

WIVES, INCORPORATED: **Corporations & the 'Mechanical Bride** ... page 3

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'Marxism for Today': New Feature

.. page 4

80-85 Percent of Truman **Budget Goes for the War**

The president's economic report and his budget message do little more than to dot the i's and cross the t's on his State of the Union message. They clarify the central political fact of 1952: the complete subordination of the "Fair Deal" to the permanent war economy, and the essential agreement of the Republican and Democratic Parties which has been achieved as the result of scuttling the Fair Deal.

The staggering size of the budget has raised cries of pain from representatives of both parties in Congress. A federal expenditure of some \$85.4 billion is something to give pause even to Americans who have become accustomed to astronomical monetary figures. A deficit of almost \$15 billions, which is a larger figure than the total budget for any year of Roosevelt's New Deal up to 1942 is something to ponder for a nation which is already paying out over \$6 billion a year in interest on the national

Yet it is generally recognized that little if anything will come of the demand for "economy." The government will start the 1953 fiscal year (starting July 1, 1952) with almost \$73 billion in funds already appropriated or authorized by Congress. The commitments are already so huge that only small sums can be shaved here and there unless Congress is to reverse its whole previous policy, and even these sums will have to come out of the tiny part of the budget assigned to carrying on the "civilian" work of the gov-

The story of the scuttling of the Fair Deal is told in the figures for what is now called "national security programs," (Turn to last page)



IT'S REUTHER vs. REUTHER But Companies Applaud His 'New Technique'

DETROIT, Jan. 18-Although it wasn't intended, two policy speeches delivered during the past week in Washington, D. C. gave the appearance of a debate between the public fig-

Just a few days after Walter P. Reuther, president of the United Auto Workers (CIO), spoke in the caucus room of the capitol, demanding more steel for the auto industry, Winston Churchill, speaking for the Tory government of England, asked for congressional approval of more steel

Each claimed that if his point of view prevailed, it would be in the interests of "defense."

man of the Housing Com- people. mittee of the CIO didn't blast both those viewpoints, and chairman of this Housing demand steel and other ma- Committee happens to be the terial for housing-a real same Walter Reuther makes public-works housing pro- difficult the presentation of gram that is badly needed to this third point of view. clear up the terrible slum As a solution for the unareas, including those in De-

point of a labor leader, con- Reuther? cerned with the basic prob-

What a pity that the chair-, lem of the welfare of the

Perhaps the fact that the

employment problems of Michigan and elsewhere, Then a contrast between what is a sounder social apthose politicians whose main proach: demanding steel and concern is to prepare this war work in the auto shops, nation for war, could have or the housing program ad- rather than building war been made with the view- vocated in 1949 by Walter materials which might be

Speaking before the Sen-

ate Banking Committee in February 1949, Walter Reuther proposed using idle aircraft and other plants for building 20,000,000 lowpriced prefabricated houses. The project would cost \$120 billion over a sixty-year period, according to Reuther then, Suppose that program were compressed into two ten-year periods, the cost in relation to the annual military budget in America would still be almost a trifle.

WHAT'S CHANGED?

Senators who object to another part of the UAW present program, namely to increase unemployment compensation for auto workers. could hardly object to a demand for work instead of what they call a "handout."

Would the auto workers be happier building new homes they could live in digging their own graves? (Turn to last page)

Calif. Americaneers Join ABOR BORDE To Outlaw Race Democracy

By B. ARNOLD

OAKLAND, Calif., Jan. 15-One of the most dangerously reactionary legislative proposals affecting civil rights that has ever been submitted to the American people anywhere may appear on the ballot in California at the 1952 general election this coming November. This is the so-called "Freedom of Choice" amendment to the state constitution, which seeks to legalize all forms of discrimination. It is being sponsored by an organization known as "America Plus Incorporated."

A newcomer to the ranks of organized reaction, America Plus was quietly formed in Los Angeles last July for the purpose, according to its official statement, "of fighting Communism and Socialistic government wherever it finds it." Claiming to be a national organization, America Plus is now engaged in its first public campaign here in California.

It will come as no surprise to observers of the California scene that State Senator Jack B. Tenney of Los Angeles is listed as national chairman of the group. This is the same Tenney who for many years was the head of the notorious Tenney Committee, which investigated alleged un-American activities in the state by smearing as "red" liberal and progressive groups. He is now generally considered to be the chief spokesman for the most reactionary elements in the state.

According to the literature now being publicly circulated by America Plus, its proposed amendment would "restore to the individual businessman and private-property owner his right to choose his own guests, patrons, tenants, neighbors and employees." A second provision provides that "every employer, except as otherwise provided by contract with employee groups, would of his own free discretion have the right to refuse to employ other persons."

BEHIND THE PHRASES

"Private - property owners," states a third provision, "who live in the same neighborhood shall have the right to contract with each other concerning the occupancy of private housing accommodations in such areas, and to organize associations for that purpose.

Behind these phrases there is being proposed one of the most drastic and far-reaching attempts yet made to restrict civil rights. This proposed constitutional amendment would not only outlaw and prevent fair-employment practices laws in California, but would legalize restrictive covenants in property deeds, as well as per- and the San Francisco Chronicle mitting racial, religious and na- has strongly attacked it in edimotels, inns, restaurants, theatres and all other businesses which serve and cater to the public.

While all these forms of discrimination exist to one degree or another everywhere in California, especially against Negroes, Mexicans and Orientals, they are in the main (where not already specifically banned by law) subjects for proposed legal prohibition. Restrictive covenants were outin its now famous decision.

A California statute of many years' standing specifically prohibits discrimination against race or nationality in public eating places, though violation of this is common and enforcement is ne-

Los Angeles recently; and while defeated at the moment, they have powerful groups supporting their passage. A vigorous campaign for a state FEPC law went down to defeat a few years ago, but is still being proposed in the legislature.

"ANTI-COMMUNIST" MASK

The title "Freedom of Choice" for this proposed amendment is mere sham and hypocrisy. In actuality the measure would freeze into law of the highest authority, by constitutional amendment, (the most difficult to repeal or alter), the very forms and practices of discrimination which all liberals and progressives everywhere have been fighting for years to abolish. If adopted, this amendment would legally permit and authorize unlimited discrimination in public services, employment and residence against Jews, Catholics, Negroes, Orientals, Mexicans, and in theory at least, even white Protestants in localities or areas where they may be in a minority.

It would bring to California and enact into law the very worst racist and segregation practices of the Jim Crow South. Under the guise of fighting "Communism" it would set social progress back decades.

The campaign to put the "Freedom of Choice" initiative on the ballot has just begun. In order to qualify for the November 1952 general election ballot, at least 305,000 valid signatures must be obtained. America Plus is already engaged in this and is now attempting to raise \$75,000 to finance the initial moves.

OPPONENTS ORGANIZE

A professional signature-soliciting firm has been hired and has announced that actual soliciting of signatures will begin shortly. Past experience in this state has shown that any organization possessing sufficient funds and waging a well-organized campaign has generally been able to secure the required number of signatures to get its measure on the ballot.

Fortunately, strong opposition to this dangerous proposal has already begun to manifest itself. Organizations such as the NAACP, ADA, ACLU, B'nai B'rith, the Los Angeles and San Francisco Councils of Civic Unity, as well as the San Francisco and Alameda County Central Labor Councils and the California State CIO, have passed resolutions condemning America Plus and its "Freedom of Choice" amendment.

In addition, several Catholic and Protestant church groups have gone on record opposing it torials. Better yet, an attempt is being made in San Francisco to set up a joint-action committee of all groups opposed to the amendment if and when the proposed initiative qualifies for the

However, this "Freedom of Choice" amendment is so blatantly and obviously reactionary that there is great danger that the liberal groups and organized labor in California may not take lawed by the U.S. Supreme Court it seriously enough to fight it effectively.

TEST FOR REACTION

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While not much is known at present concerning the backers of America Plus aside from the fact that its leaders are notorious gleeted. Proposals for local FEPC reactionaries, it is feared that laws have been before the city cnce its initiative qualifies for councils of San Francisco and general election ballot it will be

able to secure large sums of money for the campaign in November.

It is known that various local real-estate groups are closely. watching the degree of success the initiative has; and it is expected that once qualifying for the ballot, they will support its passage. These venal outfits support restrictive covenants and have shown their strength repeatedly of late as they defeated public housing. measures and rent control bills.

In addition, all the other reactionary elements of the state will probably coalesce around America Plus once it shows signs of real strength.

Every possible effort must be made to expose America Plus for what it is-an avowedly reactionary and pro-fascist organization. Its so-called "Freedom of Choice" amendment must be fought now. and if qualified for the ballot, it must be roundly defeated in the coming general election. Once on ballot mere resolutions the against it will not suffice. All organized labor, along with liberal and the various minority racial and national groups in California must organize for a vigorous battle against America Plus, its vicious proposed "Freedom of Choice" amendment and all else this dangerous movement stands. for. To stand idly by on the theory that such a proposal can never pass is to ignore the times.

AFL, CIO Oppose More 'Anti-Red' Laws By BEN HALL

Both the CIO and the AFL are opposed to any government intervention against unions still controlled by the Communist Party. Not, of course, because they would be lenient, toward Stalinism in the labor movement but because they know that such legislation would give a quick impulse toward state domination of the labor movement.

This they made clear in their replies to an inquiry from Senator Humphrey, who heads a Senate committee on labor-management relations and who asked them how they would advise the government to proceed against the Stalinist leadership of certain unions.

The heads of the two major labor federations are not men to be guided by what appears to them as an abstract principle; they have never frowned upon the activities of government officials, solicited or unsolicited, who busied themselves on the side of said union leaders in NLRB elections where Stalinist unions were contenders. In the fight with the UE (CP-led electrical union), the CIO leadership of the IUE saw nothing wrong in the intervention of Secretary of Labor Tobin.

The reaction to Humphrey's query must be an index to the uneasiness of the labor officials and their real fears of state controls based upon their most recent experiences.

For the AFL, George Meany replied very simply: Repeal the initiated by the man they helped Taft-Hartley Law. This was his send to the White House.

only suggestion on how the goyernment might fight Stalinism in the unions.

PRESENT TENSE, PLEASE

For the CIO, Phil Murray was more expository. Existing laws, he said, were adequate for dealing with sabotage and espionage in the factories. And he added, "We believe that if the government undertakes to determine what unions can represent workers in this country, it will have embarked upon the long trail toward government control of unions. In the dictatorships of the world, unions exist at the sufferance of the state. We in America do not want to take a single

The only error in Murray's fine statement is the use of the future tense. "We" have already taken many steps toward state controls over unions. Such was and is the Taft-Hartley Law. Such was the Truman administration's actions against the coal miners more than once; against the copper miners; and in the dozens of injunctions it directed against unions. And in fact, Murray must know, such was Truman's threat only a few weeks ago to send the steel workers back to work under a Taft-Hartley injunction.

The attitude of the AFL and CIO in this case are encouraging. It would be more encouraging if they denounced day by day all steps toward government domination of unions, especially those

step in that direction."

CLEVELAND, Jan. 12-The strike workers urging them to return to have been paying house visits to

want it, that's blood money."

minded him that, come his 50th year of service with the company. there would be no \$500 bonus for him. The striker cried out: "I don't

This is a fight for the preservation of the union. A defeat at White would mean a defeat for the labor movement. The lack of practical support from CIO locals here has been pathetic. The Union Leader, Cleveland Industrial Union Council-indorsed newspaper, has been urging . CIO locals to give financial support but little has been forthcoming. Local 707 of the IUE-CIO (General Electric local) has been contributing \$100 each week. Pledges of financial support were made at the district meeting, and it is to be hoped they will be carried out.

Cleveland IUE Strike in 20th Week

at the White Sewing Machine Company is now entering its 20th week. The militant young president of Local 721 of the CIO electrical workers, Jake Epstein, gave a rousing report on the battle at the last district council meeting.

The White Sewing Machine management has urged cooperation from Cleveland industries to refuse to hire the strikers. Employees engaged in the skilled trades were refused the right toenter the plant to remove the tools of their trade. The company has urged "loyal" company people to break through the picket lines. These people were wives of the foremen and other relatives of big shots in the company.

Approximately 1200 people work in this plant and foremen

work, promising them good jobs, bonuses and top seniority. Thus far only 60 to 70 people have crossed the picket lines. A backto-work movement was initiated on January 2 and when a few hundred pickets turned out en masse to halt this move the company obtained an injunction to limit mass picketing.

The backbone of the strike has been the old union people, men 50 and 60 years of age, their interest being the pension plan. With 50 years of service with the company, a bonus of \$500 is paid to a worker.

One, John Sushich, with 49 years service with the company, shouted at a foreman's wife crossing the picket lines, reprimanding her for her action. A foreman re-

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January 28, 1952

Wives, Incorporated **Corporations Put Mrs. Executive Through the Assembly Line**

By MARY BELL

a trois.

The eternal triangle has taken on a new form for wives of the managerial caste, with the husband in most cases running a poor second to the corporation in the ménage

That the wife is a part of the corporation "family" has been revealed in the results of 230 intensive personal interviews with wives of a representative sampling of the corporation executives of 100 companies, conducted by Fortune magazine and summarized by William H. Whyte in its October and November 1951 issues.

The trend of this research into coroporation mores shows, on the part of about one-quarter of the corporations surveyed, a drift toward conformity: intervention by the corporation into the personal lives of its executives, their wives and even their children, in order to attempt to regiment their beliefs and modes of behaviour to accord with corporate needs

The typical expression of the corporate view was made by a roofing company president who stated: "We consider the home an integral part of this corporation." Another said: "When a man comes to work for us, we think of the Sompany as employing the family, for it will be supporting the entire family, not merely the breadwinner."

Thomas J. Watson of IBM: "Our wives are part of the business . . . we always refer to our people as the IBM family."-IBM establishes the pattern of many companies in furnishing "complete social satisfactions" for its "family." As Whyte points out in his Life magazine condensation of the survey: "For \$1 a year IBM people enjoy a country club with swimming pool, bowling, 18-hole golf course, softball,tennis, picnics and parties of all kinds. Even the children are integrated. [Words like "Integration" and "group-mindedness" are 'frequent in the new corporate

High-Priced Serfs

vocabulary.]-

finiforms."

corporation."

Read it!

At the age of 3 they may be enrolled in a special children's club, and at 8 go on to become junior members of the big club." Dorothy Dunbar Bromley, in her excellent New Leader article on the Fortune survey, comments: "Perhaps the little boys, before long, will be wearing IBM

The dominant expression of the corporate benevolent Big Brothers is typified by the following:

"Management, therefore, has a challenge and an obligation to deliberately plan and create a favorable constructive attitude on the part of the wife that will liberate her husband's total energies for his job."

As one reads of the attempts to "integrate" wives into the corporate existence, one can only hail the exceptional executive who said: "What do some of these companies want for their \$10,000? Slavery, too?" Or even the oldfashioned non-conformist who dismissed concern for the distaff half with: "Wives talk too much."

The corporations are getting the kind of wives they prefer among the current generation of executive spouses. The ideal corporate wife, they find, is "adaptable," "gregarious" and fully aware that "her husband belongs to the

Out of the Mold

While the corporations find that office work before marriage is helpful to the executive's prospective bride, a serious career is vetoed by all, wives, husbands and corporations. College, however, is considered a summum bonum for the executive's wife. It is not so much that a college education is important in itself, but rather that the wife might have an inferiority complex about not having been to college. Whyte puts it, "It is very important not to have not gone to college." But intellectualism is frowned upon; it is a source of danger to the chances of the husband's advancement

And the corporations are getting from the college as-

"VPERED''

is the organ of the Ukrainian socialist resistance movement, published by its section in emigration in West Germany, recording the thinking and activities of the new anti-Stalinist underground fighting behind the Iron Curtain. It is written in Ukrainian, of course, but an English summary of the contents appears in each imme. For Ukrainian friends, Vpered is a must. Others will find the English page of extreme interest-and can help the movement by subscribing. One dollar for 5 issues.

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A basic pamphlet— "SOCIALISM: THE HOPE OF HUMANITY" by Max Shachtman

10 cents Labor Action Book Service 114 West 14 Street, N. Y. C.

sembly-line wives that are assembled, trimmed, polished, inspected, and gadgeted, ready for "integration." One executive speaks for the rest when he says of the model cornorate wife that "she should do enough reading to be a good conversationalist." "Keeping herself so she is comfortable with people on the boss' level is important." says another. "I don't think reading and music and that kind of stuff are vital." Or: "Sure, I want her to read good books and magazines. I don't want her to make a fool of herself in conversation."

The husbands also consider first among the necessities for a good wife that she should be a good listener. The interviewers found that most executives felt their wives did not measure up to this standard, and further, that they showed neither knowledge of nor interest in what they were doing. It was also felt that "Automatically, we build ourselves up to them. It all comes back to the fact. I guess, that anyway you really want her to stay at home."

If a wife is so out of line as to read Harper's or the Atlantic, she will conceal them under the Reader's Digest when any of the corporate "family" come to call. The corporations want the college education but none of the interest in ideas that should go with it. Business management Dorothy Dunbar Bromley points out, should "approve, if it is not behind" the move to differentiate between the educational needs of men and women as exemplified in Educating Our Daughters, by Lynn White, Jr., president of Mills College.

Home is Where The S is

Yet, while apparently the corporate ideal for women is to marry and raise a family intelligently, the corporation scarcely lets her have it that way, either. The most pointed expression of the cause of this corporate conflict is the belief expressed by the executive who said: "The successes here are guys who eat and sleep the company. If a man's first interest is his wife and family, more power to him, but we don't want him."

The corporation seems to have succeeded in putting home life in its place-second, that is to the job-or to have molded the executive to their ideal. The management psychologists have found, at least, that the average executive can repress his home worries on the job, but not vice versa. Yet the "successes" of the above definition often become frustrated at home, and the corporations must employ consulting psychologists to deal with such problems.

The recurrent expressions for the job among the younger executives are "treadmill," "twirl," "whirlpool," "rat-race," and "merry-go-round." The wives are often sensitive to the physical and mental disabilities that result from the pursuit of success, and, in concern for their husbands' health and well being, try to exercise some restraint. However, the surveyors concluded that when confronted with the material advantages that go with a higher income and the disadvantages of a lower, the concern for the husband's welfare in most cases went by the board.

Interchangeable Part

Most of the virtues of the ideal wife translate themselves in practice to being negative in character. The good wife is distinguished "by not doing things-by not complaining when her husband works late; by not fussing when a transfer is coming up, by not engaging in any controversial activity." A bad wife, conversely, is "one who obtrudes too much.

"Resolutely anti-feminist, she [the good wife] conceives of her role to be that of a 'stabilizer'-the keeper of the retreat, the one who rests and rejuvenates the man for the next day's battle." Good wives are also referred to by such choice corporation-executive epithets as "wailing walls," "sounding boards," "refueling stations," "Low-key 'stabilizing'" is the corporativistic phrase employed by Whyte as being the managerial view of the good wife's

The life of the striving corporation executive is a nomadic one on account of the decentralization of industry, and hence the good wife is exposed to be flexible about where she will live. What section of the country, as well as what section of the community she lives in are often automatically determined by the position of her husband on the corporate scale. One veteran of 27 moves justified them by contending that a man gets soft if he lives too long in one place. Sometimes the corporation puts up the house and thus reinforces integration.

Sometimes the wife lags behind in the moves upward in caste. If she is not an "interchangeable social part" serious problems are presented for the executive on the rise. When an "outgrown wife" is at stake, the companies often applaud the acquisition of a new part, or partner, by means of divorce and remarriage to someone more suitable for the role of executive's wife.

Training for Snobbery

One executive complained of a certain wife's lack of skill in deftly manipulating her way among the social strata saying that "she is nice to everyone and thinks that if you are that way, everyone will be nice to you." As a result of the demands of her existence, the corporation wife develops a "social professionalism," with the emphasis upon "constructive relations."

A wife complains: "It's tough. You have got to leave behind your old friends. You have to weigh the people you invite to parties. You have to be careful of who you send Christmas cards to and who you don't. It sounds like snobbery, but it's just something you have to do. You have to be a boss's wife."

The prescription for the wife's getting along in the company includes: not talking shop with The Girls; not turning up at the office unless she has to; not getting too chummy with the wives of associates her husband might soon pass on the way up; not being disagreeable to any company people she meets; being attractive; being a 'phone pal of her husband's secretary; never getting tight at a company party.

Conflicts result from the disparity between the conditions of the executive at work and those at home. The interviewers found out that a minor satrap of a big firm, who commands many office servants and the destinies of many men under him and a drawing account and who travels in style, may do the dishes at home. Many men, as they rise in the company, are seen to "grow" while their wives remain static. Some corporations are aware of and try to aid in solving such difficulties. (They encourage the wives to play golf and go on occasional business trips with their husbands!)

Corporation Brides

"Gracious" is the most favored adjective among these corporation brides. They aspire to a kind of "First Lady Ideal," embodying grace, pose and noblesse oblige.

One half of the companies interviewed use the wifescreening process, and some screen fiancées too. Corporations definitely have wife problems, since 20 percent of their trainee applications are turned down on account of their wives. Among the techniques of screening are social interviews, group meetings and planned casual luncheons and parties. They may check up on the wife's credit ratings and popularity in the community. If the wife has sufficient capital, this may mitigate her husband's ambition.

In the Container Corporation of America, the vice-presidents have to scrutinize their field representatives' wives. Sometimes the "wife has absolutely no sense of public relations." Or, she is "negative in her attitude toward the company-business is her husband's life and no part of hers." Executive futures "have been irretrievably influenced by that fourth martini."

Even cooperative wives must be sold the corporation's point of view. Films are shown and brochures are mailed to the wives explaining, for instance, the necessity for travel and long hours. Among insurance firms, the pressure is heavy. Advice is given to the wife: "if you do not know what certain popular contracts will do, you will occasionally find use for the knowledge in the bridge-table conversation . . ."

Clinic for Conformity

In the case of one firm, when the executive reaches the \$8-10,000 bracket, his wife is eligible for a kind of "finishing school" which teaches her proper grooming, clothes selection, where to dine, etc. In the case of the salesman's wife, where the pressure is also heavy, the wife is an excellent economic lever. "Wife plans" are used whereby sales quotas are brought to the attention of wives. Prizes are likely to be mixmasters, deep freezers, etc. Some executives write letters to the wives. Some wives help to put over contracts.

Martin Revson of the Revion Products Corporation has developed the "Psycho-Revion Theory." He runs "Wives' Clinics." The wives are advised: "The irregularity of his life is a form of insurance. Marriage counsellors are always warning husbands and wives not to take each other for granted . . . if he doesn't feel like playing bridge . . . you get your bridge-playing . . . during afternoons." If he comes home too late to see the kids, "keep 'em up, it won't kill them." If the husband has a lot of paper work, the wife is urged to learn typing.

Even the editors of Fortune are somewhat afraid of the picture revealed in "Wives of Management." They write, "Conformity, it would appear, is being elevated into something akin to a religion. The Orwellian 1984, let us add, is still some way off, but there is a growing emphasis on 'adapting' that has already reached absurd propor They admit that the individualist, rugged or otherwise, is regarded as an eccentric or misfit.

Fortune quotes an executive of a group-integrating corporation as saying of a deceased colleague: "You know, he was a terrifically stimulating person. He was the last character I ever knew. I sometimes wonder whether we'll ever get any more."

Fortune considers that this "group-mindedness" and conformism is a modern cultural phenomenon without pointing out that its center is the very corporate structure it surveys. The radiation is outward from the corporate center and the passion to conform is encouraged, demanded, by corporate control of all the avenues of communication and education, from radio and newspaper advertising to colleges and universities.



Thursday, January 31 at 8:30 p.m.

Science, Culture and the Purges in Russia

Speaker: E. R. McKinney

At Labor Action Hall, 114 West 14 Street, N.Y.C. 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 holds power, is a brutal totalitarianism—a new form of exploitation. Its agents in every country, the Communist Parties, are unrelenting enemies of socialism and have nothing in common with socialism—which cannot exist without effective democratic control by the people.

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

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

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INTRODUCING A NEW COLUMN FEATURE

We want to explain, by way of introducing a new feature column to the pages of LABOR ACTION, what it will seek to be. "Marxism for Today" will share this space, on an irregular schedule, with "You and Science," as worthwhile subjects come up for either column.

In general, "Marxism for Today" will comment on discussions of Marxist ideas in current press literature, including magazines and newspapers. There is no lack of opportunity-or, if you wish, provocation. The contemporary international situation has bred a bumper crop of "experts" and "authorities" on Marxism in this country, some of whom have even read the Communist Manifesto all the way through. There are also lesser pundits, who never found even so much necessary, who are not loath to toss off brief but cogent pronouncements on the subject, in capsule form suitable for subway readers.

One thing should be clear, also, about what this column is not. It will not compete with The New International; in the space in which this appears, it will be able to discuss only limited aspects of the very large subject matter which its title may suggest; specific points for the most part. Topics, otherwise falling under the head of "Marxism for Today," which will naturally require extensive treatment if an adequate explanation is to be given, are still the province of The New International.

Even this much is something of a departure for LA; we hope it works out. And it is perfectly true that this limitation will exclude some of the most important problems of Marxism which require discussion today. This column will have a more modest aim, but one which, perhaps for that very reason, will be of interest to many of our readers.

Our remarks about the crop of "experts" on Marxism who infest the press, with or without professorial titles, by no means gainsays fact that there are competent and serious critics of Marxismthe today as yesterday-whose criticisms have indeed played a useful role, in the course of the development of Marxism, in stimulating and helping socialists to clarify their own ideas. This should almost go without saying since it is a time-honored role of criticism of even the most fruitful conceptions. The best critics are not merely negative factors to be "answered," even if they are wrong.

Anti-Marxism and Stalinism

But what is peculiarly characteristic of run-of-the-mill anti-Marxism n these days and this country is often its extreme vulgarity plus—to be blunt—its extreme ignorance. Scholarly academicians, writing in scholarly academic journals, feel quite free to make the most fantastic statements about Marx's ideas—in a fashion which would get them run out of their professorial chairs by outraged colleagues if they played equally fastnd-loose with the history of the ancient Assyrian empire or the ecology of molluscs. Increasingly, anything goes—in the political world, with respect to civil liberties for "subversives"; in the intellectual world, with respect to a scientific approach to Marxism.

Now, to be sure, there are reasons for this quite apart from the existence of ignoramuses and dunderheads with Ph.D. degrees and quite apart from the lowering climate of democracy. Like so much else, it is one of the reactionary consequences of the rise of Stalinism, in more than one way. The decline in influence of the Marxist movement, itself largely due to the power of Stalinism, is one factor. Perhaps the most important is the easy opportunity for the "experts" to "dispose" of Marxism simply by identifying it with Stalinism. Still another is the "authority" of ex-Stalinists, who believed that they were Marxists when they were in the Stalinist movement and who now break with their former ideas-understanding in neither of their incarnations what Marxist socialism is all about. These may be among the sincerest of the ignorant slanderers of Marxism.

After all, what can we expect today, when, at the end of the 1930s, even an outstanding thinker like John Dewey could write a book about Marxism (his Freedom and Culture was virtually that) which showed that he was hardly barely acquainted with Marxist social theory, let alone in a position to criticize it seriously? It was, certainly, Dewey's saddest work, and it is not that by which he will be

"Marxism for Today" will be an arena for some forays into this field; we trust that, though limited in scope, as explained, it will prove useful. H. D.

THE NEW INTERNATIONAL is the leading Marxist magazine in the United States, internationally recognized as among the foremost organs Marxist thought and political analysis in the world. SEND 35 CENTS FOR THE CURRENT ISSUE OR SUBSCRIBE AT \$2.00 A YEAR New International, 114 West 14 Street, New York City LABOR ACTION Independent Socialist Weekly Vol. 16, No. 4 January 28, 1952 Published weekly by the Labor Action Publishing Company, 114 West 14 Street, New York City 11, N. Y. Send all communications to general editorial and business offices of LABOR ACTION at that address. Telephone: WAtkins 4-4222. Subscription rate: \$2.00 a year; \$1.00 for six months. (\$2.25 and \$1.15 for Canada and Foreign.) Re-entered as second-class matter May 24, 1940, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1874. Editor: HAL DRAPER Assistant Editors: MARY BELL, GORDON HASKELL, BEN HALL Business Manager: L. G. SMITH Asst. Business Mgr.: SAM FELIKS Opinions and policies expressed in the course of signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent the views of Labor Action, which are given in editorial statements.

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The biographer of Illinois's Governor Altgeld recalls the original version of the "Tax Scandals of 1951," as staged in 1924 by Senator Couzens of Michigan, with Andrew Mellon in the role of villain.

Couzens, who became a millionaire by selling his ground-floor investment in Ford, had enough independent wealth to become a maverick sort of progressive, especially on matters of simple. government honesty. He pushed through Congress a resolution calling for an investigation of the Internal Revenue Bureau under Secretary of the Treasury Mellon, who was himself a tycoon ranking only somewhere below. Morgan and Rockefeller. Mellon, as well as President Coolidge, tried to torpedo the idea; but, capitalists being cruder in those days, an insulting letter by Coolidge to the Senate stiffened the backs of that august body and gave Couzens the green

"The interesting reports which Senator Couzens now sent regularly to the Senate showed that Mr. Mellon's Bureau of Internal Revenue had secretly granted rebates and refunds on their income taxes amounting to millions of dollars to a large number of corporations, including several controlled by Mr. Mellon. In one report Senator Couzens estimated that these secret refunds totaled well over \$600,000,000. Among the corporations which benefited were the Aluminum Corporation of America (Mel-

\$15,369,123: Federal Ship Building, \$19,849,786; National Aniline Chemical, \$9,912,140; and Gulf Oil (Mellon), \$3,378,000. Other beneficiaries included William Randolph Hearst, whose papers soon would be demanding a national sales tax, and Colonel William Boyce Thompson, an industrialist who had served as treasurer of the National Republican Committee." Couzens pointed out that the secret dealings of the tax bureau were legal, but that the tax money was being shoveled back to the corpora-tions behind the public's back; that under a fair system of taxation the refunds would not allowed; and that the tax laws should be changed Burning with revenge, Mellon tried to pin a \$10-million tax delinquency charge on Couzens; the dirty move ended up (after almost three years) with proof by Couzens that he had overpaid his taxes by \$900,000.

"It is clear from this recapitulation of the 'Tax Scandals of 1924' that the 1951 version is pretty weak stuff and that Republicans as well as Democrats have been involved in corruption from time to time. The characters in the current show seem small potatoes-rotten as some of them probably are. If Congress could produce someone like the belligerent, progressive Couzens, with the temerity to dig into the files of the really big taxpayers instead of into the affairs of little people linked mainly with mink coats, we might get a performance that would make history.



Monopoly Control Gains in British Press; Freie Tribüne Suspends

lished.

Under a headline "Murder Once Week," the British socialist fortnightly Tribune reports that fifty newspapers or periodicals went out of existence in Great Britain last year.

The immediate cause of this high mortality rate among British publications is the rapid increase in costs. The cost of paper doubled over the past year, and is now between five and six times its pre-war rate. Binding costs have increased by 350 per cent since 1939, and printing costs by 130 per cent. Freight charges and other costs have also been rising steadily, including postage for printed matter by 50 per cent. Between 1921 and 1948 the total number of general daily and Sunday newspapers in Great Britain fell by 23.2 per cent. National morning and London evening papers have fallen by 25 perscent, Sunday papers by 23 per cent, and provincial morning papers by 39 per cent. In 58 of the 66 twons in Great Britain in which daily newspapers are published, there is only one paper, or all are owned by the same people. There are now 46 one-paper

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towns, and only eight in which more than two dailies are pubable.

(We would like to point out that a similar trend has been the UAPD was to meet on Detaking place in the United States, cember 20, 1951 to take up the with the financially weaker publications pushed to the wall.)

The Tribune points to the dire cated to the members of the consequences for democracy inherent in this trend. As it goes forward, fewer and fewer people control the means of public information and communication, and the people are presented with an ever narrowing choice of informational media.

One reason for the increased cost of paper in Britain is the consumption by the United States of a constantly increasing share an the world supply. "The U. S. today consumes 65 per cent of the world's newsprint supplies," according to Tribune. "Their consumption has gone up'17 per cent in the past two years. The demand of American capitalist civilization that it should be enabled to provide, for instance, 90-page newspapers on Sundays means either that the rest of the world is starved of proper supplies or that an exorbitant price must be paid for the meager quantities which be-

The tremendous waste in American newspaper publishing in no way contributes to the informational or cultural level of the American people. Of the 90 pages in a Sunday paper, easily 70 are made up solely of advertising copy. Well over 50 per cent of most daily papers is also given over to plugging the various products of American business. There is more than one way, it seems, that democracy can be restricted and even throttled.

Freie Tribüne

We have just received the December 22 issue of "Freie Tribune," organ of the Independent Workers Party of Germany (UAPD). In a box on the front page the editors state that the Freie Tribune is suspending publication with this issue. The reason given is a lack of money.

The edtors state that it was made quite clear, to them "from the most diverse directions" that if they were willing to give up their opposition to rearmament the means for continuing their

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come available."

January 28, 1952



publication would be made avail-

The same issue of the pape announced that the secretariat of problems of the party, and that its decisions would be communi-UAPD in due course.

. Kardelj Latest example we've seen of continued rationalization of their totalitarian regime by the Yugoslav leaders is the statement by Vice-Premier Edvard Kardelj, in an interview with the Belgrade Politika. Kardelj is summarized by the Yugoslav news agency as

follows; no comment needed: "One firmly held concept of many progressives and genuine socialists in the West is that socialist democracy cannot exist without a multi-party system. Kardelj suggested that such persons look at organizational life in their own countries to see how it is possible to arrange activities without the use of party structures: as in business, sports, cultural and social organizations. It should not be difficult, therefore, he continued, to imagine people organizing their social life in this manner in a free socialist society, as it is clear that such non-party democracy ensures-incomparably more freedom and overall social activity than even the most free multiparty democratic systems."

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U. of Cal. Rule on Shachtman Case Still a Question Mark

By JOHN PARKER

Max Shachtman of the Inde-

Since then, the Academic

Senate has presented a series

of "suggestions" to the ad-

ministration, which, it was hoped,

would prevent such happenings in

the future. The suggestions were

that speakers should be primarily

judged on the basis of competence

and integrity, and not merely on

the basis of a reference to any

Another bit of wishful think-

ng was the hope that if, in the

future, Dean Stone refused to

allow a speaker on campus, he

will consult the faculty member

whose sponsorship of the affair

he overruled, and explain the ac-

Sproul gave these abject re-

quests the consideration they de-

served. He said that he agreed

"that disapproval of speakers

should not be made merely by ref-

erence to any blanket list of or-

ganizations," but as if in fear

that anyone might construe this

as a hint that the educational

value of a debate be given too

much importance, he added: "lest

anyone misunderstand me. I do

not think that a forum should be

provided on the campus for a

communist . . . therefore, the ad-

ministrative officers of, the uni-

versity [i.e., Dean Stone] have

been advised that a member of

the Communist Party is not to be

permitted to use any facilities of

the university otherwise than as

Some realists feel that the

On the question of faculty au-

thority in these matters, Sproul

said simply: "Requests that led

te difficulty almost invariably

were presented at the last min-

ute." Small wonder to those ac-

quainted with the preliminary

It appears that the faculty has

ailed to give the aroused student

body the leadership it so badly

needed to fight the bureaucracy.

steps through a bureaucratic

maze that is required for anyone

Stalinist student may soon lose

his privileged position

cilities of the school.

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FAILURE OF FACULTY

student."

tion.

NEW RULING

blanket list of organizations.

pendent Socialist League.

President Robert Gordon Sproul of the University of California has recently "clarified" official policy regarding on-campus speakers. He stated in an address to the Academic Senate, official organization of the senior faculty, that it will be considered impermissible to allow Stalinists on campus, except as students, but that the attorney general's subversive list was not the criterion involved. However, he denied the faculty recourse in cases where speakers are arbitrarily barred by Dean H. E. Stone, the official administrative hatchetman in this issue.

Sproul's action was the latest development in the twomonths' old dispute which was touched off when Dean Stone turned thumbs down on a proposed debate featuring

used to thinking in circles. To him. it seems that Sproul does not want the subversive list used as sole justification for banning a speaker. Of course, the faculty knows it has lost; indeed, it never expected to win. Dean Stone is still the supreme authority who can allow a speaker to use warm, dry Wheeler Hall, or stand in the rain at Sather Gate.

The utter failure of the faculty to take a strong and determined stand against the administration was a result of their compromise long ago on the loyalty oath. At

that time, they had a strong, if the administration is going to but the teachers turned away and deserted their supporters, preferring to make a deal with the regents. Now they have once more left the advanced, militant vanguard to their own devices. Pessimism and cynicism have long since disarmed them more completely than ever.

Since the beginning of the Shachtman issue, three students' novements were organized. The first, a small group of "independent" students, led by a majority of Stalinist handraisers, has absolutely disappeared.

The other two are cooperating closely in an effort to mobilize inactive sections of the student body. One is a committee of political organizations including the Socialist Youth League, Young People's Socialist League, Students for Democratic Action, the Young Republican League, and led by the Graduate Student Association. The third group is made up of nonpartisan religious organizations guided by the YMCA.

The problem facing these

united student body behind them continue at once its use of the subversive list. This is easier said than done.

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TEST NEEDED

The new "laws" regulating the academic life of the students are nowhere down in black and white. Alert students are unable to examine and judge policy, since it exists only in the impenetrable minds of the reactionary administration. The old ruling on campus speakers provided for discussions of any topic, provided both sides were adequately represented, and made no reference to the subversive list or political parties. Obviously this has been completely superseded, by unwritten and unstated laws.

Militant students should immedia ately begin to test the determina+ tion and hostility of the administration by bringing controversial speakers to the University of California, to debate on current topics. Only by experience, it seems, can anyone find out the answer to a question still puzzling most students: "Can Max Shachtman speak groups is now one of finding out at the University of California?"

More on How 'The Army Builds Men'

28 252

cil Against Conscription on the nature of American militarism. The first two quotations, like last week's, are from a special issue (March 1946) of the American Journal of Sociology on the social psychology of military life.

THE MODEL ROBOT

"The perfectly trained soldier is one who has has his civilian initiative reduced to zero. In the process the self becomes identified with the institution and dependent upon it for direction and stimulation. The ideally adjusted soldier would be a military dependent who looked to the institution for all his personal, social and emotional satisfactions. Unlike the dependent child, who normally matures and strives to break the bonds of dependency that tie him to his parents, the adjusted soldier is encouraged to be a dependent of the institution. In psychiatric terms, the military institution becomes a substitute parent for an adult who has been reduced to infancy by the training it has given him. ... In short, the military situation is designed to produce soldiers-men conditioned to institutional requirements, defined situations, and explicit expectancies who will neither think for themselves nor make demands on the institution for needs that are not identified with institutional ends. . . . For these reasons the recruit must be remade; as any old sergeant knows, 'a recruit is not worth a damn until he has been broken." - Adjustment to Military Life, by August B. Hollingshead.

SOCIAL IRRESPONSIBILITY

"Responsibility to the unit and the service, as symbolized by the uniform, is constantly emphasized; but the soldier's responsibility to society, to property, and to civilian institutions is ignored. His responsibility to his country and his comrades arms is symbolized by his service. This concept

of service is cultivated and glorified by the military leadership. It becomes in psychiatric terms a superego, a group substitute for the self (ego) of the person who is contributing his most precious possession, his being, to the service of his country. By the creation of this super-ego-military servicethe person's sense of social responsibility is largely neutralized. The Military man forgets he is a civilian as he becomes a soldier. In this process certain aggressive attitudes for civilians develop which will have to be sublimated as the soldier readjusts from military to civilian life."-Adjustment to Military Life, by August B. Hollingshead.

CHURCHILL ON THE AMERICAN ARMY

"I cabled to Alexander: '. . . I have a feeling that you may have hesitated to assert your authority because you were dealing so largely with Amercans and therefore urged an advance instead of ordering it. You are, however, quite entitled to give them orders, and I have it from the highest American authorities that is their wish that their troops should receive direct orders. They say their army. has been trained more on Prussian lines than on the more smooth British lines, and that American commanders expect to receive positive orders, which they will immediately obey."-Winston Churchill, in The Second World War, Vol. V. "Closing the Ring,"

THE SENSE OF RESPONSIBILITY

"Because the soldier's life is not under his control, he is freed from the sense of personal responsibility. . . . The army attitude toward sex behavior traditionally permits a certain license. . . Property may not only be appropriated and used by persons other than its legal owner, but it may also be put to many uses for which it was never intended, and it may be wantonly destroyed."-Prof. Willard Waller, in The Veteran Comes Back.





Eisenhower and Columbia

Or: From General to College President under Wall Street's Tutelage

By JAMES M. FENWICK

Page Six

Following his quasi-retirement from the army in 1948, Eisenhower became president of Columbia University in New York City. ". . . it was with no illusions," he said, "that I could contribute anything academically."

And in all truth Eisenhower can be considered as a transmitter of "Western" culture only in the most specific American sense. His known tastes run exclusively to cowboy stories, horse operas and Western ballads.

At West Point, says his biographer, he "stood consistently at the very bottom of the upper onethird of his class." (A decade later, however, he was to graduate from the Command of General Staff School first out of a class of 275.) He was better in athletics. In view of his general public activity and his role of military adviser to the government, his contribution to the administration of Columbia must be as tenuous as his academic one.

What, then, is the significance of his Columbia job?

Ph.D.s and \$

The influence of Columbia upon education in the United States-and thereby upon its cultural life as a whole—is exceptional. About one out of every ten Ph.D.s granted in this country, for example, is granted by Columbia. The student body numbers 31,000, the faculty over 4,000. Its income from investments is second only to Harvard's. It amounts to \$6,180,000 annually-which is equal to the income received from \$247,200,000 invested in 21/2 percent government bonds.

A university of this size, located in the intel-Jectual and financial center of the United States, is of prime importance for the most conscious representatives of the capitalist class. They have not overlooked their opportunity. In The Goose-Step, Upton Sinclair referred to Columbia as "the palatial University of the House of Morgan." There has been no reason to change that characterization essentially in the twenty-six years which have elapsed since the publication of Sinclair's fascinating book.

True, the elder Morgan no longer sits upon the board of trustees, which is the final arbiter of university policy. But the representatives of Wall Street (in the most literal sense) are very much in control.

Trustees from the Trusts

Of the twenty-four trusteeships at Columbia. seventeen are self-perpetuating: when a trustee dies his place is filled by vote of the other trustees. Six are elected by the alumni. The president of the university, likewise selected by the trustees, serves as a trustee also. The overwhelming majority either have very close ties with the plutocracy of the country or are active members of the plutocracy. A survey by Hubert Park Beck. published in 1947, shows that the known taxable income (based on 1924 data) of the thirteen board members for whom figures were available averaged over \$65,000. Figures from the midthirties, available for seven trustees, showed an

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The first part of this article originally appeared in J. M. Fenwick's "Eisenhower: Portrait in Brass." in the March 1949 issue of The New International, from which it is here reprinted. The rest, written at the same time, has not been previously published. It will be seen that Comrade Fenwick's discussion of Eisenhower's future (as of 1949) is now more than ever relevant to his present.—ED.

average annual salary of \$74,000.

The public spokesman for the trustees-who typically leads a rather anonymous existence-isthe president of the university, who is carefully chosen by them. For a generation prior to the appointment of Eisenhower the post was held by the rubbery Nicholas Murray Butler, presidential aspirant, opponent of any further amendment of the Constitution (it was like "proposing amendments to the multiplication table!"), supporter of child labor, director in a Morgan insurance company, and over-all reactionary.

Military Precedent

The times, not the least important component of which is the development of a powerful and articulate organized labor movement, call for someone less obviously reactionary. Hence the selection of Eisenhower. His appointment was acclaimed by almost everybody, including the campus chapter of the American Veterans Committee. Nevertheless, a grave precedent has been established: heading up one of the most in-Ruential universities in the country is a man whose cast of thought is antithetical to the spirit of free inquiry which should pervade a university.

To date he has trod warily. His concept of academic freedom, though it has not been explicitly revealed, is plain enough, however. Ira T. Freeman, writing in the New York Times, says:

"His conception of academic freedom, however, does not include the right to advocate ideologies hostile to 'free enterprise,' since he has threatened to dismiss at once any instructor 'infiltrating our university' with 'inimical philosophies.' He defended the release of one left-wing faculty member from Teachers' College."

The implementing of that credo would guarantee the destruction of academic freedom at Columbia.

Toward New Ports of Call

But there is evidence that Columbia is only a port of call for Eisenhower. Other horizons are beckoning. The direction in which these lie can be better understood by a closer examination of the current board of trustees.

There are the usual representatives of big business such as Walter H. Sammis, president of the Ohio Edison Company; John G. Jackson, chairman of the board of the American Viscose Corporation; Adrian M. Massie, vice-president of the New York Trust Company; Thomas I. Parkinson, president of the Equitable Life Assurance Society; and Thomas J. Watson, president of the International Business Machines Corporation-and sponsor and civilian guide for Eisenhower. The simple listing of these "men of accomplishment," as Look magazine delicately identifies them, reveals the climate in which Eisenhower is being nurtured at Columbia.

There is another group of trustees of more immediate interest. It is comprised of those persons whose past military or business experience has brought them in close contact with military affairs or with Eisenhower personally.

Among them is George L. Harrison, president of the New York Life Insurance Company. He was a special consultant to the secretary of war from 1943 to 1946, working in particular on the administrative aspects of atom-bomb development. There is Albert W. Putnam of Winthrop, Stimson, Putnam, and Roberts, the firm of corporation lawyers to which Henry L. Stimson belonged when he took office as secretary of war in

World War II. Putnam himself is a graduate of the General Staff College. There is Douglas M. Black, president of Doubleday and Companythe publishers of Eisenhower's Crusade in Europe. Then there is Harris K. Masters, consulting engineer of the Molybdenum Corporation, who was general foreman of the bayonet shop of the Remington. Arms Company from 1915 to 1916. And there is fortunate Marcellus Hartley Dodge, the son-in-law of William Rockefeller and chairman of the board of the Remington Arms Company.

LABOR ACTION

Finishing School for Ike

That in its broad outlines, at the very least, Eisenhower finds the social outlook of these men congenial is self-evident. That these capitalist sophisticates deliberately sought out Eisenhower and are influencing his orientation is equally obvious, though less documentable. It is difficult not to believe that Eisenhower and his mentors view his tenure at Columbia as a period during which he can reinforce the civilian side of his personality and acquire the broader knowledge of polifical, economic and social facts necessary for



national political life. It is in these three realms that Eisenhower's deficiencies are most apparent. as is evident when he is compared with Roosevelt, who, however superficial he may have been in many respects, had a responsive political mind.

Capitalist circles recognize that 1952 may well be a year of serious crisis domestically and internationally. The limitations of Truman are no state secret. Under such conditions a popular figure like Eisenhower, seemingly above partisan politics, outwardly democratic, firm, experienced in personnel relations, and possessing the military background necessary in an armed age, 4 would prove an ideal instrument from the point of view of an important sector of United States capital. His election, though possible in 1948, would have been premature. In 1952 it can be a necessity if war with Russia seems imminent. No candidate on the present political scene is better qualified to supervise the military operations, co-ordinate the constituent elements of the war effort, and impose the necessary economic. political and social controls than is Eisenhower.

Figure of Transition

Eisenhower is a figure of transition. In the past, United States capital could dominate the world almost solely through its economic power. Military strength was mobilized in support of the economic power only at great intervals. Political propaganda on the foreign plane was of definite secondary importance. Unfortunately for Eisenhower, most of his military life was passed in this intellectually barren environment, which actually included several of the World War II years.

The decline of world capitalism and the rise of Russian bureaucratic collectivism have undermined the relatively advantageous position of the United States. No longer is simple economic strength enough. Questions of military skill and of political and social ideology-domestic and foreign—are taking on crucial importance. Eisenhower's recent career is a somewhat inadequate response to an evident fact. It signifies the emeraence in the United States—and in United States term's—of a politico-military type such as Von Schleicher represented in pre-Hitler Germany or De Gaulle represents in present-day France.

Eisenhower, if not its classic consummation,. is at least a prominent forerunner of this tendency in the United States.

LONDON, Jan. 16-The most

The rising world prices and competition by Japan and Germany have decreased the sale of textiles and pottery; furthermore, these goods were of a semi-luxury nature. The export drive then began to turn its attention to steel goods, to cars, bicycles and machinery, but this was seriously hit by rearmament. On an annual production of about 17,000,000 tons a year, the demand was 1,500,000 tons more than supply. A Conservative government immediately imposed a rigid allocation scheme, and ugly signs of unemployment, e.g., in the cutlery trade, began to appear. It was thus with a feeling of considerable relief that we heard that Churchill had extracted from an Amer-

thirds of our deficit.



To the Editor: I have been a reader of LABOR carry it.

crowd.



By DAVID ALEXANDER

significant event of this week has been the announcement of the U. S. allocation of 1.000.000 tons of steel to the United Kingdom. In 1950 Britain had obtained a credit in world trade by devaluing the pound, and exporting large quantities of steel goods, wool textiles and pottery.

ican right-wing government an amount of steel to cover two On the other hand the difference

in friendship shown by the American rulers toward Churchill and

Attlee (when the latter visited two the situation. years ago) is a poor reflection upon what they call their "pro-British" feelings,

Protests against allowing the learmament of Germany have been considerably quieted here by the announcements of our \$3,000,-000,000 deficit last year. But the rationale of these protests has been very different than hitherto and from other quarters.

British industrialists have compared the recovery of the export trade of Western Germany with our own, and have seen that it compares very favorably; but the situation has become acute since cur rearmament is diverting many materials from export industries while Germany is winning those markets since her industries are not engaged in rearmament at all.

There are only three possibilities here: lose the export markets, or make Germany rearm, or decrease our own rearmament. The former is going to happen, but the latter

would be the most-socialist course. The other important agreement between Churchill and Truman has been about American bases. While little is known about the specific terms of such an agreement, an incident which occurred before the winter recess in Parliament may throw some light on

By an agreement dated 1946, the U. S. government maintains an air base in East Anglia. Attlee allowed this on the understanding that it would not be used as an atomic base. Churchill's statement in Parliament suggested that, despite the undeclared understanding on the subject, the Americans were intending to use it as a base. Attlee's reply was to deny that this was being done, but he did so so unconvincingly that a general impression was left here that they were arguing about a fait accompli. It is believed that Churchill, who regarded the establishment of an atomic base as a severe commitment, has ironed out the matter in Washington.

Finally, there is a story with a moral in it. While the imagination of the press here was caught by Captain Carlsen's exploits, the heroism of a Bulgarian refugee received no more than 6 lines of print (except in the anarchist press)

A Bulgarian democrat hung beneath the Paris to London Express all the way. When the train arrived at London he was suffering from cold and exposure. After escaping from Bulgaria all the way to France, he was sent back to Paris as he didn't have a visa!

'Worst Governed City in World," Washington, D. C. Has New Scandal

Washington, D. C., is one of the disgraces of the nation, in more than one way. Outside of the contributions made to this state of affairs by the joint efforts of Congress and the White House, it is also one of the worstgoverned cities in the world, as the railroad union paper Labor likes to point out. And that's true even outside of the continuing Jim Crow scandal in the nation's capital.

It's got another full-blown scandal now, again. (Previous exposés have featured the tight control of the real-estate lobby in the city.)

An investigation of crime and corruption in the city, whose government is dispensed directly by Congress, has been opened up and has revealed a few unsavory facts. The investigating subcommittee is headed by Senator Neely. Local gambling powers working hand in glove with police officials are trying to clamp the lid back.

Involved is Robert J. Barrett. chief of the Washington police who "resigned" just one jump ahead of the inquiry. He has admitted close association with Charles E. Nelson, the biggest numbers-racket operator in the area, as well as with other prominent gamblers.

The committee's prosecutor has presented evidence showing that than exist now.

racketeer Nelson had top-level protection from Washington and Maryland cops. Three cops even "rode convoys for Nelson's operators and manned shotguns to guard his headquarters."

Barrett's own testimony indicated his close association with the racketeer. When Nelson's wife tried to make off with \$70,000 of his money, Nelson brought her to Barrett's home and there "ripped the money from the lining of her coat.'

BUSINESS CORRUPTION

Barrett also told of keeping huge sums of cash around his home and of receiving numerous expensive "gifts" from "reputable businessmen," unnamed. They will likely remain unnamed. In inquiries like these, the spotlight on government corruption. Business corruption is apparently considered "normal."

As Labor comments: "As in any city where big criminals and gamblers thrive, the situation suits 'reputable businessmen' because they are getting what they want out of the local government.'

Home rule for the capital (setting up its own city government) is up before Congress. There is hardly a chance that the change could lead to dirtier conditions



ASKS "WHY DON'T SOCIALISTS UNITE?"

ACTION for about two years, and I want to let you know how I feel about it. I am a socialist. but not a member of any existing socialist organization or group, though I find myself in agreement with your views probably more often than those of any other tendency. I follow all sections of the socialist press more or less regularly, particularly the Militant and the Socialist Call. LABOR ACTION is by far the best and most modern in format. It is also easier to get; more newsstands

I hope this doesn't smack too much of a testimonial, but I think LA is also the most economical in terms of conciseness, and the broadest in terms of varied in-

terest of subject matter. I think that, granted the necessary minimum financing, it could succeed as a daily socialist newspaper. I believe there is a need for such a publication, and that you could best fill it. I would be glad to contribute if a fund drive were launched toward this aim, and I wouldn't be surprised if many other LABOR ACTION readers did the same.

stimulating articles by wellknown personalities, even from outside your own ranks, are valuable to circulation. Have you approached Norman Mailer in this regard? Interviews or controversial articles by famous opponents would also be of value. Consider the effect among Monthly Review hangers-on if you published a side-by-side debate between, say, Huberman and Shachtman. One of the Daily Compass's most interesting features, while it lasted, was its "Issue of the Day" page.

I have especially liked your A articles on the Ukrainian Peoples Army, the Stalinist youth rally in Berlin, and generally your articles on developments in the Stalinized countries. They are in in the nature of "news you can't get elsewhere," surely one of the most fruitful paths to success for a small weekly newspaper.

views. My main interest is in the furtherance of socialist ideas, be they advanced or naive, militant or mild, correct or hazy. Naturally the attributes most to be admired are theoretical sharpness, intelligence, militancy, broadness and effectiveness.

I think that all the socialist groups would be wise if they recruited new members from among (a) capitalist-minded workers, (b) Stalinists, and (c) intellectuals of any orientation. There is too much sectarianism among socialists, and in a time of reaction when all of the socialist groups are relatively weak it is suicidal for the various tendencies to spend so much time poaching on one another.

To illustrate: during the recent mayoral campaign I heard a radio speech given in behalf of Michael Bartell, the Socialist Workers Party candidate. It was followed by a speech for Eric Haas, the Socialist Labor Party candidate, who used nearly his SLP from the SWP and identifying the latter with Stalinism. This kind of behavior doesn't gain anything for the SLP; it only alien- tradition for Stalin's liquidation ates people from the SWP. The I don't have to tell you that SWP in turn takes a similar attitude to the Independent Socialist League, which the ISL seems to reciprocate. Thus we have a spectacle of Cannonites, Shachtmanites, Johnsonites, DeLeonites, Thomasites and SDFers-each opposing Stalinism, each favoring the workers' side in the class struggle, two-thirds claiming to be Marxists and half claiming to be Trotskyists. They publish three weekly, one bi-weekly, one monthand two bi-monthly publications. And each lives in a hermetically sealed world of its own, A good debate always draws a sneering at all the others. This, while the Stalinists have a united audience much larger than the total disunited audience of the socialist groups. And of course we need not mention the circulation of the bourgeois press!

I think the answer must be found not in mere occasional united fronts on specific issues, but in an all-embracing unsectarian American Socialist League in I have suggested that I don't which each organization could exsee eye-to-eye with your political ist as a faction, represented percapita in a central body of some kind. Think of the economy of such a move in terms of rent and printing expenses alone! And such a unification would also, I think, act as a spur to the formation of a union-based labor party. It would at least give the strength of unity to the many voices that are at present calling rather feebly and lonely for a national labor party. It would also be a boon to recruitment.

There are many socialist-minded persons like myself today who would be eager to assume the role of a non-factional interstitial element to glue these tendencies together. The disagreements each group has are mainly legitimate, for they are in matters of interpretation and conjecture - they offer no real basis for distrust or disrespect in the way that the differences between Stalinists and non-Stalinists do.

I think Trotsky was wrong to repudiate his conciliationist efforts after he joined the Bolsheviks; it was not he who was wrong, but the Bolsheviks and whole time distinguishing the Mensheviks. And Lenin's intolerance of factions before the revolution, whatever else you may say for it, certainly laid a basis in of the Workers' Opposition and the Left and Right opositionists later on. Such a thing is unlikely to happen, say, in the British Labor Party because of the different view taken there of oppositionism Such matters as the Third Force, Third Camp, Workers' State, etc., are by no means irrelevant. But they are secondary, in my mind, to the primary need for propagandizing the basic principles of socialism in a land choking with fraudulent misconceptions of it. Marx said that socialism was inevitable, but to my mind it is important whether socialism comes into being in ten years, fifty years, or only after the recapitulation of civilization up from the Stone Age. If the bourgeoisie, crumbling and decadent, can maintain as much unity as it does through all shades of political opinion, what hope is there for the society of the future if there is merely a free-for-all among its proponents?

I expect you will have much to attack in the above from your own partisan viewpoint, but I ing: "Spare us, O Genial Leader

hope you will print the main body ---our deficiencies are not due to of it to see what response it may evoke from your readers.

Roy HOLLISTER

Thanks to correspondent Hollister for the kind words about LA. As for launching a fund drive for a daily socialist newspaper: we hate to be a wet blanket and all that, but it won't be long before we will start our annual fund drive indeed—and every penny we will be able to get, plus some more, will be needed to maintain the present weekly LA. Those are the facts of life. The editors fully agree with the general idea of carrying the debate ype of material; but a prod like Hollister's doesn't hurt. We'll see what we can do.

As for our correspondent's iews on all-socialist unity, which make up the bulk of his letter: it's a question that is raised frequently, not so much in our letter column as in personal contact with socialist sympathizers. We consider it would be worthwhile, to devote an article to the question, instead of merely n brief comment in the letter department. Let's say it will be an educational explanation on the question, not an "attack." We hope to have it for next week's issue. And we also will be interested in responses from readers.

Czech Anti-Semitism

To the Editor:

There is another element in the Czechoslovakia development of Stalinist anti-Semitism not mentioned by Al Findley in his article.

The satellite Stalinists face a dual pressure: from the masses, for improved conditions, on one side, and on the other side, from the stern and relentless pressure of Moscow for greater deliveries. production of raw materials and war production.

The introduction of official Stalinist governmental anti-Semitism also served a dual purpose: providing a scapegoat for the masses, but also a burnt offering to the moloch in Moscow.

Gottwald is in essense plead

our own shortcomings but to the subversive influence of the cosmopolitans. You yourself did not achieve 'success' until you purged! the Jewish 'rootless' and 'homeless' 'traders' and 'cosmopolitans' from your government."

This explains Gottwald's statement that the "overwhelming majority of those communists who became traitors were cosmopolitans." For the masses it may have been enough to smear Slansky. For Stalin a much broader excuse was needed, and the excuse was "borrowed" from the Kremlin.

How long this maneuver will save Gottwald and the other Czech Stalinists is a very debatable question.

Harry SCHON

Doesn't Schon's speculation imply that Stalin actually believes his own anti-Semitic poppycock? That's rather hard to believe....

Note for a Reader

A correspondent, J. C. (see letter in LABOR ACTION for Dec. 24), sends in another letter on his professor's arguments about Marxism. We find the prof's points, as summarized, none too clear, and can't take a page of LA to discuss the questions they may possibly suggest about Marxist historical theory. Since our correspondent explains why he can't get mail, we suggest (a) that J. C. look us up any time he's in New York, and (b) that he get his professor to let his class hear a live Marxist on historical materialism. We'd be glad to oblige .- Ed.

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Truman Budget for the War

(Continued from page 1)

and in plain English means "military and economic rearma-

It is proposed to spend \$51.2 billion directly on the military services, \$10.8 billion on foreign military and economic programs, \$3.2 billion on the development of natural resources, mostly for military production, \$1.6 billion on transportation and communications, also mainly for military pur-

When we add to that the \$6.3 billion in interest payment on the national debt (most of which, incidentally, has been accrued during past wars), a total of \$73.1 billion in military and other non-productive expenditures is reached.

As contrasted with that, the government proposes to spend \$4.2 billion for the veterans (also an expense of previous wars), \$2.7 billion on social welfare, \$1.5 billion on agriculture, \$1.3 billion on education and housing (much of the latter in "defense housing"), \$1.1 billion on the programs of the Departments of Labor, Commerce and the like, and a billion and a half for general governmental ex-

This is a total of \$12.3 billion, only eight or nine billions of which can be considered in the general category of providing for the welfare of the citizens, even if we stretch the

This proportion of the military and related expenditures to those proposed for welfare is the key to the lack of real disagreement between the two parties in Washington. After all, the Fair Deal was one way of keeping the economic system going without major crises of unemployment which might have serious political results. The Republicans and a large section of the Democratic Party opposed this method of keeping capitalism going. Now both parties find that they can agree on the present method: that of floating the system

This agreement is reached at the expense of the workers and the "little people" of the country in general. The struggle over the Fair Deal was at least a disagreement, in part, over how much the government should seek to relieve the plight in which this economic system keeps the majority of its people. Old-age pensions, unemployment insurance, and similar programs did afford some measure of relief.

THE BY-PRODUCT IS-WAR

But the military program is of an altogether different nature. At the levels of expenditure proposed by Truman there is no doubt that the government will be pumping enough money into the economy to keep it operating at high levels at least through 1954. But in human terms, this means that the higher taxes, higher prices and eventual shortages in goods will bear down most heavily on those who are least able to support the burden. Without a genuine price control program (and none is in sight), the governmental expenditures will boost prices, while the money with which to pay for consumer's goods will trickle down from on top after the industrialists have taken their buckets-full.

It is impossible to predict now exactly what this will mean for the real standard of living of different groups in the population. The capacity of U.S. industry to expand, although not limitless, is so great that it would be rash to predict a drastic fall in the standard of living of the nation as a whole in the next period if expenditures are kept at the projected levels. That is one of the big differences between the impact of this degree of militarization on the United States and on Britain or any other country in Europe. Yet it is clear that whatever decline does take place will not be evenly distributed among the population in accordance with the ability to pay, but just the reverse.

And finally, of course, such a military program has a purpose additional to that of keeping the economy from collapsing. Just as the "by-product" of Fair Deal spending programs was to relieve the plight of some of the poor, so the "by-product" of the military program is...war.

Reuther vs. Reuther

(Continued from page 1) trasts to be shown between the UAW program of other days and the present stand

Ten years ago, the nation was debating the Reuther plan for airplane production. Aside from its merits or faults, it was interesting that the auto companies

Motors, told Reuther. "I'll Reuther. "I would want Wal- day from unexpected sour-There are many other con- give you a job with us."

vertisements, Reuther prais- oughly experienced and comes the "know-how" of the petent." auto industry to solve the problem of dovetailing war a report on the UAW conand auto production.

ther be put on any top-level "task force" advising on it begins: fought it and Reuther vi- auto production, and steel al-

ter Reuther on the commit- ces. In the recent UAW ad- tee. I consider him thor-

> What's changed? Perhaps ference on unemployment

"The five-percenters in the ciously. "If you are inter- locatons, etc. Ernest Breech capital who help firms get

"This was revealed in Senator Moody's office on Capitol Hill while the government prepared to channel more defense contracts into the surplus labor areas like De-In return, C. E. Wilson in Washington, D. C. last troit and protests grew louddemands that Walter P. Reu- week suggests the answer. er over layoffs resulting Printed in the Detroit News from the military production program.

"The new technique involves getting the labor unions to go to bat for employers, at no cost to management."

Contrast this view of the UAW and its leaders with the UAW of World War II days and the tragic differnized.

ROGRAM AT HAND

When the office of C. E. Wilson, the economic czar of war production, announced that the steel quota of the auto industry would permit 930,000 car production in the quarter beginning April 1952, the UAW hailed its "victory."

The same day that office announced a cutback in materials for homes that would eliminate building 100,000 CIO was silent. After all, are frightened that he may could Walter Reuther debate not run. They hope it's a

many more of them-which posed as bankrupt. illustrate the blind alley into UAW in this period.

Actually, the UAW doesn't of the past.

Travestv

"The figures don't make sense, defy comprehension. "And one reason this is so is

that the world in which we are living doesn't make much sense and defies comprehension.

"For instance, this is tagged a peacetime budget.' The president calls the spending total 'the price of peace.

"Yet, 60 cents out of every dollar to be spent is out-and-out for the military services.

"And to that sum must be added much of the money to be spent on foreign aid. veterans' benefits. public debt interest-in short, the costs tied in with past, present and future wars.

"The total for the military then rises to 80 to 85 cents out of every dollar.

"As another illustration, the choices we're given are: (1) no tax hike and a huge deficit; (2) a tax hike and a huge deficit.

"Yet, the fact is the government's financial picture is so off balance because Congress has been fumbling too long with a crazy-quilt tax system-piling increase on top of increase, aiding special privilege to special privilege, refusing to make the effort to develop a real tax philosophy and overhaul our tax system from top to bottom. If this were done, we even might be able to reduce the overall load.

"As a third instance, the first reaction from Congress was that non-defense items were taking too much.

"Yet, all non-military items absorb only 15 to 20 cents of each dollar. And spending on such peacetime activities as reclamation, rural electrification, highways, housing, actually is to run \$2 billion below the last year preceding Korea.

"It's virtually impossible to grasp the multi-billion dollar totals being thrown at us here. And not until we realize this is a war, not a peace, budget will any of it come into focus at all."

-Columnist Sylvia Porter, N. Y. Post, Jan. 22

need a "new" program. It simply needs to carry out the ideas and policies which marked the UAW as a vanguard union in World War II. and which brought Walter Reuther to the top. What is missing today is precisely that.

Who but a clever politician like Reuther today would dare hold a two-day conference in Washington on unemployment in the auto industry, and blast away at various agencies, defense officials, brasshats . . . and ignore completely their boss, President Harry S. Truman?

Even when Roosevelt was in the White House during the last war, UAW leaders openly criticized the entire administration. Emil Mazey used to make it a special point at conventions to do so.

Today UAW leaders seem to be clinging more to Truouses! The chairman of the man's coattails than they Housing Committee of the ever did Roosevelt's! They Walter Reuther on this issue? Taft-Truman race. They fear Q It is, these fantastic con- otherwise their political poltradictions-and there are icies may be too openly ex-

For men who once prowhich the Reuther leader- claimed themselves "archiship has led itself and the tects of the future," they appear more like hod-carriers

views the future with "dire fore- dissatisfaction." The board at- ence may be readily recogbodings."

reported that the strike committee was so indignant over the firing of several prominent members of the committee from union posts by Joe Ryan, president of the Internalional Longshoremen's Association, that attorney Johnson had to employ all his powers of persuasion to keep them from calling another strike before this board had rendered its report.

The strike last fall was triggered off by the ratification of a contract with the employers by the Ryan administration. The strikers claimed that the voting on strike ratification in the locals had been falsified. The board now states that although evidence of vote-fraud was found in three locals, they believe that the contract had been "validly" ratified, or in other words, that the ballot-stuffing was not of sufficient extent to have changed the overall result of the voting.

NO SOLUTION

At the same time, the board did not exactly blame the leaders of the strike committee for the 114 W. 14 St., New York 11, N. Y. an "outbreak of long-festering accumulation of complaints and

tacked the "shape-up" method of A couple of weeks ago it was hiring in the port of New York, although it apparently made no recommendation for an alternate method of hiring. It also did not deal with the widespread charges of racketeering and gangstercontrol on the waterfront and in the union in view of the fact that the State Crime Commission is now looking into the matter.

As far as can be seen at the moment, the report does little to solve the problem faced by the members of the ILA, which is fundamentally: how to get control over their own union. From the newspaper reports, it appears that the board's findings, although not exactly a whitewash of the Ryan administration, was confined to describing in polite language some of the well-known abuses of democracy and gangster practices which are Ryan's stock in trade.

The union membership is once more on its own in the struggle for democratic control. Its magnificent fight here during the fall. and the struggle it has been putting up in Boston over a period of months, indicates that the strike, but attributed it rather to membership is in no mood to permit things to continue as in the past in their union.

ested in production," C. E. of Ford Motor Company defense contracts for a fee, Wilson, president of General joins in the demand for discovered competition to-