

OILING UP POINT 4 FOR INDIA

Reuther Fires the Fall Guy

In this issue:

STUDENT SOCIALIST

Four-Page Student-Youth Section

President Phil Murray surrendered the right to strike in order not to embarrass Truman? Or is Múrray out for a major victory? Are the current steel negotiations the beginning of a new no-strike-pledge period, or are they merely post-

Enough has happened in the last three months to make it possible to draw some interesting analyses and conclusions. But first, it is necessary to say something about present conditions in the industry.

The steel workers are now working under a contract that is five years old. While wages have been raised and pension provisions added since the present contract was drawn up five years ago, the contract itself is now obsolete compared with those in the other massproduction industries. For example, the steel workers, almost alone in modern industry, do not get any paid holidays. Not only that, but

A further example of the shortthe question of shift differentials. afternoon and six cents for evening work. Vacation provisions are bad: Southern workers still get less pay than Northern workers for the same work; reporting pay is inadequate, and so on. The rank-andfile steelworker has become more and more aware how far his union has fallen behind that of his neighbor who happens to work in auto, electrical goods, or coal.

Add to this the effects of infla-Steelworkers of America (USA-

CIO) does not have an escalator cent years with a number of PITTSBURGH, Feb. 11-What is clause and it does not have a clause weighty problems - expelling the going on in steel? Has Steelworker granting pay raises for increased productivity. The union did get an to replace the Stalinist ones, funcoverdue increase in 1950 to bring wages up to the increased cost of living, but the cost of living has tionship with the mobilization prosailed right on ahead again since gram, Operation Dixie, winning then.

> Neither wages nor fringe benefits are the most serious grievance, left largely to the UMW-type buhowever. The real problem in the reaucracy which is still charactermills today is speedup, rate-cutting and company arrogance.

STATE OF THE UNION

Since the end of the war, the steel industry has embarked on a fantastic rationalization program. Far from permitting the workers to benefit from their greatly increased productivity, the corporations have cut rates, decreased crews and reclassified jobs (downward, of course), right and left. Labor relations were bad enough to start with under the old contract, because the number of grievance committeemen in any one they still work on Saturday and plant is so greatly limited that it cripples union protection.

Taking advantage of this, the comings of the present contract is companies have sabotaged the grievance machinery until it is at In steel, this is only four cents for a virtual standstill. The steel companies have taken advantage of the same situation which the auto companies have been exploitinglong contracts, the Taft-Hartley Act, McCarthyism, the cold war and Korea.

That conditions in the steel industry have come to the pass described above does not speak well for the United Steelworkers of America.

Murray, the president, is also the tion on steel wages. The United president of the national CIO. As such, he has been occupied in re-

Stalinists, organizing new unions tioning under Taft-Hartley, working out some sort of livable relathe telephone workers, and so on. As a result, the steel workers were istic of the steel union. The union staff was as much occupied with maneuvering to be in a position to be Murray's successor as it was with building the union.

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At the last convention of the CIO, with the CIO's house in some semblance of order, Murray turned over a good many of his duties as CIO head to the man in the newly created post of executive vice-president, Alan Haywood, He did this, said Murray, because he hoped to give up the post of CIO head entirely before long, and because he wanted to give more attention to his own union, the steel workers. Events are showing that he was serious about this latter task.

The first step in the rejuvenation of the USA-CIO was the present set of contract demands. The union is trying to make up for everything it has missed in recent years, plus some demands not yet won by other unions-notably the guaranteed annual wage. The union is asking for a union shop. It is asking for a new type of incentive plan whereby pay will be based upon the total tonnage of the entire plant, so that increased productivity will automatically mean higher wages.

In short, the steel workers are (Continued on page 4)

Liberal Party Runs Independent Labor Candidate Against Both Party Machines

The Liberal Party is running its own candidate for a major office in the borough of Queens in New York City. He is not an "independent Democrat" or a "liberal Republican." He is an official of the Liberal Party and of the United

on February 19. If he wins, he the field. The actual campaign is

will hold office only till the congressional elections next Novem- before the balloting takes place. ber. Yet it is clear that whoever will have the inside track in the contest next fall.

This election is not an ideal one from several points of view. Governor Dewey announced the date only a couple of weeks ago. Thus a campaign was very short, and this gives every possible advan-His name is George F. Cran- tage to the powerful Republican more, assistant regional director machine in Queens County. In of Region 9 of the UAW. He is view of its traditional position in running in a by-election for Con- elections which have a bearing on gress in the fifth district, for a national political line-ups, it is vacancy which was left when the easy to understand that it took incumbent was elected district at- the Liberal Party leadership a

cnly going into gear one week In view of the difficulties, it can

wins the seat in Congress now already be said that the membership of the party is responding magnificently to this chance to run the kind of candidate which so many of them would like to see the Liberal Party running regularly. Special contributions have been solicited and received from the membership, and many are putting in evenings in the campaign headquarters and doing the leg work which is needed.

> Of course, the strongest impetus to this campaign has been given by the victory of Rudolph Halley for the post of president of the City Council last fall. Although Queens has not been a traditional stronghold of the Lib-(Continued on page 2).

It Looks Like He's the Fall Guy

By WALTER JASON

DETROIT, Feb. 11-The abrupt dismissal of Art Johnstone as director of the General Motors department (CIO) has created a one-day flurry in union circles here.

The executive board of the UAW-CIO took this drastic action last week upon the recommendation of President Walter P. Reuther. Johnstone, a long-time Reutherite, was considered a key man in the Reuther forces in the GM setup. He is being replaced by John Livingstone, the UAW vice-president.

The stated reasons for the dismissal were (1) autocratic action and (2) policy differences with President Reuther. No details were given by the UAW on this action. Since major policies in the GM division were always set by Reuther, the likelihood of "major" policy differences with Johnstone simply doesn't make sense.

The trouble with Johnstone was that he carried out the contract policies to the letter in his dealings with lower-level union leadership. Also, the increasing resentment among all strata of GM workers against the limitations of their contract naturally turned against the man directly responsible for seeing that the contract was carried out. That man was Johnstone.

So the effect of the Johnstone dismissal is to provide a scapegoat for the ranks' resentment. Putting it crudely, it looks as if he's the fall guy.

The fact that the UAW offered him another post suggests that no serious charges were possible against him. Johnstone's refusal to quietly accept a change, his in- is that the UAW itself is the target. sistence that the board take ac- and also its political allies in the tion, suggests furthermore that Democratic Party. This is election he knows he has been put in the year!

position of the scapegoat, and that he doesn't like it.

Representative Potter, the legless veteran who is a congressman, bids fair to match Senator of the United Auto Workers Joe McCarthy hatchet-blow for hatchet-blow against all opponents of the Republican Party. It seems that he is being groomed te run for senator from Michigan this next fall, against Senator Blair Moody. His program will be red-bating, period.

Congressman Potter announced this past week that Ford Local 600 is the first and special target of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. The Detroit News reported Sunday that over 100 persons in Ford Local 600 had been interviewed by agents of the committee. So a field day may be expected. Among the guessing contests in Detroit now are: What CP leader at Ford is an FBI agent? Who is going to be the surprise witness?

Unquestionably, Carl Stellato, Ford Local 600 president, will be given quite a workout by the committee. It was only a year and a half ago that Stellato had charges brought against five union officials that they were "Communists," but these were finally dropped after a lengthy hearing, etc. These same persons are now in the Stellato camp.

Some prominent UAW officials seem quite pleased with this turn of events. "That committee will sure take care of Ford Local 600!" is the way one UAW official put it. How blind can people get? As though the congressional committee is in town solely to help out the Reuther regime against an obstreperous opponent! Far more likely, as top UAW officials know,

The Case of Biddle - -

(Continued from page 1)

too small a man to admit it, that should concern his followers but can scarcely be of much political consequence. Or: he was trapped into a thumping lie in a moment of acute embarrassment. . . . Certainly again, if anyone is willing to assume that the question of his role in the Minneapolis case had not before crossed his mind and been worked out in his conscience. Or: The ability of men to rationalize their own actions is infinite, and the more important thing is what he believes today. . . . Granted: surely if an old French diplomat could once say that language was invented to conceal thought, then we can believe that reason was given to man to rationalize irrationality.

And so anyone who wishes can dismiss Biddle's predicament as that of a liar, a knave, a mere irrational muddlehead or a scatterbrain. But we doubt it.

LIBERALISM'S DIVIDED SOUL

If that were the case, we would merely be content to make a pointed remark or two about the morality of the liberal paladins who are so prone to exalt their political morals over those of Marxist revolutionaries-who, as every reader of the liberal pundits knows especially when he knows nothing else, do not have any morals at all.

In point of fact, we have a different suggestion to make about the otherwise strange case of Francis Biddle, chairman of the liberal ADA and author of Fear of Freedom. We find it difficult to believe that Biddle has not thought over his own personal role in laying the basis for what he now recognizes as anti-democratic thought-control. .

We find it easier to believe that Biddle is one of the sad examples in our time of the divided soul of liberalism, in a period when there are being acted out the appalling consequences of underlying social conceptions which it shares with the whole of present-day capitalist society.

For Biddle, besides, Franklin D. Roosevelt was the liberal knight in shining armor. For all of his laudable views on the pass to which civil liberties have come today, he still cannot bring himself to condemn the "liberal" regime of his Golden Era of the New Deal, or his own role in it.

For him, the "fear of freedom" which shadows the country is merely the result of regrettable "excesses" in the otherwise necessary task of combating "subversion"; "excesses" which have to be fought. to be sure, but still only that. If he cannot bring himself to condemn the Minneapolis affair, it is because he feels: Why couldn't the regrettable need for "emergency" measures have stopped at that point and not expanded to more and more respectable sections of the body politic? If only Roosevelt were still alive and I, Biddle, were his good right hand, all this would not have gone so far. . . .

He combats symptoms, and himself bears the virus. His political soul is divided between horror at the consequences and approval of the social motivations. It is indeed the liberal dilemma of our time, and it has its analogue in the Stalinoid liberal who averts his eyes from the horrible reality of the Russian totalitarianism while preaching tolerance and sympathy for the aims of the regime.

That at least is our suggestion, in defense of the view that Biddle is neither a liar nor a knave.

Operation Survival—No. 12

By HAL DRAPER

We are asking LABOR ACTION readers once again, as in previous years, to ensure the existence of our weekly by contributing to the annual ISL Fund Drive which starts February 15.

Maybe we go about this the wrong way. Judging by the example of some contemporaries, it is the wrong way. Standard operating procedure, it would seem, is to wave the bloody shirt of bankruptcy, suspension of publication and other dire consequences too horrible to contemplate-"SAVE LABOR AC-TION!"-"Unless you send your contribution in NOW, we will not publish after May Day!"-"OPERATION SURVIVAL: \$12,500!" etc.

Now as a matter of fact we've never waved that club, and I don't expect that Al Gates, ISL Fund Drive Director, is going to, this year either. I don't know exactly why, to tell the truth, if someone pressed me to the wall. Maybe it isn't dignified? too alarmist in these alarmist times? or is it just that we've always succeeded in going over the top anyway without ringing up an all-state alarm? Somebody remind me to ask Comrade Gates.

The fact is, however, that such scareheads would be true down to the last exclamation point. It has been true EVERY year of LABOR ACTION's twelve, years' existence' (twelve, come this May Day). There never has been a time when our paper's existence didn't depend upon the fulfillment of the Fund Drive. The Fund Drive has always been Operation Survival for LA.

Now the comrades of the ISL, who are LA's mainstay, know that perfectly well. It's the rest of our readers, perhaps, who think that their subscription covers the cost of keeping LA going. You, for example, may actually not know that you're getting something for nothing-or next to nothing! And in 1952. costs are higher, and times are tougher for socialists who buck the trends toward war and thought-control. . . .

Perhaps it will help if you keep this other fact of life in mind: As each issue of LA carries the Fund Drive Box Score during the next couple of months, it is our creditors who read the end-figures most faithfully.

Many of our readers kick in a week's wages. That's to make up for the free-riders. If you look forward to getting LA every week, as we of the staff look forward to maintaining its record of uninterrupted publication, don't let us down now. Whether it's a five-dollar bill or Friday's paycheck that you enclose, socialism has asked greater sacrifices of its supporters in our time.

LONDON LETTER Labor Blasting Tories

By DAVID ALEXANDER

LONDON, Feb. 6-Outside of the king's death and the accession of Elizabeth, the news here this week is mainly of the Labor Party's reaction to the cuts which the Conservative Chancellor of the Exchequer, R. A. Butler, announced last week.

Attlee is a gentleman, and so we knew he was waxing very indignant when he said in debate last week: "You have been elected under faise pretenses." Apparently many people here think so too. Since the election, according to the Gallup poll published by the London News Chronicle, there has been a movement of three per cent of the electorate from the Conservatives to Labor. You will remember that even at the time of the election, Labor had 250,000 more votes than the Tories.

Aneurin Bevan made one of the most fiery speeches of the session. He denounced the Conservatives for allowing food stocks to go down "at the beginning of the year that Eisenhower says is the year of peril."

"What mean people you are!" he chewed sarcastically, attacking the charges on dental treatment and prescriptions. He and Attlee pointed out that these payments would hurt just those people who were most vulnerable. the old-age pensioners and working-class families. It was true that the Labor Party had asked for powers to charge for prescriptions, but when they found that the administrative cost of exempting the aged was too great they had abandoned the idea. "The Health Service is dead," decided Bevan.

The real crux of the matter lay in what Attlee said later in the debate: "The cuts in social services are quite irrelevant." They have been imposed in order to balance this country's overseas trade! The only way this can possibly have such an effect is to make the people poorer and unable to buy the essentials of life. Internally the government has been having a surplus of revenue every year; cuts in social services will only make this revenue bigger, but they will neither substantially decrease the inflationary pressure nor increase exports.

Besides these cuts in the social services, there has been a serious ferment over a proposed 5 per cent reduction in education estimates. The Trades Union Congress and many teachers' organizations have already protested; some nurseries have been closed down.

Attlee attacked two more Conservative threats. One is that they are limiting credit and hire-purchase: "This is a very vicious piece of class legislation." By far the most serious possibility, however, is the abolition of the "utility" system. This is a scheme under which furniture, household appliances, clothes, etc. are produced at certain specified qualities and are sold cheaply without purchase tax, with the retailer having a fixed profit. It enables 80 per cent of the people to wear suits, for instance, at half or less of the price they would otherwise have to pay. The important points about "utility" are that:

(1) the goods must reach a certain standard of quality;

(2) they are cheap;

(3) they are mass-produced; (4) the fact that one does not pay purchase-tax (about one- (this Congress will probably adthird cost price) makes "utility" goods the basic purchases of the working and middle classes.

If the Conservatives really take all these measures, the standard of living will go down, the cost of living will soar, and British exports will decrease concomitantly. Attlee added the remark that

we might "send the prime minister to earn dollars by making speeches in the States."

It never rains but it pours. Peron has demanded double price from Britain for his meat. The present price represents an increase by one-third on last year's prices. It is doubtful if Britain will pay; if we do not want to do so, we "can hunger," Peron has said. We may.



Liberal Party——

(Continued from page 1) eral Party, Halley piled up a considerable vote on the Liberal line. In the fifth Congressional District he ran second to the Democratic candidate, and not too far behind. The Liberal leadership figures that this by-election, which has received almost no publicity in the press, will draw a very light vote, and that under the circumstances the question will be simply which party is able to get its solid adherents out to the polls. The "floating vote" is not likely to mean much here.

Cranmore is an ideal candidate for this kind of election, for there can be little doubt that the real membership of the Liberal Party will be much more inclined to put out for him than for one of the usual products of a deal with one of the two old parties. In addition to his office in the UAW, he is a member of the State Executive Committee of the Liberal Party, and of the State Board of Americans for Democratic Action. He is also a member of the Urban League's Labor Committee, a notunimportant fact in a district which contains one of the heaviest Nearo concentrations in Queens.

To date he has received the endorsement of the New York City CIO Council and of a number of AFL locals as well as some of the railroad brotherhoods. Some of the UAW and IUE-CIO locals are particularly active in his behalf, and this may well be the decisive factor in this heavily industrial district.

Just as the Halley victory has put more steam behind the rankand-file demand for a really independent political attitude on the part of the Liberal Party, and has given the leadership the courage to try to boost its "winning streak" to two victories, so it also tends to inject itself into the campaign.

The chief piece of campaign literature boasts on the cover: 'The Liberal Party gave you Rudolph Halley-

Now it gives you George F. Cranmore.'

STRESS ON LABOR

Aside from hoopla, the campaign literature stresses Cranmore's labor affiliation rather than trying to play it down. In this respect there will be no doubt that if he wins it will constitute a striking demonstration of the fact that in this district, at least, the voters are not afraid of a man openly committed to the interests of the working people, but rather that they are glad to have a chance to vote for him.

Of course, a Cranmore victory is far from certain, and the party leadership knows it very well. Their real objective is probably to pile up a heavy vote which will demonstrate that the Halley victory was not simply a fluke, but that it signalized a serious swing of the voters toward the Liberal Party.

With all the limitations of time, of the general lack of interest in an election the victor of which will only serve for a few months journ in June or July), the members of the Liberal Party understand that this is, for them at least, a most important test. A heavy vote for Cranmore, let alone an actual victory, will give encouragement to all in the ranks and leadership of the party who really want to see their organization stand on its own feet. It will make it much more difficult for the party leadership to continue to make deals with the Democrats and Republicans in the future. It will even give added strength to the feeling which already exists in certain sections of the party that the time is ripe for it to take seriously its own avowed purpose of fostering a national movement for political idependence.

Of course, a very bad showing by Cranmore would also reinforce the more conservative tendencies in the party. But to the extent that the membership has been approached to help in this campaign, is doing its utmost to bring about a victory.

By SAM FELIKS

help deserves help."

Certainly the introduction of a new criteria for foreign aid, "a nation which needs help deserves help," would be a democratic step forward in American foreign policy. Also, it is preferable that such aid, as meager as it is in relation to the need, go in the form of agricultural development projects rather than concentrated in a military-aid program. The size of the Point Four grant is hardly enough to scratch the surface of the economic problems in India. and above all it cannot serve as a substitute for a thorough-going land-reform program and revitalization of Indian society. It is too cautious, too hesitant and it depends upon the wrong people to carry out the reforms and democratization in these underdeveloped areas which it claims as one of its main purposes

They Didn't Get Theirs

The other face of Point Four, and the only one possible for the Truman administration in the present circumstances, is a program for the exploitation of raw materials in foreign countries for the benefit of the U.S. war machiae; and a program of limited economic aid to bolster up and/or bride regimes friendly to the U.S. or regarded as the lesser evil to other possible regimes.

35 cents

25 cents

\$23,000,000 grant to Iran: "Pakistan's pro-Western attitude is appar-

Oiling Up Point 4 for India Nehru Gets 50 Million and Oil Companies Get a Monopoly

"We must never forget that the only war we seek is, the war against poverty, disease, hunger and illiteracy. Unless we win this struggle, we cannot win the cold war, or prevent the hot war either." This was part of President Truman's message to the Roosevelt Day dinner sponsored by Americans for Democratic Action.

A Point Four grant of \$50,000,000 has been given to India for economic and technical development under the terms of the Mutual Security Act.

U. S. Ambassador to India Chester Bowles made a flying trip to Washington to recommend a billion-dollar aid program for India to the Senate Foreign Policy Com-

"What sets the arrangement apart from the aid policy the United States sometimes follows elsewhere,' writes Blair Bolles in the liberal Foreign Policy Bulletin of February 1, "is that the agreement puts the emphasis on help to India for that country's benefit rather than on its opposition to the USSR." Bolles continues: "the official tendency before Mr. Bowles became ambassador was to follow the line that once India had shown itself worthy of our help, the help would be forthcoming; whereas the new attitude is that a nation which needs

The Point Four program exists on two separate levels. The first is the one announced in President Truman's • inaugural address in 1949. It was the attempt to create the social and economic and (it was hoped) the subsequent political conditions, through a relatively limited technical-aid program necessary for large American capital investments all over the world. American capital would exploit the entire world through its investments, and these investments would provide a high level of employment in the U. S. It is needless to add that this emphasis has been pushed to the background today, but not forgotten.

The \$50,000,000 Point Four grant to India is best understood as an example of the latter category, although the Nehru government has not been very shy while it was being seduced. And even if it could be shown that the India aid flowed decisively from the humanitarian considerations of Truman, Acheson and Bowles, which we doubt, the important fact is that the recipients of this aid regard it as a bribe.

For example: About two weeks after the grant to India, it was announced that neighboring Pakistan was to get a grant of from \$8 to \$12,000,000 in Point Four aid. The Pakistani government was "insulted" at the "paltry" sum it was to receive. An anonymous government official permitted himself to be quoted in the January 22, N. Y. Times, referring to the India aid and the

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Of the Need for ana Independent Labor Party

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taken for granted that we seem to have been left out. But now that the United States and the Soviet Union are engaged in competitive wooing of India I suppose that money will be pouring in there.

"In view of what we are getting as compared to what India is getting and the particular moment she is getting it, there is quite frankly some suspicion as to the United States' real intentions."

If this be the attitude of the overtly pro-Western Pakistani government, there can be little doubt that it is shared in less diplomatic language by India and Iran. While there are humanitarian considerations in the promulgation of Point 4 stemming from truly democratic considerations and ideals, the catchpenny reality is that U. S. foreign policy is more concerned about building a Near and Southeast Asia military alliance. The keystone

of a military pact in this area would have to be India. The recent Stalinist threats of an extension of a "Korean" war to the remnants of the West's imperialist colonies in Malaya and Indo-China have speeded Washington's wooing of India. Not that there appears to be a likelihood of a formal alliance being concluded. Washington would prefer that but is willing to settle for what it calls a "conciliatory" attitude on India's part and certainly no repetition of her attitude toward the Korean war.

While Nehru is far more sensitive to the mass antiimperialist and nationalist sentiment in the Asian world than the Truman administration, he is nevertheless forced to look toward Washington. The \$3.5 billion fiveyear Indian development plan is in serious trouble over lack of finances. A \$600-million loan is the aim of the Nehru government, and Washington is the only place where that kind of money is available.

However, Nehru has been unwilling and unable, especially in face of an election at home, to make the kind of pro-U. S. foreign-policy statements that would please Senator Connally, who expresses in the crudest terms the aims of Point 4 and the economic-aid programs. Is Nehru friendly or hostile to the United States? This is his criterion. Instead Nehru has been speaking another language dear to the heart of American capitalism-capital nvestments.

Prior to the signing of the Point Four pact, the Indian government signed agreements with two U.S. oil companies, Socony-Vacuum and Caltex, and one British, Burmah-Shell, to build two oil refineries valued at \$70 million. This agreement gave a virtual monopoly position in the Indian market to these giant world-wide monopolists. This was the first major post-war investment of U. S. capital in India and it was widely hailed in business circles as a political milestone pointing the way for capital exploita-tion of the vast Indian market.

Denounce Nehru

The virtual oil monopoly given to the world oil cartel in India was denounced by the Indian Socialist Party in a statement by Asoka Mehta:

"The agreement recently entered into by the government of India with the Standard-Vacuum Oil Company of New York for the setting up of an oil refinery in Bombay and the prospects of a similar agreement with B. O. C. are bound to give a jolt to our people.

"While in Iran Dr. Mossadegh is bravely fighting the oil interests, in India Pandit Nehru enters into an agreement with these very interests. Till recently the big oil companies were averse to setting up any refinery in India. Only the reverses in Iran have made them seek a new foothold in our country.

"The big oil companies have exercised a stranglehold on our country and have not hesitated through a rate war to drive two Indian-owned companies to the wall. And now a long-term monopoly is assured to them.

"The various concessions given to the oil companies which enable them to perpetuate the virtual monopoly will result in between four to five hundred crores of

rupees going into their coffers in the next 30 years. The immediate net profit from the refining side is likely to be Rs. 20/- per ton. This will work out, when the refineries are built up, to six crores per year. The profits for distribution work out to eight crores per year. The indirect earnings on steamer freight, insurance, etc. and benefits arising from excise duties will work out to over two crores per year. On an investment of Rs. 45 crores the annual profits will thus be sixteen crores, or a profit of 35 per cent.

Page Three

"No government with a shred of national feeling can permit such a vantage point in the economy to be occupied by foreign monopolists.

"Pandit Nehru may give assurance for the next 30 years or even for the next 3,000 years. But the people of India will not hesitate to take a leaf out of the tragic yet heroic book of Iran and deal with the foreign monopelists as they deserve to be dealt with.

"Let the oil interests realize that any agreement they enter into will not be worth a scrap of paper when the Congress innings are over as they are bound to, sooner rather than later."-Janata, Dec. 9.

A footnote on the two American oil companies: Elmer Patman, an official observer for the House and Senate Small Business Committee at the World Petroleum Congress held last May, charged that they were participating n a world cartel with the congress as their front organization. Patman, naming the other companies as Shell, Anglo-Iranian and Gulf, also charged that the U.S. Petroleum Administration for Defense and the State Department were helping the Big Five in their plans; and that the Department of Justice exempted the Big Five from anti-trust suits in the name of the military program to allow cartelization.

Timing of the Grant

The announcement of the concession to American oil interests was undoubtedly timed to come just prior to the announcement of the Point 4 grant so as to create a favorable opinion in American business circles. This is the ideal of Point 4 both to American capitalism and its government. It cannot be said that the Point 4 grant would not have been forthcoming if India had not granted entry to American capital. The consideration of strategic interests might have demanded it. In fact, a Point 4 grant does not necessarily mean a knuckling under to U. S. demands for it can mean just the opposite at times, as indicated by Point 4 aid to Iran and the objections of Pakistan.

Whatever may have been and still are the differences between Nehru and Washington, the Truman administration still feels that the Nehru government is its best bet in India. The timing of the Point 4 grant was meant to occur when Indian elections were being held in order to strengthen Nehru's hand. Likewise the flying trip to Washington by Ambassador Chester Bowles to make a personal proposal for a billion-dollar aid program to bolster the sagging Indian economy. It was perhaps a last-minute election stunt since the money was not proposed in President Truman's annual budget message; and it was a personal proposal in order not to obligate the U.S. for this amount, since there is little likelihood it will be extended

There is another reason for the Point 4 grant at this time, which ties in closely with the anticipation of an extension of Stalinist military activities in Southeast Asia, and which explains why the emphasis at least at this time has been given to agricultural production. There is the consideration of the possibility of another crop failure and famine similar to last years. Once again the U. S. feels that it would be politically bound to extend another grain loan despite all the bludgeoning by Congress to get military bases, strategic materials and political concession in return for the grain from a starving India. Naturally the Truman administration would like to avoid a repetition of the political defeat it realizes it suffered as a result of the grain loan.

Point Four and the United Nations

There was a time about a year ago when it was proposed that major U. S. Point 4 contributions be administered through the United Nations. This, it was believed, would undermine the charge of U.S. imperialism connected with Point 4.

But today this has all passed. The integration of Point 4 and U. S. strategic planning demands that sole control over these funds be in the hands of the U.S. and not a UN agency.

The recent voting record of the underdeveloped and poorer countries on economic and trusteeship policy give no indication that they are willing to knuckle down. The Asian, Arab and Latin American nations have consistently voted against the U. S.-West Europe bloc on these questions.

In the UN, the United States has shown that it will give vigorous support to any pious-sounding statement in favor of land reform and economic development. But when it comes to concrete action, it will vote to continue to "study" the problem, and then oppose the planning of an international fund to supply grants and low-interest loans to underdeveloped countries, and most certainly oppose the creation of an international development authority. Led by the Asian, Arab and Latin American na-

tions and over the objections of the U.S., the UN General Assembly merely voted that UNESCO should formulate a plan for an international development fund. It was estimated that such a fund would need \$500 million at the beginning.

This was too much money, objected the U. S. delegate, Congressman Mike Mansfield, for the U.S. share would come to about \$180 million. Delegate Mansfield went on to inform the General Assembly that while military spending in the U.S. remains at its present high level, the U. S. could not make any voluntary contribution to the fund.

Against this argument, the smaller nations point out that this was only a plan laying the groundwork for the future when the fund might be placed into operation. The resolution was then amended to read that the plan would go into effect "as soon as circumstances permit."

It is small wonder that the entire world looks with suspicion and distrust at U. S. military and economic aid. The Point 4 program today is another one of the weapons in the arsenal of U.S. imperialism, just as is the Mutual Security Act; and it is used in virtually the same way.



Tactics in Steel Talks

(Continued from page 1) aiming at not only catching up but at becoming the "spearhead" of the labor movement, a role hitherto divided between the UAW and the UMW. Perhaps a factor in this is that when Murray does step down from CIO leadership, he still wants a strong base in CIO circles and thus is building up his own union. At any rate, a dynamic program is necessary to rally the union, which has not been the healthiest at the

The reaction of the companies is what might be expected. LABOR ACTION readers are already aware that most profits are "fantastic" and that most corporations are "arrogant" these days. Yet, these are the words that have to

For example: gross profits in the steel industry last year were running at the rate of 32.5 per cent of capitalization! Think of it-a rate that would pay back the entire investment of the owners every three years. Of course, taxes cut into this, but the literally stupendous size of the profits shows who is to blame for inflation. It is small wonder that both the union and the government claim that the industry can meet the union's demands

The steel industry, however, is used to having pretty much its own way both with the government and the union. From the government, the industry has demanded higher and higher prices, and gotten them. From the union, the industry got tacit approval for these price hikes at least until Murray realized that labor was being blamed for inflation. In 1945-1946, when the UAW was trying to make prices a subject for collective bargaining, it was Murray who cut the ground from under them.

Today the industry is adamant and arrogant. It has pretty well sold the idea that wage increases inevitably mean price increases. Steel is in scarce supply for the armament drive (which Murray supports). So the industry simply rejects all union demands and proposes instead to weaken the present contract further. Ben Fairless, head of U. S. Steel, announced at the outset of negotiations that a new contract couldn't be reached through collective bargaining, and he proved his point by absolutely refusing to bargain. The industry tossed the problem to Truman. Truman threatened to invoke the T-H Law, and the union postponed

Why the postponement? Was Murray simply trying to avoid embarrassing "labor's friend" in the White House? Was he afraid of Taft-Hartley? Of course, both these factors enter in, but it is not

Steel is a touchy industry, Traditionally, it has been the toughest to organize, the last to be organized, and the hardest. It is the basic industry — .a measuring rod by tions are judged econ cally. Further, a strike in steel is immediately felt throughout the economy, more so than in auto, coal, or any other industry except transportation. Then there is the "inflation" issue and the "defense"

For all of these reasons-and also because it is his method-Murray is playing for public opin-

ion. The union has now postponed the strike twice - reasonable enough, eh? The union asked President Fairless of U. S. Steel to address their special convention. This delighted the Pittsburgh papers, which apparently really believed that Fairless would accept the invitation and would talk the workers right out of a wage increase! Instead, Fairless declined with the incredible (because it's true) admission that "there is nothing I could say to you delegates which would change your opinions." This confession by such an industrial notable should end once and for all the lies about "labor dictators" who "force strikes" upon unwilling workers.

OUTLOOK FOR STRIKE

Another play for public opinion (which, of course, includes steel workers and their families) has been the fuss the union has raised because U. S. Steel will not admit Red Cross Bloodmobiles to their plants so that steel workers may give blood for the wounded.

Now, the reasonable union has submitted the dispute to a Wage Stabilization Board panel. Of course, the panel will award the union part of its considerable demands; the reasonable and moder- talk for Murray, who customarily ate union will accept; the companies will not; and THEN a strike names. At any rate, the convention will take place (unless the government immediately gives the companies a price boost.) This is the outlook.

This, as well as the other factors, is what is behind the strike postponement. It is a pattern of bargaining with Murray-partly arising out of the nature of the industry, and partly arising from Murray's personal philosophy and psychology. This was exactly the same pattern the steel workers used to get pensions two years ago, and largely the pattern of 1945-1946.

It was in the light of this strategy that the first special convention that the steel workers ever called was held last month. Supposedly a meeting to call off a strike, it was really preparing one -only for a later date. (It might be added that only a convention and a promise of later action would have headed off many angry and provoked locals.)

LEFT FOOT FORWARD

This first special convention was a remarkable convention, if for no other reason than it concerned itself solely with union business. The program was not loaded with assorted generals, elder statesmen, archbishops, cabinet members, Friends of Labor. Marshall Plan dignitaries, senators and the like. In such a good clean atmosphere, the convention took place. It was soon apparent that Murray hoped for several things:

(1) to unite the union around the contract demands and prepare the locals for a struggle after the WSB hearing ends:

(2) to serve notice on the WSB, on Truman, and the companies that the rank and file were aroused and were united and were in a fighting mood;

participation which are necessary to renovate the USA-CIO.

All three of these purposes were achieved.

Most union militants have had the experience of attending con-

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ventions or conferences where the chairman ignores or calls very infrequently on the known militants. This convention was the reverse-Murray, Goldberg and the other chairmen made it a point to call on the radicals, the militants and the fighters. The result was a hardhitting, unifying, electrifying con- By CARL DARTON vention which brought the backward locals (and the cynical staff members!) up to a higher pitch and gave the secondary and local leaders a sense of unity and purpose which has not obtained for a long time in the USA-CIO. As one hardbitten journalist observed with some wonder, "You'd think these men were starting a revolution instead of calling off a strike; you'd think they were going out of this hall and go home and take over the police stations."

Murray was as leftish as the next man. The steel industry, he said, wants labor "to sell its bodies to the steel industry and make them amenable to the lash of the whip." He raked Fairless; he assailed Congress; he cursed Wall Street; he damned the House of Morgan. Of course, all this has been done before, and then forgotten two weeks after the words were uttered, but it was strong calls steel executives by their first ate it up.

READY TO FIGHT

What Murray said beyond the subject of current negotiations strengthens the notion that he is aiming at a general overhauling of the union. He declared his "return to the ranks" from the duties of CIO head. He swore that there would be no racketeers in the union (there never have been) and that there would be no petty dictators (he could have spit on several from where he spoke.) This brought applause. He openly warned that the undercover personal factionalism and building of staff machines had better stop. More applause. He swore that the USA-CIO was going to be a model democratic union. He continually referred to the coming regular convention in May of this year as if a great deal was to be accomplished there.

The spirit engendered (and expressed) at the convention was neither temporary nor artificial. Since then, there have been wildcats and slowdowns in plant after plant throughout the country. The ranks are ready to fight. (During the pension strike two years ago, such a feeling was largely lacking.)

It is not the intention of this article to whitewash Phil Murray. Most of the problems which the steel workers now face are a result directly or indirectly of the CIO's kowtowing to the Democratic Party in the foreign and domestic field. Nor is Murray's "clever" strategy to be wildly acclaimed. If he now feels he must win public opinion by going along with a government board, it is be cause he lost a lot of public support when he undermined the GM (3) to release the wellsprings of strike of the UAW in 1945-1946. militant democratic rank-and-file And the whole policy of getting the sanction of a government board for wage increases and other benefits is dangerous. It is better to teach the workers from the start to rely on their own strength; the next time, the government board may turn thumbs down and explode the "reasonable" approach.

> The above are truisms. They should not conceal that-within the bounds of the unfortunate Democratic-labor alliance - Murray is leading a struggle with considerable skill.

> And perhaps most important of all, Murray is apparently coming to realize more fully the danger that the labor movement faces in the United States today. He has begun to mobilize more fully the steel union for the rough days ahead. In so doing, he has-of necessity, there is no other waycalled on the ranks. Once they are in motion and begin to realize their power, they may do an even more thorough job than Murray hopes for.



FREE SCIENCE IN A FREE SOCIETY

When American scientists speak critically of Russian science it is. often difficult to decide whether they are merely being "patriotic" or are sincerely concerned with the curtailment of freedom and the traditional liberties of science.

The harnessing of science to destruction, whether in Germany, Russia or America, is wrong. This fact should be apparent to all scientists. Less apparent, however, is how society, which is becoming increasingly interdependent, can best utilize science without restricting the creative working of the scientist. Fundamentally, it is part of the broad problem of individual freedom in an industrialized and complex economy. The solution should not be too difficult for scientists and all workers alike once the burden of war, capitalism and Stalinism is removed from our backs.

Numerous papers on Russian science at the recent AAAS meeting in Philadelphia reflect the dual interest of scientists in freedom as well as things Russian.

The most publicized controversy on Russian science is in the field of genetics. This matter was reviewed at Philadelphia by Th. Dobzhansky, Columbia University, a Russian scientist himself until exiled in 1929.

The details of the controversy are highly technical and will not be eviewed here. However, no government had attempted to take sides this scientific discussion until the Russian regime officially adopted ysenkoism as the Stalinist line in genetics.

It is the considered judgment of most scientists throughout the rest of the world that Russian scientists, by misrepresentations, the use of half-truths and obscurantism, have made genetics in Russia a pseudo-science. To those familiar with the manner in which Stalinism has vulgarized and degraded Marx and Lenin, such corruption and misuse of scientific theory and method does not come as a surprise.

To Dobzhansky's credit let it be said that he does not beat the Russian bear unduly, for he realizes that Lysenkoism is just one form of nationalistic reaction which is repressing science everywhere. He stated that the day of the individual or independent scientist is past; that science is part of the great social movement of mankind, but the best method and means of utilizing science for human good is not yet available.

Dobzhansky emphasized that the Russian attempt is a miserable failure and the only answer to Lysenkoism is free criticism. He added that the reaction in science exists also in the United States, and any American scientist who can see anything good originating on Russian soil is considered subversive.

Most of the other speakers were merely critical of the Russians, mostly with a "holier than thou" attitude. It remained for R. L. Ackoff of the Case Institute of Technology to point out that many of the criticisms of science in Russia apply also to the United States.

To prove his point Ackoff compared the low status of the social sciences in both countries. In the Russian Academy of Science there is no separate department of sociology and the nearest approach to the social sciences is in economics. The only social inquiry is in the form of propaganda for the collective effort. There is no discussion of the scientific method as such, since the philosophy of "dialectic materialism" (in its mangled Stalinist form) is alone considered necessary. Under these conditions social sciences can only play a propaganda role and no attempt is made to question the basic political life of Russia.

In the United States Ackoff finds the social sciences not much better. Here they are often considered as part of the "humanities," and there s no social science in the National Academy. There have been no Nobel Prizes in the social sciences. As in Russia the greatest progress has been in propaganda, study of public opinion, and market research. The foremost sociologists in the U. S. are Gallup, Hooper and Crosley. The greatest employment opportunity for sociologists and psychologists in this country is in the War Department. The method of the social sciences here is the wide collection of superficial data of little significance. Comparing the relative budgets in the U. S. for the social and physical sciences, Ackoff stated that the former increased less than threefold from 1938 to 1948, from \$34 to \$88 million annually, while that for the physical sciences increased fivefold, from 234 million to 11/4 billions. Furthermore in 1938, about 38 per cent of the government's research was in the social sciences while in 1948 only 6 per cent was so applied.

Ackoff concluded that the reason for the failure to support the social sciences in both the U.S. and the USSR was the lack of urgency for such work from the viewpoint of those in political power. The social sciences are suppressed because those in control see no need for fundamental changes in social relationships. A highly developed social science requires the conditions of a free society

Such sentiments as Ackoff expresses are inspiring, particularly when presented to such an august body as the American Association for the Advancement of Science and point the need both for a free science and a free society.





Page Two-S

By CHARLES GOLDBERG

BROOKLYN, Feb. 10-The Student Governing Association of Brooklyn College has been abolished. Ratification by the Gideonse administration's Faculty Council of a new campus constitution, whose implementation is expected in March, will replace the association with a new student government association to be known as the Student Activities Organization (SAO).

veals that President Harry unusual penchant for continually D. Gideonse and his faculty hatchetmen have really outdone themselves this time by this piece of "legislation," the culmination of a long and continuing series of successful attempts at hacking away at whatever vestiges of student liberties still remain on the Brooklyn College campus.

Under the new constitution, school-wide elections to student government are discarded. In the place of such an extraneous and bothersome democratic procedure, an Executive Committee and Senate of the SAO are established consisting of elected representa-tives from each "legally recognized" student club.

The difficulty here is that Harry

An analysis of the SAO re- Gideonse and his cohorts have an limiting the arena in which campolitical organizations are able to function and maintain "legal" recognition. Two Stalinist groups, the Labor Youth League and the Young Progressives of America, have already been banned by administration decree because of their support of Stalinist politics in the cold war. No inringements of college regulations have been charged.

> anti-Stalinist liberal Students for Democratic Action has been suspended for over a year now as a consequence of its sponsorship of Campus News, former publication of the Campus Coalition for the Reinstatement of Vanguard (the former Brooklyn College newspaper).

The SDA, unlike other liberal

groups and socialist groups in the coalition, was enabled by its constitution to publish a newspaper on the campus. After the other clubs, faced with suspension, were forced to cease their sponsorship of the publication, the SDA remained the sole sponsor of the Campus News for its last ssue.

Despite the fact that SDA was acting within its constitutional rights, the administration ruled that the SDA constitution had been "misinterpreted." It ruled that the provisions were only for a publication of specifically SDA news, and it promptly suspended SDA.

ACLU PROTESTS SUSPENSION

Resolutions by the American Civil Liberties Union and the National Student Association for the reinstatement of SDA and Vanguard have been of no avail. President Gideonse evidently believes that he is above criticism. Vanguard encountered its final difficulties with the administration when it had the effrontery to editorially criticize the president of the college for vetoing Profes-

sor Jesse D. Clarkson's election as chairman of the History Department. The destruction of the best interests of the entire Vanguard was the culmination of school body. many years of struggle between Vanguard and the administration.

Gideonse's favorite charge has been that the Stalinists were the cause of all the disputes. But Vanguard staffs have come and gone year after year, and still the strugie went on. In fact, the editorial staff of the paper was non-Stalinist at the time the hatchet fell. What the Gideonse administration wanted was a college newspaper subservient to the dictates of the administration.

An indication of the now out-inthe open attitude of the administration is the statement of Professor James O'Neill, chairman of the Faculty Committee on the Constitution. Professor • O'Neill claimed. with an apparently straight face, that the new constitution would allow the students "more liberties than are generally extended to college students in the rest of the country." He then went on to add that the college faculty was responsible for the actions of its students, and must retain the power to veto speaking invitations extended by organizations of the college if it was deemed by the faculty harmful to

THE NEW CONSTITUTION As for the new constitution,

we are informed by Gideonse's house organ Kingsman that the aforementioned Executive Committee of the Student Activities Organization, "in which most legislative and regulatory powers will be vested, is to be elected by one representative from each campus group. The committee has the power to suspend any club for due cause [sic], supervise and coordinate club activities, and carry out regulations pertaining to student activities. It will . . . meet once every school week."

The Senate, we are informed, "is an investigating, research, and recommendatory body and can review the executive committee action and upset a committee vote by a two-thirds vote of its own entire membership." It will meet only twice a semester and will be formed by the same electoral methods as the Executive Committee

Upon first reading, all of this may sound democratic enough. But the constitution has hidden snares.

The Executive Committee will be vested with most legislative and regulatory powers; it has the power to suspend any club for due cause, etc., etc. Perfectly understood, although the phrase "due cause" is rather nebulous. Our remarks on the snare of "legal recognition" apply here. But leaving this aside, how explain the powers of the Senatea body supposedly limited to investigating, regulating and recommending-to upset a committee vote?

LABYRINTHINE MAZE

In addition, we are informed that "Student Committee on Student Group Appeals (SCSGA) will also ,be set up to handle appeals from any action, decision, or policy of either the Executive Committee or the Senate. The Appeal group will also handle impeachment charges for further trial. Members of the Appeal Board Lit is mentioned as if in passing] will be appointed by the Dean of Students."

But our paranoid pedagogue in the president's office is not even content to let matters rest here, with the appointment of the judicial body. You never can telleven a faculty-appointed pro-Gideonse sycophant any turn out to be a "midget-Malik" in dis-

Therefore, the Faculty-Student **Committee on Social Organizations** which can review any SCSGA action and whose decision is final, economy" as to spawn the para- that is . . . unless it is reviewed

> It may safely be said that if a Executive Committee ruling is disputed when a student enters BC as a freshmen, that ruling will be handed down by graduation time four years later.



LOS ANGELES, Feb. 9-The ideology of G. L. K. Smith, Wesley Swift and the rest of that nefarious crew may not be exactly popular yet, especially in its most naked and pure form of open race-baiting. But the cold-war atmosphere engendered by the war economy, the CP trials, subversive list, blacklisting, job dismissals without hearings, and the open attacks against aca-

demic freedom have borne fruit.

Hitherto these sinister forces have had little influence on the campus. It is a commentary on the state of higher education and intellectual submission to conformity patterns imposed by external authorities, that such primitive doctrines as those expounded by the anti-Semites and White Supremacists could flower on campus, and that their adherents should become so bold as to organize among students under the guise of fighting for free enterprise and against the "welfare state" of "creeping socialism.

The Collegian, campus paper at Los Angeles City College, recently announced the existence of a "Macship of thirty LACC students, one of twenty-two such clubs nationally, ten of them in Southern California. The Collegian gave prominent space to this affair, mentioning that the objective of these affiliated "MacArthur clubs" is not to boost the presidential candidacy of the five-star reactionary but solely to fight the doctrines and movements "of socialism and communism."

To those who understand the jargon and phraseology of the rabid "free enterprise" agitators in their special political contexts,

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this official aim means fighting anything of a liberal or progressive nature. HATE-MONGER AT WORK

Still, there would be less cause for alarm if the MacArthur clubs were pure-and-simple channels for rallying the "American taxpayers" and the "property-owners" to protest government interference with business and to disseminate the economic doctrines of Hayek and the NAM. The big daily papers and the radio "educationals" do it all the time and far more effectively, it seems.

What makes the MacArthur clubs smell to high heaven and back is the fact, announced casually in the Collegian, that the principal organizer of these clubs is one Robert Munger, a former LACC student, currently enrolled at Pepperdine College in Los Angeles. Munger, may it be stated, has long been regarded as a hanger-on of the Wesley Swift hate-wagon.

He appeared at an off-campus meeting sponsored by socialist youth groups and instigated threats of violence against the speakers, disrupting the meeting, while campus authorities encouraged this behavior. Munger also ollowed participants in an anti-Franco picket line to a resaurant and tried to pick up bits of conversation as an eavesdropper, obviously in training as a stoolnigeon

FASCIST SMITH AGAIN

Recently, this writer listened to one of Munger's lieutenants, an admitted anti-Semite, bait two or three Jewish students on campus, aided by vociferous cronies who shouted that "the Jews are a world menace, plotting to collectivize society." The Jewish students were apparently taken by surprise by this open assault and their reactions alternated between justiwhat one often regards as cracknot antics.

This incident highlights the boldness of the hatemongers who find the present political and academic atmosphere congenial for their ideas. Gerald L. K. Smith spoke in downtown Los Angeles a few weeks ago and reports are that he gave his usual vile harangues against minorities and the "radical nace" and attracted the same kind of hangers-on.

Whether the so-called Mac-Arthur clubs are as numerous or have the strength claimed officially is doubtful. Of greater relevance is the fact that they are now emboldened to operate more cpenly, even if they do use the device of naming their organization after a much-publicized gen-"eral, who is respectable in "safe." solid, and patriotic reactionary circles.

One can well imagine the faorable attitude toward this group a campus administration whose spokesman personally tried to incite violence against a peaceful street meeting of democratic forces and which has, at least, given tacit recognition to this neofascist band by its reticence when the campus paper published the claim that a MacArthur club at LACC has thirty students, a-bid for like-minded recruits.

SDA TO ORGANIZE

Just before the fall semester ended, the same Collegian published a report that an organizing committee was attempting to establish a chapter of Students for Democratic Action on campus. The committee hoped to get campus recognition as an official, legitimate student organization which can use college facilities, publicize openly and recruit freely as a non-partisan group interested in defending civil liberties. promoting tolerance, and exchanging political ideas.

It remains to be seen whether an administration with a record of attacking civil liberties and fostering right-wing views will actually permit an organization to achieve official status which has as one of its avowed aims the objective of safeguarding and extending civil liberties, including the right to hold political forums fiable anger and amusement at and to debate controversial views on campus, using campus facilities and publicity outlets.

As socialist defenders of democracy, we also hope the SDA is allowed that necessary recognition indispensable for effective organizing and fruitful work. LACC needs such a free arena badly for democratic student activity. A militant SDA could provide a counter-balance to the poisons exuding from the student MacArthur club, and reverse the endemic political

lethargy of the LACC tradition. Any genuinely democratic force is to be welcomed and nourished by those students who do not wish to encourage the trends that arive America toward the garrison state: the currents, official and otherwise, that attempt to shackle freedom of speech, assembly, and thought, which, even if inadvertently, help the growth of racist movements.

The MacArthur clubs are significant examples of how a great imperialist power, locked in mortal struggle with a rival imperialist power, Stalinist Russia, beset by its own internal problems, can move so far down the path of militarism and the "permanent war sitical growth of fascism. Fascism by the Faculty Council. and reaction feed on a decaying social system, not on one in the bloom of health. The MacArthur club is such a warning and, while not the most ominous, is certainly not the least significant.

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ing swept away. for another decade."

trend.'

a rule that policy changes must be tabled for one week, Harry Hanson, one of the sponsors of the bill, bluntly argued: "The vote will not change. Any time it is presented it will pass, so I don't see why it can't be considered tonight, rules or no rules."

railroad.

Miss Senzek had little opportunity to work up opposition to the committee. She had time for only one editorial, which was to be her farewell statement. It would have been impossible to attempt to open a campaign just then, but the embittered editor concluded with: "I cannot say that the job (editorship of the Daily Californian) has prepared me to go out into my chosen pprofession with full confidence in the integrity of man." LED BY HEARST MAN

The next session of the committee was scheduled for January 16. By this time the Daily Californian was through for the semester, and most students were studying for finals. Several attempts to delay passage of the bill were made, but it was futile. Carolyn Stay, the representative voting against the bill at the first meeting, moved that the whole thing be made a recommendation rather than a resolution. This was also defeated, and the resolution was

then passed.

A former Hearst associate, John Neylan is now prominent in the conservative wing of the state Republican Party. This wing, according to local papers, represents oil men and big farmers. It was described by Governor Warren as follows, "Jack is never so happy as when he is spraying venom on somebody. It doesn't matter whom." Neylan let fly on the Daily Californian at a Regents' meeting last December. He complained about two articles the paper printed which seemed to him outrageous.

GAGGING THE "DAILY CAL"

It has been Daily Californian policy for years to print contributions by students, regardless of political opinion. Accordingly, two questionable articles by a student who had attended the Berlin Peace Festival were accepted. These pro-Stalinist articles were answered by another student, well acquainted with Russian totalitarianism. The Stalinist writer was thoroughly discredited by the answer. This did not satisfy the Regents, who ordered an investigation of the matter. Soon after, President Sproul summoned Alva Senzek for a conference. She agreed to take action at once. However, the Executive Committee members who sponsored the recent measures must have started to draft their proposal almost immediately, for Representative Harry Hanson said at the January 14 meeting that almost a month had been spent on the bill. It is uncertain whether or not this was done underhandedly, but it is certain that there is

HANDY WAY TO SUBSCRIBE

Page Three-S



"Once again the nation's public schools are in a seriou plight. Eighteen month of defense mobilization have taken their toll. Danger signals are flying everywhere, but often are not heeded. Many advances made in the first five years after World War II are be-

The schools, like other aspects of civilian life, are beginning to feel the effects of the Korean conflict. As a result, they face a gloomy year. Many educators are 26,525,115. worried lest the gloom continue

This is the conclusion reached by Benjamin Fine in a series of New York Times articles on the effect of the war mobilization program on the nation's public schools. This is not the opinion of a single commentator but the consensus of leading educators all over the country: "The reports . . . all point to a downward

In a country that spends fabulous billions of dollars on a war mobilization program, only a little more than five billion dollars is spent on the entire public school system in the country. And of this amount over one billion dollars is

spent by two states—New York and California.

While the amount of money spent on public schools has risen slightly in the last year, because of the inflationary pressures in the economy it buys less in educational services. There is less spent on each child even in absolute terms since the number of children attending public schools has increased by 826,194 students in the last year to a total of

CONDITIONS WORSE

The public school system, as a result of this situation, is caught in a squeeze between increased enrollment, inflationary costs, lack of building material and an acute teacher shortage.

Not all of the present difficulties of the school system today should be traced to the rearmament program. Many schools were a dilapidated condition and overflowing to the windows (if there were any) long before the Korean war. It is the Korean war which in an immediate sense blocks the way to their improvement. omy, there can be no assurance

that this scandalous situation will be radically improved.

. The Korean war is aggravating a bad situation, but it did not create it. "Over the nation 3 .-500,000 elementary and high school children-one out of eight pupils in the public schools-are suffering an impaired education because of inadequate facilities. A year ago a Times survey showed 3.000.000 children were being deprived of an adequate education. Thus, there has been an increase of half a million in twelve months "

While the school children of the nation are having their education impaired due to the inadequacy of school construction and allied causes, this occurs at a time when there is another and even more serious attack on the public school system itself and the academic freedom of the teachers.

SCHOOLS SMEARED

These two major assaults upon an already inadequate and minimal educational standard are closely related because they are both affected by the Korean war However, because of the war econ- and the war-economy atmosphere. The two primary targets of the

witchhunters and hysteria-mong- tem, they certainly cannot be com ers in the U. S. have been the pared to the Pandora box of regovernment service and the educational system. But there has not the political ideas and affiliations only been an attack upon the of teachers. First it was charged academic freedom and even per- that Stalinists could not be comsonal political point of view of teachers. The free public school system has been smeared, as well as progressive and liberal educa- the basis of incompetence. It is tional methods. Naturally they are charged with breeding "communism." Anti-Stalinist hysteria is being used as a pretext to cover the espousal of reactionary ideas, and it is a means whereby they can receive a serious hearing.

The reactionaries cry for a return to "traditional educational methods" away from the fancy educational methods that turn the young students toward "subversive" thoughts and "foreign ideologies." They cry for a return to the teaching of history as chronology so that a student may get a wonderful background in the birthdates of the presidents or the middle names of the men who signed the Declaration of Independence.

This is part of an attack upon the anti-formalist approach in education and history championed by John Dewey, James Robinson and Charles A. Beard. It is not that public schools actually succeed in accomplishing the sort of job that is possible or necessary with these methods, but the goal of teaching a student to understand and deal with the problems of today is preferable to the primitivism of "readin, 'ritin and rithmetic" and history dates.

PANDORA BOX

We already have seen the ousting of Stalinist teachers from the school system, and the passage of the Feinberg Law in New York with the intention of eliminating a more inclusive group of "subversive" teachers. Moves are on foot all over the country to check 'subversive" text-books. Exactly what is to be considered "subversive" or "disloyal" depends on the particular witchhunter.

Self-appointed protectors of the public morals, such as the Americanism Committees of the American Legion are demanding the right to check the "subversiveness" entire college faculties as they have done at Sarah Lawrence College. Even Harry Gideonse's adhas not been immune from such attacks. The pioneering work of Sidney Hook several years ago in arguing for the expulsion of Stalinst teachers is bearing bitter fruit Hook has since moved out of the picture, protesting that he never intended these consequences. But these are the results which necessarily followed, as we argued when we opposed Hook's proposals.

Whatever may have been the alleged dangers of Stalinist teachers in the public school sys-

action opened by the inquiry into petent teachers because they were bound to a party line, but as yet ne charge has been brought up on membership in an organization which is used as the basis of the charges.

A growing shortage of teachers has been developing along with the rising school enrollment and declining amount of funds for school expansion and maintenance programs. The Times survey points out that "despite the need for teachers, young people seem to be shy at entering the profession. The teachers colleges report a decrease this year of 16 per cent in their entering classes. This means in effect, that four years from now, when the school rolls will have increased by more than 5,000,000, there, will be fewer trained teachers.'

TEACHER STANDARDS

And with regard to the existing body of teachers, "The National Education Association estimates that of the 600,000 elementary teachers in the public schools 300,000 do not hold college degrees-the minimal standard. Of this number the NEA says, at least 100,000 are so inadequately prepared as to make their continued presence in the classrooms dangerous to the mental and emotional growth of America's youth."

A great part of the reason for the teacher shortage has been the relatively low pay. The Times report gives a national average annual wage of \$3290 with a high in New York of \$4500 and the low in Mississippi of \$1475. In the past year the national average has increased only \$193 and this as forced many teachers out of the profession, attracted by higher wages in other jobs.

The teachers' morale in many areas has been lowered as a consequence, as well as a general lowering in professional standards. Their morale has also declined because of the singling out of the teaching profession for political attack and "loyalty" checking. Repeatedly there are reports of teachers shving away from teachminstration at Brooklyn College, ing controversial topics, or even current historical and political developments out of fear of future reprisals.

> ". . . the effects of the Korean war can be seen in the classrooms of every community in the United States." The effects have been both physical and political. And almost as if a bad joke were to be played on American youth they are informed, in effect, that the shortcomings of the American educational system will be remedied by Universal Military Training!

U. of Cal.: Straitjacket — —

(Continued from page 1-S)

But he well knew that the vote very probably would change, once the students began to put pressure on his friends. A unanimous decision was necessary to pass the bill without delay, and this the sponsors failed to get by one vote. Thereupon, it was moved to suspend the required unanimity, and the motion passed. However, someone pointed out that this was unconstitutional, so the committee reluctantly tabled the resolution. Editor Alva Senzek understandably called the whole procedure "a

Although the behavior of the Executive Committee was disgraceful, the resolution did not actually originate with it. Civil liberties are continually taking a beating (at UC), and most of it can ultimately be traced back to the Board of Regents. In this case, it originated with one man, John Neylan.

no reference to the proposal in the Daily Californian itself, until the resolution was brought up as a point of special business on December 14. The whole business has an unmistakable odor of bureaucratic maneuvering. Although the two Stalinist articles offered a con-

venient excuse, there is strong reason to believe that there were other and more potent motives for muzzling the University of California newspaper. A local paper reported that the student press had attacked the Executive Committee severely in the past, and some of the student representatives may have seen their chance to step in and silence the opposition.

A famous example was the recent "Shachtman issue" in which Dean of Students H. E. Stone refused to allow ISL Chairman Max Shachtman to debate on campus, because the ISL was on the subversive list. A student movement was organized against this arbitrary action, with the help of the Daily Californian which took up the cause of academic freedom. There would have been little significant protest without the help of the courageous campus newspaper. Such leadership will probably have to be found elsewhere from now on. The advisory function of the new board can easily change to something much stronger, if the occasion demands.

LOYALTY OATH TREND

Whatever the immediate spark, the latest action can only be understood as part of a trend that began several years ago. Since the loyalty-oath fight, California has taken the lead in reactionary repression. The recent case in point was the incident of the subversive list. Now the administration has turned against the organ of student expression. It will certainly be much harder in the future for the students to defend what little remains of their academic freedom.

The reaction in California centers on the university largely because of the once great political life of the school. It is hard to forget the gigantic peace rallies of the pre-Pearl Harbor days, or the magnificent response of the students when their faculty was under fire two years ago. Only vestiges remain of this progressive militancy of the campus. The revered tradition of the Daily Californian as a defender of students' rights was such a remnant.

The Daily Californian is called "The monarch of the college dailies" with only slight exaggeration. It is certainly one of the finest college papers. Under the new censorship, it can hardly be expected to continue in this path. The experience of other campus newspapers has proved that only a free press can maintain high standards for long. The fate of UCLA's Daily Bruin, and Chicago's Daily Maroon are tragic examples. The Daily Californian may follow in their footsteps.

A core of liberal students needs the unification that organization can give them. Because the latest step in the direction of regimented education was taken by a humbled student government, only the students can stop it. Such a campus group as the Graduate Student Association, and off-campus political and religious organizations, can work together to focus the silent resentment accumulating among the student body.

United action will demonstrate that the Executive Committee was not acting on the behalf of those they represented when it gagged their paper. But if the committee is allowed to proceed unhindered, all students will feel the effects, for resistance will be more difficult in the future. The time to resist is now.

New York SYL Friday Forum

Friday, Feb. 15-9 p.m.

THE CRISIS OF IMPERIALISM IN EGYPT Speaker: GORDON HASKELL

Friday, Feb. 22-9 p.m.

HEMINGWAY: NOVELIST OF VIRILITY Speaker: AVEL AUSTIN

> At LABOR ACTION HALL 114 West 14 Street, New York City



(Continued from page 1-S)

(4) A large amount of talk was perience is not conducive to "good moral character." On this point, a said, Dr. R. M. Hutchins, for exulate and lead, to establish within honor and conduct comparable to those of a first-rate military academy or civilian college." (This was probably written before the great

habits, it is planned to have post establishments selling 3.2 beer situated at an "inconvenient distance" from living barracks, and in the place of "hygiene" lectures usually

only because of its utopian char-

and military-there is ultimately ratus with all of its reactionary feated.

consequences. And if UMT can as bad military strategy, or un- build this better than the draft, necessary at this stage of the cold then opposition to UMT becomes unreasonable."

Contrariwise, socialists who opspent on proving that army ex- pose America's aims are also opposed to the methods by which they are carried out, including great many amusing things were Universal Military Training.

Present opposition to UMT, ample, was quoted as saying: "I though widespread, is by and large was in the army from the age of disorganized or of meager politi-18 to the age of 20 and cannot rec- cal content. Its base undoubtedly ommend it as a school of respon- rests to a substantial extent on the sible citizenship. I came out lazier opposition of mothers who just and more negligent than when I can't be sold on the desirability of went in. I became an expert at having their sons conscripted for cutting corners and at the elab- reasons which are, to them, not imorate kind of cheating to which mediately compelling. Senator Rusprivates devote most of their time." sell of Georgia explained it this "The NSTC report, on the other way: "you are always going to hand, went into great detail about have trouble with legislation that the benefits to be expected. "The will affect intimately the lives of greater need," it wrote, "is to stim- so many persons." And in a spirit of candor he added, "Let's not fool the UMT program standards of ourselves. The election campaigns are not going to help a bit."

CHANCE FOR REPEAL

It is the very widespread, even though largely inarticulate, senti-In order to assure American ment in opposition to UMT which mothers that their sons will not makes possible its defeat. Even if fall into traditionally bad army passed, it is likely to have a clause prohibiting it from running concurrently with the draft, and beginning after Selective Service expires. This will give anti-conscription forces, both socialist and nondelivered, there are to be talks on socialist, opportunities for working for its repeal before the pro-

gram is actually put into effect. The real task, however, is to at-All of these arguments, however tempt to create a broader undercogent they may be in part, suffer standing of UMT in relation to the from their proponents' failure to cold war: how it aids in the creasuggest any real alternative to tion of a Garrison State at home, UMT as long as America maintains and is an instrument for fastening its present type foreign policy, American imperialism's yoke on which is completely based on the rest of the world. Opposition building up her military power to UMT must be based on rejection even further. Norman Thomas of Washington's aims, as well as could only plead the cause of those of Russian imperialism-the "universal and enforceable disarm- threat of which is so often invoked ament," a proposal which suffers by UMT advocates. But as against methods, military preparations and both these forces, with their aims, The fact is that for all who have diplomatic maneuvers, the alternacome to accept America's aims in tive of a Third Camp must be the cold war-political, diplomatic posed as the solution to the present impasse in world politics. As part little choice but to accept the hard of that perspective, the attempt to necessity of a huge military appa- militarize America must be de-

'Operation High School'

Opponents of compulsory military training always have pointed out that the appetite of militarism is insatiable. One more proof of that fact appeared in the October 1951, issue of Coronet magazine. Anticipating success in compelling every 18year-old American boy to undergo a period of military training and indoctrination, the miltarists already are reaching into the high schools for the younger boys and girls.

This first phase of "Operation High School" is a large-scale assault using a series of 14 "educational" films very shrewdly. The films, under the general title "Are You Ready for Service?" were prepared by Coronet Films, a private firm, with the cooperation of the Department of Defense.

The ostensible purpose of the films will appeal to many parents and educators. Citing the "bewilderment" and "discouragement" of older boys in high school because they face possible military service, the films propose to explain why this service is necessary, what it will be like, and how boys -and girls-can prepare for it.

PEACE --- 'OBSOLETE'

The encroachment of enforced military service is producing discouragement and cynicism in teenage boys, who see their life plans being interrupted and even destroyed. Inevitably, many concerned parents and educators will welcome help in dealing with these youth-unless they see clearly the real purpose under the persuasive sales talk.

That real purpose was revealed in Coronet magazine, published by the films' producers. It is to help young people adjust psychologically to the "new principles" that Coronet claims America must now accept. The "old principles," now outmoded, are ones that the boys and girls in high school, says Coronet, "have taken for granted." What are these now obsolete principles? "First, peace is basic. Youngsters have been taught to abhor violence and to value 'getting along with others.'"

If "peace is not basic," then war is. If we do not value "getting along with others," then we shall value compelling others to obey us-or liquidate them, as the Communists do!

The films do just this kind of job-but they do it skillfully. Here is how they do it:

(1) They emphasize the inevitability of war. Even though the accompanying text points out that. the conscripted boys "may not necessarily" be involved in war, the effect of this is destroyed by the. defining of communism as a purely military threat and the plain implication that only military means can deal with it.

(2) The films take permanent conscription for granted. There is no suggestion that universal conscription might be temporary. On the contrary, the films emphasize that the American pattern of life has been changed: henceforth every youth must count on a period of military service as he counts on home, school, and work. They imply, without stating, that this service provides the principal motivation for good citizenship, for staying in school, and for planning one's curriculum.

DEBASING DEMOCRACY

(3) They oversimplify the problem of world peace. The films reduce world tension to the copsand-robbers level. Nothing is involved in the threat of war but the lust for power of the Communists. Nothing is said of the problems of hunger, nationalism, and other factors that can only be combated on a non-military level. People whose understanding of world problems stops on this level will be unable to find, or even comprehend, any other type of solution than a military one.

(4) They debase democracy. Like much other advertising-level political thinking, the essential nature of the "American way of life" is defined principally in terms of "the right to stop in at the corner hamburger stand" and the "right to spend your money as you choose." As an afterthought, the narrator mentions-but only mentions-freedom of speech, press and worship, but gives them no content or meaning.

The films, on the whole, will do little good and a great deal of harm. They should be kept out of schools wherever possible

-National Council Against Conscription.

U. of Chi. --**SYL** Aims to Top (Continued from page 1-S) **The Fund Drive**

By DON HARRIS

All indications at the start of this year's Fund Drive are that the SYL is going to make the largest quota in its historyand oversubscribe to a considerable extent.

While last year's quota was \$500, and over \$850 was actually collected, this year's quota totals \$1500 and final collections may be several hundred dollars over that amount. Every unit listed below has either already accepted its quota, or indicated that it will do so. New York al-

Chicago, seeking to remain in hat it wished to have its tenta

drive's success! Throughout the drive, as receipts are reported. the SYL will be listed separately with one total amount, but each separate contribution will be acknowledged in the Fund Drive articles week by week. The only category which is

now in doubt is that attributed to "general." It is hoped that SYL members-at-large, and sympathizers of the SYL throughout the country, will independently contribute to this fund. Separate quotas are as

10110 05.	
Chicago	\$475.
New York	375.
Berkeley	175.
Detroit	175.
St. Louis	50.
Buffalo	40.
Los Angeles	
Northwest	
Madison	20.
New Haven	20.
General	100.
TOTAL	\$1500.

This augurs well for the

University of Chicago Chapter Socialist Youth League

Jews in the Soviet Union

Speaker: Jerzy Glicksman

Survivor of Russian forced-labor camps; Author of "Tell the West"

> SUNDAY, MARCH 2 at 4 p.m. EAST LOUNGE, IDA NOYES

Admission Free. Light refreshments.

The reactionary, red-baiting opponents of democracy, however, will not cease their efforts. Their propaganda is based upon and nourished by the drive toward war on the part of the American government. Dean Strozier's statement carefully leaves the door open to a future withdrawal of recognition, should the pressure become too great. It is up to the students of the University of Chicago, by maintaining their opposition to any and all infringements on academic freedom, to see that this does not happen. Students at other universities should take heart from the success at Chicago. If students are united in their defense of civil liberties victories for democracy can be

New-Fashioned

"Similarly, old-fashioned economic exploitation [in Africa] has disappeared, but this has not prevented Western Europe from drawing liberally on the resources and riches of colonial Africa in order to recover from the ravages of the war."-N. Y. Post, Feb. 7, series by J. P. Lash.

Horror Dept.

"The steel industry told a Wage" Stabilization Board panel yesterday that the board would hamper the country's defense against atomic attack, undermine our foreign economic policy and intro-No. duce 'totalitarianism' in the United States if it recommended that Southern steel workers get. the same pay as Northern steel workers."-N. Y. Times, Feb. 7. Wonder what became of the

poor widows and orphans. . . .

ISL Program — in Brief

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

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

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

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

The ISL, as a Marxist movement, looks to the working class and its ever-present struggle as the basic progressive force in society. The ISL is organized to spread the ideas of socialism in the labor movement and among all other sections of the people. At the same time, Independent Socialists participate actively in every struggle to better the people's lot now-such as the fight for higher living standards, against Jim Crow and anti-Semitism, in defense of civil Liberties and the trade-union movement. We seek to join together with all other militants in the labor movement as a left force working for the formation of an independent labor party and other progressive policies.

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

STUDENT SOCIALIST Student-Youth Section of LABOR ACTION February 18, 1952 Section Editor: SAM FELIKS

ready has over \$400 pledged.

the lead this year as last, writes that it hopes to top its guota by 150 per cent! St. Louis decided tive quota raised from \$35 to \$50 and that it would try to raise even more. In no case did any unit ask to have its quota reduced.