Presbyterian* for March 21, 1955. I would like the *LA* editor's comment on the book as well as on the article; and I am positive that Mrs. Marsh will be delighted to read it.

S. D.

Dickson City, Pa., May 3.

## The Frontier As Safety-Valve

To the Editor:

I wish to compliment you on the fine pamphlet-issue on socialism and the labor movement. It is one elemental aspect of socialist thought that many people completely misunderstand.

I wish to take exception, however, to one aspect of Gordon Haskell's otherwise excellent article on "Why American Labor Is 'Different.'"

One reason he gives for the relatively slow development of class-consciousness in America is the famous Frederick Jackson Turner "safety-valve theory" of the frontier. He writes: "Up to the close of the last century the great, open frontier beckoned anyone who found life too difficult at home." This theory, that the frontier offered a "safety valve" for those among the working classes who were discontented has been found to have no basis in actuality.

Research of the actual migration patterns in America shows that from the earliest times, the farming land of the West was filled with the surplus population of Eastern farms. The workers never left the cities. In the first place they did not have the knowledge and skills required to run farms. Farming takes a degree of first-hand knowledge far beyond the capabilities of city dwellers who have not learned about farming from childhood. In the second place, even when free land was available, it would have been almost impossible for the skilled workers of the time, not to mention the unskilled workers, to get enough capital to make a start at farming.

Thus we must find other explanations for the retarded development of the American working class. One such factor, not mentioned in Haskell's article but hinted at in the frontier theory, is the dominance of agrarianism in American life up to the Civil War. After the defeat of Hamilton, the representative of commercial and nascent manufacturing capitalist interests, the agrarians of the West and South under the Jeffersonians and Jacksonians dominated American life politically and culturally. The great class struggles of this period were largely between the agrarians and the growing capitalists, who finally won out in the Civil War. Thus the worker-capitalist struggle was for the most part localized in a few urban centers with the small working-class movements constantly being swallowed up in the great agrarian reform movements. The workingman's parties of the 1830s, for example, became swallowed up in the Jacksonian movement.

It was not until after the Civil War that the capitalists won out and the worker-capitalist struggle became a nation-wide phenomenon, with nation-wide working-class organizations like the Knights of Labor and the American Federation of Labor. Why the workers were held back even after the Civil War was aptly explained by Haskell when he referred to such things as immigration and upward mobility.

T.W.

As T. W.'s quote from my article shows, I did not quite write that the frontier attracted the discontented from the working classes or that it siphoned off this discontent directly out of the cities. The research to which T. W. refers does not invalidate a "safety valve" theory of the frontier, as he seems to think. It merely makes this a two-step impact, rather than a one-step direct effect. By siphoning off self-selected elements from the Eastern agrarian population, it helped to siphon off many elements who would otherwise have shifted into the cities. For this reason, the frontier was a safety-valve with respect to Eastern society as a whole, if not specifically for the urban workers. And of course this effect of the frontier is only one point in an explanation, not the sole one; but it should not be excluded.

Gordon HASKELL

## About the Dispute In India's SP

To the Editor:

In my last letter to the *LABOR ACTION* (May 16) I should have made clear that being a foreigner my knowledge of English and American idiom was as poor as my vocabulary of socialist terminology was limited due to my "rabble" background. To take issue with highly sophisticated socialist intellectuals like you was rather incongruous. My apologies.

(a) I think I made it clear that "Indian socialism stands for militancy and social reconstruction at the same time" and had further felt that "the socialists should be able to justify in advance their future governmental role by doing constructive and positive acts during the period of militant opposition." This notion I had tried to stress both explicitly and implicitly throughout my letter. I was, indeed, happy to see that your concept of "militancy" categorically includes action for the reconstruction of society.

(b) However, it seems, it was a poor representation of my thoughts on my part if I "baffled" you by assigning different roles to "militant people" and "statesmen" in a socialist movement. These roles are not conflicting. Is it not a fact that in a socialist movement some people give more time to analyzing the given social realities, developing political and economic concepts, while some others give less time to these and more time to actual social reconstruction of the society? The former provide, in my opinion, the foundation and the intensive character; the latter build the superstructure and develop extensivity. Lest I am misunderstood, let me say that these two aspects supplement each other, they do not cancel each other. When I said that militancy is not self-contained, I was saying that merely by making a socialist analysis of the social realities, or by developing a sophisticated theory of "militant opposition," a movement is not built; it needs something more, and that is constructive action, taking the message to the people, and explaining to them in simple, unsophisticated, provincial, language the message of the movement. If it were not so, the so-called militant socialists of the United States (who are in my opinion purely negativists, living in false illusion that they represent a movement) would have taken the West with a storm.

(c) There is no doubt in my mind that the Congress Party in India is reactionary in character and pays lip-service to socialism. But every one in the Socialist Party, as far as I know, from the extreme radical to the extreme liberal faction agrees that in the Nehru wing of the Congress Party there are a few genuine liberal spots, which can be appealed to. (This is very analogous to the situation in this country. ADA does not have a progressive program but a section of it does have a consistently civil-libertarian program.) Outside the Praja Socialist Party this wing is the only logical ally of the socialist movement in India, and Asoka Mehta does not

want to dismiss this group with the same amount of indifference with which he rejects the right wing of the Congress Party.

(d) If you consider Asoka Mehta to be a conservative, compromising, "labor statesman" (U.S.A. type), that is your judgment. I do not think he would mind your cynical jokers. After all we all are socialists: you sophisticated ones but without a movement; we naive and provincial ones with a movement.

Brijen K. GUPTA

Comrade Gupta has quite explained the distinction he had in mind between "militant" socialists and "statesmen" socialists; we here would probably use the terms "activists" and "theoreticians."

The issue which has evoked such vigorous dispute in the Praja Socialist Party of India is not, however, any that Comrade Gupta is discussing with us in his letters. As in my original article, so here, I am going on the basis of the several polemical articles which appeared in *Janata* itself (the organ of the PSP), by responsible members of the party, and not by any special or "sophisticated" interpretation of my own.

As far as I can see, the criticism of Mehta in *Janata* did not bear on the question of (a) appealing to the better elements in the Nehru party; (b) co-operating wherever possible with such allies or potential allies, liberals, etc.; (c) dismissing this group with "indifference"; (d) making a legitimate distinction between "militants" and "statesmen" in the party; (e) returning the PSP to the Congress Party. Therefore none of these things figured in my article, which discussed the criticisms inside the Indian party of its leader's right-wing drift.

Comrade Gupta is much too modest in referring to himself as "rabble" and in twice emphasizing his lack of "sophistication." But since he is a highly sophisticated socialist intellectual himself, we would gently chide him for his "cynical" reference to "naive and provincial" socialists with a movement as against "sophisticated" ones without a movement. It is quite well known that the socialist movement in India is far stronger than the very weak socialist groups of this country; and as Comrade Gupta reminds us of this crushing fact, I duly cringe and duly wonder whether it was after all proper to mention anything disrespectful of his stronger movement.

Philip COBEN

## Definition

To the Editor:

Poor liberals, nobody loves them.

We were at an AVC conclave here in Chicago last Saturday and happened to overhear a snatch of conversation from another table which I hereby repeat:

"... Oh, you can't tell a liberal by the way he votes on issues; that would be a contradiction in terms..."

FRED

Chicago, Apr. 27.

## Careless

To the Editor:

Your short reply to the Norwegian Labor Party youth concerning the Djilas case (*LABOR ACTION*, March 21) seems to me a particularly careless piece of writing.

Of course comrades Mathisen and Hansen are very wrong: the Djilas case is not a "very small question" and the idea that the Titoist regime can be influenced by the strength of the example of democracy in the NLP is not a serious argument. Nevertheless, I find it objectionable when you hold up the letter as an example of "bureaucratic obtuseness" without further explanation.

Perhaps comrades Mathisen and Hansen are bureaucratic and obtuse; if so, it is your duty to explain why they are, and in terms that they themselves can understand. If you don't, you are substituting gratuitous abuse for political argument and analysis.

Moreover, the wisecrack about "anglicizing the English" of their letter seems to me unworthy of a socialist paper. Under what obligation were the Norwegian comrades to write their letter in English at all? They could have written it in Norwegian, but they were considerate enough not to do so, knowing that you wouldn't be likely to understand. Why don't you answer them in Norwegian?

Don't worry about making mistakes, they'll "norwegianize" your letter.

It would have been more useful to warn comrades Mathisen and Hansen of the dangers that solidarity with authoritarian bureaucrats involves for the socialist movement as a whole, including the NLP. If they think that to defend Djilas is not worth their attention, they probably chose to overlook the purge of the small *Socialist Outlook* tendency in the British Labor Party, which is a "very small question" indeed. Yet it prepared the ground for the Morrison-Gaitskell-Deakin wrecking party against Bevan. Do comrades Mathisen and Hansen also refuse to support Bevan against the threat of expulsion on the grounds that it is a small question regarding only the BLP?

If some witchhunters in their own party, such as Haakon Lie, should propose to expel all members who publish or actively support the neutralist weekly *Orientering*, would they support the right of *Orientering* to defend its views inside the NLP or do they think that it would strengthen the NLP (and its youth) if the *Orientering* tendency were expelled? Or do they think it is too small a question to bother?

Daniel FABER

Comrade Faber's letter is the kind of thing that turns editors' hair gray:

(1) After 6 long articles on why Djilas must be defended—and literally over 10,000 words on the subject—we run a follow-up "Spotlight" item exhibiting to our readers the callous reply from the Norwegian youth; and yet Faber complains that this was exhibited "without further explanation" and he actually asks for "political argument and analysis"!

(2) Even more incredible, I think, is the insulting chauvinistic meaning which Faber decides to read into the four-word note ("with the English anglicized") which we obviously had to append to our text of their letter for the simple reason that we were not printing the text as received.—Ed.

## Young Socialist CHALLENGE

To the Editor of *Challenge*:

The ACLU press release on the ROTC loyalty oath, appearing in your May 16 issue, is incorrect in one important respect, if my sources are correct. Says the article, "in many states universities and colleges which receive federal land grants must require students to take the basic two-year ROTC course..."

My notes from Military Science 1A (ROTC) at the University of California at Berkeley for Nov. 12, 1952, quote Capt. Scheibe as saying the following: "Military science must be offered to all males at land-grant colleges. The land-grant system was used especially for agricultural and mechanical arts schools. The governing body of the school (at U. C., the regents) decides whether or not ROTC is compulsory. The University of Minnesota changed over from compulsory to non-compulsory ROTC without any loss of land-grant rights."

Though all civil libertarians hail the defeat of the ROTC oath based on the attorney general's list, all opponents of creeping militarism should continue the battle against compulsory ROTC, and they can do this better if they do not fall into the common error that ROTC is compulsory at land-grant colleges.

Reuel S. AMDUR

Reed College, May 21.

We believe Comrade Amdur to be correct in his point that the land-grant system does not require universities and colleges which are land-grant recipients to make ROTC compulsory; it only requires them to offer ROTC courses. Thus as Amdur states, the fight against compulsory ROTC, which civil-libertarians should carry on, can meet with success on a campus level.—Ed.

## YOU'RE INVITED

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



# LABOR ACTION

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## Fund Drive Is in Danger!

By MAX MARTIN

As the 1955 Fund Drive of the Young Socialist League enters its final lap the danger of our not making the full \$1600 quota begins to loom. At this point, with four more weeks remaining for the drive, we have collected \$950, or close to 60 per cent of the total, and need \$650 more to complete the drive successfully and on time. That means that we have to receive an average of \$165 per week in the remaining period.

The Cleveland Area and Los Angeles units are to be congratulated for being the first to complete their quotas.

Special notice should be taken of our friends in and about Cleveland who have oversubscribed their quota by 9 per cent and in doing so leaped from fifth to first place in the standings. The Cleveland Area unit is the newest branch of the YSL, having been organized just after the beginning of the drive, and for this reason its feat deserves special applause.

Los Angeles too deserves hearty congratulations. The unit had originally felt that it would be very difficult for it to succeed in reaching its goal, and yet they have done so long before other units. We have a suspicion that they will be heard from again before the drive is over.

"At Large" and National Office is doing quite well; it needs only an additional \$16 to make its quota. Chicago, New York, Berkeley, Pittsburgh and Seattle are behind. Of these New York presents a grave question-mark.

Our friends in Chicago and Berkeley inform us that although they have slowed down in making payments, in the case of Chicago, and started late, in the case of Berkeley, they are pretty certain of reaching their goals. And the Pittsburgh fund drive director writes that Pittsburgh has all but \$10 of its quota pledged.

New York had a very slow two weeks, sending in only \$8.50 since the last drive report. Our New York unit has yet to reach the 50 per cent mark and its fund drive director informs us that the unit will have a very difficult time in raising its extremely high quota of \$700. Efforts are being undertaken in New York to canvass YSL friends and sympathizers and to get YSL members to raise their pledges; and other fund-raising activities are being planned.

Should New York fail to make its quota, the drive as a whole will be seriously affected, since that unit accounts for close to 45 per cent of the entire YSL goal. The drive as a whole can still succeed, however, but only if other units oversubscribe their quotas by amounts equivalent to the deficiency of New York and any units who do not succeed. For this reason all units, including those who have already reached 100 per cent, should make efforts to raise additional sums.

Challenge readers, and friends and sympathizers of the YSL can also help to keep the socialist youth movement and press going in these dark days for the socialist movement by contributing. Make your checks and money orders payable to Max Martin and mail them to YSL, 3rd floor, 114 West 14 Street, New York, N. Y.

### WHAT'S THE SCORE ?

	Quota	Paid	%
TOTAL .....	\$1600	\$950.50	59.4
Cleveland Area..	50	54.50	109.
Los Angeles ....	100	100	100
At Large & N.O.	150	134	89.3
Chicago .....	400	274.50	68.6
New York .....	700	326.50	46.6
Berkeley .....	100	42	42.
Pittsburgh .....	75	19	25.3
Seattle .....	25	0	0.0

## Draper Tour Pans Out for YSL

The tour by Hal Draper, LABOR ACTION editor, for the YSL in the first part of May, was a marked success. Draper covered only Chicago, Antioch, Oberlin and Pittsburgh.

High point of the trip was a symposium at the U. of Chicago with Draper speaking in a panel along with two U. of Chicago economics professors of the neo-classicist school, Frank Knight and Abram Harris, and Professor Charles Orr of Roosevelt, on "Economic Theory and Social Change," on May 5. Two hundred attended, with the affair sponsored by the Young Socialist League, Young Republicans and SDA.

It must be reported in the interests of truth that few had any doubt that evening that the socialist speaker ran away with the honors, in making an impact on the audience. Draper devoted the first part of his presentation to the "free en-

terprise" professors, demonstrating vividly and amusingly that their talk of "free enterprise" had little relation to the very unfree enterprise of the present system. Then he took up the Keynesian's claim that Keynes had "abolished the business cycle and war" (no less). Many of the questions from the audience were also addressed to him, requiring further expositions.

At Antioch, the Socialist Discussion Club's meeting on Yalta drew 40 and led to a very lively and good discussion which continued on (moving to the cafeteria) till late. The next day, Saturday afternoon, an informal outdoors discussion took place with Draper explaining and answering questions on many phases of socialism, for several hours. The same evening, as a change from talking, he led a folk dance held in the college gym.

There was no meeting scheduled for the Oberlin campus, because of the exam period. Informal conversations and discussions were held, however, during most of the day on Monday. The previous evening, he had spoken at a Cleveland YSL-ISL meeting "Political Warfare in the Far East," discussing particularly the revolutionary crisis in Vietnam.

The tour wound up on Thursday with an excellent meeting in Pittsburgh on the same subject.

### Young Socialist CHALLENGE

organ of the Young Socialist League, is published as a weekly section of *Labor Action* but is under the sole editorship of the YSL. Opinions expressed in signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent the views of the *Challenge* or the YSL.

## New Socialist Magazine Issued by Oberlin Students

The first issue of *Outlook*, a new student socialist magazine, has just made its appearance. *Outlook*, published by the Eugene V. Debs Club of Oberlin College, an independent socialist discussion group composed of students at that campus, will appear once each semester.

Judging from the spring issue just out, the new magazine is a valuable addition to the student socialist press in this country and will play an excellent role in furthering the ideas of socialism among students at Oberlin and in other places.

The spring issue of *Outlook*, which is in mimeographed form, features Rosa Luxemburg's "A Socialist's Conception of Peace," a reprint of an article by that great revolutionary socialist from the *Leipziger Volkszeitung* of May 1911; "Revolution in Catalonia: An Episode in the Spanish Civil War," by Peter Chaitin; "Automation: A Challenge to American Capitalism," by Tim Wohlforth; and "Education and Class in America," by Martha Wohlforth.

Chaitin, Tim Wohlforth and Martha Wohlforth are students at Oberlin who are members of the Debs Club and of the *Outlook* editorial board.

Also included in the issue are: "The Great Debate: UN Charter Revision," by Heather Lechtman; "Oberlin and Society," by Danny Kleinman; and "On Being Reasonable," by Ivar Oxaal. Editorials on labor unity, Formosa, and H-Bomb tests, plus short quotations from various socialists, round out the issue.

Rosa Luxemburg, in her article, contrasts the socialist struggle for peace with the various "peace proposals" which from time to time emanate from the bourgeoisie and bourgeois governments. The article points out that while capitalist governments speak incessantly in favor of peace and propose all kinds of measures to ensure peace, such as various armament limitation schemes, these are of necessity illusory in nature, since militarism and war are rooted in capitalist society.

To believe that international conflicts can be eliminated under capitalism, she explains, is to believe that the anarchy in the capitalist world market and internal class conflict can be eliminated under capitalism. The role of socialists in relation to such petty-bourgeois peace utopias consists of exposing their utopian character and educating the masses on the need to put an end to capitalism as the road to peace.

The significance of this article for our period will be appreciated by *Challenge* readers in view of the various peace illusions which flow from the current detente in the

cold war. The only respect in which it has to be brought up to date lies in the new factor of Stalinism; not only capitalism but all class societies can only offer illusions of maintaining peace.

Peter Chaitin's "Revolution in Catalonia," based to some extent on Orwell's *Homage to Catalonia*, describes the political situation in Spain during the first year of the Spanish Civil War, and particularly the May Days in Barcelona. He discusses the revolutionary desires of the Spanish workers and peasants, particularly in Catalonia, and the role of the Stalinists in crushing the revolutionary forces hand-in-hand with the reactionary bourgeoisie in the Loyalist camp.

The only defect in the article is that to some extent he seems to accept uncritically the rationalization of the Stalinists and the Madrid government that the workers' militias were not effective militarily, though his sympathies for the revolutionary socialists and anarchists are clearly expressed.

Tim Wohlforth's article on automation takes up the problems which automation creates for the workers and society as a whole as a result of the capitalist nature of production. Only socialism, he concludes, can solve these problems ultimately. At the same time, he points out, the struggle for various progressive social gains for the working class prepares the road for the realization of a socialist society.

In her analysis of the class nature of capitalist society and its relation to education, Martha Wohlforth describes the operation of the school system as a system which is slanted against working-class children by the way schools are organized and function, by the values and ideologies of the teachers and educational materials, etc. She analyzes various proposals to remedy this situation and explains why only a classless socialist society can provide a solution for them.

From the point of view of content, the magazine is an excellent one. To be sure it suffers in part from the usual technical difficulties of mimeographing, which is of uneven quality and on some pages is quite poor. No potential readers, however, should deny themselves the privilege of reading the many interesting articles and editorials which it contains. It is also to be hoped that the technical aspect of *Outlook* will improve with future issues.

Copies of the spring issue, which sells at 15 cents each, or 10 cents in bundles of three or more, can be ordered from Tim Wohlforth, 32 Walnut Street, Oberlin, Ohio. *Challenge* readers are urged to become acquainted with this latest student socialist magazine.

### THE AIM OF THE YSL

The Young Socialist League is a democratic socialist organization striving to aid in the basic transformation of this society into one where the means of production and distribution shall be collectively owned and democratically managed. The YSL attempts to make the young workers and students, who form its arena of activity, conscious of the need for organization directed against capitalism and Stalinism.

The YSL rejects the concept that state ownership without democratic controls represents socialism; or that socialism can be achieved without political democracy, or through undemocratic means, or in short in any way other than the conscious active participation of the people themselves in the building of the new social order. The YSL orients toward the working class, as the class which is capable of leading society to the establishment of socialism.

—From the Constitution of the YSL.

## Inside the ACCF, The Line Forms to the Right

# THE SIN of DIANA TRILLING

By MAX MARTIN

On the basis of three recent episodes it is necessary once again\* to take note of the devotion of the American Committee for Cultural Freedom, as a token of what is happening in one wing of American liberalism.

The ACCF, which was founded with Professor Sidney Hook as one of its leading spiritual godfathers, has long manifested its character as an organization devoted primarily to carrying on the cold war against Stalinism on the cultural field, rather than being primarily an organization devoted to defending cultural freedom or any other kind of freedom at home as well as attacking Stalinism.

Now a not uninteresting change has taken place in the leadership of the group. Norman Thomas has resigned as chairman of the Administrative Committee, and has been replaced with Diana Trilling.

All parties involved state that Thomas' resignation was due to pressure of work and was not connected with policy disputes. We have no reason to question this. What is worth while noting is that the ACCF found it possible to elect, to this post of leadership in replacement of Thomas, a person like Mrs. Trilling who has been visibly and publicly drifting toward a "soft" policy on McCarthyism.

### Dispute in the 'New Republic'

The first episode to be recorded does not involve Mrs. Trilling herself but is an important part of the recent background. The existence of significant policy differences among the leading figures in the ACCF broke out into the public prints in a controversy in the *New Republic*.

The controversy had been initiated by a communication to the magazine by Sol Stein, ACCF executive director. Stein attacked an article which had appeared in that periodical, an article discussing the Lattimore case.

In his piece, Stein endorsed the McCarran Committee, condemned the writer of the article for interfering in a judicial process, justified the harassment to which Lattimore has been subjected, and defended the right of congressional committees to investigate "apologists" for Stalinist Russia, "who have not—or cannot be proven to have—broken existing laws."

Stein's production evoked protests from some ACCF members, including Arthur Schlesinger Jr., Herbert J. Muller and Richard Rovere. The best such protest was made by David Riesman who, in a letter to the *New Republic* criticizing Stein, announced his resignation from the ACCF Executive Committee. (The only ACCF leader who publicly came to Stein's defense, it must be stated with regret, was Norman Thomas, who did so in a letter to the magazine.)

As mentioned, Mrs. Trilling did not get into the *New Republic's* pages in this public controversy, but, as we shall see, there can be little doubt as to where she stood.

### Symposium on Communism

The second episode is the ACCF's symposium on May 19, at which Mrs. Trilling acted as chairman. The subject was "The Problem of Responsibility: A Perspective on Communism in the 1930s and '40s." A short account of the meeting itself will be useful in setting the context for Mrs. Trilling's remarks.

The speakers, besides Mrs. Trilling as chairman, were: Granville Hicks, ex-Stalinist and literary critic; Quincy Howe, radio and TV commentator; Allen Brown, president of Hobart and William Smith Colleges; and John Galbraith, economist and discoverer of the salvation of American capitalism in "countervailing powers."

It must be said that the remarks of the speakers never rose above the banal and the trivial; frequently they lacked any relevance to the subject presumably under discussion, and they were boring throughout. A not insignificant number of persons in the audience displayed their feelings by walking out before the meeting ended, an occurrence rare at such gatherings. At this one, the small-scale but steady exodus began just after

\*Main article previously discussing the ACCF appeared Feb. 2, 1953, "Open Letter to the ACCF." The liberal trend here discussed, and the article by Kristol referred to later, was the subject of "The Anti-Anti-Witchhunters," June 16, 1952.—Ed.

Hicks, the first speaker, finished his talk and continued throughout.

Hicks spent the first part of his time in relating a pointless story about the occasion in 1934 when he was one of a committee to meet the French Stalinist writer Henri Barbusse at the latter's arrival in America to speak at a meeting of the American Committee Against War and Fascism, one of the Stalinist front organizations of the '30s. He then said that while he felt that intellectuals who fell for Stalinism should be held responsible for their error in judgment and should admit they made a mistake, it would be unjust to treat them as pariahs and deny them their democratic rights for this mistake.

Quincy Howe, who spoke next, took what might be called a more historical view of the problem. He pointed out that the religious faith with which Americans had been imbued in the decades prior to the '20s had been replaced during the '20s with a pagan revolt against puritanism and with a worship of the values of success and prosperity. The onset of the depression made the continuation of this *zeitgeist* impossible and so there was a swing back to the earlier puritanical and religious spirit. Only this time the religious and puritanical did not take the form of any of the traditional religious faiths but appeared in the clothes of Stalinism.

The Communist Party, said Howe, satisfied the needs which many intellectuals have for faith, illusion, security, sacrifice, participation and success. In order to defeat Stalinism, he opined, we need to offer an alternative which will have the same qualities.

Brown and Galbraith made more serious efforts; their performances, however, did not match their attempts. Brown gave a talk comprised of abstractions. Galbraith saw the unemployment of the '30s, and the "apparent" inability of society to do anything about it, as the keys to the situation. In such a milieu there were three possibilities open to intellectuals, he said. They could busy themselves with technical studies, as he had done; they could become New Dealers, as many had; or they could join the CP.

He did not think that this problem would arise again; we had now learned, thanks mainly to Keynes, how to deal with depression. Apparently worried at this point that he would be taken too seriously by his audience, he hastened to add: "But we shouldn't demand too much from the system. It may not be perfect but at least it doesn't send you home *completely* hungry." (Emphasis mine—M. M.)

### Radicalism Is the Enemy

As for Mrs. Trilling, the content and tone of her remarks, it should be said at the outset, were such as to continue and strengthen the uneasiness felt by all those who have watched the accommodation of the liberals to the witchhunting positions by some liberals in particular. Indeed it is not a very great exaggeration to say that some liberals, including a number connected with the ACCF, have become semi-McCarthyites, McCarthyites with an intellectual and refined polish.

In her introductory remarks, Chairman Trilling considered the objections which might be raised to a meeting of this sort. Why, one wondered for a minute, should anyone raise any objections to such a symposium being held? The basis for Mrs. Trilling's fears soon became evident. In her view, this was not a meeting like the others in the ACCF's spring forum series. This one was different: it was an *activity*, part of the struggle "against Communism."

Now we also are for a vigorous political struggle against the CP, a struggle against reactionary totalitarian Stalinism from the left, that is to say, from the standpoint of democracy and socialism. Of course, this was not what Diana Trilling had in mind. Unfortunately, the whole context and tone of her remarks made it abundantly clear that *her* fight against the CP is on the pattern of the witchhunting crusade abroad in the land.

In dismissing the objections she had posed to the meeting, Trilling replied by saying that Communism is an everpresent "threat from the Left," and that no matter how weak and discredited it is, the American CP remains a huge danger against which liberals must expend their energies in an amount equal to, if indeed she did not mean more than, the energies expended in the fight against the Right. At no point did she, or any of the symposium participants for that matter, attempt to differentiate between Stalinism and genuine radical or socialist ideologies and movements.

Indeed, throughout the meeting the terms "left" and "radical" were used as synonymous with "Communist,"

and although this was never explicitly stated, the whole tone gave the impression that the struggle that was to be waged was one against any deviation from the status quo. Precisely what about Stalinism Mrs. Trilling objects to was not specifically delineated. However, the CP throughout was described, with the exception of a few words now and then about conspiracy and the adjective "totalitarian," in terms of radical social struggle. The pro-capitalist, pro-status-quo "man in the street" would have had to come away from this meeting with the feeling that Stalinism should be opposed because it was a radical anti-bourgeois movement.

How should Stalinism be fought? No one quite made this clear. How should liberals and intellectuals differentiate their fight against the CP from McCarthy's fight against it? By conducting it, said Diana Trilling, in an "intellectual and responsible" manner—words whose vagueness allows all kinds of methods in the door. The liberals, she said, must take the banner of the fight against Communism away from McCarthy and make it their own. *McCarthy's banner, that is.*

Not once did Mrs. Trilling attack the witchhunt, except for some vague depreciation of "extreme anti-Communism," the phrase she used for McCarthyism on more than one occasion. Everything she said on this score could only have been said from the viewpoint of one who considers herself in the same general camp as McCarthy, a viewpoint that sees one huge "anti-Communist" camp ranging from the McCarthyites to liberals. *And while we may deplore the extremism of one wing of our camp, still the common enemy is Communism, is it not?*

Mrs. Trilling likewise made it clear that she was not talking about the threat of Stalinism on a world scale, but rather confining herself to the domestic threat of the CP to cultural freedom.

Heretofore the ACCF has in the main confined itself to defending cultural freedom behind the Iron Curtain and to a large extent has ignored the threat in this country. It seems the ACCF will now pay some attention to the United States and defend cultural freedom here against the onslaught of . . . William Z. Foster.

### Indicative Clash

During the discussion period which followed the presentations, and in which Mrs. Trilling participated, there occurred a clash of opinion between the new chairman of the ACCF's Administrative Committee and some of the participants, notably Granville Hicks. ("Clash" is probably too strong a word, since the dispute was mostly beneath the surface, emerging only now and then and garbed in extreme politeness and amiability.) This dispute reveals something quite interesting about the thought processes of those liberals who wish to draw back from the witchhunt and those who want to go full steam ahead.

The struggle between those liberals who wish to resist the anti-democratic atmosphere in some degree or another and those who are witchhunters often takes the form of a disagreement over the degree of danger which the CP in this country represents. Those who are for ending the anti-civil-libertarian hysteria or easing it a bit, who wish to let up on the restrictions, sometimes resort to the argument that the CP in this country does not present a real threat (as indeed it does not at this time), while the witchhunters spend their time crying "wolf" about the danger of domestic Stalinism.

It was this question which provoked disagreement among the ACCF speakers. Hicks and others spoke about the weakness of the Stalinists in the United States, expressed their doubts that the CP would ever again reach the strength it had during the '30s, and coupled this with support for a decrease in repression. They also warned about the danger which the witchhunters present to the country; Hicks clearly labeled them, and not the CP, as the main threat to freedom in America.

Mrs. Trilling did the reverse. For her the CP represented a present danger which had to be watched and combated unceasingly. Indeed, she obviously felt it her task to warn intellectuals and liberals that they are underestimating the danger of Stalinism and that they are overlooking the possibility of a swing by American intellectuals back to Stalinism. A few of her remarks were of particular interest.

### The Lady Worries

At one point she warned, in opposition to Hicks' views, that as a result of the relaxation of the witchhunt, as a result of the revulsion against McCarthyism, there might be a swing back to the ideas of the Communists. Anti-McCarthyism thus for her presents the threat of a move toward pro-Stalinism. Whether or not Mrs. Trilling has already evolved her rationale to this point, the fact is that her views lay the basis for an "anti-anti-McCarthyism."

At another point during the discussion she stated that there was a real danger that intellectuals would begin to revert to the ideas they held in the '30s (note her identification of Stalinism with the general ideas of social protest which were very current among intellectuals in that decade), and that indeed she had already noticed the beginnings of such a development. When Hicks told her that she had dreamed this up and asked her what she meant, she referred vaguely to the threat of neutralism.

During the question period a member of the audience asked Hicks how he could fail to regard Stalinism in this country as a grave threat when a young college student had handed out Stalinist leaflets at an ACCF meeting last year! Hicks' reply was not basically a civil-libertarian one but for that atmosphere it was not bad. He said that he would not worry about such an incident, and anyway he doubted that the CP could make any converts among an ACCF audience.

These remarks were received by the audience with a good deal of applause, at which point Mrs. Trilling said that while she agreed with the second half of his statement, the amount of applause Hicks received wor-

# The Twisting Road Between Liberalism and McCarthyism . . .

ried her a bit. To be sure this comment was made with an "I'm not entirely serious" smile on her face, but nobody was supposed to miss the "I'm not entirely joking" ring in her voice.

## Oppenheimer and Sin

One other element in her discussion deserves notice, but this had best be approached from an examination of what she has written in *Partisan Review*, rather than from its presence in her comments at the ACCF meeting, although it was abundantly evident there too. The November-December 1954 number of *Partisan Review* carried an article by Diana Trilling on "The Oppenheimer Case."

In her article Mrs. Trilling reviewed the massive transcript of the Oppenheimer hearings and came to the conclusion that Oppenheimer should not have been denied clearance. She does so, however, in a curious and revealing fashion.

Readers will remember that the Gray Board had spent the bulk of its time on the matter of Oppenheimer's early opposition to and later lack of enthusiasm for the H-Bomb crash-project and condemned him for his opinions on this, concerning itself less with his fellow-traveling in the late thirties and early forties.

This denial of clearance on such a basis provoked a huge outcry in the country. Whether or not this outcry was a factor, the Atomic Energy Commission later threw out this aspect and denied him clearance on the basis of his past CP associations and alleged defects of character and discretion.

Now Oppenheimer had been investigated several times in the past on precisely the charges which had been leveled against him under this head, and cleared. That he could now be found guilty on the same basis, plus a few other minor charges of a scandalous nature (scandalous for the AEC, that is), testified eloquently to the fact that the real basis for the action taken against him was the general witchhunt atmosphere plus the charge which the Gray Board had leveled and the AEC formally discarded.

While she discusses the H-Bomb aspect and concludes that Oppenheimer's H-Bomb position was in no way connected with pro-Russian sympathies, and while she points out the tangled skein of personal and governmental vested interests which overlay the charges on his H-Bomb views, Mrs. Trilling accepts the official view that Oppenheimer's associations and activities of a political nature were the basis of the decision, and that other matters were not really seriously involved.

**In declaring that the decision on Oppenheimer was erroneous, she nevertheless tries at the same time to deepen and compound his "guilt" and also tries to involve the whole liberal movement in that "guilt"—a theme that was present in her talk at the ACCF meeting. Moreover, she hardly mentions the witchhunt of our decade and in no wise relates the Oppenheimer case to it.**

The spring 1955 issue of *PR* carries a reply to Mrs. Trilling by Hans Meyerhoff, a philosophy teacher at the University of Southern California, which devastatingly analyzes Mrs. Trilling's piece, and a rejoinder by Mrs. Trilling which is so weak that it adds to and does not diminish Meyerhoff's criticism.

One of the features of her article to which Meyerhoff points is a Shub-type bit of distortion. Mrs. Trilling had quoted from the testimony before the Gray Board of a Colonel Lansdale, a conservative Cleveland lawyer, who was Security Officer at Los Alamos.

Lansdale told of difficulties he had encountered during the war when he had tried to stop the commissioning of 15 or 20 Communists as officers, as a result of the "blind, naive attitude of Mrs. Roosevelt" and others.

Mrs. Trilling had commented on this: "Indeed between the lines of the record one reads the strained embarrassment of all of Colonel Lansdale's listeners as they have such a bitter dose of historical truth forced upon them."

Meyerhoff points out that she lifts these quotations from the transcript out of context. What precedes and follows the sentences quoted are statements of Lansdale attacking the dangers of the current political situation, criticizing the witchhunt. The sentences which she quotes are statements made by the way, to the army officer's point, which concerns the current witchhunt. No wonder that Mrs. Trilling's reply does not try to deal with this charge of Meyerhoff.

What Trilling gained by this is obvious. It enables her to continue, as she desires, to ignore the connection between the Oppenheimer case and the state of civil liberties; it enables her to ignore the civil-liberties question entirely.

**It also provides a basis for a theme which she is developing, namely: "we liberals" were so much more guilty of pro-Stalinism than we think and we are responsible for our sins in the '30s and '40s. All of us, all liberals, carry a burden of guilt which has to be expiated in some way or other—a way not clearly specified.**

## The X-Ray Eye

Mrs. Trilling makes quite clear that for her all liberals, the entire liberal movement, were involved in a flirtation with Stalinism, and that liberals must take moral and political responsibility for this. The current international crisis according to her might not be so acute now had liberals not been so involved with Stalinism.

We socialists have also pointed to the vast whitewash job which was done on Russia not merely by liberals but by conservatives and reactionaries as well; during the Second World War. This political fact, however, was the outcome not of any plot, as McCarthyism proclaims, nor of any special liberal act of sin, as Mrs. Trilling believes, but resulted from accommodations to the needs of American imperialism during the last war.

Russia being an ally of the United States, American officials and politicians of all shades cynically lied about Russia as part of the "justification" for the war, as part of their propaganda painting the war as a "war against fascism and for democracy." And we have also pointed out that many liberals, as a result of naiveté, in some cases, believed and fostered illusions about the "democratic nature" of Stalinist totalitarianism. Mrs. Trilling uses these facts, however, for the purpose of her own reactionary conclusions.

Having spliced Stalinism with liberalism, she does a similar job on Oppenheimer. The latter had given, as an excuse for some of his evasiveness on the Chavalier-Eitenton incident, his personal friendship with Chavalier. Mrs. Trilling says that this was hard for the Gray Board and the AEC to believe, and she does not believe it either. She informs us that she thinks that what accounted for Oppenheimer's failure to give full information to the AEC Security Officers on Chavalier was not his friendship for the man but rather that he had been more deeply committed to Stalinism and for a longer period of time than he admits. She takes Oppenheimer to task for not telling this to the board and the AEC, since it would have been the truth (she believes) and would have sounded better and made the "jury" more lenient.

She recognizes, of course, that Oppenheimer himself may not have been aware of the truth on this matter, and therefore that he cannot be criticized for lying. But she, Trilling, knows the truth as to the man's motives, even though he doesn't; and even though her opinion

cannot in any way be gleaned from the transcript of the hearings, her political and psychological insight revealed the truth to her.

**Not only were all the liberals and Oppenheimer more guilty than they know, but finally, the whole "radical spirit" is involved in Stalinism—"the good part of his [Oppenheimer's] past which first brought him to Communism . . ." "the idealistic aspect of his former radicalism"—all, all are intertwined with that totalitarian monstrosity which is Stalinism.**

The role which these notions play in Mrs. Trilling's schema should now be clearer. For if all the liberals are guilty, Oppenheimer included, and if indeed the "radical" spirit is guilty, then several things follow.

## Guilt and Expiation

First of all, Stalinism is so much more of a danger in this country than the more pro-civil-libertarian liberals think. If all were so deeply involved and for so long, and don't even realize its depth and extension, then a swing toward Stalinism on the part of the liberals and intellectuals is a constant danger. Indeed that swing may now be going on, or worse still, perhaps the intellectual and liberals never really exorcized Stalinism from their souls. Perhaps many are still Stalinists, deep inside. . . .

And if such dangers exist, then "we liberals" must constantly be alert to it; we must keep up the anti-Communist crusade in order to guard against it and perhaps also against the dangers within us. And if we are so involved in sin, should we not be suspicious of all tendencies to fight the witchhunt? is not anti-McCarthyism a danger, since who can tell whether or not it presents a return to our now-hidden, but still-existent Stalinist ways?

And indeed, if we carry such guilt, should we not receive some appropriate punishment for our sins? do we not owe penance for our sinful nature? and should we not expiate our crimes? And is not the repression of freedom perhaps the just deserts that have been decreed for the liberals?

Now Mrs. Trilling does not go this far. But in a remarkable sentence, she hints at something like this. Though declaring that Oppenheimer should not have been accorded the treatment that was meted out to him, she declares:

*"In effect, it constitutes a projection upon Dr. Oppenheimer of the punishment we perhaps owe to ourselves for having once been so careless with the nation's security."*

That there are out-and-out McCarthyites on the ACCF has been known for some time; it occasions no surprise. There exists also among the ACCF "liberals" a certain "anti-McCarthyite" type which is best illustrated by former ACCF Executive Secretary Irving Kristol. In an article in *Commentary*, later reprinted and circulated by the ACCF, Kristol wrote:

*" . . . there is one thing which the American people know about Senator McCarthy: he, like them, is unequivocally anti-Communist. About the spokesmen for American liberalism, they feel they know no such thing. And with some justification."*

**Diana Trilling, obviously also represents this type, as does Sol Stein, the current ACCF Executive Secretary. The election of Mrs. Trilling to her new post either strengthens or reflects a strengthening of this group in the councils of the ACCF.**

This shift accords with a tendency which has manifested itself in recent years: the growth, among liberals who begin by wishing to restrain McCarthyism, of a clear form of McCarthyism-without-McCarthy, a "liberal" McCarthyism, or (to use Mrs. Trilling's adjectives) an "intellectual and responsible" McCarthyism.

## BOOKS AND IDEAS

# A Pacifist View of the Roots of the War Crisis

**SPEAK TRUTH TO POWER.—American Friends Service Committee, 70 pages. 25 cents.**

By GORDON HASKELL

*Speak Truth to Power* is the latest of a series of pamphlets on foreign policy issued by the American Friends Service Committee. This one, unlike some of the others, concerns itself not so much with proposals for immediate steps toward lessening the tensions of the cold war, but rather seeks to address itself to the basic causes of this conflict.

The pamphlet, although written in the mildest and most generous language possible, makes a slashing indictment of American foreign policy. "The basic assumption upon which United States foreign policy rests is that our national interest can best be served by military preparedness against a Soviet threat on the one hand, and by constructive and worldwide economic, political, and social programs on the other."

The pamphlet then goes on to describe the way in which the military side of the program has tended to thwart, distort, absorb and all but destroy the "constructive" side. It points out that the policy of containment, followed by the theory of "massive retaliation," has alienated the peoples of the world, has failed

to stem the spread of Stalinism via its political appeal, and has tended to isolate the United States.

**Although much of the analysis is pointed and telling, it is also incomplete to the point of lopsidedness. Since the author's chief preoccupation is with the presentation of a social-pacifist program, their analysis tends to emphasize the military side of American foreign policy to the neglect of everything else, and to seek in this military policy the SOURCE of what is wrong.**

The American economic system, its weight in the struggle, and the world interests of American capitalism are either referred to in the vaguest generalities, or even denied any importance in the picture.

One example: America's support of the colonial powers and of some of the most reactionary governments in Asia is attributed solely to strategic-military considerations. These are portrayed as having won out over the altruistic intentions of the government and people of this country toward the colonial peoples.

The reports of many observers, including representatives of the American labor movement abroad, tell a larger story. They tell of policies and administrators of policies abroad who give lip-service to the interests of the workers and peasants, but who either pay no attention to them, or support the ruling classes in thwarting and suppressing them.

Another example: The anemic budgets for Point Four and other foreign-aid programs are attributed to the fact that the military budget takes so much money there is little left for such "positive" programs.

That is only part of the story. During the '30s, the number of the unemployed in this country never fell below 9,000,000. Yet, despite a relatively low military budget, the amount appropriated to relieve their distress or to provide employment for them remained pitifully below the need. Then, as now, there were men in the government and in powerful positions outside of it who would have liked to solve the problem. But the capitalist class in this country could and still can muster sufficient political strength to defeat them. "Give away" programs, whether to American unemployed or to other countries, have to be justified in terms of practical returns and of their impact on the economic system of this country, which is to say, in terms of the interests of those who control our economy.

*Speak Truth to Power* traces the blind alley of American foreign policy to "the unsound premises upon which policy is based." The reason why these premises and not others have been adopted, it then traces not to the conflict between two different socio-economic systems, but to "man's idolatry: lust for power and inability of power to set limits to itself;

the violation of human personality and infringements on its freedom and dignity; the 'practical atheism' of a pervading materialism and secularism; the spreading cult and practice of violence and the poisonous doctrine that our ends justify any means."

**Thus, what begins as a socio-political analysis ends as a moral sermon. Since its authors assert that their program is based on "a belief that stands outside of history," the lack of a political program, i.e., one which addresses itself to some present or possible political public is hardly surprising. Instead, they content themselves with demonstrating that non-violent methods have often proved effective in various fields, and call on individuals to advocate their application to foreign policy.**

*Speak Truth to Power* is a call from men of good will to men of good will. Because of its indictment of American foreign policy it is bound to be attacked by both liberals and conservatives as a "negative" document or worse. As it includes the Stalinists and Russia in its indictment, it is hardly going to be hailed from that quarter either. But since it looks to moral regeneration rather than to any particular social forces in this country or abroad for the solution of the problems it poses, its political relevance is bound to suffer.

# Why Washington Can't Call —

(Continued from page 1)

"Moscow seems to have reversed the principle that has long animated Western leaders—that of negotiating from strength. . . . The more the Soviet Union appears to bow to adverse circumstances, the more it seems to become conciliatory because it cannot maintain a huge army and strengthen its economy at the same time, the greater the tendency in Europe to conclude that it is no longer a menace to the West.

"It has been the assumption of Western diplomats that Soviet threats in the past have consolidated the Atlantic, which in turn has modified Soviet methods. Some diplomats now reason that if a Soviet menace united the West, the apparent lessening of that menace would tend to weaken the West.

"In a sense the conviction of a Soviet menace is necessary to the North Atlantic alliance. . . . If Europeans decided that these trends were not so very menacing, they might show less enthusiasm for maintaining Western unity and the costly armaments that the Atlantic alliance entails.

"The consolidation of the Western world in the last seven years may be attributed largely to the dollar shortage in Europe and to the fear of the Soviet Union.

"The dollar shortage led to the Marshall Plan, to European economic co-operation and even to a measure of economic integration in the European Coal and Steel Community. The fear of the Soviet Union led to the Atlantic alliance, which was unsuccessfully linked with European economic integration in the now rejected European Defense Community plan.

"Today the dollar shortage is rarely mentioned by economists, since it is covered by United States military expenditures. The fear of the Soviet Union, never so acute as the dollar shortage, seems to have diminished greatly in the last few weeks.

"This fear probably cannot be revived in the mind of the European civilian by telling him that neutralization of Germany would spoil the defense plans of the Atlantic alliance by compelling it to move its advance line farther west. Nor is he shocked to learn that the Soviet proposal to remove all bases from foreign soil would impair the United States strategic bombing program. His tendency is to hope for peace by negotiation, and perhaps neutral areas, rather than by further organization of military force.

"This tendency, revealing a faltering belief in Soviet danger, may weaken the hand of the West as it prepares to negotiate once more with Moscow, according to diplomats in Europe."

That, dear friends, comes from the *New York Times*, not from a back issue of LABOR ACTION. You can tell its source by the politeness and obliqueness of the language. Put in our usual blunter way Callender is saying: *American policy in Europe has been held together by fear of the Stalinists and the poverty of the Continent, and nothing else. It has no positive attractive power of its own for the peoples of Europe. If the fear of Stalinist military expansion is lessened by concrete steps and proposals by the Russians to create a wide neutral belt in Europe, little of anything will be left to tie Europe to the American chariot.*

## DANGER TO MOSCOW

If the Stalinists are able to deal such a blow to American foreign policy by a "soft line," why has it taken them so long to realize it and put it into effect? Were they restrained by Stalin's narrow, suspicious character? Did the present bosses of the Stalinist empire have to get rid of Beria and Malenkov before they could adopt what holds promises of being such a brilliantly successful policy?

The first thing which strikes the eye is that the present "soft" policy is being carried through by the leaders of what was supposed to be the "hard" faction in the Stalinist party in Russia: Khrushchev and Bulganin. This should be enough to make one cautious about all the "expert" analyses which have sought, in policy issues, the key to the struggle for the succession to Stalin's supreme rulership in state and party.

The second point to be noted is that however difficult this policy may make things for the United States, it entails grave dangers for the Stalinists also. Its adoption is a calculated risk, and the considerations must have been powerful ones to force the Stalinist rulers to it.

If it is true that the NATO alliance has been held together by fear of Stalinist aggression, it is at least equally true

that one of the most powerful weapons with which the Stalinist imperialists keep the peoples under their rule in leash is fear of American aggression for the purpose of restoring capitalism. Each power bloc feeds on fear of the other; each needs the continuing threat of the other to keep its allies, its economy and its peoples from getting out of hand.

One reason for the present Stalinist tack may be the accumulated pressures within Russian society itself—within the lower echelons of the bureaucracy as well as the workers and peasants—for an easing of the political whip and their economic misery. This feeling was expressed by Malenkov in his program for increasing the production of consumer goods at the expense of heavy (war) industry.

Malenkov was dumped, and this part of "his" program with him. But the pressure continues as a constant factor in Russian society, and one to which the top bureaucracy must react in one way or another.

The more obvious (because our information on what goes on inside Russia is always so scanty) reason for this kind of yielding to the pressure for a let-up inside Russia is the fact that the previous themes of Russian policy in Europe had ceased to have much effect.

Threats and economic blockade did not overthrow Tito. Threats that ratification of the Paris agreements would end any discussion of German unification did not prevent that ratification from taking place.

## TAKING A CHANCE

The economic boom in Western Europe had stymied any further progress of the Stalinist movements there, at least for the time being. The old "peace" campaigns had got to repeating themselves on a descending scale of attention, intensity and interest.

But the new policy, if successful, might well give the peoples in the Stalinist empire exactly the kind of feeling of relief which would lead them to demand more freedom, higher real wages and the like rather than being content with whatever crumbs the bureaucracy may be willing to offer them. It is common historic knowledge that as often as not a let-up in the

weight of tyranny leads to revolt rather than to a relaxation of the pressures from below.

Likewise, the new acceptance of Tito will lead elements in the satellites to conclude that maybe they can get away with it too.

As far as the European satellites are concerned, the Russian rulers may feel that they have reduced the danger from that quarter to a minimum by their repeated purges of the leadership in each country over the past eight years. Their courting of Tito is bound to encourage moods of rebellion for greater independence. But they may feel that they have so thoroughly weeded out every leading person with any spark of independence in his being that such moods will fail to find leadership around which to crystallize, and will thus be easily handled.

Nevertheless, the Russian strategy does involve taking chances. The calculated risk is as much a part of political warfare as it is of the military type. The one danger about which they probably worry least is that the American government might call their bluff in any meaningful way.

If this were to happen, the Stalinists would be in at least as difficult a position as the capitalist side is now. If the Americans were to agree to the neutralization of a united Germany, to withdrawal of American troops from that country and abandonment of American military bases in Europe and Africa, and demand in turn that all Russian troops be returned to the pre-war borders of Russia, the Stalinists would be on the spot.

But the American government is not going to abandon its old policy, dismantle its bases and bring home its troops in order to demonstrate with "deeds" that this country is willing to risk something tangible (deployed armed force) in exchange for a possible victory in political warfare. Washington understands practically nothing about political warfare, anyway.

Even if the American government wants to hang toughly onto its old policy, it is not the only one involved in the picture. As Callender points out in the article quoted above, neutralist sentiment in Europe is bound to be given a tremendous boost by the Russian proposals, and not least of all in Germany.

Up till now, the German Social-Democratic Party SPD has tended to emasculate its foreign policy by its monotonous demand that Germany plead with the occupying powers to unify the country. This "demand" has been its answer to the Paris treaties and to every other move in the cold war which had bearing on the future of Germany.

Now the SPD may well adopt the slogan of a united, neutral Germany as its own. And there is nothing wrong in a socialist party seeking to disengage its own country from both the war blocs led by Washington and Moscow; on the contrary.

## UNIQUE CHANCE

But just adopting such a slogan is not much more than the beginning of a policy. Beyond the slogan the questions remain: what will the SPD propose and do in the event the United States or Russia refuses to accept such a proposal? What program will they have for Germany if, in the most unlikely event, both the Stalinists and the capitalist bloc should reach agreement on a united, neutralized Germany?

The SPD can hardly dream of a united Germany which will remain permanently neutral, in the Swiss manner. Germany is far too rich and powerful, and occupies far too central a position in Europe, to remain a detached observer of history for long.

Adenauer, and with him the bulk of the German bourgeoisie are tied to the NATO policy with such sturdy ropes that it is hardly likely they could cut loose from it without suffering a massive political defeat in the country.

The SPD has a unique chance to take the leadership of the nation by demanding that the Russians and Americans get out of the country immediately, in return for which Germany will promise not to join either of the war blocs.

Such a demand would put Washington on the same spot it is sitting on now. It would put Moscow on just as hot a one. It would gain the support not only of the mass of the German nation in both sectors of Germany, but widespread support throughout Europe and Asia.

It could be the concrete beginning looking toward a policy whose aim would not be a power-vacuum across Europe, but rather a new, independent bloc of countries, socialist and laborite in orientation, anti-imperialist in policy, prepared to defend itself and the interests of its peoples against both of the imperialisms which have torn Europe and threaten to tear the world apart.

## PRO & CON DISCUSSION

# Another View on Automation and Its Consequences

Following is another point of view on automation and its social consequences, pursuant to the discussion begun in our April 18 issue.—Ed.

I found the discussion article *Marx and Automation* in the April 18 LA seriously lacking in theoretical treatment of automation within the framework of Marxian theory and the materialist dialectic. The spectacle of all the revisionists from Bernstein to Deutscher has quite rightly made us very chary of people who announce that the time has come to "modify" the Marxist model of capitalist dynamics. Comrade Hill's article is more a defense (which I consider quite uncalled for) of Marxian method in general—and not without gestures of "strategic withdrawal"—than a positive dialectical treatment of the consequences of automation under capitalism. His tone is much too apologetic for my taste.

I take issue with Hill almost from the very first, where he definitely commits himself to the view that current automation represents a qualitative change in the mode of production. In a period when *Fortune* editorialists and dime-a-dozen ad-writers glibly announce "revolutions" in this and that, it is even more important than ever that we Marxists—always enemies of confusion—speak with precision: Automation is *not* one. Only in the ultimate extrapolations of Kurt Vonnegut (Player Piano) and other science-fiction writers does automation abolish the proletariat. Any kind or degree of automation now projected, in spite of its strong repercussions, will not significantly alter the natures of the present social classes or the relations in which they stand to each other and to the productive process. I much prefer to define automation more conservatively, still in quantitative terms, as an acceleration, in certain sectors of the economy in the most advanced industrial countries, of the existing drive for the increase of the ratio of fixed over variable capital.

Formulating the subject in this way, we ought to be able to venture some predictions about the consequences of auto-

mation on the basis of our present general theoretical understanding, without waiting for the "modifications" of Marxism so often promised but so seldom delivered by innovators in the socialist ranks.

Far from giving capitalism a fresh new lease on life, automation is both an effect of the continuing crisis in that system and a powerful cause for accelerating that crisis. Marxism teaches us that the tendency of fixed capital to increase over variable capital is both a reaction to the decline in the rate of profit and a further spur to that decline. The capitalist must react by attempting to intensify exploitation, thus deepening and exacerbating class struggles. In the case of automation, in which a sharp increase in the organic composition of capital takes place with relative suddenness under conditions where the flexibility of the system is already greatly restricted, the exacerbation of class struggles will be rather dramatic, and once entered upon, will proceed at an unexampled pace.

To speak of the problem of unemployment resulting from additional capitalization in the automated industries in certain countries is to miss the essential point. The bourgeois hacks are perfectly correct when they state that technological advances have always increased total jobs in the long run. The trade unions, more narrowly preoccupied with immediate dislocations, have some excuse for falling into vulgar formulations about unemployment—we Marxists have none at all.

The far sharper and more permanent effect of automation is in relative underemployment. By setting a new and higher standard of capitalization needed to employ labor profitably, automation makes the falling rate of profit bear most heavily upon capitalists who cannot afford to automate, or whose work process is inadaptable to automation. The world outside the U.S. is full of the first type, and the second, due to the inherent limitations of automation, will remain in the large majority even here. In short:

Automation (the "solution") is of limited applicability, but the falling rate of profit (the "problem," but also dialectically an effect of the "solution") expresses itself throughout the entire scope of the capitalist world market, with its accompanying iron need for intensified exploitation.

Concisely, the general effect of partial and uneven automation, under capitalism, will be to degrade the status of wage labor in all the non-automated sectors of the economy; and in those areas of the world where the rate of capital formation—state or private—is insufficient for substantial automation that degradation will fall upon the entire working class, however employed. The dictum of Comrade Trotsky (who himself always preferred to err on the side of conservatism on questions of theoretical revision!) that labor will either reorganize world society upon a socialist basis or sink to the level of a "Chinese coolie," will acquire its full sharpness under the impact of uneven automation. After all (to reiterate the basic concept), what is a "coolie" but a relatively undercapitalized wage-laborer?

A preview of what can be meant by the "degradation of labor" in such a process is provided in the present extensive system of slave labor in Russia, having its basis in the same sort of relative undercapitalization (or uneven capitalization) as I have outlined above—a consequence of extreme uneven development occurring at technological levels below that of automation.

I venture to predict, on the basis of the foregoing general analysis, that the introduction of major automation in the basic industries of this country will precipitate, in the proximate future, a new wave of revolutionary struggles on a world scale which capitalism will not survive. And why not, since automation is at one and the same time the "coup de grace"—so to speak—of capitalism, and the conclusive demonstration of the latent capacity of the productive processes to provide the material basis for socialism?

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