

WILL THE UAW SHOW THE WAY? ... page 6

New Clue to Tresca Murder

... page 2

Experiment with a Labor Daily ... page 7

France: the 'Indep. Socialist Left' ... page 5

# Socialist Underground in Franco Spain Appeals for Aid to Heroic Barcelona Strike

which will be printed in LABOR ACTION next week). But it was evident from the reaction of the was not a factual recitation of the vast profits accumulated by

While the American press is speaking of the Barcelona general strike against Franco in the past tense, the organ of the Spanish socialist underground, just received here . from abroad by air, appeals for international working-class aid to the fight of the Barcelona workers which was still continuing as of last Friday, March 16.

At this time the central districts of Spain's leading industrial city had quieted down, but in the factory districts and in the worker's areas the general strike in the plants was still going on, and Franco's police and civil guards were engaged in vicious repressions. Over 5000 had already been dragged to jail. There was talk of a new outbreak of a region-wide general strike to demand the release of the

That is why the fighters in the Resistance against Franco address, to their brothers everywhere, the appeal for aid which is published below.

One thing is certain: whatever the immediate outcome in Barcelona, the fighting spirit of the whole Catalonian region has been aroused, and even if it is forced to lay low temporarily, the people have learned that they can overturn the rotten and shaky regime of the Falangists as soon as they unitedly rise to their full height. This totalitarianthe big corporations, or even of ism, this tyranny, at least, can be broken tomorrow! (Turn to last page)

AN APPEAL TO WORLD LABOR From the Socialist Underground in Barcelona

#### Workers of all countries:

The unanimous struggle of the people of Barcelona against streetcar company and against the Falangist authorities has ended victoriously. This great triumph was made possible by a mass movement of a scope rarely tory of the social struggles of Spain.

Barcelona—our Barcelona of the working class, our fighting Barcelona—has risen to its feet. The first victory has immediately given rise to new struggles. From an offensive against the streetcar company and the city council, the people have passed over to a widespread action against the servile press of the regime and against the high cost of living.

The movement has today entered its most important phase. The general strike, which was initiated this morning in the factories of Barcelona and Sans has been extended to the whole. city and to the neighboring industrial population.

The hatred of the masses of people for the Fascist system which has shamefully oppressed them for many years has shown itself plainly. The whole immense repressive apparatus of the Franco regime revealed itself as powerless to hold back or repress a really sweeping move-

The enthusiasm and fighting spirit of the Barcelona workers has surpassed the most optimistic expectations. Today everything is possible!

The struggle against the Fascist regime of hunger and misery has entered a new stage. In order to carry it to its conclusion, that is, to the downfall of the tyranny and the restoration of democratic liberties, the Spanish people need

the immediate, practical and effective assistance of the international working class.

From our heroic Barcelona, filled with confidence in our working class and in our people, we turn to the trade-union and political organizations the working class of the world. We turn to th International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, to the CIO, to the AFL, to the British trade unions, to the International Workingmen's Association [Anarchist], to COMISCO [the International Socialist Commission], to the Yugoslav Communist Party, to the independent trade-union organizations, the Fourth International, the Socialist Parties, our brother parties of revolutionary socialism, everywhere.

The hour has struck for effective and decisive international action against the system which was built up by Hitler and Mussolini.

The Falangist traitors are trembling before the protest of the whole people.

Workers of all countries: Help us! Demonstrate before the Francoist embassies

and consulates! Prevent Franco from receiving financial aid!

Demand that your government break with Franco!

Organize a boycott of all goods coming from Spain! Long live international working-class solidar-

ity! Down with Francoism! Liberty for the people

of Spain! **EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE of the POUM** Barcelona, March 12, 1951

Page Two

# 'El Campesino' Links CP to Tresca Murder

NEW YORK, Mar. 15-Because of new evidence which may throw light on the unsolved 1943 murder here of Carlo Tresca. Italian anti-totalitarian editor, investigation of that killing by the Senate Crime Investigating Committee has been urged by Norman Thomas, head of the Tresca Memorial Committee.

Early this week, he stated, he submitted to Senator Estes Kefauver, chairman of the Senate body, a detailed memorandum and a letter asking for such an inquiry, on the ground that the Tresca case "has had political and international implications from the beginning, and that the editor's murder bore the earmarks of a hired job, carried out by members of the New York underworld.'

The new evidence, pointing to Stalinists as prime movers in plans to slay Tresca, comes from France.

"Lately in Paris," Thomas explained, "a book was published which charges that Tresca was marked in 1939 for assassination by orders of someone in Moscow. The title of that volume is Life and Death in the USSR, and the author is General Valentin Gonzales, better known by his nom de guerre 'El Campesino' (the Peasant), who commanded Loyalist forces in the Spanish Civil War. Gonzales was for years a Communist, but later broke with the Communist Party and turned against it.

"He declares that in August 1939, three Spanish men named by him left Moscow for Mexico on a terrorist mission, their lead er (Martinez Carton) bearing a list of twenty names of political personalities slated to be killed. That list included the names of Leon Trotsky, Carlo Tresca, Julian Gorkin, writer, and Hans Kahle, veteran of the Spartacist movement in Germany.

#### VIDALI ACCUSED

"On arrival in Mexico, Carton was to deliver the list with certain secret instructions to Carlos Contreras, described as having long been an agent of the GPU (Russian secret police) in Mex-

"Trotsky was murdered in Mexico in 1940, and Tresca was shot down in the wartime dimout here at Fifth Avenue and 15th Street on January 11, 1943. The Gonzales book states that five attempts were made on Gorkin's life; and that Kahle died in Eastern Germany, purportedly of cancer, but under circumstances which left the cause open to question.

'Contreras also is known as Vittorio Vidali in Trieste, where he is now chief of the Communist forces. It will be recalled that in May 1942, Tresca denounced Contreras in a full front-page article in his journal Il Martello (The Hammer), designating him as 'a commandant of spies, thieves, and assassins,' and accusing him of atrocities in Spain. And a few days before he was killed Tresca told friends here that Contreras was then in New York, and said: Where he is, I smell murder. I wonder who will be the next victim.' General Gonzales adds that at that time Tresca hinted that Contreras was planning some harm to him.

#### WHO GOT HIM FIRST?

"The general does not say how he knew that Tresca's name was on the list carried by Carton, but we understand that in that period Gonzales was in in the con-

**Read THE NEW** INTERNATIONAL

fidence of high-up officials in Moscow

"In asking Senator Kefauver's committee to investigate this murder, we are of course mindful of past published reports that Carlo Tresca also was on a death list prepared by Mussolini, and of one report (in the Brooklyn Eagle) that Fascists had paid \$500,000 to a New York crime syndicate to kill Carlo. So it may well be that Tresca, who had relentlessly fought both Communists and Fascists, was marked for death by bothand that it is a question which group got to him first."

Other information about the Tresca case, given to Senator Kefauver in the Thomas memorandum, was not made public by Thomas. All he would say about was that "it was designed to have constructive value."

Thomas also urged that the senators now meeting in the U.S. court house here, investigate the 1937 disappearance and alleged murder of Juliet Stuart Poyntz, disillusioned ex-GPU agent here, because of ."its evident relation to the Tresca case." After Tresca testified before a federal grand jury in 1938 that Miss Poyntz was kidnaped by a Russian agent whom he named, and murdered by others, he was assailed in the Stalinist press as "a police informer." Mr. Thomas said, and one Communist writer, in a pamphlet entitled The Moral Suicide of Carlo Tresca, indicated that "for reasons of public health" such persons as Tresca must be

"eliminated from society." said

# Yugoslav Rep, Draper Debate Titoist 'Democracy' at Brooklyn

NEW YORK, March 14-Brooklyn College was the scene this afternoon of a debate on the question "Is Yugoslavia Building Socialism?" between a Yugoslav government official in this country and Hal Draper, editor of LABOR ACTION.

The debate was arranged by the Eugene V. Debs Society of the college and took place on the campus. It was organized by the club as the first of a series of discussion meetings on various countries purporting to be "building socialism." The two to follow will take up Britain and Israel.

The Yugoslav representative, provided at the club's request by the Yugoslav Information Office in New York, was N. Drndic, who is attached to the UN delegation from Belgrade. About 100 students attended the meeting during the regular club-meeting period. A portion of the audience remained even after class sessions resumed, to continue the question period and discussion.

Drndic, speaking first for the affirmative, devoted the main stress in his 30-minute presentation to the achievements of the Tito government in various economic fields after an introduction in which he stated that socialism implied democracy and freedom for the people and their full participation in governing.

He made clear that the Yugoslavs were opposed to "exporting" their " socialism" on bayonets (referring to the Russians' emphasis on the role of their army in bringing their rule to the satellite countries), but also went beyond this point in adding that the Yugoslays did not believe in "exporting socialism" at all. "It is suitable for our people," he

mary of Yugoslav achievements in raising production, improving agriculture, granting social and health insurance, etc., ending by pointing to recent moves toward "decentralization" in ecoonmic and political life as a token of democratization.

#### SPOTLIGHT ON REGIME

Draper's presentation highighted the central question of the Tito government's principled insistence on maintaining their rule through a monolithic one-party state in which no political opposition is tolerated. (Readers of his articles in LABOR ACTION will be familiar with the main points adduced under this head. within the limits of the time available.) He hammered away at the theme that "as long as Tito's Communist Party-that is, the bureaucracy-that is, the tops of the bureaucratic state - impose their complete monopoly on political life, permitting no opposition, not even the first steps toward democratization can be spoken of." The police-state regime under the UDBA (secret police) and the "workers' councils" to which Drndic had referred came in for specific notice.

This discussion was placed in the context, as Draper made clear, of socialist support to Yugoslav independence from Russian imperialism, as well as of understanding the positive content of Titoism in disintegrating the Stalinist empire; he stressed that, the importance of the specific question under discussion revolved around the concept of what socialism is and its integral relation to democracy, a concept distorted and slandered by claims that any Stalinist-type totalitarian system could be considered

He then went through a sum- as having anything in common with socialist democracy.

> A rejoinder by Drndic brought the argument (which Draper called "the basic rationale of Stalinist totalitarianism") that Yugoslavia could not afford or permit any "more democracy" than exists now because the country is in danger from Russian attack

#### TITOIST RATIONALE

It was interesting to note that the Yugoslav spokesman took no direct issue with any of the factual material which the socialist had adduced with respect to the regime. Rather he seemed to rest his case on the thesis that such criticisms were "abstract" in not taking into account, as he claimed, the country's difficult situa-

In reply, Draper argued that democracy for the workers would not weaken but would strengthen? genuinely socialist regime, by strengthening the devotion and initiative of the masses toward a country which really belonged to them; that early Stalinism had developed its totalitarian practices precisely on the basis of the rationalizations which Dradic had brought forward on behalf of Tito: that if the Tito regime were justified in maintaining a totalitarian political system on the basis of the country's danger, so were the governments in every other counry, including the U. S. (where McCarranism and McCarthyism put forward the same justification for tearing the vitals out of civil iberties), etc.

This point became also the center of the lively discussion which followed as students in the audience asked questions of the speakers.

at-large. In most previous elec-

tions, Fenster had been one of

Beating the Stalinists, of courses

is only the first step in improving

the administration of the local. A

fighting progressive leadership is

In this respect it is interesting

to note that Foster has repeated

at several membership meetings

that while he is now fighting the

CP, he still considers himself a

"left-winger." Foster, who rolled

up a pretty good vote, running

fourth for board at-large and

ninth for delegate, reflects a more

neither side has an overwhelming

their toes, and should result in a

more democratic and militant

spirit than has prevailed up to

now. This is not guaranteed un-

less the membership shows more'

interest in the activities of its

Highlish Seeder of 199

The general situation, where

conservative trend.

necessary to take its place.

the leading vote-getters.

# **CP** Control in Cleveland Local Overturned

#### By JOE HAUSER

CLEVELAND, March 19-After many long years in the stranglehold of the Stalinists, the membership of Fisher Body Local 45 of the United Automobile Worker (CIO) has voted in its annual elections to give control of the executive board to the newly formed "Freedom Slate."

OHIO LABOR NOTES

While the CP hacks still remain a powerful force in the local, this the most serious setback they have suffered in over a dozen years. With well over 2000 votes cast (out of a possible 4100), the of their last UAW.

The last big election struggle occurred two years ago when the "Pro-UAW-CIO Policy" group led by John Troeter, former international representative, made an all-out attack on the local administration, opposing all the incumbent officers. At that time the Stalinists and those allied with them were well able to beat off the attack, on the basis of defending the "unity of the leadership" against "outside" (international) influence; and they held on to every single contested position

The campaign this year was a far different story. The most important new factor was the bitter and open fight which developed between Bert Foster, local financial secretary, and Leo Fenster, acknowledged leader of the CP forces in the local. This fight had been brewing for some time, but came to the attention of the memcontract and the editorship of the union paper.

Foster had led the campaign for local ratification of the GM contract, and the Stalinists rewarded him for this action by the usual personal vilification and character assassination. Later Foster was responsible for removing Fenster as editor of the Eue-Opener, local union paper, when the Stalinist editor attempted to suppress a column of Foster's on the Korean war. This was followed by a real smear campaign by the Stalinists.

#### REAL ISSUES UP

By election time, Foster realized he couldn't fight the CP membership took the first big step alone, despite a sizable personal in removing the Stalinists from one following in the shop, and he ed forces with the opposition of two years ago, forming the Freedom Slate. For three weeks before the ballotting, Freedom put out a series of leaflets attacking the Communist Party and its stooges on various issues.

There was some red-baiting, but there were also real issues presented to the membership. The Stalinists didn't issue a single leaflet until the day before the election, and then all they could say was "red-baiting."

The strategy of the Freedom Slate was not to make an all-out attack on the whole administration, but to concentrate its fire on the Stalinists and their closest stooges. Thus no opposition was made to several of the top officers, giving the impression that these officers were neutral in the fight. Similarly, a couple of board members not completely tied in with the CP were endorsed by Freedom. This resulted in both Freedom and the Stalinist "Union bers on two issues, the 1950 GM Slate" claiming victory after the election, but a careful analysis will show that Freedom really LITERAN ISTEND & 1224

Freedom has 10 definite votes out of 20, while the Stalinists. have only three solely elected on their slate, and can probably count on two or three of the supposedly neutral candidates. Even giving the Stalinists all the "neutrals" and the runoff, their iron grip on the local is definitely broken.

#### ONLY FIRST STEP

Local 45 will send six delegates and two alternates to the UAW convention. Of those elected, two delegates were on both slates and each ticket took two more. The alternates were also split evenly.

A measure of the beating taken by the Stalinists can be shown in the vote for Leo Fenster, their majority, will put both groups on key man and most publicized figure. He was knocked off the shop committee, which had been his most important post. He ran last of those elected to go as convention delegates; and he placed ninth out of ten board members

The Standard Biographical Work— "KARL MARX" by Franz Mehring British edition, cloth-bound-\$3.00-while they last LABOR ACTION BOOK SERVICE 114 West 14 Street New York 11, N. Y. **New York ISL Discussion** 

Socialist Policy on War **Reporter: Max Shachtman** Thursday at 8 p.m., April 5 Labor Action Hall, 114 West 14 Street, N. Y. C.

condidates.

cal machines."

## THEY'LL HAVE TO DECIDE

some

swing the whole local in their di-It is hard to explain such a decline-unless our friends were rection. The Reading SP is almost overwhelmed by the figures quoted in the Kefauver hearings on unique in the SP of the United the link between industry, politics States, as there are few locals and crime! Our own drive for which enjoy its strength or anyfunds is small compared to the thing like it. But the majority of daily take of the grafters, crookthe party there feels that adoption of the NEC proposals would ed cops, bookies and goons, but we need it for honest work. surely split the party throughout The fund drive is our financial the country into warring groups, life-blood. With it we can maineach one attached to some section of one of the big parties. And although we have little concern for CONTRIBUTE to the ISL FUND DRIVE! the political fortunes of the municipal socialists who head the Berks County organization, we are certain that many SP mem-Independent Socialist League bers in Reading are deeply disturbed about the future for their party if the referendum carries.

The article mentioned above closes on what seems almost an ominous note: "the initiation of a referendum places the final decision in the hands of the membership who must decide as individuals what future political action shall be legal for persons who wish to hold membership in the Socialist Party of the U.S. On the same basis, individuals will have to decide what course their judgment and conscience dictates after the final decision is made."

Is this a gentle hint that some people may reconsider their affiliation to the SP if the referendum goes one way or another? It would seem so; without making it clear which grouping or side in



# SP Local in Reading Turns Down Thomas-NEC Line on Elections

#### By GORDON HASKELL

March 26, 1951

The Berks County (Reading, Pa.) local of the Socialist Party is up in arms against the current party referendum. A banner headline in the March 9 issue of the Reading Labor Advocate, official organ of the SP local, states: "Berks Socialists Reject Political Compromise Plan, Condemn NEC Proposal to Permit Party Members and Groups to Aid 'More Desirable Anti-Social-

A general membership meeting of Local Berks adopted a resolution condemning the referendum and urging all members of the party to vote No on the question of permitting members to support condidates of the major parties in cases where the SP is running no

"The Executive Committee of Local Berks, SP," the resolution ends, "reaffirms its belief in electoral political action and the class struggle, and that we cannot advance the cause of the cooperative commonwealth by supporting candidates committed to the private profit system, no matter how liberal they may be, nor how reactionary the opposition may be." Accompanying this resolution in the Reading Labor Advocate is a lead article which explains the reasons for the position taken by the Berks Socialists. Along with the general statement of principle quoted above, this article gives a number of practical reasons for opposing the National Executive Committee's proposal: "On local levels especially, the Local Berks majority argues, the

divisive result of permitting party members to support old-party candidates would quickly be revealed. Ambitious individuals would be attracted to the dominant old-party group which, in many cases, have been corrupted by long-continued power. And since local units would decide local action, there would be no barrier to political trading with the worst type of self-seeking politi-

<sup>1°</sup> Of course, this would present a specially grave problem to the Berks organization. In Reading, the Socialist Party is so strong that the local Democratic and Republican machines might well be willing to offer juicy plums to "ambitious individuals" either to leave the fold or to

the party these people might be on. As a matter of fact, those who favor support of Democratic candidates have already in their actions since the Detroit convention, shown that they don't give a damn for the decisions of the party. If the party should once more defeat their position, there is little reason to think that they would change their ways.

#### BEHIND THE SP TURN

But if the party should carry their position? Does this article indicate that those people who think the Socialist Party should continue to run candidates and should not permit its members to support the candidates of capitalist parties . . . that such people would, or might, or should do something? And if so, what should they do?

Should they split from the SP (to put the matter bluntly) and form their own party? If the present SP cannot find the trength to run candidates in any but the most exceptional places, like Reading, what chance is there that a splitoff from it would be able to do better? To ask the question is to answer it. It is doubtful whether even the relatively vigorous SP of Reading could hold together long if cut off from a national organization.

For individual members who want to continue to work and fight for socialism, and to participate in the class struggle in a SOCIALIST manner, there is a solution. In our opinion, they have been in the wrong organization for a long time. The policy of supportwhat the NEC is clearly offering

ISL FUND DRIVE

them, is simply a drastic extension of the POLITICAL tendency which the leadership of the party has been following for some time.

This tendency has been more and more to prevent abstract, educational arguments for socialism, coupled with practical political support of the program of the Fair Dealers. The place where this tendency has shown itself most clearly has been in the virtual capitulation of the party leadership to the foreign policy of the administration - the policy which has led to reluctant support of the war in Korea, and of equally reluctant but nevertheless real support of the cold war policy of the State Department.

Why-should anyone be surprised if the party leadership now proposes to give "practical" political support to those whose politics they have already been supporting?

#### WHAT WILL THEY DO?

The whole socialist movement in the United States is smaller today, and more isolated than it ever has been. Socialists who are unable to face this situation squarely and to understand the reasons for it will never be able to find a road out of it.

We are few in numbers. It follows from this that right now our chief job must be ideological. To understand the state of things, and to explain it to the "politicos" and the workers, that is the specific job of socialists now. Their additional job is not to compromise with the ideology of capital ism, but to stand in the forefront ing Fair Deal candidates, which is of the struggle for complete democracy.

These are the meaningful things which socialists can do today in the United States. Whether or not they run election campaigns is really a third-rate tactical question. Whether they give political support to the Democratic Party is a first-rate question, and the members of the SP are quite right to be concerned with it. This is specially true of those SP members who are also concerned about the *line* their party has taken on the Korean war and the cold war as a whole.

If the SP endorses the referendum, a large number of socialists will be confronted with the problem: what to do? If they seek to solve this problem by trying to form, or attempting to discover another organization which will run socialist candidates in elections, they will be making a most regrettable mistake. The important thing is to look a little deeper for the roots of the political development of the ideology of their party which will make it possible for a large number of the present members and leaders of the SP to support Fair Dealers on the Democratic ticket.

If the referendum goes in favor of the NEC resolution, it is quite possible that a considerable number of SP members will soon be looking for some way in which they can continue to function as socialists, not as isolated individuals, but in concert with other socialists. We of the Independent Socialist League believe that our organization offers them this opportunity. We invite them to study our program, our theory and our organization for them selves.

## **Draper Tour** For SYL to Start Mar. 30

A speaking tour by Hal Draper, editor of LABOR ACTION, on behalf of the Socialist Youth League and including university groups in several cities, will take place this coming month, the SYL announces. At the same time, branches of the Independent Socialist League in the larger cities covered have also arranged public meetings which Draper will address.

The tour will begin at Oberlin, Ohio, and wind up in Buffalo. Several of the meetings will be on campuses in the cities noted. The general schedule is as follews:

March 30-Oberlin April 1-St. Louis. April 4-8-Chicago. April 11-Detroit. April 12-Ann Arbor April 13-15-Detroit (including Wayne University). April 17-18-Buffalo.

Among the meetings scheduled for Chicago are: an ISL public educational and social on Saturday, April 7, at which the subject will be "The 'Great Debate' on Foreign Policy"; a U. of C. SYL meeting on "Liberalism and the Cold War" on Sunday; participation in a symposium arranged by the U. of C. Politics Club on the current talk about "fomenting revolution" in Russia, to be held on April 6; and a talk at Roosevelt College on "The Tito-Stalin Split," on the 4th.

One of the meetings in Detroit will be a public forum sponsored by the ISL and SYL on the subiect of "American Liberalism Today," on April 14.

# Fund Drive Needs More Steam — Get It Up!

#### By ALBERT GATES, **Fund Drive Director**

The third week of the ISL fund drive took a dip and fell far below the average weekly income required to achieve the total goal of \$12,500. To make that quota, we need weekly receipts of \$1,250. That was our average for the first two weeks, but this week we fell below that by more than a half.

tain our institutions and continue burgh, among the medium quoour great struggle for a free so- tas. It is these branches, as well cialist world. Without it . . . well, you all know the answer.

We know that all of you will come through. But we need a quick response to our appealquick and sure, rather than slow and sure.

In the past week we received a total of \$540.84. This is not a large sum, but it includes contributions from Los Angeles and Philadelphia and puts them in the money column for the first time.

Newark sent in a good sum to pick up its standing in the box score. While New York is below the average it maintained last year, it sent in enough money pass Chicago in the standings. But we still have not heard from Seattle, Reading and Pitts-

as the other zero sections, which are holding down the average.

The total percentage reached in the drive to date is 24.4. That means that those below that figure are trailing too far behind for comfort. We must raise the total percentage in the drive, but in order to do that, those below 24.4 have to rise to it in order to

produce a substantial increase in our income.

What about it? We are not talking about those who have already reached 50 per cent or bet ter in the standings. They will reach their quotas and go over them, we are sure. This is directed to the branches below 50 per cent and especially those who are not in the running yet.

See box score on this page.

.

## **Fund Drive Box Score**

Q	uota	Paid H	Per Cent
TOTAL	,500	\$3058.84	24.4
Youngstown	100	60.00	60
Streator	25	15.00	60
Soc. Youth League	500	255.00	51
New York SYL		154.50	日本合物的
Chicago SYL		90.50	2.4
Boston	50	\$ 25.00	50
	200	1453.50	34.6
	800	585.00	32.5
Newark	300	75.00	25
Buffalo	850	200.00	23.5
Oakland	650	146.00	22.5
Cleveland	300	58.50	19.4
Detroit	800	140.00	17.5
Philadelphia	450	70.00	15.5
Los Angeles	550	84.25	15.3
St. Louis	50	5.00	10
General	975	21.59	2.1
Akron	100	0	0
Baltimore	50	0	0
Connecticut	50	0	0
Indiana	100	0	0
Minnesota	10	0	0
Oregon	50	0	0
Pittsburgh	150	• 0.	0
Reading	100	0. /	0
Seattle	300	0	0
		a (c) (c)	1. P. A.

114 West 14 Street	
New York 11, N. Y.	
Enclosed is \$ the ISL's 1951 Fund Driv	A
NAME	
NAME	
ADDRESS	
	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
CITY	STATE
	Independent Socialist League or

Help Support Independent Socialism! **Every Dollar Counts!** 

LABOR ACTION

#### Page Four

## The **ISL** Program in Brief

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

INTERESTED?

acquainted

Independent

114 W. 14th Street

New York 11, N.Y.

I want to join the ISL.

Socialist League

with the

the ISL.

Name

Addres

City

State

Get



### **NEW SCIENCE: OPERATIONS RESEARCH** By CARL DARTON

Apologists for, or those confused by, present chaotic world conditions offer all sorts of excuses and reasons why we can't have a science of society. One of the excuses often given, as pointed out by Philip Coben in this column several weeks ago, is that society is too complex, and science has not as yet fashioned a method for obtaining answers in "complex quantitative situations."

The existence of such sciences as biology, biochemistry and biohysics is evidence enough to show that complexity alone is not suficient reason to stop the application of the scientific method. Whether social problems may be considered more complex than those in the biological field is open to question.

Moreover, science is continually developing new techniques, and in recent years new methods for the scientific solution of problems of numan affairs have arisen. Unfortunately, these new techniques, like many other aspects of science today, tend to be applied contrary to the best interest of the working people and humanity in general. Illustrative of such new scientific techniques is operational research, or as it is known in the United States, team or operations research.

Operational research has been given various definitions and not even its practising experts agree on its exact nature or scope. In general, it can be said that it is the application of the scientific method to the complex data of human society as a means of solving problems arising in administration, functioning and planning. Essentially its methodology consists of splitting a complex problem into its various natural segments, permitting specialists to work on their particular portions, and then reassembling and interpreting the data, often by statistical analysis.

Since science in general has been so completely harnessed to warfare it should be no surprise that operational research has been so utilized. The following quotation from the British Government publication, Science at War, shows the nature of operational research in this field:

"Operational research is concerned with: (1) the study of weapons; (2) the study of tactics; (3) the study of strategy. . . . Warfare is an extremely complicated activity. Its closest parallels are to be found in the realms of biology and economics where a limited amount of numerical data is ascertainable about phenomena of great complexity. Hence the methods used in those sciences are found to be particularly valuable in operational research."

#### Another Tool for Socialist Planning

In Britain during World War II, operational research was used on such problems as offensive air warfare, optimum size of convoys and bomber task forces, mine laying, etc. Thus in planning defense against submarine attack operational research considered such factors as statistical analysis of convoy size in relation to sinkings, pilot fatigue and engine maintenance relative to optimum sorties, proper bombing depths, as well as radar coordination. Teams of physicists, statisticians, physiologists, electronic and mechanical engineers were required to obtain the proper answers.

Operational research has also been applied in the field of industrial productivity and as such tends somewhat to resemble the older time or efficiency studies. Since, however, it usually surveys whole industries its content is much broader in scope.

It is not possible in this column to describe fully the nature of operations research. It is sufficient to state its purpose by quoting from the lead article under that title in the current March issue of the Scientific American: "What it [Operations research] does is to apply scientific method, including mathematical techniques, to the analysis of situations and of the efficiency of various systems of organization for coping with them."

Obviously, we socialists strongly condemn the use of science for he destructive purposes of war and for industrial productivity under an economic system which leads to the increased exploitation of the workers. The point we wish to make, however, is that science does not lack methods for solving complex problems involving situations resulting from social organization.

Under capitalism the main problems are war and profits and these eceive the major attention of science. On the other hand, under a rational society such as socialism, the problems of productivity for use, improved working conditions, economic and political organization without curtailment of individual freedom, satisfactory medical care, housing and city planning and adequate conservation of our natural resources would receive the full benefits of science.

Given the proper political conditions these problems are no more complex-in fact are much simpler-than those being solved today. If the workers themselves establish the necessary political conditions, then scientists will naturally apply their methods, such as operations research, to constructive rather than destructive purposes. Thus the political factor, rather than "complexity," is the fundamental problem of the application of science to society today.



# Reading from Left to Right

FORTUNE: THE PERMANENT REVELATION, by Theodore Draper.—The Reporter, March 20.

All about Fortune magazine's February issue, which was in effect a book-length collection of essays entitled "U. S. A .: The Permanent Revolution." Draper properly reviews it as a commentary on "the Time-Life-Fortune system of public enlightenment" rather than as a contribution to knowledge of the U.S. On the surface, he points out, it seems to be a smug defense or glorification of the "American System, but "there builds up the inescapable feeling that the Luce thinkers are waging a tortured struggle against a number of tantalizing specters."

First of these is Europe which, it seems, had virtually nothing to do with the development of the essence of "Americanism," individual freedom

"The lineage of this proposition is first traced back to God. Then a jump is made all the way to the Founding Fathers. . . . This is one way of ignoring our debt to Europe. . . The Fortune revelation likewise states that

"the Founding Fathers knew so much that 'they were repeatedly appalled at the comparative potical ignorance of their European friends . . If the Founding Fathers learned something but not much from their European contemporaries, later Americans did not have to learn anything from them at all, at least in one allimportant field. For the remarkable statement is made that 'political philosophy has made absolutely no progress in its essentials from the time when Adams, Jefferson, Hamilton and Madison were its world masters to the present." If all Europe is washed out in this way it is not surprising to learn from Fortune that Madison anticipated "what truth there is in the Marxist analysis."

March 26, 1951

Another specter is unreconstructed capitalism as against Fortune's "new capitalism." The Reporter article points out the similarities between Fortune's "new capitalism" and the Wallaceite "progressive capitalism," but the surface resemblance (which is interesting enough, to be sure) is not further probed.



## **Tug of Forces Within Socialist Groups May Bring Split in Italian Coalition**

in

ernment.

to take a stand against staving

obliged the "Piselli" themselves

to promise to get out of the gov-

ernment as proof of their agree-

SILONE AIDS MAGNANI-CUCCHI

called a "Piselli" convention for

the end of March; if the PSU's

anti-coalition pressure dies down

by then, Saragat hopes to find

some excuse to stay in the gov-

If Saragat manages to find some

way of going through with the

PSU merger and still holding on to

his dearly loved government post,

the merger may well be followed

At the same time Saragat has

ment to fuse with the PSU.

the government. This has

#### By PAUL ROBERTS

Latest dispatches from Rome point toward difficult days ahead for the conservative Catholic government of Italian Premier Alcide de Gasperi. The Christian-Democratic leader will have to do a lot of praying to prevent his cabinet from blowing up in the ery near future.

Immediate cause of the cabinet blowup may be the probable withdrawal of the right-wing socialists of the PSLI (Italian Socialist Workers Party), whose leader Saragat has long been working with De Gasperi. The "Piselli," as the members of Saragat's group are called from the party's nitials, have been negotiating for some time for unification with the more leftish PSU (Socialist Unitary Party), which is opposed to being in a coalition government with De Gasperi. The most prominent leaders of the PSU are Romita and Ignazio Silone.

Internal developments within the PSU have been leading to a vicfory of its own right wing, under Romita, which has a program of unity with the "Piselli" at virtually any price, including tacit acceptance of coalition with the Christian-Democrats. Although Romita won a technical victory at the February convention of the PSU, developments outside the party have strengthened the hand of his opponent Ignazio Silone and the anti-coalition wing.

These developments, centering about the break from the Italian Stalinist party led by Deputies Magnani and Cucchi, have been followed rather closely by LA-BOR ACTION these past weeks. We have also indicated the growth of friendly ties between these rebels and Silone.

Thus the rebellion against Stal-inism has strengthened the backbone of those in the PSU who op-



by a new split, this time by the pose Saragat's ties with De Gasleft wing under Silone which may peri, and has pushed the PSU as a whole, including even Romita. merge with the rebels from Stal-

> Silone has done a great deal to advance the work of Magnani and Cucchi, whose revolt must remind him somewhat of his own break from Stalinism before the war. He has said that he looked forward to "unity of action" with the rebels, and that their break, together with the break of Gian-Carlo Matteotti from the Stalinized "Socialist Party" of Nenni, is of national importance. This importance is enhanced by their popularity among the partisans. Cucchi himself was the military chief of the resistance in Bologna, while Magnani was an artillery officer in the ranks of Tito's

Yugoslav partisans.

majority thus established in the

Assembly, it seems a shame that

this majority will have so little

to do or say, according to the

terms of France's "benevolent"

The French governor-general

exercises an absolute veto over

all-decisions of the Assembly and

he can dissolve it if it takes up

any business other than the bud-

## French Outdo Hitler in 'Ja' Vote For Algerian Assembly Election

According to the French gov- of the overwhelming pro-French ernment, this year's election to the Algerian Assembly (which is under French administration) is a most touching tribute to the esteem in which the Paris regime is held by the entire population rule over Algeria. of Algeria. That's according to

the French government. . . . The independence movement of the Algerian people, MTLD-Movement for the Triumph of Democratic Liberties-decided to boycott this year's election, on the ground that in the election of the Assembly only consultatively, two years ago the results were falsified by fraud and violence. Despite the existence of this boycott, however, the French administration announced the following results:

Constituency of Port Guedon No. of registered voters: 23.

No. of votes cast: 23. 671. For the pro-government condidate: 23, 645.

Fo, ra Stalinist candidate: 26. Thus, according to this, 99,99 per cent of the registered voters turned out and 99.9 per cent of them voted their appreciation and love for the blessings of French colonial rule! This is an even greater tribute than either Hitler or Stalin ever achieved in plebiscites and elections. . . There is still another cloud to mar this pretty picture. In view

get which he submits to the body. Even this budget is submitted to and can be put into effect by the governor without its consent. The governor-general, Naegelen, is a member of the French Socialist Party, which is one of the more disreputable social - democratic parties of Western Europe. The French SP is, of course, "commit-

ted" to an anti-imperialist program—except in North Africa, Indo-China, Madagascar and anywhere else that France has any imperialist interests.

WEEK by WEEK .... LABOR ACTION screens and

onalyzes the week's news, discusses the current problems of labor and socialism.

A sub is only \$2 a year!

# **A New Left Socialist Group Forms: Can It Fill the Political Vacuum?**

#### By SAUL BERG

A new political organization has been formed in France, called the Independent Socialist Left (Gauche Indépendent Socialiste). It represents a fusion of leading personalities from the extinct RDR (Revolutionary Democratic Rally) and left elements who have broken away from the Catholic center party MRP and the Socialist Party.

Among the signers of its founding manifesto are Jean Rous, general secretary of the Congress of Peoples Against Imperialism and editorialist of Franc-Tireur; Yves Dechezelles, former assistant general secretary of the Socialist Party who led its left wing into the RDR; and three members of the Chamber of Deputies, Charles d'Aragon, the Abbé Pierre-Grouès and M. P. Baulet. These three resigned from the MRP last year, denouncing its anti-working-class attitude in French domestic politics and its pre-American foreign policy, and have since operated in the Chamber as the "Independent Left" group.

Here are the most pertinent passages from its founding manifesto:

"Even if the present situation does not appear to carry immediately great hopes of success, it requires a labor of preparation and regroupment. Between 1946 and 1950, considering only the official figures, the Socialist Party has gone down from 350,000 members to 150,000 and the MRP has lost most of its left wing. These thousands of miltants should not be condemned to impatience and despair.

"It is in these conditions that the members of the 'Independent Left' group, plus old members of the RDR, SP and MRP and of the various socialist currents, both Marxist and Christian, have decided to form a movement called "Independent Socialist Left.'

### AGAINST BOTH BLOCS

"Independence with respect to the strategic blocs [cold-war blocs], with the aim of creating a unified and peaceful world, founded on respect for international law, does not flow, for us, from transitory diplomatic or tactical considerations. It is a question of a fundamental conception which is opposed in principle to capitalist society and to Communist society of the Stalinist type, and of a will to construct a democratic socialist society.

"Consequently, whatever our desire to defend democratic liberties and anti-capitalist and anticolonialist demands, we could not accept either Russian or American society. Those who have in advance chosen one or the other as 'lesser evil' have sacrificed the permanent strategy of the socialist movement for an opposite tactic. They have preferred a pre-

carious policy of survival to their reason for existence.

"In the present crisis of the workers' and progressive movement, we consider that social-democracy and Stalinist Communism do not answer to the needs of revolutionary and democratic militants. We have absorbed the lessons of both, and we know their systems to be bankrupt, just as are those of certain sects, themselves replicas of the dominant parties.

"We will not neglect any occasion to collaborate in all activity in the direction of socialism or of a trade-unionism that fights for workers' control. In certain European countries we would adhere to the existing workers' parties. On the other hand, we could not participate in the Communist Parties or their satellite fronts. for lack of being able to freely defend our conceptions in them.

#### NOT FOR A SECT

The creation of this organization at this particular moment is result of several factors. First and most important, is the political vacuum created by the non-existence of any significant non-Stalinist group whose daily activity is based on defense of the workers' interests and opposition to French imperialism and the French government.

It is true that the social-democratic parties in other countries -Britain, Belgium, Germany, etc.-are reformist, nationalist and imperialist-minded like the French SP, but for multiple reasons they have not completely cast off the moorings between themselves and an organized working-class base. Especially today, with the German and Belgian social-democrats functioning as opposition parties, and with the British Laborites operating on the basis of an absolute majority which is used more or less to carry out significant parts of the party's program, one can see why in these countries it is possible for left-wing independent-minded socialists who are active among the workers to be active also inside such parties without compromising themselves in the workers' eyes.

But in France the unprincipled coalitionism and shameless sacrifice of the workers' most immediate interests by the SP has caused even those workers who may vote steer clear in all their organized Socialist (in desperation) to activity of any connection with this discredited party, whose composition, as a result, is now overwhelmingly made up of municipal job-seekers and middle-class elements.

This explains the passage in the that in some countries they would join the existing workers' parties. They do not believe that a small

sect isolated from the mass movement should set itself up independently, as against developing its viewpoint within the existing mass workers' political movement.

But they believe that in France the SP is itself isolated from the working class and that only a new organization that directly opposes the existing French coalition government can compete with Stalinism for the allegiance of the French workers.

#### NEUTRALIST WAVE

It was the hope of channelizing the aspirations of the French workers that motivated the founding of the RDR, and the RDR's disappearance was directly the result of the attempt by its most prominent leaders, like Rousset and Altman. to divert the movement in the direction of support to the U. S. bloc. The new group evidently hopes to be able to appeal successfully to those who were attracted by the RDR.

But another impetus to its formation at this time is the wave of "neutralism" sweeping through French intellectual circles.

The term "neutralism" does not necessarily mean only that position which advocates that France be aloof from either the American or Russian blocs and seek to mediate between them. Instead it has, in France, come into such common use as to be applied variously to those who want to appease both camps, on the one hand, and on the other to those who see the need for building an international Third Camp of the workers and colonial peoples, which is therefore not "neutral" but actively opposed to Russia, the U.S. and the existing capitalist government of France.

In addition, the term "neutralism" is also the cover for semi Stalinists who propagate neutralism as the most practical alternative that they can offer to the Atlantic Pact. Lastly, "neutralism" is a refuge for Frenchmen seeking to establish, in case of Russian conquest, that they had not been supporters of the American alliance.

But among the French masses neutralism is more and more a vague state of mind, expressing their disillusionment rather than any close identification with any of the currents mentioned above.

Claude Bourdet, former editor of Combat, has achieved a considerable audience for his neutralist weekly L'Observateur, which mixes together, a strange potpourri of all the varieties of "neutralists," together with crypto-Stalinists contributing articles side by side with Third Camp socialists and bourgeois neutralists.

Amidst all this ferment, the "Independent Socialist Left" may recruit for its Third Camp program some elements whose doctrinal background may seem rather strange to those whose own development has been through Marxist channels. But French capitalism is at a complete impasse, and one of the marks of its doom should be the acceptance of socialist strategy and aims by intellectuals of the most varied backgrounds, who have been shocked into action by the terrible crisis that faces them.

### TOWARD REGROUPMENT

It cannot be assumed in advance that such a group is doomed to impotence because of its intellectual heterogeneity and lack of proletarian composition. For example: in Italy, the Socialist Unity Party (PSU) of Ignazio Silone and Romita began with just such a small group composed Catholics and former resistance fighters until the development of the political situation gave it the opportunity to fuse with an important movement of workers

breaking away from Nenni's crypto-Stalinist "Socialist" party. Leaving aside the question of which way its politics will develop, the PSU is, at any rate, a significant movement in Italy today.

**Page Five** 

The Independent Socialist Left may supply the nucleus for a similar development in France, or it may go the way of the RDR. That depends to a considerable extent on the seriousness of its leadership and the constancy with which it adheres to the principles of its manifesto.

Thousands of "unorganized" socialist militants in France are waiting to follow a banner that they can trust, not as blind followers seeking a leader, but because they seek a movement whose leadership gives some guarantees that it will not betray. the aims and principles that animate the ranks. After the repeated betravals and disappointments of the post-war years, the militants are wary, but their enthusiasm can be roused by a display of determination and devotion to principle.

It is by no means to be assumed that the new group will be what they are seeking, but we can only welcome the possibility of such a new regroupment.

### Martial Plan'

A leader of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce has called for the transformation of the Marshall Plan into a "Martial Plan," the pun being his. George A. Sloan. who is also a director of U.S. Steel, said he looked on the ECA. as the agency which should serve as the central agency for distributing armaments to the Atlantic Pact states.

### **Rent Hike**

The government claims it is trying to get landlords to freeze rents. but at the same time, as a landlord itself, it is increasing rents.

Rent increases of from 28 to 41 per cent have been ordered by the Atomic Energy Commission for workers occupying government housing at the installations in Oak Ridge and Richland, ashington.

Local AFL unions have vigorously protested the rent hike. Said the AFL's Brownlow: "The workers are faced with the incongruous situation of having the government freeze their wages while at the same time increasing their rents."

## 'Favorina **Big Business**"

As in the Second World War small business is getting a rooking in the war mobilization.

The magazine Business Weeks for February 3 says: "Essentially then, government policy sums up to this: The U. S. will do its best to see that small companies aren't forced to the wall. But it won't let this interfere with getting contracts filled - WHICH MEANS FAVORING BIG BUSI-NESS. This same thinking applies to anti-trust. There'll be some suits involving price-fixinglimitation of production, and withholding from the market. But splitups of big business are over for the duration."

You're Invited

to speak your mind in the letter. of left socialist intellectuals, left column of L.A. Our policy is to publish letters of general political interest, regardless of views. Keep them to 590 words.

HANDY	WAY	то	SUB	SCRI	BE
All .	LA	BOR	AC	TION	
10 32	The	Independe	ent Socialis	t Weekly	
LABON	114	West 14	Street,	N. Y. C.	
	6600 1 11	nateriale Pyr of the	14 - 1 C B 		a l'àg
Flease enter	my subscrip	tion: [	NEW	RENEWA	L
E	Siz months	(26 issue	es) at \$1.00	1.2.2	
	One year	52 issues	) at \$2.00	2 - <sup>19</sup> a - 1	
NAME					
NAME	(	PLEASE P	RINT)		
ADDRESS				. APT	
the state of the second	e di name	- F - N.			**

□ Bill me □ Payment encl. (stamps, currency or postal note)

LABOR ACTION

## The **ISL Program** in Brief

Page Four

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**INTERESTED?** 

acquainted

Independent

114 W. 14th Street

New York 11, N.Y.

□ I want to join the ISL.

Socialist League-

with the

the ISL.

Name

CHW

State

Address

Get



## **NEW SCIENCE: OPERATIONS RESEARCH**

Apologists for, or those confused by, present chaotic world conditions offer all sorts of excuses and reasons why we can't have a science of society. One of the excuses often given, as pointed out by Philip Coben in this column several weeks ago, is that society is too complex,

By CARL DARTON

and science has not as yet fashioned a method for obtaining answers in "complex quantitative situations." The existence of such sciences as biology, biochemistry and biophysics is evidence enough to show that complexity alone is not sufcient reason to stop the application of the scientific method. Whether social problems may be considered more complex than those in the biological field is open to question.

Moreover, science is continually developing new techniques, and it recent years new methods for the scientific solution of problems of numan affairs have arisen. Unfortunately, these new techniques, like many other aspects of science today, tend to be applied contrary to the best interest of the working people and humanity in general. Illustrative of such new scientific techniques is operational research, or as it is known in the United States, team or operations research.

Operational research has been given various definitions and not even its practising experts agree on its exact nature or scope. In general, it can be said that it is the application of the scientific method to the complex data of human society as a means of solving problems arising in administration, functioning and planning. Essentially its methodology consists of splitting a complex problem into its various natural segments, permitting specialists to work on their particular portions, and then reassembling and interpreting the data, often by statistical analysis.

Since science in general has been so completely harnessed to warfare it should be no surprise that operational research has been so utilized. The following quotation from the British Government publication, Science at War, shows the nature of operational research this field:

"Operational research is concerned with: (1) the study of weapons; (2) the study of tactics; (3) the study of strategy. . . . Warfare is an extremely complicated activity. Its closest parallels are to be found in the realms of biology and economics where a limited amount of numerical data is ascertainable about phenomena of great complexity. Hence the methods used in those sciences are found to be particularly valuable in operational research."

#### Another Tool for Socialist Planning

In Britain during World War II, operational research was used on uch problems as offensive air warfare, optimum size of convoys and omber task forces, mine laying, etc. Thus in planning defense against submarine attack operational research considered such factors as statistical analysis of convoy size in relation to sinkings, pilot fatigue and engine maintenance relative to optimum sorties, proper bombing depths, as well as radar coordination. Teams of physicists, statisticians, physiologists, electronic and mechanical engineers were required to obtain the proper answers.

Operational research has also been applied in the field of industrial productivity and as such tends somewhat to resemble the older time or efficiency studies. Since, however, it usually surveys whole industries its content is much broader in scope.

It is not possible in this column to describe fully the nature of perations research. It is sufficient to state its purpose by quoting rom the lead article under that title in the current March issue of the Scientific American: "What it [Operations research] does is to apply scientific method, including mathematical techniques, to the nalysis of situations and of the efficiency of various systems of organization for coping with them."

Obviously, we socialists strongly condemn the use of science for he destructive purposes of war and for industrial productivity under an economic system which leads to the increased exploitation of the workers. The point we wish to make, however, is that science does not lack methods for solving complex problems involving situations resulting from social organization.

Under capitalism the main problems are war and profits and these receive the major attention of science. On the other hand, under a rational society such as socialism, the problems of productivity for use, improved working conditions, economic and political organization without curtailment of individual freedom, satisfactory medical care, housing and city planning and adequate conservation of our natural resources would receive the full benefits of science.

Given the proper political conditions these problems are no more complex-in fact are much simpler-than those being solved today. party have strengthened the hand f the workers themselves establish the necessary political condition then scientists will naturally apply their methods, such as operations research, to constructive rather than destructive purposes. Thus the political factor, rather than "complexity," is the fundamental problem of the application of science to society today.



# Reading from Left to Right

FORTUNE: THE PERMANENT REVELATION, by Theodore Draper.—The Reporter, March 20.

All about Fortune magazine's February issue, which was in effect a book-length collection of essays entitled "U. S. A .: The Permanent Revolution." Draper properly reviews it as a commentary on "the Time-Life-Fortune system of public enlightenment" rather than as a contribution to knowledge of the U.S. On the surface, he points out, it seems to be a smug defense or glorification of the "American System," but "there builds up the inescapable feeling that the Luce thinkers are waging a tortured struggle against a number of tantalizing specters." First of these is Europe which, it seems,

had virtually nothing to do with the development of the essence of "Americanism," individual freedom. "The lineage of this proposition is first

traced back to God. Then a jump is made all the way to the Founding Fathers. . . . This is one way of ignoring our debt to Europe. . .

The Fortune revelation likewise states that

"the Founding Fathers knew so much that 'they were repeatedly appalled at the comparative potical ignorance of their European friends . . If the Founding Fathers learned something but not much from their European contemporaries, later Americans did not have to learn anything from them at all, at least in one all-important field. For the remarkable statement is made that 'political philosophy has made absolutely no progress in its essentials from the time when Adams, Jefferson, Hamilton and Madison were its world masters to the present." If all Europe is washed out in this way it is not surprising to learn from Fortune that Madison anticipated "what truth there is in the Marxist analysis."

March 26, 1951

Another specter is unreconstructed capitalism as against Fortune's "new capitalism." The Reporter article points out the similarities between Fortune's "new capitalism" and the Wallaceite "progressive capitalism," but the surface resemblance (which is interesting enough, to be sure) is not further probed.



## **Tug of Forces Within Socialist Groups May Bring Split in Italian Coalition**

ment to fuse with the PSU.

#### By PAUL ROBERTS

Latest dispatches from Rome point toward difficult days ahead for the conservative Catholic government of Italian Premier Alcide de Gasperi. The Christian-Democratic leader will have to do a lot of praying to prevent his cabinet from blowing up in the very near future.

Immediate cause of the eabinet blowup may be the probable withdrawal of the right-wing socialists of the PSLI (Italian Socialist Workers Party), whose leader Saragat has long been working with De Gasperi. The "Piselli," as the members of Saragat's group are called from the party's initials, have been negotiating for some time for unification with the more leftish PSU (Socialist Unitary Party), which is opposed to being in a coalition government with De Gasperi. The most prominent leaders of the PSU are Romita and Ignazio Silone.

Internal developments within the PSU have been leading to a victory of its own right wing, under Romita, which has a program of unity with the "Piselli" at virtually any price, including tacit acceptance of coalition with the Christian-Democrats, Although Romita won a technical victory at February convention of the PSU, developments outside the of his opponent ig the anti-coalition wing.

These developments, centering about the break from the Italian Stalinist party led by Deputies Magnani and Cucchi, have been followed rather closely by LA-BOR ACTION these past weeks. We have also indicated the growth of friendly ties between these rebels and Silone.

Thus the rebellion against Stalinism has strengthened the backbone of those in the PSU who op-



pose Saragat's ties with De Gasby a new split, this time by the peri, and has pushed the PSU as a whole, including even Romita, to take a stand against staying inism. in the government. This has

Silone has done a great deal to obliged the "Piselli" themselves advance the work of Magnani and to promise to get out of the gov-Cucchi, whose revolt must reernment as proof of their agreemind him somewhat of his own break from Stalinism before the war. He has said that he looked SILONE AIDS MAGNANI-CUCCHI forward to "unity of action" with At the same time Saragat has the rebels, and that their break. called a "Piselli" convention for together with the break of Gianthe end of March; if the PSU's Carlo Matteotti from the Stalinanti-coalition pressure dies down ized "Socialist Party" of Nenni, by then, Saragat hopes to find is of national importance. This some excuse to stay in the govimportance is enhanced by their popularity among the partisans. If Saragat manages to find some Cucchi himself was the military way of going through with the chief of the resistance in Bolog-PSU merger and still holding on to na, while Magnani was an artilhis dearly loved government post, lery officer in the ranks of Tito's the merger may well be followed Yugoslav partisans.

French Outdo Hitler in 'Ja' Vote For Algerian Assembly Election

According to the French gov- of the overwhelming pro-French ernment, this year's election to majority thus established in the under French administration) is a most touching tribute to the esteem in which the Paris regime terms of France's "benevolent" is held by the entire population rule over Algeria. Algeria, That's according the French government. . . .

The independence movement of Movement for the Triumph of Democratic Liberties-decided to get which he submits to the body. boycott this year's election, on Even this budget is submitted to the ground that in the election of the Assembly only consultatively, two years ago the results were and can be put into effect by the falsified by fraud and violence. governor without its consent. Despite the existence of this boycott, however, the French administration announced the following results:

Constituency of Port Guedon No. of registered voters: 23. 676.

No. of votes cast: 23, 671. For the pro-government candidate: 23, 645.

Fo ta Stalinist candidate: 26. Thus, according to this, 99.99 per cent of the registered voters turned out and 99.9 per cent of them voted their appreciation and love for the blessings of French colonial rule! This is an even greater tribute than either Hitler or Stalin ever achieved in plebiscites and elections. . . . There is still another cloud to mar this pretty picture. In view

the Algerian Assembly (which is Assembly, it seems a shame that this majority will have so little to do or say, according to the The French governor-general exercises an absolute veto over all-decisions of the Assembly and the Algerian people, MTLD- he can dissolve it if it takes up any business other than the bud-

The governor-general, Naegelen,

is a member of the French Socialist Party, which is one of the more disreputable social - democratic parties of Western Europe. The French SP is, of course, "committed" to an anti-imperialist program-except in North Africa, Indo-China, Madagascar and anywhere else that France has any imperialist interests.

WEEK by WEEK ....

LABOR ACTION screens and onalyzes the week's news, discusses the current problems of labor and socialism. A sub is only \$2 a year!

left wing under Silone which may merge with the rebels from Stalfesto:

# **A New Left Socialist Group Forms:** Can It Fill the Political Vacuum?

#### By SAUL BERG

A new political organization has been formed in France, called the Independent Socialist, Left (Gauche Indépendent Socialiste). It represents a fusion of leading personalities from the extinct RDR (Revolutionary Democratic Rally) and left elements who have broken away from the Catholic center party MRP and the Socialist Party.

Among the signers of its founding manifesto are Jean Rous, general secretary of the Congress of Peoples Against Imperialism and editorialist of Franc-Tireur; Yves Dechezelles, former assistant general secretary of the Socialist Party who led its left wing into the RDR; and three members of the Chamber of Deputies, Charles d'Aragon, the Abbé Pierre-Grouès and M. P. Baulet. These three resigned from the MRP last year, denouncing its anti-working-class attitude in French domestic politics and its pro-American foreign policy, and have since operated in the Chamber as the "Independent

Left" group. Here are the most pertinent passages from its founding mani-

"Even if the present situation does not appear to carry immediately great hopes of success, it requires a labor of preparation and regroupment. Between 1946 and 1950, considering only the official figures, the Socialist Party has gone down from 350,000 members to 150,000 and the MRP has lost most of its left wing. These thousands of miltants should not be condemned to impatience and despair.

"It is in these conditions that the members of the 'Independent' Left' group, plus old members of the RDR, SP and MRP and of the various socialist currents, both Marxist and Christian, have decided to form a movement called "Independent Socialist Left.'

### AGAINST BOTH BLOCS

"Independence with respect to the strategic blocs [cold-war blocs], with the aim of creating a unified and peaceful world. founded on respect for international law, does not flow, for us, from transitory diplomatic or tactical considerations. It is a question of a fundamental conception which is opposed in principle to capitalist society and to Communist society of the Stalinist type, and of a will to construct democratic socialist society.

"Consequently, whatever our desire to defend democratic liberties and anti-capitalist and anticolonialist demands, we could not accept either Russian or American society. Those who have in advance chosen one or the other as a 'lesser evil' have sacrificed the permanent strategy of the socialist movement for an opposite tactic. They have preferred a pre-

carious policy of survival to their reason for existence.

"In the present crisis of the workers' and progressive movement, we consider that social-democracy and Stalinist Communism do not answer to the needs of revolutionary and democratic militants. We have absorbed the lessons of both, and we know their systems to be bankrupt, just as are those of certain sects, themselves replicas of the dominant parties.

"We will not neglect any occasion to collaborate in all activity in the direction of socialism or of a trade-unionism that fights for workers' control. In certain European countries we would adhere to the existing workers' parties. On the other hand, we could not participate in the Communist Parties or their satellite fronts. for lack of being able to freely defend our conceptions in them

#### NOT FOR A SECT

The creation of this organization at this particular moment is the result of several factors. First and most important, is the political vacuum created by the non-existence of any significant non-Stalinist group whose daily activity is based on defense of the workers' interests and opposition to French imperialism and the French government.

It is true that the social-demo cratic parties in other countries -Britain, Belgium, Germany, etc.-are reformist, nationalist and imperialist-minded like the French SP, but for multiple reasons they have not completely cast off the moorings between themselves and an organized working-class base. Especially today, with the German and Belgian social-democrats functioning as opposition parties, and with the British Laborites operating on the basis of an absolute majority which is used more or less to carry out significant parts of the party's program, one can see why in these countries it is possible for left-wing independent-minded socialists who are active among the workers to be active also inside such parties without compromising themselves in the workers' eyes.

But in France the unprincipled coalitionism and shameless sacrifice of the workers' most immediate interests by the SP has caused even those workers who may vote steer clear in all their organized Socialist (in desperation) to activity of any connection with this discredited party, whose composition, as a result, is now overwhelmingly made up of municipal job-seekers and middle-class elements.

This explains the passage in the manifesto where the authors state that in some countries they would join the existing workers' parties. They do not believe that a small

sect isolated from the mass move- breaking away from Nenni's ment should set itself up indepen- crypto-Stalinist "Socialist" pardently, as against developing its viewpoint within the existing mass workers' political movement.

But they believe that in France the SP is itself isolated from the working class and that only a new organization that directly opposes the existing French coalition government can compete with Stalinism for the allegiance of the French workers.

#### NEUTRALIST WAVE

It was the hope of channelizing the aspirations of the French workers that motivated the founding of the RDR, and the RDR's disappearance was directly the result of the attempt by its most prominent leaders, like Rousset and Altman, to divert the movement in the direction of support to the U. S. bloc. The new group evidently hopes to be able to appeal successfully to those who were attracted by the RDR.

But another impetus to its formation at this time is the wave of "neutralism" sweeping through French intellectual circles.

The term "neutralism" does not necessarily mean only that position which advocates that France be aloof from either the American or Russian blocs and seek to mediate between them. Instead it has, in France, come into such common use as to be applied variously to those who want to appease both camps, on the one hand, and on the other to those who see the need for building an international Third Camp of the workers and colonial peoples, which is therefore not "neutral" but actively opposed to Russia, the U.S. and the existing capitalist government of France.

In addition, the term "neutralism" is also the cover for semi Stalinists who propagate neutralism as the most practical alternative that they can offer to the Atlantic Pact. Lastly, "neutralism" is a refuge for Frenchmen seeking to establish, in case of Russian conquest, that they had not been supporters of the American alliance.

But among the French masses neutralism is more and more a vague state of mind, expressing their disillusionment rather than any close identification with any

of the currents mentioned above. Claude Bourdet, former editor of Combat, has achieved a considerable audience for his neutralist weekly L'Observateur, which mixes together a strange potpourri of all the varieties of "neutralists," together with crypto-Stalinists contributing articles side by side with Third Camp socialists and bourgeois neutralists. Amidst all this ferment, the "Independent Socialist Left" may recruit for its Third Camp program some elements whose doctrinal background may seem ing in the war mobilization. rather strange to those whose own development has been for February 3 says: "Essentialthrough Marxist channels. But ly then, government policy sums French capitalism is at a com- up to this: The U. S. will do its plete impasse, and one of the best to see that small companies marks of its doom should be the aren't forced to the wall. But it acceptance of socialist strategy won't let this interfere with getand aims by intellectuals of the ting contracts filled - WHICH most varied backgrounds, who

#### TOWARD REGROUPMENT

have been shocked into action by

the terrible crisis that faces them.

vance that such a group is doom- But splitups of big business are ed to impotence because of its intellectual heterogeneity and lack of proletarian composition. For example: in Italy, the Socialist Unity Party (PSU) of Ignazio Silone and Romita began with just such a small group composed to speak your mind in the letter of left socialist intellectuals, left Catholics and former resistance fighters until the development of the political situation gave it the opportunity to fuse with an important movement of workers

ty. Leaving aside the question of which way its politics will develop, the PSU is, at any rate, a significant movement in Italy today.

**Page Five** 

The Independent Socialist Left may supply the nucleus for a similar development in France, or it may go the way of the RDR. That depends to a considerable extent on the seriousness of its leadership and the constancy with which it adheres to the principles of its anifesto.

Thousands of "unorganized" socialist militants in France are waiting to follow a banner that they can trust, not as blind followers seeking a leader, but because they seek a movement whose leadership gives some guarantees that it will not betray. the aims and principles that animate the ranks. After the repeated betrayals and disappointments of the post-war years, the militants are wary, but their enthusiasm can be roused by a display of determination and devotion to principle.

It is by no means to be assumed that the new group will be what they are seeking, but we can only welcome the possibility of such a new regroupment.

#### 'Martial Plan''

A leader of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce has called for the transformation of the Marshall Plan into a "Martial Plan," the pun being his. George A. Sloan, who is also a director of U.S. Steel, said he looked on the ECA. as the agency which should serve as the central agency for distributing armaments to the Atlantic Pact states.

### **Rent Hike**

The government claims it is trying to get landlords to freeze rents, but at the same time, as a landlord itself, it is increasing rents.

Rent increases of from 28 to 41 per cent have been ordered by the Atomic Energy Commission for workers occupying government housing at the installations in Oak Ridge and Richland, Washington

Local AFL unions have vigorously protested the rent hike. Said the AFL's Brownlow: "The workers are faced with the incongruous situation of having the government freeze their wages while at the same time increasing their rents.'

### "Favoring **Big Business**"

As in the Second World War, small business is getting a rook-

The magazine Business Weeks MEANS FAVORING BIG BUSL NESS. This same thinking applies to anti-trust. There'll be some suits involving price-fixing, limitation of production, and It cannot be assumed in ad- withholding from the market. over for the duration."

## You're Invited

column of L.A. Our policy is to publish letters of general political interest, regardless of views. Keep them to 500 words.

	19:12				
HANDY	WAY	то	SUB	SCR	I B
	LA	BOR	AC	TION	V
111 32	The	Independe	ent Sociali	st Weekly	
LABUNI				N. Y. C	÷
	6-8-1 · · ·		14) - E-X	a shaft and a state of the	
Please enter	my subscrip	tion:	NEW		AL.
	Six months				
	One year	- 3100 mg/ 2 mm - 3		(1997) (1997)	8 No.
	· · ·	/			
NAME		PLEASE P	RINT)		
ADDRESS	12			APT	
Tari tari	· · · · ·	·	• . •. •.		
CITY		ZON	VE 1	STATE	
E Bill ma	lavourant anal	. (			1
□ Bill me □ P	ayment encl	. (stamps	s, currenc	y or posta	i not

# Page Eight

ering with it. lona.

It is addressed, by necessity, to the American labor movement above all-to the AFL and CIO whose leaders, at the founding congress of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, pledged themselves to prevent any aid by their government to the hated fascist dictatorship.

## POUM'S INFLUENCE

Third Camp position on war and complete hostility to Stalinism.

tation across the border. IN SPECIAL ISSUE

the center of the front page: the Barcelona people.

ward a decisive struggle for the

The special issue features three from Barcelona: a lead article written before the general strike itself on "The Struggle Against the Streetcar Company"; a second article by the same correspondent on "Some Aspects of the Movement"; and a report, dated two days after

Get ALL your books We can supply you!

Available:

New York 11, N. Y.

March 26, 1951

Socialist Underground Appeal-

(Continued from page 1)

In this situation the important thing for American workers to remember is that one of Franco's main cards right

now is the financial aid and international face-lifting that he is getting from Washington. While the heroic people of the embattled Catalonian capital are sacrificing to throw the Franco regime off their backs, U. S. Ambassador Griffis is toadying to it and dick-

---

This is the significance of the appeal of the underground organization of the POUM in Barce-

The POUM (the initials, used as its common designation, stand for Workers Party of Marxist Unity) is the socialist movement in the Catalonian region. The other strong movement among the workers there is that of the Anarchists. The strength of the Stalinists is negligible; the Spanish Socialist Party is weak. Unlike the SP, the POUM is a left socialist movement; it holds to a

The appeal of the Barcelona underground is printed in a special issue of its organ La Batalla, dated March 19. The copy we have received is printed on thin tissuelike paper, since it is one of those put out, by the central headquarters of the party in emigration in France, for smuggling in large quantities across the border into Spain, It is known that the POUM has perhaps the best apparatus. of all the anti-Franco groups operating from France, for transpor-

The special issue of La Batalla carries the following report in

"All advices received to date confirm that the underground organization of the POUM actively participated in the struggle of

"Our comrades in the interior tract.' devoted enormous efforts to unify the action of the Resistance and to orient the movement which was unleashed in Barcelona to-

downfall of the Francoist regime. The party organization in emigration is proud of them. . . . You are not alone, comrades!"

from Labor Action Book Service 114 West 14 Street New York 11, N. Y.

### **BOUND VOLUMES** Labor Action 1945 to 1949 \$3.00 a volume Order from: Labor Action Book Service 114 West 14 Street

the outbreak of the strike, on the police repression and arrests in Barcelona. [The important sections of these articles will appear in translation in next week's LA-BOR ACTION-Ed.]. In addition, a front-page editorial proclaims "The Hour for Action." "We are at the beginning of the end" of the Franco regime, it says, and calls for the concentration of all anti-Franco forces against the fascists.

"Late reports inform us." it says, "that the underground oragnizations and the workers' groups formed spontaneously in the factories have formed a plan to launch a new general strike next Monday with the aim of preventing mass firings and of demanding the freeing of the prisoners.

Another editorial is headed "Unity of Action!" and an article by Luis Soto draws "First Lessons" from the Barcelona movement. A notice calls for "General

Mobilization of the POUM," addressed "to all sections of the party in emigration." It urges sections must get into contact with the sections of the other workers' and republican organizations and consider in common ways and means of bringing to bear urgently needed support to the fighters of Catalonia."

#### A LESSON

A cut reprdouces a throwaway which "was widely distributed during the streetcar strike." It is simply a card with the words: "In Memory of Juan Moreno Ruiz-Five Years Old-Assassinated by the Spanish Police." There is no indication as to who issued it.

Here in the U.S. press, a dispatch by the N. Y. Times correspondent Sam Pope Brewer (March 19) contains the significant comment:

"It [the general strike] was dangerous for the regime because for the first time the people had discovered that when their indignation reached a certain point they could protest effectively."

He adds:

"Barcelona's general strike was the most serious blow the Franco March 12, everybody responded that "Without more delay, our regime has had to face since the civil war ended nearly twelve years ago. It was seen as an indication that unless reforms are carried out real trouble may follow.

#### WIDE SUPPORT

"There was a certain deadly calm about this protest against the economic situation that gave it special importance. It indicated this was no abortive uprising staged by Communists, but a general and reasoned protest backed by almost the entire community. "Individuals as varied as militant members of the Falange, foreign businessmen and proprietors of the factories affected by the strike have expressed their approval of the movement. . . .

"Foreign observers were astounded at the unanimity of the public response to the boycott Lof the streetcars, prior to the strike]. The protest was sufficient to cause the return of the streetcar fares to the old level but already the Washington in propping up this public had discovered its strength. shaky and disintegrating regime?

When word circulated there was to be a general work stoppage without knowing who had started the word around."

#### UP TO U. S.

The reference to support of the fight by some Falangists, businessman, etc., is by no means unbelievable, though it is not independently confirmed. It is well known that the deep-going rot and corruption of the Franco regime has affected every section of the population, and that there is widespread disgust and disaffection even in bourgeois circles. It was the workers, however, as always, who launched the struggle, are bearing the brunt of it, and alone can be depended on to carry it through.

Now that the Spanish workers have started the struggle for the "beginning of the end" of the Franco tyranny, will the labor leaders of this country's trade. unions still maintain their attitude of resigned quiescence toward the shameful policy of

# **AFL-CIO Parley Shows**

(Continued from page 1) the extent of the control of the whole mobilization program by big business.

What moved them was every expression of a fighting determination to resist the attack which the government and big business has mounted against the standard of living and the organization of the American workers, and to organize for a counter-offensive.

They cheered most loudly when Phil Murray said: "No, said these stabilizers, if a stable cost-of-living contract bumps into our rigid formula, the contract will have to be violated. The stabilizers well knew they were risking instability in half a dozen of our most workers had fought for those conthem.'

They cheered most loudly when Walter Reuther said, with reference to labor's relation to the moa grievance committee working out a few grievances. We are negotiating an entire new con-

#### DENOUNCE SETUP

The condemnation of the mobilization setup was extremely

vigorous. Said William Green: "Behold the picture! At the top of the structure sits the one-man czar of the defense program, Charles E. Wilson, ex-president of the giant General Electric Corporation. Beside him are two hand-picked corporation direc tors, to carry out his bidding. Beneath them are ranged lesser Lusiness executives, each one chosen from a particular industry to make defense policies affecting that industry.

"Thus, furniture price and production policies are made by men selected from big furniture companies, clothing prices and policies are taken care of by executives drawn from big clothing firms-and so right down the line. Believe me, these representatives of business are taking god care of their own businesses.

"Where does the public interest fit into this picture? Where does labor fit into the picture? Nowhere!"

Said Philip Murray:

"These businessmen have shown an intent to force the workers of this country into a narrow, blind alley. On one side: a rigid, unbending wage formula. On the other side, the malicious, provocative provisions of the Taft-Hartley anti-labor law.

"Big business, in effect, is say-

ing: We are rich; if need be, we will toss you a penny or two to keep you from grumbling too loud. That is all we will afve you.

"But if you aspire to some of the better things of life-more satisfactory pensions or medical care or welfare provisions, or improved working conditions, or a greater degree of security for yourself or your union-then big business has its answer.

"Its answer is a club-the Taft-Hartley Act.

"Were we wrong in getting excited? Should we have accepted this hangman's noose for our free labor movement? Should we have signed the terms of our own death warrant, instead of having vital industries; they knew that fought as hard as we know how for a decent wage and disputes tracts, and would fight, on the formula, for equality of sacrifice, picket line if necessary, to keep for fair play in the mobilization program?'

#### TRUMAN GOES SCOT-FREE

Yet one note was lacking both bilization setup: "We are not in from the platform and in the resolutions adopted in the afternoon. With two exceptions, to be noted below, no one referred to the specific role of President Truman and the responsibility of the Truman administration and the Democratic Party which it represents for the whole mess in Wash-

"And we are excited," said Murray, "because the direction of this defense mobilization pro-. has slipped into the gram . . hands of a clique of men who represent only one attitude: the attitude of the top executive offices of big business."

And "United Labor's Declaratio nof Principles," adopted unanimously at the afternoon session, states: "As the defense mobilization program has unfolded, we have come to the inescapable conclusions that the democratic principle of equality of sacrifice has been abandoned by the Congress and by those charged with the administration of the mobilization program."

In every case, both speakers and resolutions carefully avoided specific mention of Truman's role. They carefully avoided any hint that labor's alliance with the Democratic Party has ended in the present crisis.

At most they called for the adstructive and aggressive leader- goes, "I keep asking myself what ship," or complained that "the can we do to effectuate this proadministration has not fought gram. . . . We must work on the hard enough to protect the public interest." These leaders of labor acted as if they hope to defeat one of the partners in it.

There were two exceptions. The afternoon session on March 21 was given over to adoption of the Declaration of Principles and "United Labor's Program for Action." After each of these documents was read from the platform, "discussion" from the floor was opened. It was clear that the chairman was prepared to accept one speech from an AFL leader and one from a CIO man, with prearranged speakers.

#### MAZEY SPEAKS UP

But after these men were through, and before Murray could call the question on the Program for Action, Emil Mazey, secretary-treasurer of the United Automobile Workers (CIO), stood up in the front row and aggressively asked for the floor. Murray could hardly ignore him, especially as another man, Ed Wells of the Central Labor Union of Knoxville, Tennessee, was also demanding the floor quite loudly.

Mazey started by saying that he felt one phase of the problem had not been adequately covered. He pointed out that Truman had gained re-election in 1948 by stumping the country for a Fair Deal program. But, he said, the president has put forth a feeble effort for the Fair Deal, and has now appointed Wilson who is give ing labor and the American people a raw deal. He has the responsibility to remove Wilson. He cannot escape his share of the responsibility for the confusion and injustice which exists in the whole in which we are going to get a Fair Deal is to go back to the country and to elect people from our own ranks to office who will represent us and not big business.

It seems reasonable to believe that Mazey did not make this speech as a result of a personal decision. It is much more likely that this was an attempt by the Reuther leadership in the UAW-CIO to make at least a gesture which would differentiate it from the rest of the labor leadership which was beating about the bush on this most vital question.

#### PROGRAM OF ACTION

Ed Wells stated that although the grievances of labor had been well presented, and the program ministration to "exert more con- of action was good as far as it Truman administration. We must tell them that eventually we will walk out of the Truman administhe unholy alliance which con- tration . . . that we are ready to fronts them by not mentioning walk away from it, and eventually establish a democratic labor as long as they stay in it.

party in this country to combat the Truman policy of holding hands with big business.'

In the atmosphere of, and with the composition of the delegates to, this conference, Wells' speech -which furthermore, unfortunately sounded neither well-prepared nor delivered - received only a lukewarm hand.

The United Labor Conference went on record for a pretty good program for rent control, housing, price control, equitable taxation, and the like. Their program of action consists in good part of the usual idea of putting pressure on Congress by sending telegrams, obbying, and developing a strong publicity campaign.

Perhaps the most important point in the program reads: "To help establish local consumer committees through which the people may be fully advised of developments in Washington, violas tions of price regulations may be publicized, and to cooperate with public-spirited merchants for local anti-inflation programs."

#### COMPROMISE COMING?

On balance, important as this demonstration of the solidarity of the labor movement is, it must be said that this first United Labor Conference fell far short of what the rank and file of labor have a' right to expect from their leaders. Many of the speeches sounded militant and even uncompromising in their condemnation of the whole Washington setup. But no real political road out of the crisis was sought or found.

In fact, the failure to point the finger at the Truman administra tion, and the repeated insistence that what is most needed is to pu labor on a basis of "equality" in the mobilization, program, leave plenty of room for a compromise which will seek to smooth over the basic conflict.

It should be remembered that the men assembled in Washington were all top labor officials. No one from the factories was there. The conference met for such a short time that it could not but be a sounding-board for the United Labor Policy Committee rather than a real planning conference. And the most important fact of all was that no program was presented which can get the labor movement out of the blind alley -both the blind alley to which Murray referred, and the more important political blind alley of supporting the Democratic Party which condemns the great power of the fifteen million organized American workers to impotence