

# LABOR ACTION

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## Shachtman Gets Big UC Audiences Despite the Ban

By ROBERT MAGNUS

**BERKELEY, Nov. 24**—A series of spectacular and highly successful meetings provided a fitting climax to the Shachtman case at the University of California.

Beginning more than a week ago when the dean of students cancelled plans to have Max Shachtman, chairman of the ISL, appear on the Berkeley campus in a debate with Professor Herrick of Mills College, the incident broadened and deepened into another Ohio University case—in spite of the hush-hush treatment given to the entire question by the press.

The university's *Daily Californian* took the lead from the beginning. For an entire week the big game between Stanford and California was pushed onto the fifth page. Two front-page editorials blasted the dean for his action and awakened the students to a situation which has long existed: the arbitrary and one-sided selection of off-campus speakers by the authorities. The top was taken off the smoldering enmity between students and administration on the question of freedom of expression on the campus.

The student body responded magnificently. Letters appeared from many campus leaders, from all types of political groups and from ordinarily non-political students denouncing, ridiculing and opposing the dean's action. The general refrain was the same: "Stop 'protecting' us from 'subversive' speakers; let us make up our own minds!" Off-campus living-groups volunteered their premises for the debate. The student government passed a resolution asking for an official university pronouncement on the matter.

Shachtman suddenly became a mysterious personality here.

"Who the hell is this Shachtman?" everyone asked.

"A subversive!" roared the dean.

"Good, let's hear him," came the unexpected reply and the students proceeded to do so.

### Slap at the Administration

On Tuesday evening, November 20, the originally planned Shachtman-Herrick debate took place at the Barrington Hall student co-op some blocks from the campus. Five hundred enthusiastic students trooped in out of the driving rain and completely filled up the hall.

The sponsoring organizations got up and stated their reasons for publicly supporting the event. In a campus ridden with loyalty oaths, student apathy and fear, they were sticking their necks out and taking a slap at the university administration. Barrington Hall, the YMCA, Cloyne Court and Wesley Foundation—never before had such a public rebuke been administered by such popular, non-political off-campus groups.

The students responded warmly to this defense of free speech. The atmosphere was congenial and radiated an excitement completely absent from "official" university functions.

The moderator for the evening was Dr. Robert A. Brady of the university Economics Department. Well-known in his own right as an expert scholar and critical reporter of the British situation, author of the recent book, *Crisis in Britain*, Brady also spoke up solidly for the right of free speech and academic freedom. Having gone through the loyalty-oath

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### USA 1951: Still Poverty Amid Plenty

"It costs an elderly couple about \$2000 a year—between \$35 and \$40 a week—to maintain themselves at just a subsistence, just a decent minimum of living today.

"Yet less than half of the nation's men and women who are 65 or over have anything approaching that total of money to spend—either in earnings or in pensions or in income on investments.

"Even worse, almost 6 million of America's 12 million citizens in the over-65 age group are now struggling to meet minimum living costs of \$1000 a year with \$500 or less of annual income.

"And that's why, in this era of record boom, we see the strange phenomenon of 5,700,000 Americans on the relief rolls of our 48 states—getting cash help and medical care...

"What are we creating here—what warning is pounded home by the startling statistic that half of our older folks haven't even 50 per cent of the minimum income they need to live?"

—Business columnist Sylvia Porter, N. Y. Post, Nov. 26.

It's the 'Times' That Says So—

## Europe's Crisis: Capitalist System Does Not Work!

By SAM FELIKS

The big question at the meetings of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization always turns out to be the same one: How is Western Europe going to pay for the tremendous rearmament program? Military goals have been set; and before there is even a realistic chance that they will be met, new and more drastic demands are made by Washington. The result has been a creeping economic crisis threatening to drag down all of Western Europe.

The story that occupied the center of the stage at the Ottawa meeting of the NATO last September was also the main attraction at this November meeting in Rome, and will be foremost at the January meeting in Lisbon.

No one at NATO is proposing

a solution to the economic crisis, because no one thinks it can be found. It is only the Americans who have even talked in optimistic terms—but then that is expected of them. For if not they, what can be expected of the Europeans? The result has been the well-publicized "smiling confidence" of General Eisenhower, which it was thought could impart confidence to the European people while he

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## U.S. Deal with Adenauer Reflects Fear of Socialists, Unity Issue

By GORDON HASKELL

The West German Chancellor, Konrad Adenauer, has come to an agreement with the Western occupying powers on a proposed settlement of the relations between West Germany and the governments of the United States, France and Great Britain. Thus the Allies have met their target of negotiating a "contract" with Western Germany before the end of the year. It will be a long time, however, before this "contract" can be put into practice, and there are ample reasons to believe that this may never take place.

Two factors have contributed mightily to the speed with which Adenauer and the Allies have been able to reach agreement. The first is the ardent desire the people of Western Germany have shown for an early unification of their country. And the second has been the rapidly increasing popularity and power of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany, a popularity which has grown in large measure because of the SPD's position on the related problems of German unification and rearmament.

It is an open secret that the Allies regard the German Social-Democracy, and above all its leader Kurt Schumacher, as the greatest danger to their plans for the integration of Western Germany into the military system of the North Atlantic Treaty. And as this integration is the chief goal of Allied (and particularly American) policy as far as Ger-

many is concerned, they have been willing to give Adenauer a maximum of concessions in the hope of stemming the political tide which recent elections have shown is running strongly for the SPD.

According to the agreement reached on November 22 in Paris, Western Germany is to get full sovereignty in domestic and foreign

For a United Independent Germany



KURT SCHUMACHER  
German Socialist Leader

affairs except on three questions: the Allies have the right to resume control of

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# U.S. Deal with Adenauer — —

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the government if they feel that the security of their own military forces is endangered; they reserve the right to decide the future of Berlin; they reserve the right to decide on the question of unity of West and East Germany.

## STILL UNEQUAL

Further, Allied troops will remain in Germany, but the occupation of the country as a political relationship will end. German rearmament will depend on the creation of a "European army." This means that West Germany will not be permitted to build up an integrated army of its own, but will furnish contingents to the projected European army which will be directly under General Eisenhower's command along with the regular national forces of the Atlantic pact powers. There will be no German general staff or national army.

Thus Western Germany is to gain a large measure of sovereignty. Yet this sovereignty is to be purchased at the price of remaining indefinitely an unequal and subordinated power in Europe. And the most vital political and economic question which faces the country, that of its unification, is to be left in the hands of powers over which the German people can have no control.

The SPD has rejected this concept of the future of Germany in Europe, and in our opinion, rightly so. Schumacher has insisted that German rearmament is a matter which must be decided freely by the German people, and that this can be done

only if they have the same freedom to make the decision as to its form and extent as have the peoples of France or Britain on their own armament. Further, it is the position of the SPD that for the Germans the question of the unification of their country is more vital than the question of rearmament, and in any event cannot be subordinated to the desire of the American and other Allied governments to see West Germany firmly integrated into their military camp.

## SUPPORT SPD

There is no doubt that the majority of the people of West Germany support the SPD in this position. They have backed its insistence that the Bonn government take up the unity overtures made by the Stalinist puppets who rule Eastern Germany, and propose concrete steps for the unification of the country. They have shown themselves quite willing to postpone the question of "integration" with the West in the interest of the unification of the country, to the extent that the former stands as an obstacle to the latter. The SPD has shown that it has complete confidence that if the country can be unified under the proper democratic safeguards, the workers and the people generally will resoundingly repudiate Stalinism and prevent a united Germany from passing under the totalitarian yoke.

It is to be regretted that the socialist movements in other European countries have not shown themselves ready to support the German Social-Democracy in the

campaign it is waging on this question. The attitude of the Bevan wing of the British Labor Party as expressed in an editorial in the *London Tribune* of November 2 is a good illustration of this.

## TRIBUNE'S VIEW

After sketching the recent stages in the struggle over the unification of Germany, the editorial points out that the obvious purpose of the Russians in proposing unity at this time is to block the rearmament of Western Germany.

"What the Russians obviously hope to achieve," the editorial continues, "is a total withdrawal of all British, American and French troops from Western Germany, with the *quid pro quo* of a Russian withdrawal from Eastern Germany. To bring this about they would be willing to sacrifice the Communist regime in Eastern Germany, for there would always be the more attractive possibility that a reunited 'neutralized' Germany of that sort might one day be drawn into their orbit, not because of any German pro-Communist sympathies but because of what Germans might easily regard as reasons of expediency.

"The Western powers cannot agree to such a project in the present circumstances without doing infinite harm to their own cause. To create a vast military and political no-man's-land in the heart of Europe would not only invite the dangers of a European Korea; it would invite the worst kind of Germans—to become the arbiters between

East and West and indeed between peace and war. But that is not to say that unification and some kind of compromise is impossible.

"The Russians may be prepared to agree to unification under a non-Communist regime at the price of preventing German rearmament, even without the withdrawal of the occupying forces. That remains to be seen. But if they are, it would be a bargain which the Western powers should not turn down."

The first thing which strikes one in this passage is what appears to be a complete absence of concern with the desires and interests not only of the Germans as a nation, but of the German working class and even more specifically, the German socialists. The editorial speaks of the "Germans" as if they were a homogeneous entity. Indeed, the only distinction made is between "the worst kind of Germans" and the rest, with the strong inference that it is the former who are likely to gain in strength if the country is unified.

But even worse than this is the assumption that the only thing which prevents Germany from becoming a vast "military and political no-man's land" is the presence of foreign troops on German soil.

It would appear that for the *Tribune* the German working class, led by the powerful Social-Democratic Party, simply does not exist as a political force, or at any rate that it is a far less reliable one than the British, American and French divisions in Western Germany.

This is indeed a peculiar attitude for the section of a party which has gained vast popularity in its own country on the basis of insisting that rearmament, i.e., the development of purely military might, must be SUBORDINATED to the political and economic interests of the working class!

## INTERNATIONALISM

And the reference to "the dangers of a European Korea" would border on the ludicrous if this were not such a serious matter. Surely the editors of the *Tribune* are aware of the fact that the military aggression typified by Korea was made possible by the *division* of that unhappy country imposed by the Stalinist and capitalist powers, and that in this respect the continued division of Germany and not its unification presents the danger. Yet even more important, to compare Germany with its highly developed working-class movement to poor, backward Korea is to stretch analogy far beyond its legitimate bounds.

The SPD of Germany is far closer to a policy which corresponds not only to the true interests of the German workers, but to those of the workers of the whole world, than is the *Tribune* in this matter. It behooves British socialists, as well as Americans, to give them every support in their insistence on the priority of German unification and complete independence. Only thus can a truly internationalist socialist policy, and equally important, a truly international socialist movement be constructed.

# The System 'Does Not Work' — —

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took the food off their table. But even the Americans are no happier than their official posts permit them to be for public consumption.

## "WHAT IS WRONG"

Michael Hoffman, the N. Y. *Times* correspondent who has spent the post-war years in Europe covering its economic development, seeks to point out the reasons for the failure of the rearmament program. Coming from a non-socialist source, it can only add emphasis to what has long been said about Western Europe on this score. Faced with this problem the Marshall Plan was like fly-swatting at an elephant. Hoffman wrote on November 25:

"It cannot be repeated too often that what is mainly wrong with Europe's economic system is not that it is unfair to some economic classes of the population or that it is not like our own system, but

that it does not 'work.' It does not provide for enough people for enough of the time the combination of incentives and rewards needed to bring about the complex kind of cooperative action necessary to utilize effectively modern industrial and agricultural production techniques. It has been working just enough better than communism to make it possible to avoid applying methods of totalitarian states so far. But no amount of talk or appeal to ideals can fend off totalitarianisms, red or white, if they alone seem to the mass of the people to be able to make the system work at all."

## THE "WISE MEN"

The extent of the despair and even cynicism inside of the NATO organization is shown by their attitude toward their bureaucratic administrative apparatus. Two more top-level committees were formed at the Ottawa meeting. One consisted of the finance ministers of the Big Three—the U. S., Britain and France, and are sarcastically referred to as "the Three Wise Men" who are seeking the way out of the NATO crisis. The other committee, made up of the 12 NATO members, are referred to as "the Twelve Apostles": all sitting down for their last supper. This is another way of saying that the Europeans feel neither war nor the preparations for war can offer a solution to

any of their problems. It is only a variety of the American chauvinist who can believe that an atomic world war can bring utopia, à la *Colliers* magazine.

## BOTTLENECK

One by one as the Western European nations begin to rearm they are thrown into the midst of an economic crisis. The first was Britain and within a short time her trade gap began to widen, dollar and gold reserves to decline. Already the Churchill government has announced a cut in imports and an austerity program exceeding anything under Cripps. France was the next nation to move in the direction of fulfilling her NATO military commitments, and a similar situation has developed in France. With Britain and France as examples, it is small wonder that rearmament has been lagging.

The bottleneck is not in the organization of a European army or in developing the most efficient committee set-up to run NATO. The basic difficulty is in the European economy as such. It is the fact that West European capitalism no longer can function. Compared to Asia and Africa it is a modern economy but it cannot meet the needs of the European people, war economy or not, as it is presently organized on a capitalist basis. The rearmament program clearly shows this obsolescence.

## HOME-THRUST FROM THE YUGOSLAVS



— FOUR DAYS AGO A MAN YELLED "LONG LIVE STALIN" ON THIS SQUARE, AND SINCE THEN NO ONE HAS DARED TO BE THE FIRST TO STOP CLAPPING.

("Jež" — Beograd)

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