

LABOR ACTION

Independent Socialist Weekly

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Battle of Ideologies in the Prison Camps

THE POWs COME HOME

By GORDON HASKELL

The headlines announce that 124 American prisoners of war have become Stalinists while in prison camps, and have decided to remain with their captors rather than return home. Whatever the exact figure may turn out to be eventually, the story now being told by the returning soldiers points up the unique character of the war in Korea, and of the general world conflict of which it has been only a small part.

Shortly after they had been captured, the men in the prisoner of war camps were divided into three groups by the Stalinists. The first group was called "progressives," and was made up of those soldiers who seemed the most susceptible to Stalinist ideology. The second group were the "reactionaries," those who showed least inclination to waver from their former convictions. In between were the "waverers," who sooner or later were forced to declare themselves for one of the other two groups.

All the captives were given lengthy propaganda lectures in which the attempt was made to convince them of the Stalinist germ-warfare charges, of the imperialist character of the war on the American side, and of the progressive character of Stalinism in general. Special pains were taken to play on the feelings of Negro troops who had suffered discrimination all their lives in America. And the arguments of Stalinist propagandists were bolstered by extending many privileges to those soldiers who seemed inclined to accept the Stalinist ideas, while those who rejected them, or actively sought to counteract them were exposed to all kinds of deprivations and harsh treatment.

WHOLE STORY NOT TOLD

It is quite evident that the reporters are either unable or unwilling to give us the full story of the terrible struggle for the minds of the prisoners which was waged in the camps. It is quite possible that it will never be revealed. For the men who either succumbed or showed softness toward Stalinism in the camps are now fearful and silent, while those who resisted are filled with a simple and understandable hatred for men who sided with their tormentors. And above all, the reporters do not tell us in the name of what specific ideas the latter resisted the threats and the promises of their captors.

All reports from Korea indicate that the American troops who fought in that war expressed bewilderment and confusion over the purpose of their sacrifices. It is not difficult to imagine their plight once they had been captured and were subjected to the intensive propaganda of their enemies. A few of them undoubtedly had strong ideological convictions about the superiority of American institutions and the capitalist sys-

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SPOTLIGHT

Boy Scout Jim Crow

The Boy Scouts of America is one of the most important organizations through which the youth of this country are supposed to be instilled with the virtues and values of "Americanism." It has been widely hailed as an antidote to the spread of Stalinist or radical ideas among our boys.

At the end of July some 50,000 Boy Scouts gathered in Southern California for their mammoth national Jamboree. The daily papers of the region were full of articles describing their activities. But, according to a story in the Los Angeles *California Eagle* for July 23:

"What the reporters didn't see or chose not to mention was the underside of the glorious demonstration. They didn't follow the youngsters back to their tents. They didn't notice that the Negro boys from the South were housed in segregated quarters, separated from their white brothers in different sections of the camp. They didn't find out, or they didn't record, that in the buses taking Southern boys to the beach, the white youngsters sat up in front, the Negroes in the rear. Apparently they didn't notice the Confederate flags or the resentment on the faces of some of the older colored youths and their scout leaders."

When questioned by a phone call from the *Eagle*, Dr. R. H. Powers, coordinator of the encampment, in effect denied that there was segregation of the Southern Negroes. But when a reporter went to the camp, he found that all Southern Negroes had been assigned to a separate "section" where they lived and ate separately. The reporter found that despite this organized segregation, the boys mingled at all functions freely together. Mixed groups were the rule, not the exception.

Camp officials attempted to claim that troops were assigned to certain areas, and wanted to know whether those pro-

Dulles Urges Japan To Rearm, Violate Her Own Constitution

By LARRY O'CONNOR

Secretary of State John Foster Dulles has concluded one of those flying trips abroad for which he has become justly notorious. This time it appeared to be his purpose to bring old Syngman Rhee into line, and to light a fire under the forges of Japanese rearmament in a brief stop on his way back.

Dulles had made every effort, before he left these shores, to take with him two influential congressional leaders. These gentlemen, however, found that they have

much more pressing business at home. They were not too anxious to share Dulles' diplomatic triumphs with him. And as things turned out, it appears that their reluctance was fully justified. As far as we can see, the only thing of value Dulles brought back with him was "an immense gold key signifying honorary membership of the city of Tokyo." If we overlook the minor matter of the taxpayers, the trip left us and the world just where it was before he left.

Despite all fanfare about the mutual defense pact initialed with South Korea, Dulles does not seem to have been able to do any more "clarifying" for Rhee than did his messenger, Robertson. Although James Reston of the New York *TIMES* reports from Tokyo that "The Secretary of State was convinced that Dr. Rhee now understands that the United States intends to consult with its other allies before taking a walk at the end of the forthcoming political conference with the Communists on Korea," Rhee himself keeps on stubbornly insisting in print that the United States will have to help him in his projected offensive at the North when he decides the time is ripe for it. No change, or at least no spectacular change seems to have been wrought in that quarter.

JAPANESE INTERLUDE

On his way back, the "dynamic" secretary of state stopped off in Japan. Here he met with the prime minister of that sovereign country, Shigeru Yoshida. According to Reston:

"Mr. Dulles complained to Mr. Yoshida about Japan's failure to take a more active part in the defense of this region. In a blunt talk with the Japanese premier at the United States Embassy before he left he pointed to the fact that Japan was spending only about 2 1/2 per cent of her national income on defense while Italy, for example—in a less exposed position—was spending 7 per cent.

"He got no satisfaction from Mr. Yoshida, however. The latter insisted that for the time being Japan could not raise more than four di-

(Continued on page 3)

UAW Suspend's Racist

In contrast to this exposure of the Boy Scouts, the same issue of the *California Eagle* carries an article on the action taken by a Los Angeles local of the United Automobile Workers, CIO, against a member who had led a movement to oust two Negro families from his neighborhood.

Long Beach Local 148 of the UAW, by a two-thirds vote of a well-attended meeting, moved to suspend Joe Williams for two years from the union for "conduct unbecoming a union member."

Williams is president of the Compton Crest Improvement Association. He was brought up on charges for his part in encouraging housewives who picketed

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UAW's Ammunition Throws Searchlight on Corporation "Economic Education"

\$2 Billions to Plug "Capitalist Rationale"

The July issue of *Ammunition*, official publication of the educational department of the United Automobile Workers, CIO, carries an article on propaganda which corporations direct at their workers. Here are a number of excerpts from the article which indicate the high priority put by the corporations on keeping their workers tied to capitalist ideology, and capitalist economic notions in particular.

One of the methods by which corporations get their material into the hands of the workers is through reading racks. "Today . . . it's estimated that more than 3,500 corporations either affiliated or not with business associations, have reading racks in their factories.

"The *Wall Street Journal* recently estimated the 'in plant' pickup of all pamphlets exceed 30 million individual copies a year."

A MIX-UP FORMULA

To get workers interested enough in the reading material so that they will make a habit of picking it up and reading it, the corporations have established a policy of mixing up their economics propaganda pamphlets with material of genuine interest to the workers and their wives and children.

"Some of the non-economic titles are 'What You Should Know About Biological Warfare,' 'The ABCs of Hand Tools for Home and Recreation,' 'The Inside Pitch,' '37 Happy Guys,' 'Family Insurance,' 'Decorating Your Home,' 'Delicious Chicken Recipes,' 'Ker-choo and You.' (The last is a pamphlet on the common cold.)

"General Motors has a set formula for proportioning the subjects on the racks. There, nine per cent of the booklets give information about the company, 36 per cent are social and economic, 12 per cent inspirational, 23 per cent home and family, 15 per cent health and safety, and five per cent scientific and mechanical."

Ammunition goes on to say that "At General Motors alone, the plant rack program costs about \$500,000 annually, according to the June issue of *Fortune* magazine—money spent just to influence GM employees' thinking.

"A total of 17 million booklets a year are distributed by GM, *Fortune* added." The average distribution of a pamphlet is 245,000.

"ECONOMICS" MADE TO ORDER

The direct entry of America's giant corporations in the business of moulding public opinion, starting with that of the men and women who work for them, has boomed the manufacture of propaganda material for them into a big business. Much of this, of course, marches under the disguise of "economic research," "public opinion polls," and the like.

Ammunition quotes the following from a recent issue of *Fortune* magazine on this point:

"Perhaps the most striking feature of private 'economic education' has been the entry into the field of a number of special-interest groups.

"During recent years, to cite one type of group, a vast number of new organizations have been set up on a commercial basis to conduct educational programs for profit.

"In many cases, there is nothing more than a single individual who is seeking to make a living by setting himself up as an educational expert in this field. Many seek funds for their programs from foundations, business associations, and individual companies — representing themselves as purely non-profit agencies dedicated to the common good.

"A large percentage of such enterprises can be classified only as rackets. Their character and status may be gauged by the fact that in one large city, as many as 97 such agencies sought financial aid or sponsorship from the Association of Commerce. . . . We have collected the names of more than 200 such agencies in the country as a whole."

TEACHER INDOCTRINATION

Corporations go out of their way to indoctrinate high-school and college teachers, and set up "economics" courses for them. For instance, Republic Steel Corporation conducted an "economics-in-action" seminar for forty-eight college professors at Coast Institute of Tech-

nology in Cleveland at an expense of \$25,000.

"The National Association of Manufacturers' information director, Les Avery, reports that about 1,000 companies affiliated with NAM have 'economic schooling' programs in operation. In 1945, less than 100 companies had such programs going, he said.

"Paul H. Good, manager of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce's education setup in Washington, says the number of local chamber affiliates having committees to 'spread economic information' has skyrocketed from 170 in 1945 to about 1,500 now.

"CAPITALISTIC RATIONALE"

"And the Foundation for Economic Education took in \$1,236,932.98 in a four-year period to be used in spreading its work designed to influence public opinion."

The FEE is a sort of "coordinating

group among the extremely conservative big business "education (i.e., propaganda-lobbying) network." A former trustee of FEE, Claude Robinson, who is now head of the Opinion Research Corporation, emphasizes that it is vitally important to communicate "some kind of a capitalistic rationale to get to the masses of the people." The major contributors to FEE funds are, of course, large corporations and corporation executives.

Robinson estimates that companies are now spending about \$75 million a year just on "economic education" publications.

"That, of course, doesn't include the additional vast outlays for movies, newspapers and magazine advertising, radio and television 'messages,' and other means used for attempting to influence the way you think.

"The total annual expenditure has been estimated at about \$2 billion," *Ammunition* points out.

The UAW's educational magazine then goes on to analyze the method by which "public opinion polls" are rigged to return the kind of answers wanted by the businessmen. These "polls" are then used to convince congressmen and even the workers themselves that the vast majority of the people are for or against certain laws or union practices.

Ammunition points out that union publications, literature and educational programs are just about the sole big-scale counterweight to this big-business campaign of "economic education." Of course, the unions cannot possibly raise the same kind of money for their programs as can the corporations. But there is another force at work which keeps the business campaign from reaching its objective. And that is that the hard experience of life teaches the workers that the slick economic "arguments" presented in the corporation propaganda are phony down the line.

Calif. Cannery Workers Settle Strike

By STAN LARSEN

BERKELEY, Calif., Aug. 5.—A week-long strike of some 25,000 members of the Cannery Workers Union, affiliated with the AFL teamsters, ended here yesterday. The strike had been a long time in coming, and affected not only the cannery workers themselves, but also the can-manufacturing and the trucking industries as well.

Negotiations began between the CWU and the California Processors and Growers, Inc., in March, when the union first presented its demands. The workers asked an across-the-board increase of 10 cents per hour for the vast majority of workers, whose present wages range from \$1.40 to \$1.96 per hour. Included in the demands were also a 5 cents per hour standard health and welfare program for all em-

ployees at company expense; time and a half after 40 hours per week as against the present 48-hour week obtained by the big cannery in a bill from the state legislature as an "emergency measure" during the height of the canning season; double time for Sunday work and for all work over 10 hours in any one day, and certain minor or fringe demands.

The giant corporations which pack most of the California fruit crop turned down all the union's demands, and offered instead a graduated wage increase from six to ten cents, an over-all six-cent increase for all women, who up till now have been receiving about 15 cents an hour less base pay than the lowest bracket male workers.

They offered also a health and welfare plan covering only year-round workers

who, in the larger plants, are no more than 5 per cent of the total employed during the year.

WORKING CONDITIONS BAD

A number of circumstances have combined to keep cannery wages low, and working conditions among the worst in California industries. The lack of a state Fair Employment Practices Law makes it possible for employers to discriminate against Negro, Mexican and other foreign-born labor, and to play them off against the native white workers. In addition, there are a number of universities and colleges in the area, with their summer outpouring of students eager for employment, and willing to work at sub-standard wages. Thus there is a huge surplus of labor during the brief canning season, which has prevented the workers from getting the high hourly wages customary in other seasonal industries.

This cheap labor has led to a lag in the rationalization of the production process by the great canning oligopoly. Thus many of the hardest, most grinding and back-breaking manual jobs outside the foundry industry are retained here.

On the first Wednesday of July, a membership meeting was called by the union to consider the company's offer. The union hall was swamped by the turnout of workers here. About one third of the book members throughout the state, 11,000 in round numbers, voted on the question, and the company proposals were rejected by 89 per cent of those voting. The attitude of the vast majority of the workers was "well, it's about time."

PRESSURE

Every kind of pressure was used to discourage the workers and get them back to work. The newspapers were unanimous in their condemnation of an action which would endanger the fruit crop. But the union had served notice on the employers in ample time, and the latter actually bore the full responsibility for the "crisis." Fruit growers from the Valley made threats to the effect that if the strike was not brought to a halt by 8 a.m. on August 4th, they would break through picket lines to enter and operate the factories themselves, together with their families and other scabs recruited in their communities.

The union replied that the companies had been stalling deliberately in negotiations, with a view to holding up production till the fruit growers were faced with the loss of their crop, and then buying it up at rock-bottom rates.

On August 4 the workers voted to end the strike. They received a reasonable compromise only on their wage demand, with 8 cents over-all for the women, and increases range from 8 cents to 10 cents for the various categories of workers. On hospitalization, they received only a slightly modified version of the employers' original offer, and they will still continue to work on the basis of a 48-hour week during the rush season.

The employers got a draw in this round. But the militancy and determination shown by the rank and file indicate that these brutally exploited workers will yet have their day.

Prof. Who Defied Velde Comm. Reinstated at Connecticut U.

It is gratifying to report that another American educational institution has failed to bow to the witchhunt. The Board of Trustees of the University of Connecticut has reinstated Dr. Paul R. Zinsel, an assistant professor of physics, who had been suspended by the president of the university last April after refusing to tell a Congressional investigating committee in Washington whether he had been a Communist from 1946 to 1948.

In reinstating Zinsel, the Board stated that it had carefully investigated his case, and that it "is satisfied that he is competent as a teacher and scholar. There is no evidence that Dr. Zinsel is a Communist or has been at any time since coming to the University of Connecticut."

SUSPENSION LIFTED

The statement then lifts the suspension and continues: "The

board, however, severely censures Professor Zinsel for his refusal to cooperate fully with duly constituted Federal authorities. The board furthermore expects Dr. Zinsel to justify by his future performance the confidence that the board has placed in him by the reinstatement."

It is not clear, of course, whether this statement implies that Zinsel would have been fired had it been found that he still is a Stalinist, nor whether the admonition contained in the last sentence is a threat that if he refuses to cooperate with possible further Congressional investigations he may yet be discharged.

It is reported that Dr. Zinsel was reinstated by a board vote of 6 to 5. He had based his refusal to testify on the grounds that he did not want to involve others, and that the investigation carried on by the Velde committee was "contrary to the principles of democracy."

Labor Action FORUM • New York City

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"RUSSIA, WHAT NEXT?"

Speaker: Abe Stein

Forums start promptly at 9 p.m.

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LONDON LETTER

Clash Between TUC and Labor Party Left-Wing Ahead

Vital Issues Face Trade Union Congress

By DAVID ALEXANDER

The preliminary agenda for the Trade Union Congress to be held in the Isle of Man from September 7 to 11 has been published. It contains 63 resolutions.

One of the most significant one comes from the National Union of General and Municipal Workers. It "views with concern the continued publicity given to controversies between the industrial and political sections of our movement, and while recognizing that genuine differences do arise, it deplors the bitter personal attacks frequently made." This union, with 800,000 members, wants to improve the liaison between the two wings of the movement, and put an "end to personal attacks in the press."

The NUGMW is referring to the acrimonious exchanges between Evans, Deakin, Bevan and their supporters which followed the Labor Party Conference at Morecambe last year, and have continued to the present. These vituperations were often on a personal basis, and were given much publicity in the right-wing press.

It has been known for a long time, however, that the Labor Party tends to be more to the left than the Trade Union Congress. As they are both represented at Labor Party conferences, and in the National Council of Labor (which includes the cooperatives as well), the unions have always felt that a combination of the Bevanites, some Stalinist fellow-travellers, and some Trotskyists may bring pressure to bear on them at conferences, and may even carry the day against them on important political questions.

EXTEND PUBLIC OWNERSHIP

Such a possibility can be visualized when we read a resolution submitted by the Amalgamated Union of Foundry Workers, which is a militant union. It calls for "a considerable extension of public ownership embracing... major industries producing raw materials, capital goods, and the nation's food."

This resolution, like one from the National Union of Railwaymen calling for 50 per cent trade union representation on the boards of nationalized industries will almost certainly be rejected by the General Council of the TUC this year as were similar resolutions last year. The left-wing unions are certainly in the minority.

Four resolutions appear on the agenda calling for an end to wage restraint. These come shortly after a government announcement that wages went up by \$1,540 mil-

lion last year, but production and productivity actually declined. The National Union of Public Employees wants to "examine... the possibility of a long-term wage policy, with particular reference to whether some form of national regulation and/or control can be devised which will ensure higher, more stable and more equitable wage standards to all sections of the movement."

This implied State fixing of wages is something which the General Council of the TUC has always opposed, feeling that criteria irrelevant to trade union interests might be used to fix wages.

Television

The Tory majority who were trying to push ahead with commercial television were foiled by a government decision to postpone the bill introducing it. This followed representations and controversies from all the important educational authorities, the TUC, the Labor Party, and many Tory peers about the possible deterioration in televised programs which would result from it.

Jomo Kenyatta

After successfully appealing

against the court's 10-year hard-labor sentence for allegedly managing the Mau Mau, the head of the 100,000 strong Kenya African Union—now proscribed—is still in prison. The government is keeping him under "emergency powers," and preparing an appeal against the quashing of his sentence. The higher court had acted on a technical point that the particular court which found him guilty did not have jurisdiction to try him in the first place.

It is believed by East African circles here that the government will "get Kenyatta" one way or another, sooner or later. Meanwhile, Mr. Mathu, head of the elected Africans in the Keny Assembly, asked the white members headed by reactionary Mr. Blundell to allow an African political organization to be set up. While agreeing on its desirability as a future safety-valve, the majority white members considered the time "inopportune" for it now.

Education

At the London conference of the World Confederation of Organizations of the Teaching Profession,

the French, German, Luxembourg and Yugoslav Associations walked out in protest at the presence of Spanish "observers."

The Welfare State

The National Assistance Board announced that 2,400,000 people last year received some form of assistance. This is over and above fixed payments like sickness benefits, pensions, etc. It represents, in fact, part of the difference between social security payments and the ability of the neediest people to live on them.

National Health Service

During the first five years of the National Health Service, 157,000,000 prescriptions have been dispensed in the United Kingdom, excluding Northern Ireland.

Some 30,000,000 pairs of spectacles have been supplied.

Dental treatments given number 48,000,000, and 12,400,000 dentures have been supplied.

A total of 18,000,000 patients have been treated and discharged.

Hospital beds have been staffed to the number of 530,000, and nearly 47,000,000 patients are on doctors' lists.

Dulles in Japan

(Continued from page 1)

visions—to which, it was understood, Mr. Dulles replied that it was odd that South Korea, with a population of fewer than a quarter of Japan's, had raised seventeen divisions and was trying to increase this to twenty."

The United States government abhors imperialism, and anything that smacks of dictation by powerful nations or weaker ones. That is known, and attested to by any number of men whose honesty is exceeded only by their capacity for self-delusion. But despite their assurance both we, and we are sure, the people of Japan, must find it exceedingly "odd" that the secretary of state of this country finds it possible to talk in this manner to the premier of Japan.

UNCONSTITUTIONAL

For aside from any other consideration, the fact is, and we don't mind putting it bluntly, that Dulles was urging the head of the Japanese government to violate the constitution of his own country. And just to pile one oddity on top of another, we can't help but recall that the provision of the Japanese constitution which forbids the raising of armed forces by their government was promulgated at a time when Japan was under the complete control of the United States, and was urged upon the Japanese by none other than General of the Army Douglas MacArthur.

We do not suggest that John Foster Dulles be placed on the subversive list maintained by his cabinet colleague Herbert Brownell. After all, he is not proposing to subvert or circumnavigate the constitution

of this country, and anyway, we are opposed to the list on principle. But we have reason to know that the Justice Department is given to the construction of chains of "evidence" whereby a person who shows disrespect for the governmental institutions of other countries (even totalitarian ones) is concluded to harbor "subversive" designs on those prevailing at home. Dulles it seems, is treading on dangerous ground.

But aside from the constitutional prohibition against building up a Japanese army (the "four divisions" referred to by Yoshida are supposed to be nothing but cops, which shows that when a conservative Japanese premier sets out to violate his own constitution, one can at least count on him to do it politely) the Japanese people are opposed to the remilitarization of their country.

AGAINST U.S. OCCUPATION

The same James Reston, in a Tokyo dispatch dated August 6 reports that: "In a nation wide poll taken recently by the newspaper *Asahi Shimbun*, nearly one-half of those polled called for the withdrawal of United States troops while 27 per cent said they should remain and 26 per cent said they had no opinion.

"It is the judgement of well in-

formed observers here and certainly the premise of the government's action that the sentiment against Japanese rearmament is even greater than the sentiment against the United States occupation."

It may be depressing to some, but it is a fact. A nation which this week is commemorating the anniversary of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in which close to 200,000 Japanese lives were snuffed out in a few minutes has no stomach either for war or for the militarist regime which is needed to prepare for it.

Before the Japanese people will be ready to fight again, or to make sacrifices necessary to prepare themselves for military struggle, they will have to have something to fight for. So far no social change has taken place in the country of such a character as to make the mass of the people feel that any war in which they would be involved would be essentially different from the last one.

In the meantime, however, it is hardly likely that their flagging martial ardor will be spurred by the demand of a foreigner that they increase their arms budget and build up their army. Not even if the foreigner is an American, and talks bluntly. Not even if his name is John Foster Dulles.

NOT IN THE HEADLINES....

A year's subscription to LABOR ACTION brings you a living socialist analysis of news and views on labor, socialism, minority groups, national and world politics—for \$2.00 a year.

BOOKS RECEIVED

Tomorrow, the Stars, edited by Robert A. Heinlein, Signet, 208 pp., 25¢. *Street Music*, by Theodora Keogh, Signet, 144 pp., 25¢. *The Red Carnation*, by Elio Vittorini, Signet, 176 pp., 25¢. *Pistol Pete*, by Frank Eaton, Signet, 192 pp., 25¢. *The Best Thing That Ever Happened*, by Warren Leslie, Signet Giant, 320 pp., 35¢. *No Head for Her Pillow*, by Sam S. Taylor, Signet, 176 pp., 25¢. *Sons and Lovers*, by D. H. Lawrence, Signet Giant, 408 pp., 35¢. *The Golden Treasury*, edited by F. T. Palgrave, expanded by Oscar Williams, Mentor, 544 pp., 50¢.

YOU and SCIENCE

IS SCIENCE REALLY FREE IN THE UNITED STATES?

By CARL DARTON

The purges which these days go on in Russia, represent the struggle for power inside the bureaucracy, and thus are mostly beyond the pale of science. However, it would appear that within science itself something is stirring in the Soviet Union.

Lysenkoism has for over five years been the symbol of official Soviet science, and to the rest of the world a horrible example of state interference with the inner workings of science. Controversy over theories of evolution and inheritance have raged among biologists since before Darwin's time. Advocates of inheritance of acquired traits have fought a losing battle against "Mendelian" biologists whose gene theory of inheritance is generally accepted by scientists throughout the world.

Such disputes within science are not new and will always exist. The erosion of scientific evidence with time usually determines which theory survives. It was therefore a shock to many scientific "friends of the Soviet Union" when five years ago the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the USSR announced Lysenko's theories as being the official biological doctrine and banned all "bourgeois genetics" from the Soviet Union.

LYSENKO WOBBLING?

According to recent dispatches, however, there is evidence that the turbulence within Russian society may reach into the higher domains of science. It is reported that the Soviet botanical journal, *Botanicheski Zhurnal*, recently carried two sharp attacks on Lysenko. He is accused of being a scientific monopolist who hinders the development of young scientists and solves scientific problems by administrative decrees. Also it is reported that a recent issue of *Vestnik*, official organ of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, attacked Lysenko's Institute of Genetics as failing to make theoretical contributions of practical value. Within a free society criticism of this type would have little significance but in the Soviet Union today such reports may be as pregnant of a purge as that of a failure to be included in an opera attendance list.

Like many others in the Soviet Union Lysenko may find that close identity with Stalin will not serve as a protective cloak in the reshuffle taking place after his death. He certainly tried hard enough in his eulogy of Stalin. We quote from a translation (*Science*, July 3, 1953) of his eulogy appearing in *Pravda* on March 8, 1953.

"He has departed from us—great coryphaeus of native science: Josif Vissarionovich Stalin. All branches of the sciences—social and natural—drew inspiration and will continue to draw inspiration from the teachings, from the works of Comrade Stalin. . . . That Comrade Stalin found time even for detailed examination of the most important problems of biology is

especially well known to me as a biologist. He directly edited the plan of my paper, 'On the Situation in Biological Science'; in detail explained to me his corrections; provided me with directions as to how to write certain passages in the paper. Comrade Stalin paid close attention to the results of the work of the August (1948) session of the Lenin All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences (in which 'progressive materialist, Michurinist biology, triumphed over reactionary Mendelism-Morganism')."

Sickening as this scientific grovelling is, scientists in the United States cannot afford mere smug disgust. We pay tribute to a fellow columnist, Maurice B. Visscher, who, in the Summer, 1953, issue of *The Humanist*, compares the low state of science in both the U. S. and the USSR. Dr. Visscher's column "Science for Humanity" appears regularly and we quote from his "Canine Ethics and the Rape of Science."

"WEEKISM"

"The name of the Secretary of Commerce in the Eisenhower Cabinet became the symbol of a peculiarly American brand of scientific suppression. 'Weekism' has entered the picture as the U. S. equivalent of 'Lysenkoism' in the USSR.

"In the U. S. the Bureau of Standards scientists submitted a report which showed that Epsom salts did not improve the performance of storage batteries. This report interfered with the profit potential of a large California contributor to the funds of high officials in the Eisenhower administration. The result was the forced resignation of the director of the Bureau of Standards on the grounds 'That the NBS has not been sufficiently objective, because they discount entirely the play of the market place.' In Russia the subversion of science has also been motivated by party functionaries. In the U. S. the dollar sign is the symbol of prestige and power. In the USSR it is the Stalin Prize that carries both the kudos and the power.

"To force a scientist to submit to improper use of his talents is intellectual rape. A high degree of violence will not ordinarily be necessary to obtain compliance. Threats to security of position may induce many scientists to sell their services in improper ways. This traffic ordinarily goes under the heading of prostitution. The prostitution of science to private business interest is no less reprehensible than when the pimping is done to promote the aims of Russian political adventures. A few months ago there was a great crusade for honesty in government. It was claimed that officials should 'be as clean as a hound's tooth,' and would be if the present administration were elected. Since Weekism has raised its ugly head one wonders whether accepting mink coats or refrigerators is as serious a crime as intellectual rape or pimping. Or is it that now we are expected to adopt generally the canine code of ethics. This it seems would mean clean teeth, but what about clean and honest science."

"Weekism" is, of course, only a dramatic example of the kind of subtle pressure to which scientists are constantly subjected in a capitalist society. Because the profit motive is what determines the vast bulk of the problems which are laid before our scientists, and immediate "practical" results are demanded of them, it is rarely that pressure is applied in the realm of general theories and abstract research. Men who fail to accommodate themselves and their work to the demands of their employers are simply let go, while those who "bend the pregnant knee, that thrift may follow, fawning," rise to the top.

No, the men who spend their lives developing the extraction of chlorophyll for dog-food, and plutonium for atom bombs have little reason to be smug about the degradation of Stalinist science. They have every reason to join with others both inside and outside their own field to struggle for a free society which is dominated by human concerns rather than by those of war and the dollar.

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WORLD POLITICS

Adenauer's Army for "Internal Security"

By JACK WALKER

According to recent reports from the German Social-Democratic Party (SPD), the Adenauer government has just introduced a De Gasperi type electoral "reform" that is meant to protect the most responsible defenders of capitalism from the full vicissitudes of popular elections. Instead, the new proposed law (whose details are not outlined) is to guarantee not only a simple majority to the Christian Democratic Union coalition, but a two-thirds majority in parliament that will enable changes in the constitution to be undertaken. So writes Fritz Heine, party secretary and executive committee member of the SPD in an article called "Democracy versus Dollfuss—German Federal Republic Faces Choice of Systems" appearing in the April issue of the English language newsletter "News From Germany" published by the executive committee of the SPD.

In the last elections the Adenauer coalition government got fifty-two per cent of the seats in parliament and forty-seven per cent of the popular vote. It is generally felt, even in government circles, that its vote will go down to between forty to forty-five per cent, while the SPD, now the largest single party in West Germany, will profit from this decline. There is a very good chance that the SPD would become the majority political force and appoint its chairman, Ollenhauer, as chancellor, under normal circumstances apart from such a law as is now being proposed, going into effect.

Unfortunately there is nothing new in this idea of reserving political power to the firmest representatives of capitalism, even at some expense to formal representative democracy, although it is rather indecently soon after the death of Hitler for this to be occurring in Germany. Similar laws were already passed in most sections of France before the national elections in 1951, eliminating proportional representation for all parties in favor of giving all offices to a majority in any district, with a center coalition thus being able to win more seats which it then proceeded to divide among its member parties proportionately, according to their voting strength. Around Paris the old law was retained because the coalition needed proportional representation for itself. We are still awaiting the outraged screams of the liberals at such a flagrant example of political parties refusing to "play according to the rules of the game."

IN ITALY TOO

In the recent Italian elections the most Christian premier De Gasperi passed a similar "reform" which would give a majority of sixty-five per cent in the Chamber of Deputies to any electoral combination securing over fifty per cent of the vote—certainly a more democratic measure than Mussolini's old "reform" which gave seventy-five per cent. But De Gasperi's luck ran out, and his coalition could only obtain 49.8 per cent, with some people being irreverent enough to blame part of this result on the proposed "reform." Of course, De Gasperi was only doing his best to maintain capitalism and the Italian Way of Life within the Free World.

However, in both of these latter cases we find a Communist opposition force, and naturally anything goes against "Communists." Moreover there were delicate economic conditions which might make one think of "emergency" measures. But these excuses simply do not apply to the New Germany, where Western Germany capitalism is a thriving system compared to the rest of Europe, and the German Social-Democracy—the only significant opposition—is most polite, although suffering from the nationalistic idea of wanting to re-unite its occupied, dismembered

country under an all-German government rather than joining a West European army. The KPD (Stalinists) are completely discredited, even before the recent East German June Days.

The only danger the Adenauer government does face from an SPD victory is that the tax and fiscal policies that it utilized to promote the "forced savings" of the German working class (in the delicate words of the *Yale Quarterly Review*) in order to support the property and industrial interests, might be modified somewhat. There might also be a few more social services at the expense of government subsidies to industry, as well as a mitigation of the speeches of the ministries of the interior and justice against the free labor movement.

It is hardly necessary for the Adenauer government to create or encourage neo-fascist and anti-social groupings as a potential alternative to meet such small dangers, yet this is what the SPD has proven that they were doing. One of the leaders in such an organization was only recently arrested for murder! Despite the measures of exposure of such groupings, and their banning where the SPD-dominated Land governments exist, the government coalition continues to support them. It is these groups that Party Secretary Heine looks upon as pioneer elements in a "home guard" after the manner of the terroristic organizations which served Dollfuss in Austria.

At the same time the German Party (formerly the Free German Party) runs rapidly to the right, and the Free Democratic Party follows, with an increasing number of its members demanding the elimination of the word "democratic" from its name.

EDC FOR INTERNAL USE

It is in such a context that we note a speech delivered by Transport Minister Seebohm on May 1 on the subject of the European Defense Community at a Heidelberg meeting, as referred to by Chairman Erich Ollenhauer of the SPD:

"On the whole it (EDC) would be a question of attaining the internal security which is indispensable in order to assure and to continue the necessary material reconstruction of the Federal Republic. The guarantor of the attainment of 'internal security,' of the prevention of a pseudo-democratic overthrow of the regime, would be German armed forces within the European Defense Community. THEIR IMPORTANCE IN FOREIGN RELATIONS WOULD BE A SECONDARY MATTER." [My emphasis, J. W.]

In the face of all these anti-democratic manifestations how does the massive SPD (in which independent socialists must work today) react, having only recently emerged from the crushing defeat of Nazism? Where are the necessary evidences that even Social Democrats are able to draw lessons from experience? If you search for these you will only search in vain. The SPD guarantees that it will rise to the occasion and use "every effort" being even willing "to go the limit." While it can't divulge its strategy in advance, let it suffice to say that it solemnly asserts that "it will not transgress the frame of operations incumbent upon a democratic party." These are merely words, while the capitalist are demonstrating that they are willing to consider organizations and measures that might operate in the future outside the limitations of parliamentary democracy, in the face of more serious capitalist difficulties. It is certainly no wonder that the SPD remains so quiescent while its East German comrades march in the streets against tanks. Heaven help them when economic conditions begin to deteriorate in West Germany!



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WHO SAID U. S. IS IMPERIALIST?

Cong. Committee to Map Korea's Economic Future

By L. G. SMITH

An obscure newspaper item throws into stark relief the imperialist aspect of the relationship between the United States and South Korea.

No one, except the Stalinists, claims that the United States wants to occupy Korea and make it a subject nation, in the way that the British once subjected India. In fact, Korea is such a poor country that apologists for American foreign policy have been able to scoff at the idea that the United States has any economic designs on that country, and to claim that the only interest of the American government has been to demonstrate to the Stalinists that aggression does not pay. Such apologists have also made light of the idea that American capitalists have any interest whatever in the Korean economy.

WHAT ROLE FOR KOREA?

It is quite true that we have no evidence of the kind of financial designs on Korea by American interests before the war broke out as exists with regard to China. And the war itself has made such an economic desert of the country that it is not likely that American capitalists see it as a profitable place for investment, except to the extent that this government may be willing to pay them for reconstruction projects. But American economic interests are world-wide, and the question is now arising of what role the United States is willing to assign Korea in the vast and complex network of world economies.

The press item referred to is from a weekly roundup of events by the Washington staff of the Scripps-Howard newspapers dated August 1 sent us by a reader in Pittsburgh. It reads as follows:

"Unification of Korea—even if all goes well—is at least a year away. If UN's Political Conference brings agreement on methods, there'll still be a plebiscite, elections, drafting of constitution.

"On assumption that it will be a long time coming, Rep. Charles Brownson's Subcommittee on Government International Operations wants to have some say as

to whether South Korea will be restored as an agricultural country or will be given industries. Committee may go to Korea in September for look.

"Committee would like to see South Korea trade food to Japan for its manufactured goods, though countries are traditionally hostile. What's done in way of rehabilitation may set pattern of trade in that area, determine whether China gets any, whether pressure to allow Japanese goods in British, other Western markets, continues."

BACKYARD FOR JAPAN

There you have it in a nutshell. This government committee is not concerned with reconstructing Korea on lines which would be best for the Koreans, but on lines which would fit best into America's world-economic scheme. Japanese industry is already competing in certain lines on the world market with that of Britain and the United States. If Korea is given a rounded economic development, with some industries appropriate to its own national economic needs, this Japanese competition may be intensified. Also, Japan's needs for food and raw materials are a constant pressure for trade with Stalinist China, which the United States frowns on for political reasons.

The answer: keep Korea a strictly agricultural country. Make it an agricultural and raw material-producing hinterland for Japan, and thus decrease Japanese pressure on the markets which the British and eventually the Americans will need for the disposal of their own industrial "surplus."

What if the Koreans don't want that? Well, it is just too bad for them. Only the Americans have the capital with which to rebuild the shattered economy of that country, so they have the power to decide how, and for what purpose, and to what extent it will be rebuilt. The interests of the "gallant South Korean ally" will simply have to be subordinated to the world-wide interests of American capitalism.

Is it any wonder that the peoples of Asia remain stubborn in their suspicion of and hostility toward the American government, and toward the liberal and labor spokesmen who assure them that the days of Western imperialism are gone forever and that the Americans have nothing but the welfare of their Asian brothers in mind?

POOR STRAWBERRY FARMERS' UNION INDICTED

Dept. of Justice Nabs "Super-Monopoly"

The Eisenhower administration has dealt a blow to a group of businessmen under the anti-trust laws. Once again it has shown its determination to dispense even-handed justice according to the laws of the land, without fear or favor, let or hindrance, regardless of where the blow may fall.

Students of the administration may wonder at any enforcement of the anti-trust laws by this businessmen's government. They will recall that one of the first actions of Herbert Brownell as attorney general was to dismiss the anti-trust suit against the big oil companies for fixing prices through control of the world supply of oil.

Cause for wonderment is diminished, however, when it is disclosed that the alleged "monopolists" indicted by the Department of Justice for violation of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act are some 3,000 small strawberry farmers in Louisiana who had joined together in the Louisiana Fruit and Vegetable Producers' Union, Local 312, affiliated with the National Agricultural Workers Union, AFL.

POOR FARMERS

According to H. L. Mitchell, president of the union:

"The poor people in Louisiana being persecuted by Brownell are men whose labor and that of their wives and chil-

dren produce a few crates of strawberries for the early market each year. For years these people of many races and nationalities have been robbed by buyers representing national chain stores and produce commission houses in Chicago, New York and other cities. In the past the buyers rigged the public auction, paid the producers low prices and then charged the consumer all the market would bear.

"In 1951 after a disastrous season during which farmers received approximately 50 cents an hour for their labor in producing the strawberry crop, they decided to do something about the situation. They called upon the American Federation of Labor for assistance in organizing a union. The Southern office of the AFL sent in organizers who helped the farmer set up a combination union local and cooperative marketing organization. Several months later this local union affiliated with our National Agricultural Workers' Union.

"In 1952 over 90 per cent of the small strawberry farmers near Hammond, La., joined the union. They hired a marketing expert as their sales agent and began marketing their products through the union cooperative. They set standards as to the quality of strawberries sold and as a result they received higher prices, averaging approximately \$1.00 per hour for their labor and that of their wives and children."

UNION BUSTING

Why did the powerful Eisenhower administration decide to attack these poor farmers? Mitchell points out that the National Farm Bureau Federation fears that the organization of small indepen-

Israeli Arabs Suffer From Land-Grab Law

In the June 15, 1953 issue, LABOR ACTION carried an article on the legalized robbery of the Israeli Arab's lands by an Act passed in the Knesset (parliament).

At that time, we reported that this action had been widely denounced by liberal opinion in Israel, despite the fact that not a single Jewish deputy voted against the law.

For the information of our readers, we carry below two items from the Israeli press. They give a graphic description of the actual plight of the Arab minority in that country.

Davar is the official organ of the Histadrut (labor organization); and Al-Hamishmar is the paper of the Hashomer Hatzair, a section of the Mapam party.—Ed.

The Robber Law

The land requisition law affecting agricultural property robs Israeli Arabs of about 500,000 dunam land. From the Arabs of Um-el Fachem, Teira and Kalonsva alone it takes about 200,000 dunam. [A dunam is one fourth of an acre.—Ed.]

You read this and perhaps won't get excited. If you really want to understand what it means, come to one of the villages and see with your own eyes. Peasants who from birth are accustomed to work on the land have been driven off. They look at their land but cannot expend their labor on it.

The people have been transformed into proletarians without work, completely dependent on the civilian rulers and military commanders. They need a pass to leave the military district in order to knock on the doors to ask for work. However, the military government has been reducing the numbers permitted to leave. Lately, only

12 permits were given to the inhabitants of Kalonsva, whose population is 2,000. These landless peasants are mostly unemployed. The others work for extremely low wages in the districts or are forced to lease land on very bad terms. For example, one-third of the crop belongs to the peasant, one-third to the landowner, and one-third to the owner of the water well.

FACE MILITARY COURT

The recipients of exit permits are allowed to be out of the district for 13 days. They are not placed on jobs by the "Brith Paole Israel" [Arab section organized by the Jewish labor federation], but are only granted the privilege of going to town to seek work. If his "pass of freedom" is marked "Jaffa" and he finds no work there and has the nerve to look for a job in Tel Aviv the rules say that he must be returned to his native village to face a military court.

While the law has taken away the Arab's land, the military government, on the other hand, has restricted them so that they cannot go out to earn a living. How then are they to exist?

In Bakrach, Tejav, Tira, Un-el Fachem and in other Arab villages, you are surrounded by Arabs deprived of their land, without employment, and hungry. On the one hand you see orphans, on the other Arab fathers looking for their children, all separated from the rest of the country and under the tender mercies of military rulers and governmental "experts." All over, they cry out "you promised an independent country with equality and justice. You said drive out the imperialists. The British imperialists never did anything like this. You said it was possible to realize the goals of Zionism and to preserve the rights of the native Arabs."

When you see this you know how the Arab minority lives in misery, how the rights of a section of the citizens of Israel are being denied them.

Not only that, you will understand how to transform the Israeli Arabs into sworn enemies of the country.

GIDEON GILADI in the Al-Hamishmar of June 16, 1953

"No End to Suffering"

Dear Editor:

The director of food distribution, A. Halevi, in a letter to the tribe of Dolles dated May 12, said that the distribution of food for all the tribes in the Negev has been arranged.

However, as a matter of fact, we have not received one grain and are literally hungry for a piece of bread. The military commander sends us to "Hamashbir" and they in turn send us back to the commander and back and forth again, and there is no end to our suffering.

Since June, 1952, the government has not allocated any flour to us on the theory that we should live on the local produce. But their estimate of local produce was wide of the mark and the last crop has long ago been consumed. Out of 18 tribes, only 5 have received any allotment of flour and they only received five kilograms per person.

Thirteen tribes—and we amongst them—have not received anything for a long time. In the month of Ramadin when we were usually given added rations, we have been forced to end our fast with water alone.

Beer-Sheba

Sheik Hamed-abu Rabia
Sheik Ali-abu Grint-Dolles
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Davar—June 1, 1953

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Isaac Deutscher — Apologist for Stalinist Totalitarianism — II

Workers' Revolt or Kremlin 'Democratization'

By ABE STEIN

(Continued from last week)

IV

IF THE WORKERS PLAY DEAD THEIR MASTERS WILL BE KIND

The greatness of Stalin, says Deutscher, lies in the fact that he combined the qualities of a Robespierre with that of Napoleon. Having fulfilled the historical mission at home of industrializing the nation, Stalin performed his final task of extending the Russian Revolution and imposing it from above with bayonets. Again Deutscher presents us with an unwilling Stalin, constrained by history to perform a task he does not relish. Stalin was quite ready to make deals with the bourgeoisie, says Deutscher. But the revolutionary forces he summoned up from the depths of society would not be silenced. There was nothing Stalin could do but overturn the social order in Eastern Europe if he was to remain master of the situation and safeguard the Russian Revolution.

The comparison with Napoleon is as false as the analogy with Robespierre. Napoleon forced the social and legal forms of bourgeois property on semi-feudal Europe at the point of bayonets. Nowhere did he destroy the social basis of bourgeois power. On the contrary, he prepared the way for the social and political triumph of the new, rising class. Stalin marched into Eastern Europe and destroyed the political parties of the working-class where he had not already destroyed them earlier, liquidated the genuine trade unions and enslaved the masses. In a word, he destroyed the political and economic organizations on which the social power of the working-class rests; without which it can neither defend itself nor make a revolution.

Let us take as an example, Poland, a country with which Deutscher is sufficiently familiar since he himself was a member of the Communist Party there in pre-war days. It is no secret to Deutscher that Stalin literally beheaded the Polish Communist Party, and attempted to demoralize the Polish Party in the thirties. It is no secret that in 1943 Stalin lured 16 Polish working class leaders, among them Alter and Erlich, into coming to Moscow and then imprisoned or assassinated them. Nor is it a secret that Stalin provoked the Warsaw uprising in 1944 to ensure the mass destruction of the armed revolutionary forces of the Polish working-class at the hands of the German army while the Russian army, led by Rokossovsky, stood impassively by on the other side of the Vistula. And even after Stalin had decimated the leadership of the Polish working-class, the final conquest and subjugation of Poland was a stormy affair which could only be accomplished, by terror and violence. To speak of the automatism of the historic process and of Stalin as its unwilling servant is a sheer travesty on the facts.

Stalin's Counter Revolution

On closer inspection the "revolution from above" is revealed as counter-revolution for the benefit of Russian imperialism. In only one respect is Deutscher right. Stalinism did overturn bourgeois property in Eastern Europe. But nationalization, without workers' power is not socialism or even the premise of socialism. It can serve equally well, as Stalinism shows, as a base for a new totalitarian ruling class. The comparison between Stalin and Napoleon falls to the ground at this very point. Napoleon fulfilled a task which the immature bourgeoisie in the rest of Europe could not as yet perform for itself. Stalin destroyed the leadership of a class which was ready to perform the revolutionary task of overthrowing the old ruling class and its society.

Events are the test of a theory. And Deutscher's theory is now being subjected to a cruel test indeed. Both in his earlier "Stalin" and more emphatically in his latest book, *Russia, What Next*, Deutscher argues that Russia has outgrown the barbarism of the Stalinist period. The country is now ready to enter a new period of political development consonant with its industrial development and higher cultural level. The Stalinist bureaucracy, Deut-

In the first installment of this article which appeared in last week's LABOR ACTION, Comrade Stein traced Isaac Deutscher's theory that Stalinism is a product of "historical necessity" back to his book *Stalin*. In this issue, Stein demonstrates that Deutscher's reaction to the rebellion in Eastern Europe has its roots in this theory.

If Deutscher's views represented the opinions of an isolated individual, even though a respected "expert" on Stalinism, they would not merit detailed and serious treatment. But in one form or another, the idea that Stalinism is a necessary historical phase through which society, at least in all backward countries, must pass on its road to socialism, is held in significant strata of the European labor and socialist movements. Tied in with it is the notion that the Stalinist bureaucracy is bound, sooner or later, to "liberalize" or "democratize" its regime, and that the workers need not or should not "upset" this process by revolutionary struggles against the bureaucrats.

Such a view, if acted on, serves to immobilize the workers of Western Europe. Instead of lending every aid to the revolt of their brothers in the East, people who accept such theories will tend to sit on their hands, or even to actively discourage the revolutionary struggle against Stalinism.—Ed.

scher believes, is ready to peacefully renounce the totalitarian methods which brought it to power and yield in part the privileges that accrue from exclusive political domination. According to Deutscher, there is a great, nay, an overwhelming probability that the totalitarian spool of Stalinism will unwind peacefully into democratic socialism.

But Deutscher issues a warning to the Russian people, and lays the responsibility for the outcome on their backs. In order for events to unfold in the happy direction anticipated by Deutscher, they must exhibit patience and maturity. The Russian masses must not interpret signs of a new "liberal" policy as evidence of weakness on the part of the regime and give way to anarchy and riot. It must show its maturity by self-discipline and by giving support to the "liberal" faction in the new collective leadership, which, Deutscher thinks, is headed by Malenkov.

Having begun his *Russia, What Next* right after Stalin's death, and finished it just after the first concessions were made by the Kremlin in March and April, Deutscher naturally enough took these measures as signs of a new "liberal" course and proof that his thesis was correct. The new regime did contain a "liberal" group and therefore it was necessary for the masses to "restrain" themselves.

V

EAST EUROPE'S WORKERS RISE AND THE KREMLIN TREMBLES

Unhappy Mr. Deutscher! No sooner had he finished his book and sent it to the printer than the German working-class rose up in revolt against its foreign oppressor, that same totalitarian ruling class whose progressive virtues Deutscher had so painstakingly established. And Deutscher's interpretation of these first stirrings of the German working-class, his judgment on the "latent" potentialities of revolution are strange indeed. Writing in the English newspaper, *The News Chronicle* of July 13, 1953, Deutscher delivers his opinion on the June events in East Germany and its connection with Beria's downfall. According to Deutscher, Beria's fall was a direct outcome of the East Berlin events. He now discovers that not only Malenkov, but Beria (whom he had forgotten to mention in his book) also was a member of the "liberal" faction in the Kremlin. But let us quote Deutscher directly:

"The Germans who on June 16-17 descended on the streets, assailed the People's police and met Russian tanks with a hail of stones, may have had their genuine and long-suppressed grievances which demanded an outlet. Nevertheless their action had unfortunate consequences in Moscow. It compromised the men who stood for reform and conciliation. It gave fresh vigor to the diehards of Stalinism and other irreconcilables. Almost certainly a cry against appeasement went up within the walls of the Kremlin. The critics of the new policy could now plausibly argue that the world was receiving Russian concessions as proof of Russian weakness; that East Germany was meek and docile as long as it felt the iron rod on its back; and that it became insolent the moment the rod was lifted." [My emphasis—A. S.]

It would be the easiest thing in the world to give vent to natural indignation at this unashamed display of servility and philistinism and describe Deutscher as the apologist and defender of Russian totalitarianism. There is the same nicely balanced judgment of the historian observing the historical process at work. The German workers "may have had their just grievances," but their's is the blame for interfering with nothing less than the evolution of the historical process. The responsibility for what will happen lies, we see, not with the Kremlin but with the East Berlin workers who really have no business interfering with a delicate discussion in Moscow which will eventually lead to the emancipation not only of the Russian workers, but of themselves as well.

However, what is really interesting is the fact that Deutscher must falsify the present as well as the past in order to bolster his theories. He declares that the critics of the new "soft" policy in the Kremlin could plausibly argue that "East Germany was meek and docile as long as it felt the iron rod on its back; and that it became insolent the moment the rod was lifted."

The "Iron Rod" Lifted?

We are sure the East German workers are grateful to Mr. Deutscher for admitting the existence of the iron rod. But first let him prove that the East German working-class has been meek and docile. The truth is that in every East European country, the struggle of the masses has been going on from the day the Russian armies marched in, or the day afterward, when the puppet regimes took office.

But Deutscher is even in error about another fact. Let him tell us when the iron rod was lifted from the back of the East German workers, as well as the proletariat of the other satellite countries. The truth is exactly the opposite. In Czechoslovakia, the following measures were enacted by the orders of the "liberal" Kremlin faction. On May 9th the puppet Prague regime decreed that all "parasitic" members of the former middle-class who were receiving pensions would be deprived of this privilege. On May 30th, the new currency reform delivered a terrible blow at the living-standards—already at starvation levels—of the Czech masses. And on June 1st the Prague regime decreed unlimited overtime work for all men less than 60 years of age and women less than 50. And after the Czech masses, led by the workers, demonstrated against these inhuman measures, the Prague puppets introduced a new decree heavily penalizing workers who protest against their slavery by absenteeism. A week later, it is true the regime withdrew this measure, but only under the intense pressure of the workers, as the Czech rulers themselves admitted. Where in all of this was the slightest sign of "liberalization"?

In East Germany, the regime decreed on May 4th that production norms were to be raised for all workers in order to meet the quotas of the Five Year Plan. It was the application of this decree in the form of a 10 per cent increase in production that precipitated the strike of the building trades workers in East Berlin on June 16th.

Concessions Won by Struggle

The retreat of the Kremlin, its turn to a new "soft" policy throughout the satellites toward the workers began in earnest only after the Czech and East German workers had risen up in stormy protest against the new oppressive measures the Kremlin decreed in late May and early June. Deutscher's claim that the workers rose up after they had received concessions from the "liberal" party in the Kremlin and ungratefully interpreted this as a sign of weakness is sheer nonsense. The desperate workers measured their strength against Russian totalitarianism and its puppet regimes and won—in part. The revisions in the Five-Year Plan, reducing the targets for heavy industry and raising those for consumer goods industries were announced on July 29th. The announcement that Moscow was reducing German reparations came on July 31st. After Beria's fall. After the June events. These and other concessions were wrung from the totalitarian slavemasters by the workers through heroic struggle and at the risk of their lives. Naturally, the workers of East Germany have no illusions about the intentions of Moscow. Whatever they gain will be won by struggle, and in that struggle the workers will suffer more than one temporary set-back. But this is a picture of history which has nothing in common with the fantasies of Mr. Deutscher.

The psychology of the Kremlin tyrants is indeed an interesting subject for a doctoral thesis. But the fate of Germany, Europe, and for that matter of our society will be determined by the struggle of the oppressed against their oppressors. What Deutscher has left out of his history is the class struggle.

VI

ONLY THE WORKERS CAN EMANCIPATE THEMSELVES

The reappearance of the German working-class on the stage of history provoked mixed reaction in many

(Continued bottom of next page)

Two Aspects of U.S. Policy of Remilitarization

The German Generals Make Their Move

By GABRIEL GERSH

Now that the question of German rearmament is coming to a head in Germany itself, two concurrent trends in West German politics are becoming visible. There is the unwillingness of the average German to bear arms again, which the emphatic anti-militarist protestations of the government and the opposition are exploiting for their own political purposes. And there is what may be called the militarization of political thinking in Western Germany, which proceeds simultaneously and apace.

There was little or none of it before the outbreak of the Korean war. Military literature was insignificant in comparison with other writing. Inside stories of the Nazi regime were published, but the Generals of Hitler's Wehrmacht were not ready to take the stage. General Speidel's excellent account of the Normandy invasion was a forerunner, but Brigadier Desmond Young's book on Rommel broke the spell. This fascinating but dangerously naive book released a flood of military literature by former war leaders who had been in retirement.

With the coming of the Korean war, the well-known figure, "our military correspondent", appeared in all the big German newspapers of the Bonn republic, often accompanied by an equally anonymous "expert on Far Eastern affairs." Until that time it was considered "indiscreet" for the German papers to comment on military matters, and, although there are no allied regulations in force prohibiting such material, the editors themselves discouraged it for fear of getting in trouble with the Allied occupation. Korea changed all that. Military correspondents and Far Eastern experts have been writing ever since, with maps and diagrams and pronouncing some sharp opinions from day to day.

THE GENERALS ARE WRITING

The effect of this military writing is to reacquaint the Germans with military thought, to make them conscious once again of the reality of military language and to convince them to rely once more on the advice of those who are mili-

tary experts. It is not surprising, therefore, that the vast body of military literature which has been swamping Germany is having a better reception than a few years ago. The former Wehrmacht generals, who are awaiting better days, are busily writing books and the aim of these books is fairly clear. If the Federal republic, after all, is to contribute to the defense of Western Europe, it will need commanding officers of some kind for its units. It is all very well for the Allies to declare that the new German army will be integrated into the Western European defense set-up, or for Adenauer to claim that he does not want to use the well-known leaders of the last war. But the fact remains that apart from the Guderians, Speidels and von Schweppenburgs, Adenauer has few generals of experience to offer.

The attempt to remilitarize the Germans goes forward in the press to the accompaniment of hosts of pictures saved from the last war. The Münchener Illustrierte recently had front-page pictures of Generals Fortsch, Speidel and Heusinger in full uniform, labelled "The Candidates: Is there to be a new Wehrmacht? The world—but above all Germany—asks itself the simple question. But the first candidates for generalship are already named." The same paper also ran wartime pictures of former Luftwaffe officers. "We fighter pilots are not gasping to fly again," says the former commodore of the Schlageter fighter-group. "However, for the security of our beloved country we are willing to sacrifice ourselves again."

The aim of this avalanche of military writing and propaganda pictures is to remove the taint on the record of the Nazi Wehrmacht and Luftwaffe by recording with seeming impartiality its deeds in the last war. The proper moment for its release is well-chosen. If faith in the competence and moral reliability of the military leaders is to be secured in Germany and abroad, it is essential that the officer corps be exonerated from Hitler's misdeeds. This is being done with skill and determination. The effect, in German eyes at any rate, must be that Germany's military

leaders are not only blameless for the second World War, but that they are also the best men available for the job now at hand. Not only are they reliable, but their advice should be listened to and heeded.

"IT WAS HITLER'S FAULT"

General Halder, chief of the German general staff until 1943, has been busy telling the Germans that if Hitler had not interfered, their generals would have certainly won the war. Moreover, in his best-selling pamphlet *Hitler Als Feldherr* ("Hitler as a Field Commander") that the officer corps was always out of sympathy and out of favor with the Hitler regime. The absurdities of his argument have not been repeated in later writings, but the main thesis is the same whether we look at General Heusinger's *Be-fehl im Widerstreit* (Command in Conflict), General Westphal's *Heer in Fesseln* ("Army in Chains"), or Vice Admiral Assmann's *Deutsche Schicksalsjahre* ("Germany's Fateful Years") to mention but the most representative titles among a growing mass of military memoirs.

Yet, only when we examine General Heinz Guderian's memoirs do we realize the extent to which the German generals are openly in pursuit of full and forthright justification. Here is the absence of any subtlety or shame. Page after page is slanted to suggest that the German generals had been the victims of circumstances and not of their own lust for power and glory. Guderian emerges from his autobiography (*Memoirs of a Soldier*) as an officer in the grand tradition, as one of those who would have won the war but for Hitler. Reading the favorable reviews of his book in the German press, one wonders whether the war with Russia has not already broken out and Guderian's panzers, here depicted advancing through the hell of fire and barbed wire entanglements, have in fact crossed the Elbe and are heading for Moscow and Stalingrad. But this book is not the General's only publication. Although it is a superb attempt to restore the reputation of the officer corps, a small pamphlet by the same author is far more

important. It is called *Kann Westeuropa verteidigt werden?* (Can Western Europe be Defended?). The General's verdict is that, as things are at present, it cannot.

The significance of Guderian's pamphlet lies in the fact that he is a military advisor to the Bonn government. It is his feeling that without German rearmament there is no prospect of the NATO countries carrying out their plans for the defense of Western Europe. For his figures Guderian relies mainly on Liddell Hart, a British military expert, whose writings on military matters have earned him an unequalled respect among the Germans and whose word is taken as gospel.

ROADBLOCKS

Guderian claims that against Russia's 175 divisions, which in the case of war can be expanded to 500, the West has only 18, and these only on paper, for eight would actually be available on a central European front. It is only when the British and American forces are added and the total rises to twelve divisions that, in his view, the defense of the West moves into the realm of reality. Given the present defense set-up, Allied preparations so far amount, in Guderian's opinion, to no more than "roadblocks against an oncoming pursuer," and are doomed to failure.

How can this "crisis in European defense" be overcome? According to Guderian, only an increase in the strength of the Western occupation troops and a German contribution can alter the picture. But a German contribution of the size and character he would care to command can only be raised on the basis of full equality, complete with a German War Minister and General Staff, and a decisive voice as to when the war against Russia is to be started. Having given his expert advice, Guderian leaves it to the Bonn government and the Western allies to find the answers. As one scans the pages of his terrifying pamphlet, one wonders whether the general's readers have grasped his message.

It won't be his fault next time. He has made sure of that.

Revolt or "Democratization" — —

(Continued from page 6)

quarters. It brought on a crisis and the downfall of Beria in the Kremlin, and forced the Russian totalitarians to beat a swift, though temporary retreat. In West Germany, the June 17 events produced equally startling developments. The Adenauer government maintained a studied silence and then enacted one specific measure in reaction to the heroic events in East Berlin. At the nervous insistence of the Bonn government's police chief, an immediate doubling of the border guards between East and West Germany was legislated by the *Bundestag*, which then slumped back into its normal somnolence.

The Eisenhower regime in Washington, which had been trumpeting for so these many months about its new dynamic policy of "liberation" suddenly fell dumb. It only opened its mouth during these revolutionary days through RIAS to warn the East Berlin workers not to go too far. Finally, the dynamic policy of the American government produced a "secret weapon," the distribution of free food to hungry East Berliners. We are sure the East Berliners will take food, whether it comes from Moscow or Washington. But we do not think they will be satisfied with this substitute for politics. There still remain such questions as the unification of Germany, the withdrawal of all occupation

troops, and the ousting of the Adenauer regime as the slavish lackey of Washington.

Active Subjects of History

The tremendous uprising of the workers in Eastern Europe, led by the workers of East Berlin, again demonstrates a truth that must be the guide to the history of our time: The emancipation of the working-class can only be achieved by the workers themselves, whether in whole or part, whether it encompass revolution or reform, whether it is a question of overthrowing a dictatorial regime or forcing concessions from it. Deutscher's obvious annoyance, his ruffled reactions and acute displeasure at the actions of the East Berlin workers are the true mark of the philistine who has accumulated a vast library of facts, historical analogies, and appropriate precedents, but who has forgotten one simple idea Marx propounded: The workers can only liberate themselves and society from the stranglehold of an oppressive social order when they cease to be the passive objects and become the active subjects of history.

Deutscher's interpretation of Stalin's historical role rests precisely on the idea that the workers are the passive objects of history. The tasks which confront society are solved not by the masses but by heroes or an elite. Hence we get the grotesque caricature, of

Stalin as Robespierre and then as Napoleon. And finally, the image of the bureaucratic ruling class dispensing democratic socialism to the masses of Russia and the satellite empire. Our quarrel with Deutscher about the nature of the Stalinist counter-revolution might seem theoretical and abstract since we dispute his interpretation of what has happened, and that is all in the past tense. But when Deutscher applies his theory to the present and the future, it smells of something else. It can only provoke contempt.

We suggest that Mr. Deutscher write an open letter to the East German workers requesting that they exercise patience and discipline while the Kremlin clique conducts a rational discourse on the virtues and vices of "liberalization." Let him explain to the German workers that this bureaucratic class, which climbed to power by murdering millions of workers and peasants, condemned millions more to die a slow, lingering death in concentration camps, and set about reproducing the same social order in East Europe, will gladly abandon these barbarous means of preserving its class rule. All that is necessary is that the German, Polish, Rumanian, Czechoslovakian, Hungarian, Albanian, Bulgarian and last but not least, the Russian workers, show their gratitude by refraining from "anarchy and riot" while these good works pour down from the beneficent towers of the Kremlin.

For our part, we do not envy the response Mr. Deutscher will evoke.

POWs Come Home — —

(Continued from page 1)

tem over all others, and Stalinist ones in particular. But the vast majority had never had to defend their ideas against opposing ones in their civilian lives, and were thus almost totally unprepared for what they had to face.

If one reads between the lines of the dispatches, it is clear that even though only a small minority became active Stalinist proponents and stooges and informers for the Stalinists inside the camps, a much larger number were at least willing to play along with the Stalinists just enough to be classed as "progressives" and to receive the additional food and other favors available only to these. That is the meaning of the soldiers' reference to the "hard core" progressives as distinguished from the others. And it is also clear that only a minority were willing to take the consequences of openly and militantly opposing the Stalinists, on whatever grounds they may have done this.

LABORATORY EXPERIMENT

Here, on a tiny scale, under conditions which are almost those of a laboratory experiment, the ideologies of Stalinism and capitalism met head on. A group of average Americans, a cross-section of the great mass who will have to fight the Third World War, if it ever comes, were faced with the kind of misery, privation and pressure which brings out the real convictions, or the lack of them, by which men live. And although the detailed information is lacking on which to draw the balance with scientific accuracy, it can be said that the gross result showed weakness rather than strength.

In the last two great wars in which America has participated, the ideological problem hardly became an important factor. In World War II it played a major role, but only on the Eastern front where the Nazis were able to win over large segments of the Kremlin's minority peoples, and the Stalinists to use for their own purposes at least a section of the German officer corps.

The Nazis could not make a serious ideological appeal to any significant section of the American people, because of their own open national chauvinism. Even American racists could not be won over to Nazism because Hitler could offer them nothing they don't already have, at least in the South. Only the tiny minority of virulent anti-Semites in this country could find anything attractive in Nazism.

But the Stalinist appeal is altogether different, and this applies doubly to Asiatic Stalinism which pretends to

speak in the name of the "colored" peoples in their struggle for emancipation from the yoke of white, Western imperialism. The Stalinists talk about "democracy" and "equality" and the rights of man. And when these appeals are made to soldiers who do not know what they are fighting for, and who are subjected to pressures and experiences for which their previous lives have left them wholly unprepared, the large chunks of truth in the Stalinist indictment of capitalism, and the tiny kernel of truth which lies even in their claims for their own achievements are bound to have a telling effect.

PRESS REACTION TYPICAL

The reaction of the American press and the government to the disclosure of the effectiveness of the Stalinist campaign in the camps is quite typical. Confronted with the same problem in reverse, the Stalinists have launched a planned and calculated propaganda campaign against the mistreatment of their prisoners in American hands, and against the few "degenerates" and "fascist scum" who had succumbed to the ideological and physical pressure of their captors.

The American press is not lacking with invective against the "turncoats," "traitors," and "spies." But above all it shows the hysteria which seems to grip the official and unofficial manufacturers of American public opinion the moment they are confronted with the presence of native Stalinists in any form.

Without batting an eye, the United Press reports from Panmunjom on August 10:

"Returned U. S. war prisoners said today the Reds hoped to use a group of Americans turned Communist in prison camps to spark a Communist revolution in the U. S. in about four years.

"They said at least 124 of the U. S. turncoats are being kept behind, at their own will, for special training.

"Others of these spies and would-be revolutionary leaders, they said, have infiltrated war prisoners now being readied for return home to the U. S.

"American authorities took these reports seriously enough to plant trained counterspies among the released prisoners in an attempt to weed out the men who have gone Red."

REVOLUTION TO ORDER

One hundred and twenty-four men, most of them described as being "in their twenties," and "ignorant" to boot are going to lead a Stalinist revolution in the United States in "about" four years. (We wonder whether that "about" is a security term designed to conceal the exact date set for this event, or whether the 124 men are permitted to use a degree of flexibility in deciding just when to overthrow the government, such as

one or two months earlier or later.) Thirty of them, known by sight and by name to all the men who were in prison with them, have been "infiltrated" among the 448 Americans returned to date with the purpose of sneaking into the country ahead of the 124 and, no doubt, laying the groundwork for the later appearance of this heavy battalion. Although they comprise one out of every fifteen prisoners, a fairly visible proportion, it would seem, "trained counterspies" have had to be employed to "weed" them out.

If a Stalinist government were to employ such methods to "weed" out anyone who had not maintained an iron loyalty to Stalinism while in a foreign prison camp, it could be considered quite normal. After all, Stalinism is a totalitarian system, and hence even a single oppositionist is considered a menace and is subject to the most brutal punishment, including death.

But the United States is a political democracy, and the richest and most powerful one in the world. It is still the theory in this country that men cannot be punished for their ideas, but only for the commission of crimes. Why then should the press and the government of this country become so upset over a handful of men who have succumbed to Stalinist ideology under the special circumstances of months or years spent in a prisoner of war camp? What sanctions does the government plan to invoke against them if and when they are identified?

One cannot condemn the soldiers who want revenge on those of their comrades who turned stool-pigeon for the Stalinists and aided them in running the camps. Those soldiers who have committed actual crimes against their fellows will, in all likelihood, be dealt with under the laws of the land.

AMERICA ILL-PREPARED

But that does not begin to explain the obvious fear with which the American press is reacting to this episode in the war. What bothers the reporters is that it gives a glimpse into the real magnitude of the political and ideological struggle in which this country has become involved. And it shows how ill-prepared America is to cope with this aspect of the struggle.

The "Reds" may be "weeded" out. Some may be brought to trial, and others subjected to extra-legal punishments within the armed forces, or dishonorably discharged. But that will not give the American people, and particularly the poorest and most exploited and oppressed among them a positive ideology with which to understand and combat Stalinism. For such an ideology can only be one which meets Stalinism on its own terms; which truly represents the interests of the common people of this country; which offers them real hope for a life of dignity and freedom and equality.

Only the idea of socialism, with its bed-rock concept of complete democracy and human equality offers such an ideology. When that is grasped by masses of people in this country, the tide in the ideological war with Stalinism will have been turned.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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SPOTLIGHT

Continued from page 1

two homes on Reeve Street in Compton in May to let the Negro owners know that "they're not wanted here."

The day and night shifts of the 14,000 member local had voted for the suspension, but the swing shift still was to be heard from at the time the *Eagle* went to press. Suspension from the union will not mean that Williams will lose his job, but that he will not be permitted to participate in any union activity though he will have to continue to pay his dues. The vote was taken on the recommendation of a trial committee which examined photographs taken at the scene of the picketing and interrogated a number of witnesses during a week-long investigation.

CIO Fights Atom Steal

The CIO charged last week that the proposed "multibillion dollar give-away of atomic know-how" to private industry "may dwarf the combined value of all previous and other proposed give-aways of our country's national resources."

The CIO's opposition to the proposed turning over to private corporations of the operation of nuclear power facilities was pressed on the joint congressional committee on atomic energy by Benjamin C. Sigal, according to a LPA dispatch from Washington.

Private business, Sigal pointed out, has not been willing to risk a single penny to build or operate a full scale reactor. All the great corporations de-

mand that the federal government put up most of the money involved for either a pilot plant or a full scale plant, and that it guarantee "these brave entrepreneurs against any loss."

"What sweeter arrangement, from the point of view of private industry, could have been provided, within the barest limits of common decency, than for the federal government to take all the risk, spend fantastic sums of money, and at the same time give private industry the benefit of all the know-how that has been acquired as a result of taking that risk and making that investment," Sigal said. He attacked the present AEC policy of delegating its production responsibilities to private corporations, and said that the CIO believes "that the public welfare demands public operation, as well as public ownership, of the atomic industry."

Although the atomic energy industry is the foremost example of this kind of purely government development of an industry in this country, the atomic give-away has many precedents in American history. One example is the early trans-continental railroads which were built on the basis of government grants and loans, which were later made into free gifts to the railroad companies.

The advocates of "free enterprise" have never objected to this kind of paternalism. All they want is the right to exploit the resources and the labor of the men who develop them with the utmost freedom from any responsibility to society.