

THE

AMERICAN

Socialist

**EUROPE'S
"NEW LOOK":
GRIM FOR DULLES**

MARCH 1954

25 CENTS

Man's Fate and the Bomb



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Labor Scene**

CLIPPINGS

THE San Francisco AFL Building Trades Council joined the growing movement to save the life of Wesley Wells, the 44-year-old Negro whose execution is scheduled April 9. His crime? Throwing a cuspidor at a prison guard. All readers should wire Governor Goodwin J. Knight, Sacramento, Calif. to urge that he grant executive clemency.

KIT CLARDY, the "Junior McCarthy" Congressman from Michigan will hold hearings for the House Un-American Activities Committee in Detroit some time in March. Chrysler Local 742 set off a public bombshell when it adopted a resolution that it "will not in any way cooperate with this undemocratic committee" and "that Local 742 will give every aid possible including financial aid for legal defense of any member who is dragged before the committee." Many of the local auto unions condemned the projected hearings. Especially significant was the position of Amalgamated West Side Local 174, which has a membership of over 30,000 and whose leadership is considered extremely conservative. Harry Southwell, the local president, issued a statement to the press, which said in part, "It is not yet a crime to belong to any political party in America. When you deprive a man of his livelihood because he is a member of any political group, you are depriving him of his rights under the Constitution, the very rights you are fighting to defend."

Clinton Jencks, representative of the independent Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union was found guilty by a federal jury in El Paso, Texas and sentenced to five years in prison. Jencks was charged with falsely signing the Taft-Hartley non-communist affidavit.

In Cincinnati, Melvin Hupman, a former officer of the independent United Electrical Workers was convicted on the same charge, sentenced to five years imprisonment and fined \$5,000. Hugh Bryson, president of the independent Marine Cooks and Stewards is scheduled to go on trial in Washington, D.C. on the same charge.

Headline of the Jan. 21 number of Pilot, organ of the CIO Maritime Union reads: "Seafaring Unions Agree on Basic Pork Chop Questions." This referred to a conference held in Washington, D.C. of the CIO and AFL seafaring unions to consider measures to combat unemployment in the industry. One of the "pork chop" recommendations: "In addition to nonpayment of dues, the following be made sufficient reasons for expulsion from labor unions: narcotic peddlers, addicts or traffickers, communists and Trotskyists, members of totalitarian groups or members of any group advocating the overthrow of the United States government by force and violence."

AN Associated Press item from Washington on February 5 reads: "The Defense Department's effort to induce a private chemical company to operate the military's three main germ warfare plants has failed. The only firm that had indicated interest, the Mathieson Chemical Corporation of Baltimore, has informed the department it has decided against taking a contract and negotiations have been dropped, it was learned today. . . . Informed persons said the two main reasons for private industry's reluctance were the administrative and business problems involved, and the mass destruction the weapons would create."

THE Communist Party campaign to dump the New York ALP as an independent political organization inched ahead when Francisco Archilla, the ALP candidate for Assemblyman of the 14th A.D. withdrew in favor of Gregorio Domenech, the Republican candidate, who will run additionally on a Unity Party ticket specially set up for the election.

Emanuel H. Bloch literally worked his heart out in defense of the Rosenbergs. He died of a heart attack on January 30 in his New York apartment. At the time of his death he was facing possible disbarment from law practice. The N.Y. City Bar Association had filed a petition with the State Supreme Court demanding that action be taken against him for his speech at the Rosenberg funeral. In that speech Bloch stated: "The American people should know, as the rest of the world knows, that America today, by virtue of the execution of the Rosenbergs, is living under the heel of a military dictatorship garbed in civilian attire. . . . I place the murder of the Rosenbergs at the door of President Eisenhower, Attorney General Brownell and J. Edgar Hoover."

FERNANDEZ Grandizo (Munis) and Jaime Fernandez, arrested in Spain more than a year ago, are soon to be brought before a Franco War Council in Madrid charged with "an attempt to set up a revolutionary organization with the aim of overthrowing the regime." There is no proof of the charge although there has been a police and judicial investigation for over a year. The penalties demanded are 20 years for Munis and Jaime, and 4 to 12 years for eight others who have been arrested.

On February 5 a military tribunal condemned 17 anarchists to imprisonment, the sentences ranging from 1 to 15 years, for carrying on propaganda against the Franco dictatorship.

The current issue of ECCLESIA, the publication of the Roman Catholic episcopacy, carries the results of an extensive investigation of the Spanish working class. It finds that the Spanish worker, in his "overwhelming majority," is not a practicing Catholic. One of the main reasons: "The Marxist virus that rusts his soul." The report discusses the infiltration of former socialists and anarchists into the Franco trade unions and the Catholic institutions "acting on instructions from abroad."

Washington's campaign against Guatemala has reached outrageous proportions. The State Department is trying to drum up an international pogrom, so that the U. S. will be all set to propose intervention under the smokescreen of combatting communism, at the Pan-American Conference scheduled to open March 1st in Caracas, Venezuela. Reason for Wall Street's high blood pressure: The Guatemalan agrarian reform law under which 234,000 acres of land owned by United Fruit Co. were nationalized. The company was offered \$600,000 in 20-year bonds as compensation, but the State Department is insisting that the company be paid many times that amount.

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The Labor Scene

by BERT COCHRAN

THE AMERICAN trade unions are stagnating. They display many of the evil features of the AFL in the dismal Twenties: lack of membership growth, loss of strikes, bureaucratization, poor standing with the population, no active independent goals, general apathy and absence of morale. The 1953 conventions of the AFL and CIO—terribly dull and uninspiring affairs—accurately mirrored the sad state of things. We had the usual round of invited stuffed-shirt orators, the empty platitudes and meaningless highflown declamations, and the mountains of pious resolutions passed on every conceivable subject. If you asked most of the convention delegates what the conventions accomplished, they couldn't tell you.

A. H. Raskin, the labor writer of the *N. Y. Times* reported caustically on "a study of what happened to the mountainous pile of resolutions the CIO adopted at its 1952 assembly in Atlantic City. These resolutions covered hundreds of topics and set forth in unequivocal terms what the CIO felt had to be done to set the world aright. The only one that was carried out during the year was one calling for the release of William N. Oatis, imprisoned Associated Press correspondent in Czechoslovakia, and the CIO could hardly claim that its pressure had been decisive in that affair."

No wonder most delegates would repair to the nearby bars during the convention when in need of inspiration!

Labor Grafting

JUST AS in the Twenties when cynicism was the dominant trait of the labor officialdom, graft and corruption are appearing on the edges of the labor movement, particularly in the AFL. In the midst of the prevailing reaction, the capitalist press was able in recent months to serve up for the delectation of its readers a number of juicy items about the crookedness of the "labor bosses":

• Thomas E. Lewis, slain president of New York Local 32-E of the AFL Building Service Employees International Union and his associates drained in a five-year period a minimum of \$275,000 out of the insurance agencies they controlled handling the welfare funds of their own and other unions,

it was revealed on Dec. 16, 1953 in the course of a State investigation.

• A Congressional investigating body was told in Detroit on Nov. 24, 1953 that two top officers of the AFL Teamsters set up a car haulaway agency that paid their wives \$65,000 in dividends in less than three years. Elliot R. Beidler, identified as vice president and general manager of Test Fleet, as well as its only employee, testified that the company was set up with 100 shares evenly divided between the two wives of the Teamsters' officials, that it bought 10 trucks and trailers for \$20,000 and immediately rented them back at \$70,000 for the

year. The wives would tell him "to call a meeting of the board of directors" when they wanted dividend payments, he testified.

• A Grand Jury investigation held in New York City on Dec. 18, 1953 questioned John De Feo, partner of the Cardinal Insurance Agency, which handles the welfare accounts of 22 AFL unions in the area, and the witness was accused of giving evasive answers as to how he spent \$50,000 in 17 months for entertainment, travel and promotional work. Assistant District Attorney Scotti told the court that De Feo admitted he had entertained in 1952 at the Copacabana, Stork Club, Versailles, Latin Quarter and several clubs in Greenwich Village such labor dignitaries as Robert Johnson, secretary-treasurer of the N.Y. District Council of the AFL Carpenters, Joseph Tonnelli, international vice president of the AFL Paper, Sulphite and Pulp Workers union, Joseph Parisi, secretary of Local 27 of the AFL Teamsters, Daniel Motto, president of Local 350 of the AFL Bakery and Confectionary workers. The prosecutor stated that examination of the company's books showed that \$170,498 had been spent in the last 3 years for "entertainment, travel and promotional activities."

In a money society, where the prevailing philosophy is to look out for No. 1 and where wealth is the hallmark of success, union officials easily fall victim to the prevailing capitalist set of values, especially when the labor movement lacks a strong tradition and morality of its own. In the AFL, business agents find it especially hard to resist temptation because of the absence in many unions of any semblance of membership control over affairs.



Rise of a New Ultra-Reactionary Wing

MORE SINISTER than pilfering and larceny on the part of some corrupt business agents is the emergence of a new ultra-reactionary wing in both the AFL and CIO. It might be difficult to figure out what could be a more conservative labor leadership than Reuther and Meany, but there is one, with the rise of Dave Beck, president of the Teamsters and David J. MacDonald, president of the Steel union.

Dave Beck is no novice at the game of business unionism, as he had been peddling his labor-management cooperation merchandise up and down the West Coast for over a decade before taking over the Teamsters union nationally. Ironically, he owes his rise to power to Harry Bridges and the CIO; it was the 1934 San Francisco general strike and the CIO upsurge that made his line of goods attractive to the employers. His selling point to the bosses was simplicity itself: They could sign up with him and get a good patriotic American union which would keep its members working and make very modest wage demands, or the big bad communist wolves of the CIO would get at them, and it would cost them plenty. No wonder the employers found Dave Beck's "organizing genius" impossible to resist. As one executive of a trucking concern told the *Reporter* correspondent: "If we have to deal with unions at all, I'll take Beck any time. Last year he cost me \$55,000 in wage increases. Any other labor leaders would have cost me \$100,000."

Before heading for Washington to take over as one of America's foremost "labor statesmen," Beck kept his record consistent by breaking the 1948 machinists strike at the Boeing aircraft plant in Seattle and the AFL retail clerks strike in the Los Angeles area the following year. He was denounced by the Washington State AFL convention and the East Bay Central Labor Council. But what did Beck care? As he boasted: "For every enemy I make in the labor movement, I make a hundred new friends in the Chamber of Commerce." Today with a reputed membership of 1,300,000, a treasury of \$29 million, and a field staff of 1,800 organizers and repre-

sentatives, the Teamsters are the largest organization in the AFL, and Dave Beck is probably its most powerful single official.

DAVE BECK continues the hal-
lowed tradition of the good old AFL business unionism as practiced, though on a smaller scale, by Gompers, Matthew Woll, Dan Tobin, and similar battlers on behalf of the common man; a unionism that included as part of its working equipment strong-arm contingents to keep the ranks in line and occasionally threaten a small time employer, and to carry on its side-lines of boodle and graft. In contrast, the Lochinvar of class harmony in the CIO, David J. MacDonald, resembles more a fly-by-night operator, something like the late unlamented ex-Baptist preacher, Homer Martin, in his final period in the auto union, rather than a solid, feet-on-the-ground "labor statesman" in the mold of Philip Murray or Sidney Hillman. It's not that he's doing anything basically different, or preaching anything different than the rest of the union officials. It's just that he's overdoing it, and in his pathetic vanity, may be getting caught up with commitments to the steel trust, as Homer Martin got wound up with Ford Motor Company. Whatever the exact extent of his understanding with the steel corporations, this popinjay, out of cheap ambition, has permitted the steel trust to drive a deep wedge into the CIO.

To call attention to the schism, MacDonald started out on his "harmony" junket of the steel plants arm-in-arm with Ben Fairless, president of the U.S. Steel Corporation right in the midst of the CIO convention, as if to counterpose his own treacherous horseplay to the convention sessions, as if to tell the workers: Here is how to really get things done—get chummy with the Big Boys. And he got plenty chummy.

The grand tour reached its thundering climax in Pittsburgh on Nov. 27 where the steel magnates joined with the union pie-cards to celebrate "Dave's Day." Over 3,000 industry and union representatives with their wives, not to mention a motley assortment of clergymen, politicians, professors, society women and what-have-you turned out bedecked and bediamonded to "honor" David J. MacDonald, chris-

tened by the advertising copy writers as Pittsburgh's "Man of Steel." *The Wall Street Journal* in a front page spread took proper notice of this signal event and announced that "streets, railroad stations, hotel lobbies and the airport will be decorated for the occasion. . . . The mayor-elect of New York City and the chairman of the board of U.S. Steel Corporation will speak at the main testimonial banquet at the William Penn Hotel. . . . Visitors arriving by plane will see MacDonald banners and bunting strung up in the modernistic building of the new Greater Pittsburgh airport. For those coming by train, there will be pictures of Mr. MacDonald in the railroad stations, and for hometowners there will be street decorations in the Golden Triangle business district . . . Some steel companies have taken tables for 10 at \$200 a table . . ."

There is a saying that every man has his price. If this is so, then David J. MacDonald's is obviously not very high.

All the hoopla notwithstanding, the CIO's "Man of Steel" and the AFL's "Organizing Genius" are not the prototypes of the coming union leadership. These two have shot up to eminence as the stink weeds of the lush war boom. But in the rougher days that lie ahead the ranks, especially in the CIO, will demand something more than Rotarianism from their leaders.

Prospects of AFL-CIO Unity

HARD PUT to find other hopeful developments in the labor movement, some have seized upon the recent unity negotiations between the AFL and CIO as holding the promise of a recapture of labor's lost militancy.

Actually, it is highly doubtful that unification of the two federations can be achieved in a period of labor decline and absence of strong initiative from the ranks. There are the usual difficulties of reconciling the conflicting interests of several dozens of competing machines and sets of paid officials. To this type of difficulty, which has prevented amalgamation of the railroad brotherhoods for over half a century, must be added an actual conflict of industrial vs. craft unionism. It is dead wrong to imagine that this



HOG WILD

conflict was settled long ago and that the AFL today practices industrial unionism. What has happened is that many AFL unions, like the IBEW, the Machinists, the Meat Cutters, have under the pressure of the times, signed up production workers, but they have treated them as second class citizens, deprived them of equal rights with the older skilled members, segregated them into Class B locals.

Even an organization like the International Association of Machinists, where the production workers probably predominate, is still dominated by the craft union sector and weighted in favor of the upper layers of the skilled mechanics. Were the CIO Packinghouse union to get lost in the packing division of the AFL Butcher Workmen, were the CIO electrical workers to get dumped into the Class B locals of the IBEW—this would represent a backward step so far as the organized workers are concerned. The formal unification under one roof would represent no adequate compensation for the loss of the industrial structure type of

unionism that produces greater shop solidarity and better enables the ranks to influence policy decisions.

Left wingers are all for unity of the trade unions, and oppose needless duplications of sets of officials, not to mention jurisdictional battles over membership. But they don't make a fetish out of the unity question, as they understand the even greater importance of the program and structure of the organization. They know, for instance, that throughout the Twenties when the trade unions enjoyed perfect unity inside the AFL, the movement was disintegrating and decaying. But after the unions split with the formation of the CIO in 1935, there was progress all along the line, and even the moribund AFL revived. This is not an argument for two federations at all times and under all conditions. But it does demonstrate that the question of unity has to be dealt with in the concrete; on what basis unity can be achieved, and whether it will or will not pave the way for new advances.

THIS IS all the more true as formal unification—even if attained—does not necessarily mean any real unity in action and for action. The CIO, as we have previously indicated, is badly rent internally. The AFL is in even worse shape. The no-raiding agreement signed by the AFL with the CIO on January 1 is already a dead letter. Dave Beck is paying no attention to it. He insists that all warehousemen, including innumerable categories of miscellaneous workers now belonging to various CIO and AFL unions, must be turned over to him before he will sign any agreements. The Machinists have declared war on Quill's Transport workers and are trying to take away their airline members. And the Executive Council is still busy wrestling with the problem of how to eliminate jurisdictional wars among its own AFL unions. (The AFL has only been wrestling with this problem for seventy years, so naturally has not been able to make much progress on it as yet.)

Actually, the CIO proposal of a couple of years ago for joint action and cooperation on specific projects and aims is the most practical proposition at present, and the only one that has any immediate chance of realization. Even though the AFL high command brusquely rejected it in favor of the more than problematical organic unity, it is entirely possible that in the next period when things get tougher and the ranks begin clamoring for action, such limited united fronts will be realized on local scales, and may pave the way for a superior integration of the labor movement at a later stage.

Organizing The Unorganized

THE AMERICAN trade union officials consider themselves as practical men above all else, whose strong suit is looking after the daily, bread-and-butter needs of the organization. They flatter themselves without adequate cause. Even if we sweep off the boards such not inconsequential items as their tagging after the State Department in its cold war and its little hot wars, the record still will not bear investigation.

One of the important aims of labor

is to organize the unorganized, or to use the language of the labor statesmen, "to bring the benefits of unionism to our unorganized brethren." This is certainly an eminently practical task deriving from the immediate needs of the unions to eliminate sweat shop competition, and is a thoroughly realizable task as the original CIO drives demonstrated. Yet, on this score, the labor leaders' record is beneath contempt. There is practically no organization of new members going on in the labor movement today. Even as far back as the 1949 CIO convention, Philip Murray reported:

"In a country where labor organizations only include one-third of those eligible for membership, organization of new members has slowed down to a rate where it scarcely equals the loss of members due to death and retirement from industry."

The Southern drives of both the AFL and CIO were grandiose flops, as everyone in the labor movement knows, despite the tremendous funds that were poured into the effort.

One may object and say, "You cannot blame the labor leaders for this failure. After all, it is pretty difficult organizing workers under the Taft-Hartley law." The question then immediately comes to mind: Isn't there something the matter with a labor movement 16½ million strong that supinely permits itself to be shackled with a Taft-Hartley law? If the labor leaders had shown half the fight in 1947 that the ranks displayed in 1937, there would have been no Taft-Hartley law. And even after it was passed, had the AFL and CIO officials followed Lewis's advice and refused to sign the "yellow dog" affidavits and "live with the law," the statute would

have been nullified, and the tyrannical NLRB could never have functioned. But the AFL and CIO leaders, in their cowardice and small-minded resolve to rid themselves of communist rivalry, rushed to affix their signatures to the anti-communist affidavits, and now labor finds itself wearing an iron collar, and arrogant Congressmen are even talking of licensing unions!

White Collar Unionism

THIS poor organization record is even more glaring in the white collar field.

In the last decade labor sociologists and economists have written hundreds of studies about the new middle class, the changing character of the wage-earning population, the growing proportion of white collar workers in the total labor force. In the first 48 years of the Twentieth Century the number of potential white collar unionists increased four-fold from roughly 4 to 15 million, while potential wage worker unionists increased only 3-1/5 times from 9 to 29 million. Moreover, this remains the fastest growing sector of the labor force. But while 44 percent of wage workers were in unions, only 16 percent of white collar workers belonged, and the majority of these were in the traditional white collar union fields of railroading, entertainment and government.

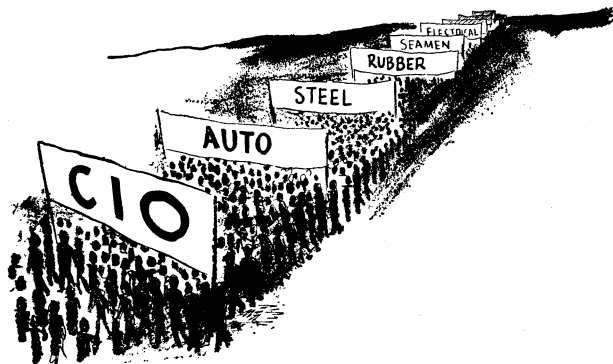
Innumerable speeches have been made by labor officials, and especially by the education and research directors, that labor can neglect this field only at its own peril; that with sizeable sections of these workers in the fold, a bridge would be built toward the middle class and the political power of labor would be enhanced far beyond

the mere numerical accretion involved; that if labor ignored this field, the white collar workers could and would become the playthings of reactionary demagogues who would coin the dissatisfactions of the white collar people into anti-labor capital. All this is freely acknowledged around labor circles. But organization in this field is virtually at a standstill. It is doubtful that union membership in the white collar field has even held its own percentage-wise since five years ago.

Here, as in the previous instance, it can easily be objected that these workers are very hard to organize under the best of conditions, and that the best of conditions do not prevail today. There is certainly merit in this objection. Even more than in the case of industrial workers, the most impressive pro-union arguments for salaried employees are the demonstrable power of the labor movement and a favorable climate that gives assurance of success. But labor's power is in decline, and the political climate is bad indeed. Thus, we come back again to the essentials of the situation, that even the task of organizing the unorganized cannot be approached as a simple administrative problem of assigning so many organizers and allocating so much money. Even on this plane, you run up against the stubborn fact that labor must change its basic policy and orientation if it is to get out of the present rut and begin making progress again.

The Long Term Economic Trend

WE ARE well aware that on the wage front the union position has appeared strong, that workers' real earnings have risen steadily since the beginning of the war in 1939, and reached their highest peak last year. This 15-year prosperity made the unions conservative and the labor leaders smug and complacent. But thinking unionists, mindful of U.S. capitalism's 150-year history of boom and bust cycles are interested in probing beneath the surface and finding out whether American unionism is actually laying the foundation stones of economic security for the wage earners, or whether the boom has been just another cyclical



AMMUNITION UAW-CIO

turn of the same old capitalist wheel of fortune. The question is becoming all the more pressing as labor saw a depression beginning in 1949, eliminated only by the Korean war, and is fearful that a new depression is starting again today.

An examination of several key sets of figures all derived from official government sources or conservative business economists tell a gloomy story about the basic trends of American economy. We find that the real national income from manufacturing considerably more than doubled from 1929 to 1950, yet labor did not even hold its own in the breathless expansion and enrichment. The ratio of wages and salaries to total income in manufacturing stood at 73 percent in 1929, but dropped to 67 percent in 1950. In other words, labor was getting weaker economically as against capital even in the course of the boom.

Another set of figures shows why very graphically. From 1929 to 1950 the annual rate of growth of national in-

come was 4 percent, but the annual rate of increase of hourly wages was 2.3 percent. Labor wasn't even getting back the returns of its increased productivity, which is judged to rise slightly over 3 percent per year. The CIO sums it up in one of its publications: "The average worker in manufacturing industries has not shared in the benefits of industrial progress and productivity." (*Wage Policy In An Expanding Economy*)

At the same time, the main burden of paying for the war economy was passed on to the workers. The figures show that from 1939 to 1948 the tax increases fell heaviest on the poor and lightest on the rich.

Tax Increases from 1939 to 1948	
for Income of:	Percent
\$5,000 or less	Several thousand
10,000	291
50,000	94
100,000	43

300,000	21
500,000	18
1,000,000	13

THIS DATA demonstrates that American trade unionism has been helpless in altering the basic trend of capitalist economy and effecting a redistribution of the national income. Actually, labor was losing ground. If we accept Karl Marx's proposition that "The last cause of all real crises always remains the poverty and restricted consumption of the masses as compared to the tendency of capitalist production to develop the productive forces as if only the absolute power of consumption of the entire society would be their limit"—and labor economists all accept it, even if they don't give Marx credit for the idea—then we must admit that despite the good work that unions have done and are doing, the basic economic pattern which produced the boom-and-bust cycles in the past remain part and parcel of the system.

Freedom Rings at Ann Arbor

ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN

ICAN'T REMEMBER anything like this in all my years in Ann Arbor," said an old-time University of Michigan professor with a long civil liberties record. He was talking about the sensational February 16 meeting on "Present Threats to Our Civil Liberties" held in the Methodist Church here.

The meeting, sponsored by the Citizens' Committee Against the Trucks Law, the Ann Arbor American Civil Liberties Union, and the University of Michigan Civil Liberties Committee, was jammed with an overflow crowd of more than 400. The audience, which filled the aisles as well as the seats and overflowed into the outside hall where a loudspeaker was put up, was attentive and responsive. It heard two Michigan professors, a prominent attorney and a Detroit unionist slam the growing police state in America and explain the causes for this development.

Charles Lockwood, who was attorney for Lieut. Milo Radulovich in the recent Air Force guilt-by-association case, emphasized that if that case had not been won, "no one in America would have been safe against accusations of subversion based on guilt by association." Lockwood went on to trace the witch-hunt to the difficulties of world capitalism.

Ernest Mazy of Detroit, Sec'y-Treas. of the Citizens' Committee Against the Trucks Law, traced the evolution of the witch-hunt from the passage of the Smith Act in

1940, pointing out the role of Truman and the Democrats, a role which, he showed, gives the lie to their present "opposition." Mazy explained the difference between the present American scene and the way classic fascism developed elsewhere, citing the growth of the world revolution in all its forms as the factor driving Big Business in the McCarthy direction. As the second main factor in this trend, he pointed out that Big Business has never reconciled itself to the existence of mass labor unions, and the McCarthy movement is to "prepare the ground for a possible frontal attack on labor later on."

The meeting, which was chaired by Rev. I. Paul Taylor of St. Matthews Methodist Church, also heard Kenneth E. Boulding, U. of M. professor of economics, who was born in England, say that American traditions of democracy impelled him to become an American "by choice." He pointed out, however, that civil liberties are becoming more a tradition and less a reality. He stressed the need for defense of all rights despite his personal anti-communist and anti-Marxist convictions.

Wesley H. Maurer, professor of journalism at the U. of M., called for support to the American Civil Liberties Union and for defense of the rights of all.

The strong attendance at the meeting was all the more striking in view of the fact that the first publicity went out only seven days before the meeting. But those seven days were packed with a very extensive and energetic publicity campaign.

Like two scorpions in a bottle, the great power blocs confront each other. Each has ability to wreak havoc on other, at risk of own civilization. Negotiations for a ban on the Bomb have achieved nothing. What then is the prospect?

Man's Fate And the Bomb

by HARRY BRAVERMAN

IN THE IMAGINATION of the guild of U.S. atomic scientists, there is a clock. When the hands of the clock point to midnight, they say, doomsday will be upon us. Millions will go to the grave in shrouds of their own charred skin. Cities will vanish in fire.

The hands of their clock now stand at two minutes before midnight.

One of these scientists, one of these incredible persons whose vocation it is to create the forces of destruction and whose avocation it is to warn against them, wrote last year:

We may anticipate a state of affairs in which two great Powers will each be in a position to put an end to the civilization and life of the other, though not without risking its own. We may be likened to two scorpions in a bottle. . . .

The time in which this will happen is short. . . . (J. R. Oppenheimer, Foreign Affairs, July 1953)

When the atomic age burst upon an astounded mankind nine years ago, only one power possessed the scorpion sting that kills millions. Now two great blocs of powers have the atomic bomb, and further, both of them have or are very close to having the missile which headline writers, with their customary brevity and taste, call the Hell Bomb. These two powers are now in a state of mutual antagonism of the kind which has invariably led to unlimited war. This is the condition in which we find ourselves.

If there are any who know a ready exit from this situation, they have failed to come forward—at least not convincingly. Answers have been put forward in plenty, but they have been either maneuvers by the blocs of na-



tions, or hopelessly childish illusions of the bemused and desperate. And by now the early reactions of panic have given way to the numbness that comes when fright has lasted too long.

NEGOTIATIONS over the control of atomic energy broke down almost seven years ago. Since that time, the U.S. government has failed to advance anything as a substitute for the Baruch plan, which was based upon the then existing U.S. monopoly. President Eisenhower, in his December speech to the U.N. Assembly, proposed the creation of an international agency which would “impound, store and protect” any fissionable material which member nations see fit to transfer to it, and use this material for peaceful development. But this was clearly little more than a propaganda move which could have no substantial effect even if accepted (how much fissionable material would be voluntarily surrendered in the present state of world tension and atomic arms race?), and was meant solely to create the impression that the U.S. is “doing something.”

The Eisenhower proposal was met by a renewed Soviet offer to ban the use of the bomb at once. In a February 2 *N. Y. Times* dispatch, Thomas J. Hamilton wrote about the U.S. reaction:

The Soviet proposal comes at a particularly awkward time because the United States budget shows clearly that the Eisenhower administration will rely principally on atomic weapons if another war comes. This policy was stated explicitly by Mr. Dulles in a speech just before the Berlin conference. He said that in the event of Communist aggression the United States would confront any aggression “with a great capacity to retaliate, instantly, by means and at places of our own choosing.”

The Dulles stand is not a new one: the time has always been "particularly awkward" for Washington whenever a proposal has been made to ban the bomb. Oppenheimer wrote in the previously-mentioned article: "We have from the first maintained that we should be free to use these weapons; and it is generally known that we plan to use them. It is also generally known that one ingredient of this plan is a rather rigid commitment to their use in a very massive, initial, unremitting strategic assault on the enemy." This "rigid commitment" ensures that the next war will be atomic.

For, if there is any possibility of avoiding the use of the terrible weapon, that possibility depends, at the least, upon agreement by both sides to refrain. The sole example of an unused weapon, poison gas, sometimes cited as a demonstration that weapons limitation is possible, has remained unused by common consent. Whatever the reason, whether military expediency or fear of mass censure or just the ineffectuality of poison gas, that reason has operated on both sides of the past wars. If one side had begun its indiscriminate use at any time, it would have been used by everybody. Thus it takes two to make the bargain, and it takes only one to prevent its being made.

The U.S. feels it needs the atomic weapon for victory, while the Soviet Union is in a position to do better in a non-atomic war, if a war does come. Part of the reason for this situation is the relatively greater strength of the Russians in ground forces and manpower reserves. Another part of the reason is that the war would sooner or later develop, from the military side, into a U.S. attempt to crush the Soviet mainland, and not the other way around. But the most important reason for Washington's need for the bomb is the civil war character which a third World War would assume from the start. Throughout Europe, Asia and Africa, the U.S. would be allied from the beginning with unpopular minority governments. Just as in the past, Washington's allies would consist of the Syngman Rhee's, Chiang Kai-sheks, Bao Dais, Yoshidas, and the minority governments of the Center and Right in Europe. The war will be not only between nations but also between classes; in large part it will be a war of outmoded rulers against their own people. In such a war, a terror weapon to be used against population centers tends to benefit the capitalist-imperialist side. This political fact expresses itself in a military situation where

A Thousand Times Greater

What would be the effects of a hydrogen bomb? Its power would be essentially unlimited and would increase as the amount of heavy hydrogen that can be carried in the bomb. . . . For the sake of argument, however, we shall assume an energy release a thousand times greater than the Hiroshima bomb. The radius of severe destruction by blast at Hiroshima was a mile, and the radius will increase as the cube root of the power; an H-bomb will therefore cause almost complete destruction of buildings up to a radius of ten miles. A single bomb can obliterate almost all of greater New York or Moscow or London or any of the largest cities of the world.

—Dr. Hans A. Bethe, "The H-Bomb"

Washington needs the bomb while its antagonist needs the ban on the bomb.

WHEN the negotiations opened in the U.N., they were set in this background. Each side negotiated with an eye to its own interests. This is nothing new in international, or for that matter national, politics. But it should be noted, and noted well, that the presumed object of the negotiations, the destruction and outlawing of atomic weapons, coincided with the Russians' general interest, while the U.S. negotiators were in the position of having to pretend favoring such a ban, while in actuality preserving the use of the weapon which Washington then monopolized.

From the first, Washington overestimated its trump card—U.S. atomic monopoly—by which it hoped to beat down the Russians in negotiations or in war. Despite advice by all scientists to the contrary (and even the scientists were wrong; they said at least five and probably fifteen more years at a time when Russia practically had the bomb), Washington counted on the threat of an extended monopoly. Top U.S. planners couldn't really believe that the backward, benighted Russians could do what the Americans had done. In their arrogance they overlooked the fact that the atom was not born in America at all. Gordon Dean, former head of the Atomic Energy Commission, has pointed out: "The atom is an immigrant. One of the striking facts about the atomic age is that it was conceived in large part outside the United States. It was ushered in almost entirely by persons born and educated abroad."

Confident, even arrogant, in their atomic monopoly, U.S. government heads put forward the Baruch plan. Its essence was this: A system of inspection would first be set up by gradual stages. To start with, raw materials production in every country would be brought under inspection, then atomic plant facilities. Then measures of control would begin. After a time, the system of "inspection and control" would be complete, and only then could steps be taken to prevent any nation from producing the bomb. During all this time, the U.S. would continue its monopoly of atomic weapons. Only after the plan was in complete operation could the U.S. be asked to destroy its bomb stockpile. No schedules were set; the scheme could drag out to fifteen, twenty or more years. A War Department document submitted to Congress in the spring of 1947 claimed that the U.S. wouldn't scrap its bombs for five years *after* international control had been achieved! The Russians were asked to sign on the dotted line.

THE Acheson-Lilienthal "Report on the International Control of Atomic Energy," basis for the Baruch plan, said:

The plan does not require that the United States shall discontinue such manufacture [of atomic weapons] either upon the proposal of the plan or upon the inauguration of the international agency. At some stage in the development of the plan this is required. But neither the plan nor our transmittal of it should be construed as meaning that this should or should not be done at the outset or at any specific

time. That decision, whenever made, will involve considerations of the highest policy affecting our security, and must be made by our government under its constitutional processes and in the light of all the facts of the world situation.

This amazing statement, despite its element of double-talk, is clear enough. The U.S. was submitting a plan to solve the atomic arms race; that plan would give to an international agency on which the U.S. would control a majority and thus dominate, the power to inspect atomic installations throughout the world and later to own them outright. But the U.S. clearly would not obligate itself at the moment to stop producing bombs either then or in the future. In another place, devoted to measures "to be taken to preserve American advantages," the report says:

In this section, we have been discussing the problem of transition to international control as it affects the security of the United States. . . . The significant fact is that at all times during the transition period at least [notice this "at least"!] such facilities will continue to be located in the United States.

Any benefit which the Soviet Union might derive was to be postponed to the indefinite future, and in the present period of extreme international tension the U.S. would ensure its monopoly. Consider further that the plan would have given the U.S. complete information on Soviet atomic development, a full target map of the most vital spots of Soviet anatomy, domination of an international commission which would become the owner of all atomic energy projects within a country of a socialist-type economy; the right to control, restrict or even forbid Soviet atomic projects including peaceful power projects, and, as atomic development became more and more important, a significant measure of control by a capitalist-dominated commission over Soviet economy. In return, Russia would get the right to have minority representation on a commission which would inspect the U.S. and find out what is already well known: that the U.S. has the bomb, that the plants are at Oak Ridge, Hanford, etc. Just how much of a fantasy this was we can clearly see in retrospect. While the Soviet Union was being thus asked to put its



neck on the chopping block, it was very close to having the bomb itself. Within a year, Molotov announced the breaking of the monopoly.

IT WAS NEVER unambiguously stated by the U.S. that it would ever give up its atom bombs, even if restrictions were imposed which made it impossible for the Russians to build a single bomb. Banker Baruch even told the U.N.:

But before a country is ready to relinquish any winning weapons, it must have more than words to reassure it. It must have a guarantee of safety, not only against offenders in the atomic area, but against the illegal users of other weapons—bacteriological, gas—perhaps—why not? against war itself.

This was the self-styled "generous" Baruch plan, which promised nothing and sought all. This was the plan of which Senator Brien McMahon said: "We have written a page of history that will live as long as history is read—and will reflect glory on those who formulated our program to serve God and mankind," then adding rather hysterically that Soviet failure to accept the Baruch plan "constitutes in and of itself an act of aggression." (U.S. Senate, May 21, 1947)

The Baruch plan was not really a plan for control over the atom, but for control over the Soviet. Professor P. M. S. Blackett, Nobel Prize winner in physics, said the plan

would have entailed an immediate weakening of the Russian military position and an eventual weakening of her economic position also. To those who have convinced themselves of Russian aggressive expansionism, such a weakening would have had the effect of discouraging acts of expansion which might have led to war. So support for the Baruch plan falls into place as a consistent part of the Anglo-American policy of "containing" Communism at all possible points. In this sense

Moral Responsibility of Scientists

Norbert Wiener, Professor of Mathematics at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, wrote in the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, November 1948:

"Two years ago, in answer to an inquiry concerning some work of mine which an airplane company wished to use for military purposes, I refused to furnish that information on the basis that I did not wish to participate in any way in a military program of which I did not approve. I brought up the point that the attitude of the government itself had forced us to reconsider the practice of giving information freely without regard to the purposes for which it was intended to be used, and that I could not consider the moral responsibility of the scientist to be confined to following out official orders.

"... I still see no reason to turn over to any person, whether he be an army officer or the kept scientist of a great corporation, any results which I obtain if I think they are not going to be used for the best interests of science and of humanity."

the Baruch plan was a forerunner of the explicit Truman doctrine. . . .

One final word on the negotiations of 1945-48. It was claimed repeatedly that negotiations broke down because Russia wouldn't accept inspection as part of a control system. That is not true. The Soviet Government is reluctant to permit inspection within its borders. Both the war peril and the ugly features of a bureaucratized regime contribute to this. But the Russians have yielded on this point in the past. After much resistance, the Soviet Union agreed to the admission of two internationally staffed missions of United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration into the Ukraine and Byelo Russia in 1946-47, and those missions were there for over a year. Since Stalin's death there has been a very marked relaxation of restrictions on foreign newsmen and travelers. And finally, it is clear from the facts that the USSR disposed of the inspection issue in 1947 by definitely accepting the U.S. demand. Gromyko's proposal of June 11, 1947 provided:

(d) The International Control Commission shall periodically carry out inspection of facilities for mining of atomic raw materials and for the production of atomic energy. . . .

7. For the fulfillment of the tasks of control and inspection entrusted to the International Control Commission, the latter shall have the right of:

(a) Access to any facilities for mining, production and stockpiling of atomic raw materials and atomic materials, as well as to the facilities for the exploitation of atomic energy.

WHAT WE HAVE SEEN demonstrated anew in these negotiations is the fatuity of disarmament schemes that leave the causes of war untouched. The inventors of the machine gun and of dynamite both predicted that their weapons would "end war" by making it too horrible. But now we see that not even the H-bomb has had that effect. That's because war is by its very nature an act of unlimited violence, and the increasing violence of new weapons only succeeds in making war more violent, and in that sense more "possible" instead of impossible.

If there ever was any chance that the atomic weapons would remain unused, that chance was pretty definitely ended in August 1945, when the Pentagon destroyed two cities and their civilian populations with the atom bomb. It hurled those missiles against an enemy which did not possess any atom bombs and did not even know of their existence; which had not been able to drop even a single conventional bomb on the U.S. mainland throughout four years of war. It was a defeated and collapsing enemy, already suing for peace through neutral embassies. The men who used the bomb made elaborate justification. Once this act was committed and justified, every nation in the world could expect the U.S. to justify the use of the bomb under all possible circumstances. Thus the dropping of the bomb on Japan was the first, and very likely the last, significant word in the negotiations over control of the bomb.

When the 1945 decision was made by Truman and the Pentagon, they had before them a report prepared by a committee of scientists. This report warned that the monopoly over the secret of the atom could not be maintained. It expressed the significant opinion that "Russia

and China are the only great nations at present which could survive nuclear attack." But the chief purpose of the Franck report was to advise against the use of the bomb:

It may be very difficult to persuade the world that a nation which was capable of secretly preparing and suddenly releasing a new weapon as indiscriminate as the rocket bomb and a thousand times more destructive, is to be trusted in its proclaimed desire of having such weapons abolished. . . .

If the United States were to be the first to release this new means of indiscriminate destruction of mankind, she would sacrifice public support throughout the world, precipitate the race for armaments, and prejudice the possibility of reaching an international agreement on the future control of such weapons.

The Franck report was not the sole plea; a group of 64 scientists associated with the development of the bomb made a similar statement to Truman. It was not heeded. Thus the course which we have seen develop over the past nine years, so that Soviet requests for a ban on the bomb today only "embarrass" Washington, was set and locked with the very first decision in 1945. It is very unlikely that this course will be altered.

THERE IS, plainly, no easy solution to this situation. If war does explode, it will certainly be atomic war. Dreadful as the prospect may be, mankind faces the threat and possibly the fact of atomic war.

One contributor to a 1950 symposium on the H-bomb, Dr. Hans J. Morgenthau, Professor of Political Science at Chicago University, very properly addressed himself to the question of the war instead of the illusory chase for a disarmament scheme:

There are only three ways by which international conflicts can be settled: overwhelming power, war, negotiations. Since overwhelming power is no longer at our disposal and beyond our grasp for the foreseeable future, the choice is between war and negotiations. . . . It is indeed in the success of such negotiations that the sole hope for peace remains. . . . The concentration of our efforts upon illusory disarmament, then,

"Ravings of a Lunatic Asylum . . ."

Professor Hyman Levy of Imperial College of Science and Technology, England, writes in the January 29 *Socialist Outlook*:

"It is no longer a question of killing soldiers in uniform armed with guns, bayonets and rifles, of the strategy and tactics of columns of infantry or regiments of soldiers or army divisions. All that has been swept into the background. . . .

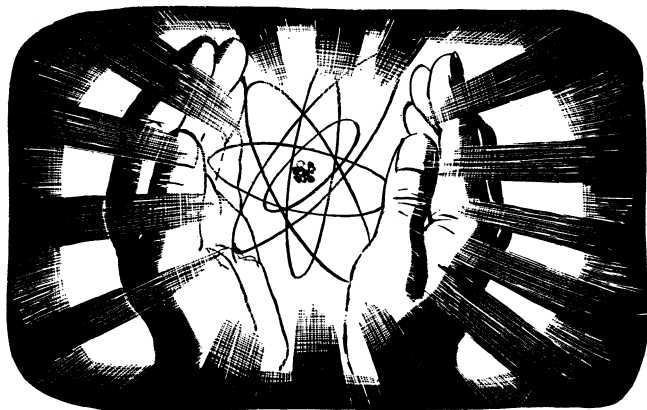
"The U.S.A., thoroughly realistic in its organization for the mass extermination of others, has begun to remove its infantry from the danger spots. The whole thing can now be done, they believe, by press-button methods that will release guided missiles and atom bombs at long range.

"All you have to do is to wipe out your opponents' population, his towns and cities, his factories and his homes, his schools and his museums, his universities and his art galleries, old and young, and babies in their cradles, *quite indiscriminately*, before he has a chance of doing the same to you. It is as easy as that—*on paper!*

"It is the ravings of a lunatic asylum. . . ."

becomes a mere evasion of the issue of life and death, the indulgence in a primitive "concrete" thinking which confounds appearance with substance, symptom with cause, the pastime of political children at the rim of the abyss, a wasted effort on the eve of universal disaster.

Dr. Morgenthau certainly has hold of an essential point in his advice to stop playing with illusory disarmament formulas and negotiate an end to the cold war. What he neglects to notice, however, is that negotiations to end the cold war have come to grief on the same rock that has foundered negotiations over the control of the atom bomb. U.S. capitalism flatly refuses to recognize the irreversibility of the revolutionary trend that has marched with seven league boots across Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America since 1917 and hopes to turn the clock back and restore imperialist rule, semi-feudal despotism and capitalist economy to universal predominance as they were forty years ago. This course is impossible, and can only lead to atomic war. And capitalism can only be turned from this course by powerful opposition; such an opposition would have to be strong enough precisely here in the U.S. where the chief base of capitalism exists.



U.S. capitalism faces the insoluble dilemma that on the one hand, without the bomb, the people of the world will overwhelm colonialism and capitalism, and with the bomb, although the movement of popular insurgence may be slowed down somewhat, the anger of masses against U.S. imperialism will be intensified. But this is not the workingman's dilemma; it is Wall Street's. We don't have to offer them any solution for it, and we couldn't if we wanted to. U.S. labor, which is justly angered by Big Business attacks on its living standards and union rights, will sooner or later discover that the same ruling coterie is responsible for the grisly game which toys with the fate of millions, including themselves and their families. That will be the big turning point.

IF ATOMIC WAR does come, what will happen? U.S. scientists have placed great stress on the possibility of the destruction of civilization. That is the meaning of their Doomsday clock. With all due respect to expert opinion and without belittling the horror and destruction that a war would bring, such an outcome does not appear to be likely.

Professor Blackett observed shrewdly in his book on atomic weapons that "Germans learned to stand ordinary bombing on a scale up to fifty times larger than that which enthusiasts for strategic bombing thought would bring about a collapse of their war effort." And Arnold Wolfers, writing in "The Absolute Weapon," pointed out: "Even atomic bombardment could hardly exceed very much the damage which the Germans inflicted on the Western and Southern parts of the Soviet Union; yet the Russians fought on."

The tenacity of the human race has always been greater than estimated by the experts in destruction. To the tenacity we must add rebelliousness. How long can an intricate and delicately complex atomic war effort be maintained in the face of growing mass opposition? The new weapons of horror will not be flung by oiled and submissive machines. An inanimate weapon cannot, of itself, destroy society; society will be given the order to destroy itself. To do so, it must obey that order to the very end. It is far more likely that mankind will destroy the bomb before the bomb destroys mankind.

Even in the worst of cases, a devastating war in which the bomb is used to the point of exhaustion, it is doubtful that the situation would be so final as some think. The remaining population would have two outstanding characteristics: It would be definitely finished with capitalism, and it would possess the technical ability to rebuild civilization rapidly.

We live in an age of stupendous magnitudes. The capacities of society for destruction are prodigious, and its capacity for material and political felicity is beyond imagining. Atomic energy symbolizes both possibilities. The unfortunate fact which we must face is that atomic energy has come on the scene before capitalism has departed from it. It is this which has brought to the fore the possibility of tremendous destruction before mankind emerges into a calmer day.

Fright and numbness will not help us. Mankind must find the courage to face squarely an epoch of decline of capitalism and birth of socialism under atomic conditions. And it should always be remembered that the sole fact which makes atomic war possible is the continued apathy of the American people to the struggles of progressive mankind the world over. Once that is changed, and it will be altered by conditions just as conditions have made socialists by the million the world over, a better world will be assured. Socialism, and the will to fight for it, will be the key to the survival of peoples and the progress of mankind.

Writing in "Gulliver's Travels" about the imaginary kingdom of Lilliput, Jonathan Swift told of the laws of that "land":

"The first I shall mention relateth to informers. . . . If a person accused makes his innocence plainly appear upon his trial, the accuser is immediately put to an ignominious death; and out of his goods and lands the innocent person is quadruply recompensed for the loss of his time, for the danger he underwent, for the hardship of his imprisonment, and for all the charges he hath been at in making his defense. . . . The emperor doth also confer on him some public mark of his favor, and proclamation is made of his innocence through the whole city."

Berlin dead end for Pentagon war plans. Cold war thaws under rising temperature of social crisis in West European countries.



Europe's "New Look": Grim for Dulles

by **GEORGE CLARKE**

THE BERLIN BIG FOUR CONFERENCE, by universal admission, is a dead end. None of the disputed issues in the world will be settled there, and nobody expected they would. "Berlin has confirmed what everybody knew before [the conference] started." Thus James Reston of the *N. Y. Times*. The rest of the newspaper fraternity of brain-washers screams that Berlin is just another Molotov propaganda cocktail.

Well, in that case, why did John Foster Dulles go there? For years there has been a monotonous refrain from the State Department that any further talk with the Russians would be "appeasement." Next time, they said—all of them, from the "appeaser" Acheson to the "patriot" Dulles—we would "negotiate from strength." We'd put our armload of H-bombs, our 200-division Western army on the conference table. Then we could talk business about China, Germany, Eastern Europe, or anything else.

Nothing of the kind happened. The flames of the "cold war," stoked by billions of American dollars and a lot of human flesh in Korea, died down just when they should have been burning brightest. Their H-bomb, now also in Russia's hand, became a deuce instead of an ace. "The Western Alliance," says Reston, "is not in good shape." That's right, and that's why Dulles went to Berlin. Not to threaten the Russians with 200 (non-existent) divisions, but to persuade the French to permit West Germany to have 12. Instead of talking to the Russians in the name of the Western Alliance, Dulles has to accept the Russians as interlopers while he tries to persuade his allies to stay in the alliance.

Berlin is therefore really the dead end of the anti-communist foreign policy that brought fame to McCarthy in America and infamy to the name of America in the

rest of the world. This diplomatic and military failure has caused what *US News and World Report* calls a "basic shift in US foreign policy." Before leaving for Berlin, Dulles codified the changes in a speech to the Council on Foreign Relations in New York:

- The plan to build a big European army is out. "More reliance" is to be placed on "massive retaliatory power [H-bombs] and less dependence on local defensive power."

- The famous "target year," toward which all preparations for an ultimatum and showdown were being bent, is shelved. "The US [has] a new concept, now known as that of the 'long haul.'"

- There is to be an end to the stockpiling and mass production of military equipment. The new policy "permits of a selection of military means instead of a multiplication of means."

- All of this is intended to put a stop to "self-imposed policies which sap our strength," policies, says Dulles, which cost over \$50 billion a year and "could not be continued for long without grave budgetary and economic consequences."

A good look at this "new look" reveals its strange resemblance with the Taft-Hoover theory of "fortress America" which was denounced on all sides as defeatist during the "Great Debate" of the winter of 1950-51.

Its one new wrinkle is the insistence on the incorporation of a rearmed Western Germany into a European Defense Community. But this new wrinkle, we shall show later, is putting an awful grimace on the "new look" face in western Europe.

WALTER LIPPMAN attributes the collapse of the foreign policy, called alternately "containment" and "liberation," as essentially due to the creation of a military "balance of power." The Russians can no longer march to the Channel unopposed as in 1950. The West would

have to count on Russian A-bomb retaliation if they attempted to use that weapon for a quick knock-out blow. While there may be some truth to this hypothesis, the sharp reversals met by American foreign policy are due far more to the disruption of the social and economic balance of power in Europe than to the creation of a military equilibrium. It was not the gun, but the man behind the gun that was found wanting.

Between 1950 and today, between the Korean War and the Berlin Conference, there have been two major developments in Europe. These factors have compelled the Pentagon to retreat to the strategy of reliance on peripheral bases (Spain, North Africa, Pakistan, Japan) and on "massive retaliatory power." The first is the disintegration of the Center coalitions governing France and Italy. The second, western Germany's economic comeback.

The Center coalitions came to power in France in 1947 and in Italy in 1948 when the Communist Parties had been chased out of the government with the help of American dollars and the threat of Papal excommunication. Hailed in America as "bulwarks against Communism," these governments were dominated by the capitalist-run Catholic Parties, the MRP in France and the Christian Democrats in Italy, and supported from the left by the Socialists. For the first few years, they prospered politically from the economic revival partly induced by direct U.S. economic aid and then by U.S. war orders. But it soon became clear that the bulwark rested on a foundation of sand. The governments represented a capitalist class that had confidence neither in the future nor in itself. How could they have when one out of four persons voted Communist in France and almost 40% of the electorate cast their ballots for the Togliatti-Nenni bloc in Italy? With a working class largely determined to overthrow capitalism, the future was a nightmare not a hope for the capitalists.

Despite some economic expansion, industry in France has remained outmoded, prices and profits high and wages and productivity low. The economy is burdened with an archaic agriculture and a swarm of middlemen and speculators which keeps the system in a fever of inflation. Thus, with one of the best-balanced economies in Europe, France stagnates, it is outclassed on world markets and moves feverishly from crisis to crisis at home. There was a time when the imperialist financiers plundered in the colonies but considered sound financing at home a sacred precept. Today the famous Scandal of the Piastres which has rocked the country for more than a year shows that they no longer make any distinction in their black-market plundering. It has been revealed that not only high government officials but the biggest banks have been engaged in currency manipulation with Indo-Chinese piastres, French francs and American dollars. They make a fast, crooked buck, and the economy is thrown out of kilter.

The picture is still more dismal in Italy. A parasitic industry, living off state subsidies, is complemented by semi-feudal land ownership. The result is a huge surplus labor population on the land and in the cities with no industry capable of absorbing them.

Neither government has had any social program. Production rose over pre-war levels in France but wages

didn't. The minimum wage law is a pauper's code. Of the little new housing there has been since the end of the war, most of it is offered for sale at fabulous prices. Low-rental projects are practically unknown. In Italy, despite the high-flown promises, land reform remains mostly an election slogan and there is no large-scale program of industrial development or public works to absorb the two million unemployed and half-employed.

UNDER THE American aid programs, the rich got richer and the poor poorer. The capitalists and their government seemed to have one concern: to keep the pipeline running—from the U.S. mint into their own pockets. The party in power, appearing as a mere agency of the State Department, was being dubbed The American Party.

It was Washington's insistence on speedy rearmament coupled with reduced economic aid that drove the latent political crisis out in the open. Rearmament meant inflation, higher costs and prices at a time when there was fierce competition for a shrunken world market. At the same time, the U.S. threw up a barrier to trade with the East and maintained a high wall of protectionism around itself. In the midst of these troubles, the State Department's demand that the Indo-Chinese war be prosecuted to the end was like pouring salt on an open wound. Nobody, literally nobody (except the currency sharks) in France wants to continue "the dirty war." Billions of francs and the cream of the French officer caste is being consumed in the seven-year war that France cannot possibly win. But even if the impossible happened, Indo-China would be lost to France as a colony and it would be gobbled up economically by American or Japanese interests. In the minds of the people, the question was no longer whether France could reconquer Indo-China, but whether France had been conquered by America, with French capitalist politicians serving as its Quisling rulers.



The revival of the labor movement, breaking loose in the big August strikes in France and in the several general strikes in Italy, was like a spark thrown in among the dry and rotting political timber. The coalitions went up in smoke. The Socialists chose to go into opposition in France rather than lose that considerable section of their electoral clientele, the government employees who had spearheaded the strike movement in August. In Italy, Saragat's small Social Democratic Party, facing complete extinction, made a similar choice.

Between the dissension that cut like a knife through the Christian Democratic Party and Saragat's desertion, the government in Italy fell. "The Center party coalition," Arnaldo Cortesi writes from Rome to the *N. Y. Times*, "has fallen apart and is as difficult as Humpty Dumpty to put together again."

In France, however, where trumped-up parliamentary mathematics favors the center, the government hangs on. It is divided between those who talk about doing some-



THREE OF A KIND: With Foreign Operations Administrator Harold Stassen (l.) are Treasury Secretary George M. Humphrey, State Secretary John Foster Dulles and Defense Secretary Charles E. Wilson. Financier, corporation lawyer and industrialist, these three, sitting behind the sign "United States," are the face which this country shows to the world.

thing about the war in Indo-China and the social crisis at home, and those who don't even want to talk about it. It is united only by a masterful design of stalling and procrastination. Stall the wage question until after the Presidential elections. Stall the problem of Indo-China until after the Bermuda conference. Postpone action on EDC until after the Berlin conference.

IN a bitter, impassioned article in the Paris *le Monde*, the noted journalist J. J. Servan-Schreiber drew a deadly comparison between the Bao Dai puppet government of France in Indo-China and the government of France itself:

Little by little the government of France appears as the embarrassed intermediary between an external will to which it is subjected and a national opinion which is not disposed either to recognize or respect the commitments the government contracts.

To delay the explosion of this contradiction as long as possible they have invented and continue to find ingenious methods, "tricks" to gain time.

. . . the situation in France could little by little resemble that of Vietnam. M. Laniel is summoned to Bermuda to explain the gulf between the official intentions of his government and the reactions of the country as Bao Dai is summoned to Paris for similar reasons.

As expedients are exhausted and as camouflages fall away in face of events, French opinion, bruised, surprised and humiliated, shows the first signs of a new nationalism. . . . This could lead to any extremes, to rejection en bloc of everything that has been done, and thus to impel opinion toward the most violent and consistent of the oppositionists. As Bao Dai continues to hop from one "trick" to another, new elements of the Vietnamese people go over—in desperation—to the communists. "Impossible here" is a reassuring formula one dare no longer hold; it is possible in France.

. . . It will take a very great and very sudden originality in the coming year to stop the gliding toward a situation where nominal power will survive only by the grace of a foreign power while the people, deceived and humiliated, no longer seeing any solution except in revolt, will resign themselves possibly to confound totalitarianism with fatherland.

In other times, such crisis-ridden, decadent ruling groups have always had an "original" solution: a sharp turn to the right, summoning to power the most reactionary elements of society in order to smash the forces of social discontent. But since the end of the war the door to the right has been closed. The decisive defeat of fascism

left a deep imprint on the minds of the people; all new reactionary formations were anemic from birth. The place of Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy, from which reactionaries in other countries drew strength and confidence, was now taken by the Soviet bloc which had arisen on the ashes of the defeat of fascism.

In France, the de Gaullist movement had a brief flurry of success but has since completely disintegrated. In Italy, Monarchists and neo-fascists had a noisy revival, but there was more noise to it than substance. And they never got further than Naples and southern Italy except for a brief moment of nationalist hysteria in Trieste.

The center couldn't move to the right, it was a political area without social strength, almost a void. The center couldn't move against the Left; for that it needed the troops of reaction which the Right couldn't supply them. Internal disintegration and eventual collapse became inevitable.

THEN OVER THE tumult and the shouting was heard the harsh voice of the State Department barking out its orders like a drill sergeant for the reorganization of Western Europe. France was unreliable, "morally decadent," "too many atheists" for the liking of the sanctimonious Eisenhower. The axis of Europe had to be shifted to safe and sound Catholic West Germany. American business men could understand a country whose economy was being firmly managed . . . by the ex-Nazi Ruhr cartelists. They could talk to Adenauer who didn't have any troublesome coalitions to worry about. Dulles went to Paris and banged his fist on the table: France had to make up its mind right away, it had to swallow the European Defense Community, German army and all, or else. . . .

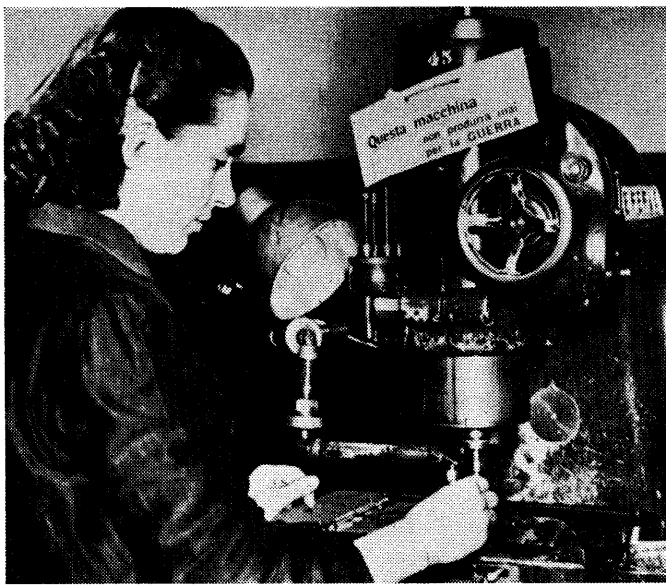
By this stroke of Rotarian genius, Dulles undoubtedly hoped to unite the quarreling factions. Actually he turned the French crisis into a raging political tempest. All of French society, from top to bottom, from Right to Left, divided over the issue. There was split opinion in every party except the Communists. The question was debated in parliament with a fury and passion unequalled in recent times—it was straightforward talk with little Gallic subtlety. The Presidential elections were turned into a shambles because division over EDC now cut across the usual multiple party divisions.

There was good cause for the cry of alarm that went up in France. Germany's thundering economic revival had scared the wits out of French Capital. In the few short years since the end of the war, West German industry, with copious American aid, had been rebuilt and streamlined. It was already outclassing the French and even the British, becoming an unbeatable competitor for all markets. Here is the picture drawn by Rene Lacoste, a former French minister:

Western Germany's deficit in food supplies is down to from 15-20%; that is, the same as France, although its density of population is almost two and a half times that of France.

Its coal mines, furnishing all the needed coke for German steel, have lowered cost of production to a point that "makes French coal producers tremble."

Its machine-tool industry, now supplying the bulk of



DEFIANCE: Workers in Italy make no secret of their intentions. They attach cards to their machines, like this one operated by a girl in Bologna, saying: "This machine will never produce for war."

German exports, has not only financed its own investments but lent aid to coal and steel. "In comparison, our machine industry is in a grave state of disorganization and ignorance. . . ."

Housing construction proceeds at a frenzied pace, and the cost of production, with similar prices for labor and materials, is half of that in France.

The problem now for German exporters is to find merchandise it can buy from its numerous debtors so it can liquidate the credits it has given them.

And finally, the German mark has become hard currency equaling the Swiss franc and on the road to convertibility.

It is no wonder that Lacoste finds "it necessary to speak out clearly" against French integration into a "united" Europe.

If, he exclaims, we are brusquely thrown into such an adventure, either we shall be rapidly submerged, or whether we want it or not, our industrialists will sign agreements with their German counterparts reserving only French markets for themselves with which they shall be satisfied, agreeing not to dispute foreign markets with their competitors, not even those of the French Union. In that case, instead of stimulating the necessary reorganization of France we will have opened the road of definitive stagnation.

Thus we will have the choice between drowning and stagnation, sudden death and death by progressive paralysis.

France disappeared or strangled, Europe will be German; let us say it aloud: that will not be Europe.

When a revived Wehrmacht is added to this economic powerhouse, this German domination, it is concluded, will be definite; Europe will become a name for a general staff organization, an inscription for a barracks. A re-armed West Germany, one French journalist opined, under the grip of Adenauer and the Ruhr cartels, but-tressed by Washington, will either start a "war for Leipzig and Koenigsberg or attempt to make a German Europe." And with only 12 divisions, he thought the latter was far more likely.

BUT IT IS precisely the 12 divisions, not very effective from a military point of view, that has created the greatest suspicion in France, particularly on the left. There were unanswered charges in the parliamentary debate that German troops would be quartered in Belgium and eastern France. The "Little Europe of the Six" gave the appearance of a new Holy Roman Empire, pervaded with Catholic reaction and dominated by Germany.

Washington, says prominent French journalist, Maurice Duverger, is disturbed about the revival of the French Communist Party: hence a more energetic American pressure for the adoption of a treaty which will permit the rearmament of the "sound," the "healthy," the sane Germany, bourgeois, liberal, without a Communist Party, without strikes, without social agitation; hence the support of Germany by the US within the Europe of the Six. Hence a reaction, a strengthening of the Popular Front tendency in France. At the end of this clockwork mechanism there is the sting of final consequence: German soldiers maintaining order on the continent, subduing Communist parties, trade unions, social movements. From this angle, the 12 German divisions regain importance. . . . Is not the pseudo-Europe of the militarists, whose justification is further weakened by the H-bomb, going to become the Europe of the Gendarmes?

Obviously this is a classic situation for a revival of the Franco-Soviet alliance. The clamor for it extends from De Gaulle and Daladier on the right to the socialist Jules Moch on the left. But Washington need not worry on this score. Although intrigued by Molotov's siren calls, it is doubtful that the French capitalists can or will do anything about it. 1954 is not 1935. France is weak today, Russia strong. It would have to make its alliance alone with the powerful Soviet bloc of nations. The situation was just the reverse 19 years ago. Hence the inability of the French bourgeoisie to make a decision. It is paralyzed by the Hobson's choice: to become either a Russian satellite or a German province.

There is little ground for satisfaction however, that Washington can find in this state of things. It has escaped an extension of Russian influence in Western Europe only to run straight into a rising revolution from the Mediterranean to the English Channel. The political paralysis in the tops of French and Italian society is stimulating new social struggles from below, strengthening and extending the forces on the left to the point where the governments hang on to power only by refusal to call new elections. New strikes, colonial revolts, and the effects of an American economic downturn can bring down the rotting edifice completely.

This is the balance sheet of seven years of world anti-communist crusade Dulles took with him to Berlin:

—not an army poised for battle on the banks of the Elbe, but a threat of revolution in France and Italy, a resurgent, anti-war, socialist movement in England.

—not the unification of Western Europe against the Soviet Union, but the pitting of Germany against France with Russia exploiting the differences.

THE PROSPECTS look even worse, that is for Dulles, General Motors, DuPont and associated oligarchs. It is doubtful that France will consent to Germany becoming the policeman of Europe, but if French capitalists prove

servile enough to agree, civil war conditions will be created in the country. More likely, the new German economic giant will begin to suffer from too much productivity and too few markets, and social struggles will extend beyond the Rhine, sucking Germany into the whirlpool of European social turbulence.

Meanwhile, increasing competition for world markets is already breaking down the barriers erected by Washington to East-West trade; a depression will crumble them completely. Where goes trade there will also go diplomacy to put an end to the mad "down with China" policy which has been maintained by the Formosa men in Washington against the opposition of the rest of the world.

Good as all of this may sound, it does not, unfortunately, herald a new era of peace, as the barren results of Berlin will clearly show. All that has happened is that the Pentagon's policy of "planning" for war, of organizing grand coalitions, of aiming at target years and ultimatums has met a serious setback. And this is not the last crisis the warmongers will face. But fundamentally, there can be no change in the world aims and ambitions of our ruling

financial oligarchy.

They are driven economically to seek the markets of the entire world for investments, and the need will become greater in case of depression.

As the sole remaining guardians of the solid fortress of capitalism in the world, they cannot afford to permit the spread of social revolution to western Europe, tipping the balance irrevocably in favor of the anti-capitalist forces in the world.

Thus without settling anything, the Berlin conference may initiate a period of what has been called "cold peace," that is one in which world tensions are somewhat relaxed but one where the dangers of revolution and depression can goad the desperate Men of Privilege to pull the trigger of war.

One force alone can stay this mad hand, can stop a war that becomes more suicidal a project with each passing month. That force is the American people who, once aroused, will drive this clique of millionaires and vigilantes out of our government and insure peace to themselves and the rest of the world.

No Overalls for French Priests

The institution of "worked-priests" in France has finally fallen under Vatican proscription. A decree issued by French bishops on instructions from the Holy See emasculates this novel Catholic experiment for the purpose of killing it off completely. In so doing the Roman Church has inadvertently admitted that it is more concerned with influencing men's politics than with saving their souls.

The idea of "worker-priests" arose a number of years ago from the crisis of Catholicism in France. The workers had left the church *en masse*. Their attitude had become one ranging from apathy and cynicism to distrust and opposition. Even the hierarchy could hardly fail to recognize that observance of occasional ceremonial rites was not to be confused with allegiance. Save for its promises of a better hereafter, the workers found no answer in the church to the grim poverty that unchangingly marked their lives from one generation to another. Moreover, the Church was always to be found on the side of their exploiters and of reaction: It was a mainstay for the Vichy regime during the war; and after the liberation it was embraced by the main segment of French capitalism in reconstituting their political party.

At this juncture, a number of priests, never more than a few dozen in total, decided to take the path of the early Christians, to live the lives and share the sufferings of the poor and oppressed. They shed their cassocks for denim. In the factories they became members of the communist-led CGT, the union federation embracing the great majority of the organized workers. Along with their fellow workers they participated in strikes, and were clubbed and jailed by the police in

demonstration. It was a sincere effort to persuade the masses that the Church was not in the camp of Caesar, that it was wedded to Christ, not to the rich and powerful. If they succeeded, so the thinking went, there was a chance for a religious revival among the workers.

Obviously there were dangers associated with this project of "boring-from-within" in the communist world. But surely, Catholic writers protested, these were not spiritual dangers. Had not the church survived association with temporal powers for almost two thousand years? Although tempted by the idea, the hierarchy remained disturbed; the Vatican tried hard to conceal its hostility. What would it profit the Church if it gained men's souls but lost its alliance with capitalism and imperialism? Each new struggle brought a new crisis. In June 1952, worker-priests were active participants in the anti-Ridgway demonstration in Paris. A little more than a year later, a number of them issued a statement denouncing the leaders of Force Ouvriere (the social democratic unions) and CFTC (the Christian unions!) for deserting the CGT in the August strikes and selling out the workers.

That was too much for the Holy See. A delegation from the French Episcopacy was summoned to Rome. It became an open secret that it was only a matter of time and finding the right formula before the worker-priests would no longer have the benediction of the Church. The recent statement of the hierarchy, virtually disbanding the Order by instructing the priests to quit their jobs so as to be able to devote time to prayer, is revealing. There is no accusation that the priests had altered their spiritual ties, but there is the clear implication of the danger of a change in temporal allegiances. The Church had made its choice: it preferred leaving the workers' souls to the "devil" of communism to losing the support of the modern (finance-capitalist) Caesar.

Menacing Abundance

Rise in Man-Hour Output Swells Army of Jobless

THE INDUSTRIAL PLANT of the United States is becoming bigger and more efficient every year. This fact, trumpeted to the entire world as proof of the superiority of the American economy, is privately a cause for real concern among businessmen.

Productivity has been measured by a number of methods, but the most widely accepted is the dollar value of output for every man-hour put into production. In 1939, workers in the private or non-Government sector of the economy produced a value of \$1.76 for each man-hour worked. By 1953, workers were turning out more than \$2.80 worth of products, on the average, for their hourly effort. Since both 1939 and 1953 outputs are given in terms of the same price level, this was an increase of 60% in 14 years.

This increased production will be absorbed only if consumers can increase their spending, or if the Federal government embarks on a program of bigger arms expenditure. Business, certainly, won't spend more on expansion if the outlook is for smaller expenditures by consumers and government, the two main customers for its final product.

This increase in productivity must continue so long as: 1) Workers get better tools through building of new plant or the modernization of existing facilities; 2) Industrial organization is made more efficient; 3) Workers are driven to turn out more in the same number of hours even with the same tools.

EXPENDITURES by consumers, business and government plus foreign investment make up what economists call Gross National Product (or GNP). In the boom period from 1939 through 1953, GNP grew from \$91.3

billion to \$367 billion. Deducting for the price increase during that period, the absolute increase in GNP was almost 100%. This rise in GNP was accompanied by a drop in unemployment from 9½ million in 1939 to 1½ million in 1953, although the labor force increased by 8 million.

But the phenomenal rise is now behind us. Federal expenditures are being trimmed, business investment in plant and equipment is generally expected to be at least 5% lower in 1954 than it was in 1953. And almost all economists agree that spending by consumers can at best remain the same as in 1953; some freely admit that a decline in that sphere wouldn't be unexpected.

During the period of economic rise, every increase in productivity contributed to the boom. But in a downturn, even if "mild," it is the other edge of the knife that cuts. More efficient plants require fewer workers to turn out the same volume of goods; and if the trend of production is downward, then the cut in employment can become quite serious.

In 1953, 56½ million workers, at an average work week of 40½ hours, produced \$340 billion of goods and services. (Government output accounted for the remaining \$28 billion that made up the total GNP of \$368 billion.) If the majority of the experts are right, and they sometimes are, GNP will decline by 5% in 1954, or about \$20 billion. Even with a considerably smaller average work week of 39½ hours, rising productivity, conservatively figured at 3½%, will mean that only 53 million workers instead of the 56½ million average employment of 1953, would be needed in the private sector. (Government output is expected to remain about the same.)

That means 3½ million fewer workers than in 1953. Add to this the more than half-million workers ex-

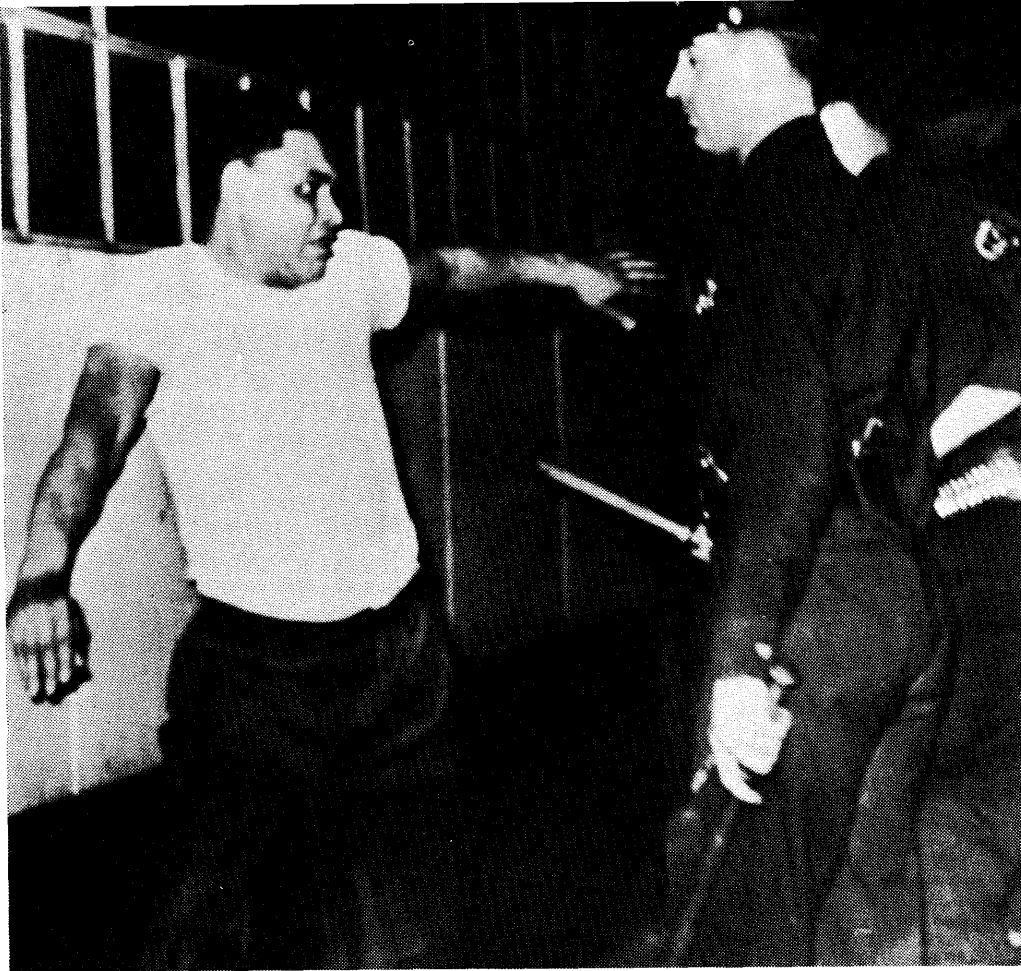
pected to enter the labor force in 1954, plus the government figure of 1½ million average unemployed in 1953, and you get an average unemployment of 5½ million this year.

But this is not the whole story. This unemployment of 5½ million would have to be an *average for the year*. Since unemployment for January was estimated by the Federal government at just short of 2½ million and February is expected to show in the figures at about 3 million, that would mean that unemployment will have to rise to 9 million by December if the rise is gradual, or to 7 million within four months if the rise is rapid and then levels off. That is the kind of jump it would take to boost the 1954 *average* to 5½ million.

REAL UNEMPLOYMENT could be greater than these figures indicate, since the government arbitrarily removes two groups of workers from the labor force. One group consists of those "temporarily laid off" for a "short period." These numbered 240,000 at the end of 1953, up 90,000 from the previous year. The other and larger group are those workers, numbering over a million in December 1953, accounted as having "left the labor force." This includes older workers who often go on public assistance, women who become full-time housewives, students who drop their part-time jobs and others who don't meet the government definition of "ready, willing and able" to work. Unemployment figures today would be nearly 4 million if the arbitrary techniques used in excluding these workers from the labor force were changed. Even the January 1954 "Economic Report of the President" admits that "the question has been raised whether the Census defined unemployment in such a way as to exclude persons who want jobs but are too discouraged to seek them."

The guesses which have been made forecasting this year's GNP may be right or wrong. But even in the unlikely case that there is not much of a decline, increasing productivity means that more than a million fewer workers will be required to produce the same output. The solution, of course: A way whereby the workers can buy back what they produce.

This article was contributed by a New York business economist.



Old-style lynching violence of Ku Klux Klan type seems to be on way out. But a new, more vicious anti-Negro violence has arisen. Arson, bombings, brutality and murders by police officials: these are the "modern" way.

In Place of Lynching:

The New Violence

"NO LYNCHINGS to report," said Alabama's Tuskegee Institute, founded by Booker T. Washington three-quarters of a century ago, in a year-end release. This is the second consecutive year that Tuskegee has made this same statement, to which it adds that in the five years, 1949-1953, there have been only six lynchings. The Institute concludes, in a widely quoted sentence, "Lynching as traditionally defined and as a barometer for measuring the status of race relations in the United States, particularly the South, seems no longer to be a valid index to such relationships."

Disraeli once commented that there are three kinds of lies: lies, damn lies, and statistics. Certainly the eminent Victorian statesman had in mind such statistics as this one. The gimmick in the above statement is the use of

the words: ". . . as traditionally defined . . ." Because, by changing a few words, Negroes and all those who are interested in the battle against race violence would get a totally different picture. It would read something like this: "Lynching methods have changed somewhat, because of the courageous fight of the Negro people, but if one takes the change in methods into account and includes bombings, arson, police murders, 'legal' frameups and other such actions, then there are probably as many lynchings going on today as there used to be in the previous period."

It should be said, in all fairness to the Tuskegee Institute, that the release issued by its Department of Records and Research recognized this fact. It added to the above-quoted sentence this following one: "This is due to significant changes in the status of the Negro and to the development of other extra-legal means of control, such as bombing, incendiarism, threats and intimidation, etc." But the U.S. press, almost without exception, picked up the first statement, deliberately omitted or buried the other, more important, statement, and tried to pretend that the problem of anti-Negro violence has been solved!

During 1952 as during 1953, there were, according to the Tuskegee Institute, no reported lynchings. Yet here is what the balance sheet issued jointly by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the American Jewish Congress, "Civil Rights in the United States, 1952," said of violence in that year:



The increased use of violence to maintain existing inter-group inequality that has been a feature of recent years showed no noticeable slackening during 1952 but the year passed without any uncontrolled race riot or other large scale assaults on life or property. There were no outrages like the 1951 Cicero riot, the bombing murder of the Moores or the repeated attacks on synagogues, churches and Negro homes in Florida. Yet the killing of Negroes in police custody, the blasting of homes recently occupied by Negroes, the destruction of places of worship and the other forms of lawlessness against persons whose only fault was that they hoped to realize the American ideal of equality continued with only slight reduction.

With the decline of lynching (none reported during 1952), it is plain that the bomb and other forms of secret terror have taken its place. At least ten bombs were set off during the year, doing extensive damage to homes and places of worship. Arson and other forms of property destruction were also widespread. In many places, law enforcement officials continued to show their unwillingness to deal with these outrages; even where efforts were made to punish the guilty, only one or two succeeded. . . .

Another form of brutal intimidation, violence by police and other law enforcement officials, also continued during 1952, although the number of reported instances was fewer than in 1951. Three Negroes were killed in the South by armed posses. At least 16 Negroes were known to have been killed while in official custody and 45 others in various parts of the country severely injured. These figures, of course, are certain to be incomplete, since reporting of official misconduct is always inadequate.

HOW DOES this new "non-lynching" terror operate? Here are some examples:

- A Negro plantation foreman was shot and killed near Silver City, Miss., by a white plantation employee because his victim held a job "over white folks."
- Two white men of Bowling Green, Ky., saturated the clothes of a Negro laborer with gasoline and set him afire, causing severe burns and hospitalization for many months.

- A white service station owner in Mobile, Ala., killed a Negro couple in an argument over use of the station's rest room facilities.

- A white farmer and son kidnapped a Negro youth of Hodge, La., handcuffed him and horsewhipped him savagely. The son had had an argument with the young Negro earlier that week. Both men threatened his life if he exposed their action. (How many cases there must be that are never reported!)

- A Negro merchant of Bucks County, Pa., threatened and shot at several times, finally lost his store in a fire. Neither state nor local police would respond to appeals for protection. The insurance coverage was limited, due to the threats.

Probably the biggest single substitute for lynching violence used by racists is police violence. In many cases, it has become unnecessary for mobs to try to take a Negro from the "law"; the police do the murder job personally. This would seem to stem from the strong stigma which has come to be attached to lynching, and the fact that lynching was becoming, in many parts of the world, a symbol of "the American way of life." Police officials who have been wised up to these facts do their level best to keep Negroes out of the hands of lynch mobs, but one of the arguments they use is: "We'll do the job ourselves." An incredibly nauseating example of this was the Groveland, Fla., case.

IN THAT CASE, a Mrs. Willie Padgett claimed that four Negroes raped her on the morning of July 16, 1949. As a result of her accusations, Samuel Shepherd, then 22, Walter Lee Irvin, 22, and Charles Greenlee, 16, were arrested. Ernest Thomas, another accused, ran away and was killed in a swamp by a sheriff's posse. Immediately after these arrests, a howling, shooting mob swarmed through the Negro section of Groveland, three homes were burned to the ground and 400 Negroes were forced to flee, while their livestock and farm equipment was stolen or destroyed. All this despite the fact that, as the *Saturday Evening Post* related in an article on the case, there was good reason to believe the prisoners were beaten in an effort to extract confessions, and although no confessions were ever made, the rumor was permitted to leak out that the youngsters had confessed.

But the point here is the role of Sheriff Willis V. McCall. McCall apparently prevented a "lynching" (in the "traditional definition" of the word). He refused to surrender the prisoners, hid them in his own home, and later rushed them to the state prison farm. Then Governor Fuller Warren called out the National Guard. Let us tell the remainder of the story in the words of the *Saturday Evening Post*:

The climax came a little later. The two defendants [Greenlee, the 16 year-old youth, was sentenced to life imprisonment], Samuel Shepherd and Walter Irvin, were handcuffed together to be taken in Sheriff McCall's automobile [the lynch-preventing sheriff] to the town of Tavares for a routine hearing before a second trial. En route, at night on a back road, both prisoners were shot three times. When officials from the town of Umatilla reached the scene, both were presumed to be dead, but it was then discovered that Irvin was still alive. In a hospital a few days later, he charged that McCall deliberately shot him twice and Shepherd three times,

and that Deputy James L. Yates, who had been in another automobile, then arrived on the scene and shot Irvin a third time in the neck. McCall later told a coroner's jury that the two prisoners had attacked him. . . . The jury found he had acted properly in the discharge of his duties.

DURING 1952 (the figures for 1953 have not been compiled yet, but 1952 was also a "non-lynching" year), there were 61 reported cases of the use of violence by police against Negroes in their custody. Sixteen of the Negro victims were killed, and the other 45 were either shot or beaten. The five-year total (1948-1952) of Negroes killed by law enforcement officials in Alabama alone was 67. New York City was a center of much brutality and murder. In 1952 twelve cases were publicized, but there were fully 175 complaints in N. Y. from 1949 to 1952! Probably more cases never reach the public than are actually reported, because of threats by police against their victims.

But the big news in New York during 1953 was the revelation by the *World Telegram* on February 16 of what the NAACP called "an incredible secret agreement" between the U.S. Justice Department and the New York Police Department; an agreement under which the Federal Government suspended action in cases of police brutality! A federal statute provides for the intervention of the Justice Department in local cases where police officers are accused of violating the civil rights of citizens, and a trial in a federal court. The revealing of this agreement

came after Jacob Jackson of N.Y., arrested for no apparent cause, was taken to a police station, handcuffed, and beaten so badly he had to be hospitalized for a long period and undergo two major operations.

The year 1953 ended with another extremely repulsive case of police murder. Moses Jones, a Negro of Clarke County, Ala., had testified in a federal liquor case that the county sheriff, Jenkins A. Hill, had beaten him for refusing to pay "protection" money. The case ended in a mistrial, with Jones scheduled to testify again. Sheriff Hill thereupon arrested Mr. Jones for failure to pay a fine, despite the fact that a friend present at the arrest offered to pay it for him on the spot. (Hill refused to take payment with the flimsy excuse that the fine had to be paid in Clarke County.) Hill then took Mr. Jones into custody, handcuffed him, locked him in a cell, and shot him three times. He claimed "self-defense." There were no witnesses.

All of this is only part of the record of "lynchless" America of the past year or two. A full record of the things that have come to the light of day would fill several volumes. A full record of the brutalities and violence against Negroes, including those which *have not* seen the light of day, would probably fill several shelves of books. In other words, boasting about the elimination of lynching in its old form from the arsenal of race violence is absolutely deceitful so long as new forms of violence have taken its place and are even increasing.

People Veto

"Guilt by Marriage"

FLINT, MICHIGAN

ON JANUARY 9TH, auto worker Perry Cartwright and Catherine Fowler, a school teacher, both of this city, became man and wife. The marriage would have attracted little public notice—there being neither wealth nor royal blood on either side—but for the local McCarthyites. An eagle-eyed vigilante had picked up a witch-hunting scent: Catherine Fowler had married a socialist and was still teaching American children! Apprised of this peril by an anonymous phone call, the Kearsley School Board presented Mrs. Cartwright with a wedding gift. She was invited to resign her position. A meeting of the school board was summoned on February 8 to take the necessary action.

A quick investigation proved that Mrs. Cartwright was being dismissed for no other reason than "association by marriage." The school superintendent admitted that her work had been satisfactory, that she had not been indoctrinating her kindergarten class of five-year olds with Marxism.

A year ago Mrs. Cartwright's case might have passed unnoticed, one of hundreds to be smeared and blacklisted by the McCarthyites. Fortunately, Michigan public opinion, particularly labor opinion, had in the meantime been

alerted through the struggle against the Trucks Law, and in defense of Lt. Radulovich.

The local AFL teachers union, backed by its State Executive Board, decided at once to support Mrs. Cartwright. Robert Carter, Regional Director of the UAW-CIO wrote the school board to ask whether they were living under a U.S. Constitution different "than the one I studied in the Flint Public Schools." He reminded them that "guilt by association" had once "caused a revolution in this country." Norman Bully, president of the Flint CIO Council informed the school board that "organized labor" is "absolutely opposed to the persecution of anyone on the theory of guilt by association." President of Buick Local Clifford G. Rock denounced "witch-hunts, inquisitions." Robert E. Murphy, president of the Chevrolet Local joined Carter, demanding "in plain workers' language" that the school board "cease and desist this practice of guilt by association."

Meanwhile an unexpected ally was found in this fight for civil liberties in the Michigan Educational Ass'n. of which Mrs. Cartwright is a member. Two Republican MEA attorneys informed the school board that Mrs. Cartwright had a right to teach, even if she herself were a socialist. The sanctity of contract, they said, was not to be tampered with. It could be breached only in the case of an admitted communist agitating the pupils to take up arms. Faced with this many-sided, lightning-like pressure, the school board instead of dismissing Mrs. Cartwright, voted at its meeting to permit her to continue teaching until the expiration of her contract.

Beria's End and Moscow's New Course

Beria execution, rushed through in haste, was made to appear like a blow at secret police. But Kremlin heads now soft-pedal talk of liberalizing regime that began after Stalin's death, concentrate instead on consumer goods drive.

THE struggle for the succession which began in the Kremlin even before Stalin's death in March closed for the time being with Beria's execution on Dec. 23, 1953. It is difficult, of course, to work up sympathy for this dread killer, who, in his capacity as chief of the secret police, sent countless innocent victims to their doom. But he was not tried for that, nor could he be by the court that condemned him, for his judges were part of the same ruling group, and shared equally with Beria full responsibilities for the police dictatorship.



Lavrenti Beria

Beria's indictment followed the model of the notorious Stalinist trials of the Thirties where men of great caliber and revolutionary past were humiliated and destroyed. As in the case of his celebrated predecessors and betters, Beria's whole biography was arbitrarily re-written from top to bottom to suit the needs of the frameup. Intertwined with plausible accusations about his unscrupulous career and climb to power, there were the main charges with the familiar Stalinist ring: Beria had been a British espionage agent since 1919; he was working for the Menshevik secret service in 1920; he planted spies everywhere; he maintained contact all through the years with foreign intelligence services. One bill of the indictment tries to patch together the shattered frameup of the Moscow doctors. It reads: "Having in March 1953 become Minister of Internal Affairs, Beria began . . . to push into a number of leading posts . . . members of the plotters group. The plotters subjected to persecution and victimization honest workers of the MVD who refused to carry out the criminal instructions of Beria. . . ."

The indictment does not mention names, but one of these "honest workers" referred to must surely be Ryumin, the secret police official who organized the frameup against the Jewish doctors, who were alleged to have murdered or tried to murder leading Soviet political and military figures. On Beria's initiative, the frameup was exposed and repudiated, and Ryumin was arrested.

Does Beria's execution presage a new trial of the doctors whose previous confessions are again validated, at least by implication? Certainly, they ought to be clapped into jail again on the basis of strict logic and consistency. But it is highly improbable that they will be. Malenkov and the other chieftains were involved in the exoneration of the medical men, and any attempt to exhume the case and haul them back into the dock would inevitably compromise these other leaders.

FROM ALL appearances, the Beria case does not presage a new wave of blood purges on the model of the Thirties in any respect. The indictment, it is true, was copied almost verbatim from the old Stalinist scripts lying in the desk drawers of the secret police. But all the circumstances of the case were different. The big show trials of the Thirties were Byzantine affairs, staged with all the thunderous intensity and ritual of the Spanish Inquisition. For months before, the press would build up the trials to a raging crescendo, and for months afterward attempt to over-awe and overwhelm public opinion with them. The Beria trial, in contrast, was staged as if the judges had only a half-hour to spare before catching a train, and hence had no time for bandying words, or any superfluties. Six months after Beria's imprisonment, the State Prosecutor, without any forewarning, suddenly published on Dec. 17 a summary of the indictment. Next day, behind barred doors, the secret trial sessions opened. In less than a week, on Dec. 23, Beria and the other six accused were sentenced to death, and all seven executed that very same day. The Soviet newspapers did not even feature the case the following morning.

Of course, the secret trial and the indecent haste of the whole proceeding could have possibly been due to Beria's refusal to confess, and hence the stage managers' anxiety to get the performance over and done with as fast as they could to avoid any chance of embarrassing slip-ups. The boners of the Moscow Trials were probably still green in their memories. But the unusual Beria trial arrangements suggest that they derive as well from the very circumstances of the conflict which brought about his disgrace and death.

THE PRECISE ROLES of the different contenders are hidden from our gaze by the massive Kremlin walls. But last year's struggle has also revealed much of what is going on. The original contest over the succession was quickly caught up by the country's historic crisis and the impossibility of running things along Stalin's previous

course. Beria, although associated throughout his career with the secret police, in seeking weapons with which to hit at his opponents, emerged as a leading spokesman of the policy of granting reforms from the top. Whatever were his precise levers of support or the lineups among the top leaders, the fact is that until his fall a reform wing was in the ascendant, while the die-hards were compelled to yield. From March until the middle of last June sweeping changes were promised in the way of more consumer goods and improved living standards, liberalization of the police regime, with a broad amnesty actually put through at the end of March, and promises to honor the democratic rights of the nationalities. The June 16-17 uprising in East Germany frightened the Kremlin oligarchs, isolated the reformers and led directly to Beria's removal. But in the intervening half-year between his arrest and trial the new lineup of leadership did not try to resurrect Stalin's policies, but steered a compromise course of putting more food in the peoples' bellies while soft-pedaling any talk of liberalizing the police regime.

Observers of the Russian scene, whatever their political complexion, are agreed that the mass demand for reform and improved living standards has become unpostponable and can be ignored by the government only at its own mortal peril. Maurice Hindus, an author always considered very friendly to Russia and in the past almost an apologist for the Stalin regime, concludes in his recent book, "Crisis In The Kremlin," that the reforms promulgated since last March "do not begin to answer the ever-surging pressures of the people," and that therefore real basic reforms are still to come. If the present rulers fail to respond to these pressures, the author believes there is bound to be a palace revolution which will bring to power a new set of men more amenable to the people's wishes. "I cannot envision," Hindus states, "any other kind of revolution in the Soviet Union, or any other historic process by which the Kremlin dictatorship may in the foreseeable future liberalize itself."

LEAVING ASIDE Hindus' theory of a palace revolution, the concessions which in their totality made up the so-called "new course" represented the rock-bottom minimum that the Malenkov regime considered necessary to appease the populace and weather the critical period ahead. The overwhelming mass mood explains why Beria seized the weapons of reform with which to flay and attempt to strike down his rivals, and why his foes have similarly tried to pose as liberals and reformers in dispatching Beria to limbo. It is noteworthy that the list of six co-defendants accused with Beria were all high officials of the secret police. Harry Schwartz, the Russian analyst of the *N.Y. Times* remarked:

The greatest surprise in the Soviet announcement was the naming of secret police General Vsevolod N. Merkulov as a co-defendant with Beria. Until last night no indication had been made public that he had been removed from his post as Minister of State Control. . . . Equally surprising to foreign observers was the fact that all those accused with Beria were officials or past officials of the secret police that he headed. It had been generally expected that some of the major Communist Party leaders purged since Beria's removal—including the party bosses in Azerbaijan, Georgia, Armenia and Lenin-grad—would be named among his co-conspirators.

The co-defendants were picked exclusively from the point of view of the desired stage effect, deliberately and diabolically contrived to convey the impression that the regime was striking at the odious police and arbitrary rule, while actually it was going back on its promises to soften the savage penal laws and practices, and while Beria himself was being tried under the draconian Kirov law of 1934 which provides for secret trials without counsel or right of appeal and for the immediate death penalty. As Isaac Deutscher correctly summed up in his article in the *Reporter*, "The directors of the drama apparently were determined to present the trial in such a way that it should sink into popular memory and enter the textbooks as 'the trial of the secret police.'"

THE SECOND conclusion that analysts have drawn from the trial was the special role played by the army in smashing Beria, and as a matter of fact, the army's generally enhanced position in the governmental machine. William L. Ryan, who spent three months in Russia as correspondent of the Associated Press, wrote upon returning to the United States:

The impression up to a few days ago among foreign observers in Moscow was that the party wanted the Beria case to be forgotten—that some day the party would simply announce that Mr. Beria had been convicted and executed. But somebody obviously opposed such an idea and wanted the affair brought into the open. The evidence points to the Army.

This conclusion is borne out by the unprecedented procedure of a major army officer, Marshal Konev, presiding over a civilian court and handing down the death sentences. The secret police has undoubtedly been broken as an independent force in the Kremlin councils with the elimination of Beria. But events will have to demonstrate whether the army officers—who have never played an independent political role up to now—have merely exacted a pound of flesh from the Kremlin hierarchs, or whether they have actually entered the political arena and confronted the party leaders as an independent force.

The army had its way to the extent of a Red Army marshal heading the tribunal appointed by the Supreme Soviet, but there was, as we have seen, no show trial, no public confessions, no big propaganda campaign against "mad dogs" and "diversionists." Before world public opinion could get properly interested or aroused, the case was abruptly snapped shut, and so far as official Kremlin opinion goes, unceremoniously forgotten. This can only be explained by the Kremlin's conviction that a new drawn-out show trial would not sit well with the Russian public; that rather than diverting attention from their own troubles and hardships and centering their anger on scapegoats, such a trial would have the effect of feeding fuel to the flames of discontent, of widening the divisions in the ruling staff, and undermining public confidence and support.

THIS CONVICTION is hardly surprising as the Russia of today is certainly not Stalin's Russia of 1934-38. The urban population stands now at 80 million. The working class is approximately 45 million strong. It does

not consist any longer of peasants just off the farm, but has built up an *elan* of its own. Illiteracy has been reduced to small proportions. Cultural advances have been made all along the line. In key sectors of heavy industry, Russia by 1955 will have outdistanced the combined production of England, France and West Germany. Agriculture, it is true, is in very critical shape, and unless conditions are remedied, threatens to hold back and undermine the rest of the economy. But even with the abysmal backwardness of the Russian villages, the country no longer is in the era of the *muzhik* with a wooden plow, but possesses a mechanized agricultural system trying to lift itself up to the requirements of a modern industrial society.

In a word, the present crisis in the Soviet Union stems not from breakdown, famine and retrogression, but from

progress and growth. The barbarous police regime bequeathed by Stalin appears in the eyes of broad masses as increasingly unjustifiable, unnecessary and intolerable. The chief actors of the Kremlin dictatorship may believe their moves and counter-moves, their intrigues and maneuvers, are the stuff of which history is made. But deep down in the human mass other forces are at work. The concessions thrown out by the Kremlin oligarchs will whet the people's appetite for more. If the scramble for life's necessities is mitigated even to a small extent, rather than putting the people to sleep, it will open the well springs of aspiration—too long dammed up—for human freedom, for an end to the nightmare of police surveillance and oppression, for a voice in the building of the country and in the shaping of its destinies.

Careers and Smears

MINNEAPOLIS

ON THE morning of January 13 an aspiring young authoress made contact with the reading public when she served as a stoolpigeon before the McCarran Subversive Activities Control Board in Washington, D.C.

That afternoon the employment outlook of two graduate students at the University of Minnesota altered for the worse.

The next day a seasonal laborer for the Minneapolis Water Works Department was declared "unemployable" by the Civil Service Commission.

Minnesotans were witnessing the operation of guilt by accusation—in 1954 tempo.

It was Barbara Roehrich, 23, a former student at the U. of M. delicately described in the local press as "a Minneapolis housewife," who charged the two students, the city laborer, and 21 other Minnesotans with membership in the Communist Party during 1949-51. Mrs. Roehrich claims membership in the C.P. during the same period.

Ostensible aim of Mrs. Roehrich's charges was to provide the McCarran board with grounds for listing the Labor Youth League on the government list of "subversive organizations." But the Minneapolis repercussions from the Washington hearings of January 13-14 demonstrated the ease with which the government and daily press can utilize such hearings as a means to heighten witch-hunt victimization and intimidation in various localities.

Reaction by the accused persons to

the Roehrich charges was varied:

Eugene Bluestein, a graduate student, labeled the charges false and pointed to the hearsay character of the testimony. He said:

The issue here is not, it seems to me, the accusations themselves, since no direct charges have been made against me before any judiciary body. I have been placed in a position where I am presumed guilty until I prove myself innocent and this reverses the traditional principle that a person is innocent until proven guilty.

The other student, Jules Chametzky, denied past, present or future membership in the Communist Party.

Carroll Peery, spokesman for the Labor Youth League here, former husband of Mrs. Roehrich and one of the 24 people fingered by her, declared that "the jobs and careers of honest people are being jeopardized by the testimony." Peery is the worker in the city water department who was declared "unemployable" by the Minneapolis Civil Service Commission.

THE Civil Service Commission action came at the demand of George Todd, business agent of AFL Laborers Union 363, of which Peery is a member. Todd said:

I'm not accusing him of being a Communist, but we have no desire to have Communists in our union or working for the city. I think you should hold a hearing. If he's a Communist he shouldn't work for the city. We have no intention of trying to protect any Communist if we know who he is.

On this occasion at least, Todd demonstrated that he is a business agent who really gets results from his negotiations. The commission complied with Todd's demand the same day he made it. To date, no labor official here has made any public protest against Todd's betrayal of the principle of unionism that an injury to one is an injury to all.

If Todd's policy is abysmal, the University's policy is simply weak. The U. of M. has taken no measures against the accused students. Neither has it come to their defense. Dean J. W. Buchta of the College of Science, Literature and the Arts said in a statement:

Both Mr. Chametzky and Mr. Bluestein are graduate students. Both are part-time assistants, not regular members of the university faculty. We have never heard of the so-called Labor Youth League, or its activities, at the university. The university does not have access to governmental investigative information, but will make every effort to find the facts and will interrogate both students.

This statement expresses fairly well the liberals' desire to join the red-hunt in the hope of keeping it within "reasonable grounds." But this method has not succeeded in doing anything but emboldening the witch-hunters.

At week's end, Barbara Roehrich left Washington for New York, manuscripts in hand. In New York she was to visit publishers in an effort to discover whether the red-hunt, even if uncontrollable, might not be made profitable.

D. S.

"I'd rather vote for what I want and not get it, than vote for what I don't want and get it," said Eugene Debs in a classic blast against lesser-evilism. But the weakness of American radicalism has repeatedly revived this question.

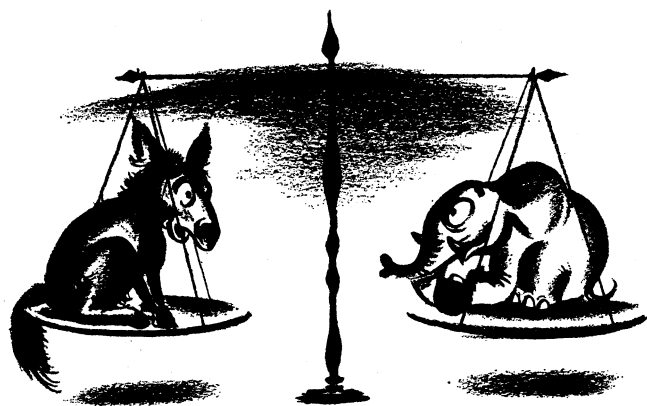
Coalition or Independence?

THE POLICY DISCUSSION in New York's American Labor Party is interesting to all socialists because it involves a matter that has been repeatedly disputed in radical circles and probably will not be finally settled until the American workers settle it through their emergence as an independent political power. The Communist Party forces have proposed that the ALP forego independent political activity and support Democratic Party candidates. A large number of independent radicals have broken with their erstwhile mentors in radicalism and are resisting this proposition.

The proposal arises out of the weakness of American radicalism, and has therefore been repeatedly debated in the socialist movement. During the last presidential election there was a similar dispute in the now-defunct N.Y. *Daily Compass*, in the Progressive Party nationally, and in the Huberman-Sweezy *Monthly Review*, with those forces that wanted a course independent of capitalist politics ranged against those who wanted to support Adlai Stevenson. The Norman Thomas Socialist Party divided on the same issue prior to the 1952 elections.

The debates and discussions in and around the ALP in recent months have been illuminating. One impressive sign of progress is that large numbers of leaders and rank-and-file members who formerly acceded to coalition policies now question not only the proposed policy but the correctness of what they did on past occasions. For example, in a debate at the Jefferson School, Dr. Annette Rubinstein, an important ALP spokesman, was reproached for inconsistency by her opponents, who pointed out that she together with all ALP leaders had supported "coalition" policies in the past. She replied that the record of the past must be reviewed, that all of these actions were not necessarily correct, and that certainly it is a blot on the record of the ALP to have supported such Democratic candidates as the notorious William O'Dwyer, former New York mayor.

The issue is a clear one for socialists. Surely there is no principle of socialist activity and theory more solidly established than the rejection of "coalitions" with capitalist candidates. Starting with Marx's famous advice to



the workers in the capitalist revolutions of 1848 (when the capitalist class, unlike today, still had a progressive role in the fight to uproot feudal remnants), through the famous debate in the Second International over Millerandism (Millerand, a French socialist, had entered a capitalist cabinet), and especially in Lenin's policies—through all these examples and many more, serious Marxists were taught that such actions are impermissible for socialists.

Yet if the issue is a clear one, it is not necessarily simple because of that. The CP forces and the *Daily Worker* can't be moved by references to principles because the Communist Party is not a *principled* party but an *opportunist* one. That's why you can't sting them with quotations from Lenin; you won't hurt a man where he feels no pain. Even leaving the CP aside, hardly anybody in this country accepts the principles of socialist activity as yet. Thus the radical movement can't rely simply on citing the authority of Marx and Lenin to those who don't accept their authority.

It should be remembered also that socialist principles do not have any super-social origin. They are not Heavensent dogmas. Marxists must examine and analyze our country's social struggles, labor movement, party structure and mass tradition. It is in these objective facts that socialist principles must today prove themselves in writing and talk if they are to prove themselves tomorrow in action.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY forces in the ALP argue that the mass of the workers, of the Negro people, of the liberal elements in the population, are supporters of the Democratic Party, and the only way to reach them is in that party. This view has convinced some, but it is a misleading picture of the relationship between labor and the Democratic Party.

The American working class is not the atomized and helpless raw material for exploitation that it was before 1935. It is a highly organized body, and tends to move massively, as a body, and not in splintered and fractional form. It is supporting the Democratic Party, not by scattered independent actions of individuals, but through in-

dependent union-based organizations set up on the outside, under the control of the unions, and representing the mass of the union movement in compacted and self-powered forms.

For example, in the senatorial campaign of 1950 in Ohio, when the union movement made its big push to defeat Taft, the unions ran the bulk of the campaign and raised the bulk of the finances directly through a united labor committee outside the Democratic Party. As in most cases elsewhere, the union movement remained organizationally independent. And there is no question that these union political activity committees, despite the fact that they were supporting Democrats, contained many of the best and most advanced workers.

The ward and precinct organizations of the Democratic Party continue to be moribund havens for job-seeking hangers-on of the ward heelers, and usually little more. The entire wave of union activity in behalf of the Democratic Party passed over that party without significantly changing the local organizations. In October 1948, when union activity behind the Democrats was at a high point, a specialist on the subject wrote in the *N.Y. Times Magazine*:

On the local level, organization is often stagnant, if not moribund. Committees rarely meet and attendance is poor. . . . Most disillusioning of all is the inglorious nature of local party operations. Any hope that men have banded together for the sake of grand principles may quickly evaporate. The main reason for party activity often turns out to be 'the cohesive power of public plunder' . . .

In the light of this picture of both the unions and the Democratic Party, which any socialist with two eyes in his head should be capable of seeing, what then is the sense of looking for an approach to the workers through the Democratic Party?

IN THEIR NEXT argument, the CP forces point to the danger of McCarthyism. The Republican Party has practically succumbed to the McCarthyite octopus, they argue, and so support to Democratic candidates is needed to "stop McCarthyism."

The flaw in this argument is that the Democratic Party has succumbed to McCarthyism just about as much as the Republicans. The chief pitch of the Truman Democrats in reply to McCarthy's baiting is the claim that they can do McCarthy's job better than he can, and that he is only stealing the show that they started. New York's new mayor, Robert Wagner, whom the CP said must be backed against the Dewey-Impellitteri forces of reaction, has already appointed McCarran's man Campbell as head of his investigating agency, and has appointed Impellitteri himself to a city judgeship!

When Eisenhower proposed in his "State of the Union" message to deprive Smith Act victims of citizenship, Truman said the next day: "In so far as it goes, it was a good message." He then added: "I convicted my Communists. That's how I took care of them. I'm the only man who ever sent a Communist to jail." Truman and Hitler.

The January 2 *Nation* describes how in a recent 24th Congressional District election in Los Angeles, the Democratic machine politicians screened campaign workers looking for "Communists" and thus excluded many lifelong Democrats from the campaign. Democratic candidate George Arnold campaigned on an anti-pink-toothbrush platform; he distributed a leaflet to the voters which had a small toothbrush attached, with the legend that this was a "symbol of the American way of life," since in Soviet Russia even well-off families have to share one common toothbrush, according to Arnold.

In Massachusetts the State Treasurer of the Democratic Party and a likely choice for nomination for Governor told the state convention of the Americans for Democratic Action that he doesn't want support from them, and that most Democratic nominees "will not acknowledge you." The *Nation* says it's "high time for Democrats to decide whether they are to be mice or men," but it is easy to see that the *Nation* has already decided they are going to be mice.

SINCE THE END of World War II, both major parties have been moving rightward at a frightful pace. The political influence of the powerful labor movement in the Democratic Party has been declining steadily, until it is now at its lowest point since the organization of the CIO. The Southern Bourbon wing, on the other hand, the Wall Street war interests, the reactionary witch-hunters, have increased their strength greatly. Where the accusation was once made that the Democrats had, in setting policy, to "clear it with Sidney [Hillman]," leading Democrats like Stevenson now "clear it" with Byrd, Talmadge, etc.

In this situation, the ground is being prepared for a major new-party movement. The labor movement has little choice, and the atmosphere of similarity between the two parties is becoming sufficiently overpowering that the demand for a new party can assume a broad appeal. No one can say just when this development will begin to emerge, or in precisely what form, but the preconditions for it are being supplied.

It is important to look back upon the British development, because the British conditions more closely approximate the American than those in any other country, and what happened there can happen here with far greater speed. In Britain the Liberal Party, in friendship with the trade union movement, dominated the popular mass for more than a half-century. That party eventually collapsed, and the manner of its collapse is the most instructive fact. The marrow was sucked out of it from the outside by the mushrooming Labor Party, which developed precisely in the period when Britain lost her world industrial monopoly. The Liberal Party suffered from internal crises, but the Labor Party didn't develop out of these; rather the crises in the Liberal Party were produced by the development of the Labor Party.

Experience of the past and the prospects for the future offer no reason why socialists should drop the principle of independence from capitalist politics, and every reason to hold to it. This principle, far from being an artificial invention of dogmatists, is something inherent in the very

nature of the struggle for socialism, something the workers' movement must have if it is to win its way to the highroad. America is no exception.

It is precisely in this country, where the tradition of support to capitalist candidates is so predominant, that the very last thing socialists should do is give in to this backwardness. It will be the leap from capitalist politics to independence that will be the decisive jump in the life of the American working class.

How can radicals hope to attract fresh forces, vigorous radical youth, newly awakened workers, by a turn to the Democratic Party? Consider the experience which the CP has already had with this maneuver. It has not been able to make any headway in ingratiating itself with the Democratic Party. Instead, it has stirred up a revolt against itself among a large grouping of formerly uncritical supporters; a revolt that extends even into its own ranks.

Those who now revolt against the CP line are the very same people who have in the past supported a whole series of maneuvers toward the Democratic Party. If they rebel at this maneuver, it is not out of doctrinaire theoretical narrowness, but because they can't swallow this line in practice. And the reason they can't swallow the line in practice is that they are disgusted by the line and actions of the Democratic Party: its jingoistic war policy, its McCarranism which looks just as bad to them as the Republican Party's McCarthyism, its capitulation to reaction on every front and its conversion to a willing instrument of reaction. This rebellion on the part of the former CP supporters is a clear demonstration that socialists can neither build a radical movement nor inspire it with the fervor needed to give it staying power if they adopt a turn toward the Democratic Party.

Wanted: Action, Not Hot Air

DETROIT

ONE hundred and twenty thousand unemployed auto workers are putting Walter Reuther's claims to leadership to a very severe test. The *Detroit Free Press* states on February 10: "He has proved himself an able spokesman on behalf of the unemployed in this region." But so far, Reuther's speeches have not put any meat and potatoes on the table for the jobless.

Reuther is proceeding in his business-as-usual manner, making important-sounding statements, speeches, sermons, etc., but doing little beyond that. The local unions, under the pressure of the unemployed who in some cases number the majority of some locals by this time, are getting distinctly irritated by the palaver and beginning to call for action. A few samples of this:

* Joe Cheal, president of Dodge Local 3, wrote in his column in *Dodge Main News*: "Speaking for Local 3, we want action NOW, not a lot of hot air as we received in Lansing."

* William Stachiw, editor of *Dodge Main News*: "I feel we should organize committees on unemployment in each local union. They [the unemployed] don't feel that we are putting enough pressure for a public works program in the state and national capitals. Frankly, I think the leadership of the UAW is too much

THE CP FORCES accuse the independent radicals in the ALP of resisting liquidation out of a "narrow sectarian" loyalty to the ALP. Actually, the loyalty of the opponents of the CP position to the idea of an independent radical movement is very commendable, and their reluctance to dive into the cesspool of capitalist politics at the bidding of the *Daily Worker* should be praised.

But it is also true that the ALP does not give much attention to the problem that the CP forces have raised as the excuse for their opportunist maneuver, namely, the isolation of the radicals from the masses. Means can be found of ameliorating this isolation, and the problem should not simply be brushed aside as some anti-CP debaters have tended to do.

Radical and socialist forces in this country have often been the catalysts for broader movements, and they have been most successful in this not when they succumbed to the lures of capitalist politics, as the CP now tries to instruct us, but when they remained independent.

Many workers, Negroes, liberals, etc., are deeply concerned about social and political issues even while they remain supporters of the Democratic Party, the *Daily Worker* instructs us. That is quite true. What is needed is, within the unions, Negro organizations, civil liberties organizations, etc., to encourage and become part of the broadest struggle in behalf of those issues which interest these workers, without asking of them, as a precondition, whether they are Democrats or ALPers, and also without becoming Democrats ourselves. This, together with comprehensible educational work on behalf of socialism, can ameliorate the isolation of the radical movement to a degree. And the problem will be solved when changes in broad conditions give rise to an independent mass labor militancy again.

contented with calling conferences . . . and having pious resolutions read and passed. . . ."

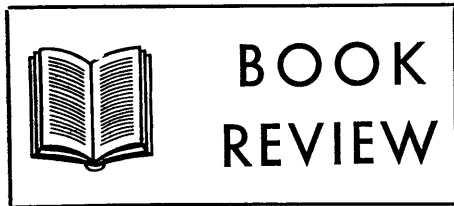
* Paul Silver, president of Local 351, said at the Lansing conference on unemployment that it does no good to continue to pass the same resolutions every month. He advocated the formation of unemployment councils.

* Gus Scholle, president of the Michigan CIO Council, discouraged by the ineffectiveness of the present union tactics, advocated a change: "We should organize delegations of the unemployed and the maimed and disabled and take them to the state capitol and let the Republicans see and hear first hand the results of their refusal to provide adequate benefits."

Beneath these opinions by local UAW leaders there is the strong concern of the ranks. Testimony to this concern can be seen from the fact that recent routine meetings of the Dodge and Briggs locals were attended by over 1,000 workers in each case, a very unusual turnout.

An energetic campaign by the UAW would certainly find a mass response in Michigan. However, at the moment, the heat of the ranks has not reached the point where it can bust through and force such action upon the leadership, as was the case, for example, in the anti-Taft-Hartley demonstration of 1947. If unemployment continues to rise here, though, that may come soon.

D. L.



Heroic Interlude

In the Twilight of Socialism, by Joseph Buttinger, Frederick A. Praeger, Inc., New York, 1953, \$6.

THIS IS a remarkable account of the Austrian socialist movement in the five years of its illegal existence from 1934 to 1938 written by the leading personality of the underground.

The book opens with a devastating picture of the collapse of the old Austrian Social Democratic party under the blows of the clerical fascism of Dollfuss, Austria's pint-sized Hitler. Although the socialist defense organization was well armed and supposedly prepared over a year for just the crisis that overwhelmed it on Feb. 12, 1934, its leaders never thought of fighting, nothing was organized, the signal for battle was never given, and the leader of the *Schutzbund*, Julius Deutsch, scurried across the border to Czechoslovakia as soon as the fighting started. The heroic Austrian uprising consisted of a number of local, uncoordinated, rearguard actions organized at the last moment after all was lost by the impatient ranks who despaired of ever getting instructions from their leaders. A party that owned 8 printing plants, 7 dailies, 18 weeklies, had 71 national councillors, 24 members of the federal council, 171 deputies in provincial diets, 25 members of provincial governments, 387 mayors, most of the heads of labor unions, social insurance agencies and cooperatives was wiped out as a legal entity overnight and could not organize the forces at the crucial moment to issue a printed handbill to the populace.

The defeat at first shattered the proverbial unity of the Austrian socialist movement. Small left groups sprang up here and there, the defense organization aggressively asserted its independence from the party, and the communists, who were never more than a splinter in Austria, were rapidly winning adherents and threatened for a while to take over the field.

The reconstituted illegal socialist organization was deeply wracked with schisms and uncertainties. Humiliated by the trouncing it had taken, the socialist movement was in danger of being overwhelmed by the flood of bitter criticism and invective which welled up in the ranks against the old leaders, the old theories, the old ways which had proved so bankrupt and unspeakably vile in the hour of crisis, and had led to such disgrace and disaster. In response to this deep unrest and desire for militant action, the "New Men," as they were called, took over. The "New Man" was generally young and more often than not

of working class background. But his leftism was formless and confused, and despite his formal break with the past, he was tied with a hundred threads to the old leader of Austrian Social Democracy, Otto Bauer, who set up the party's Foreign Bureau in Brno, Czechoslovakia, and published from there the party's newspaper, *Arbeiter Zeitung*, as a small weekly.

The new central committee, consisting of Otto Bauer's adherents, continued to tack and maneuver trying to outlast the storm in the ranks. Early in March they scrapped the old hated name and began to call themselves "Revolutionary Socialists." In May they bent to the pressure by agreeing to issue from inside Austria their own illegal paper to be called *The Revolution*. The party was now declared "free from all reformist and democratic illusions." The goal was the conquest of state power. Fascist dictatorship, it was stated, could only be followed by proletarian dictatorship. All the while a hot spirit was kept alive by innumerable actions which consisted of lightning demonstrations by small groups of underground workers and intensive nocturnal activity on the part of the glue-and-brush brigade slapping posters on billboards and fences.

As for the perspective, the ranks were assured it was very bright. The fascist government couldn't last and the socialists would soon have their chance. Otto Bauer gave this Dr. Pangloss outlook its theoretical flourish. "If fascism rose rapidly after its victory in Germany," he wrote in the *Arbeiter Zeitung* of July 8, 1934, ". . . it has now passed its peak. The disintegration of fascism in Germany marks the incipient retrogression of European fascism." This analysis was the basis of the "optimistic prognosis," the "short view," and of the slogan marked all over Vienna in crayon and chalk: "We'll be back!"

By autumn the high hopes were dashed. The organization instead of growing continued to shrink in size. Arrests multiplied, sentences stiffened and the influx of new volunteers became a trickle. Vienna woods meetings stopped altogether and the circulation of the paper fell. A realization was growing that the fascist regime was no overnight affair.

The chaotic verbal radicalism of the "New Men" had exhausted itself and the party faced a new crisis of soul-searching. Buttinger explains: "Unlike the criticism that had engendered the new party, this new criticism did not spring from a desire to square accounts with the past. Its source was the need of all active socialists to find their way around under changed working conditions. They no longer wanted to know who was to blame for everything. They wanted to know how to hold their own against the police, how to keep their influence on the workers, and how to turn their impotence, just beginning to be realized, into a first step on the road to the dictatorship of the proletariat. . . . 'What to do?' was the great question in vogue among the new critics."

THE NEW criticism came to a climax at the December 30 national conference held in Brno where Buttinger stepped forth as the leader of the left. Paraphrasing his oration, Buttinger describes how he hurled at the conference his declaration that the old party "was no new movement, had no new leadership, and had at its disposal no revolutionary organization. . . . The new party was little more than a shrivelled, impotent Social Democracy toying around with radical phrases. . . . Instead of new merchandise, the firm had acquired only a new window dressing. . . . *The Arbeiter Zeitung* never foresaw anything but new grave fascist defeats and ever-growing victories of the working class. Its last word in Vienna had been its first in Brno: 'We are strong—'"

"Do you want it to say we are weak?" called out Otto Bauer.

"I want it to say what is," replied the speaker.

He went on to demand a paper for "active co-workers," not a so-called mass organ which was nonsense under illegal conditions. "The life expectancy of fascism did not depend on optimistic forecasts in central committee proclamations; fascism was going to conquer more countries and to assume much more brutal forms in Austria. Only an organization of trained revolutionaries would enable proletarian socialism to survive the dark days brought on the working class by the old parties' failure. . . . Unless the new party was to remain idle chatter, the Revolutionary Socialists had to shake off their Social Democratic past, to maintain their independent organization against the communists, to set forth their policy in a paper that did not call fascism a 'brief transitional stage,' and finally to safeguard their organized existence by better conspiracy and avoidance of senseless activity."

After this thunderclap, and a further disintegration of the old setup following a new wave of arrests, Buttinger and his close co-worker, Joseph Podlipnig, emerged as the new leadership of the central committee and vigorously steered the party along a new revolutionary path. With a series of decisive hammer strokes, they refashioned the underground into a superbly organized and tightly disciplined cadre of several thousand fighters; they broke the semi-independent status of the Defense League which had become a Stalinist transmission belt; they crushed the "unity campaign"

A CORRECTION

Our story from Youngstown on the Ohio Devine Law (*American Socialist*, February 1954, p. 25) contained an important factual error in stating that "The CIO movement here . . . did not fight the enactment of the Devine bill." Actually, the CIO *did* oppose that witch-hunt measure. The error was due entirely to an editorial slip, and not to our Youngstown correspondent, who stated the facts correctly.

with some hardboiled negotiations which quickly saw the Stalinists on the defensive; they started new serious work infiltrating the government sponsored trade unions.

The organizational methods of the new leadership bore striking resemblance to many of Lenin's ideas described in *What Is To Be Done?* Buttinger relates: "The new central committee—just like the old one of a year ago, when the underground was founded—proceeded without being authorized by any democratic body. It was idle to ask for such a body, because there was none, and the disaster following on the heels of the national conference argued against a repetition of such events. The new command settled all questions as autocratically as it made policy. It installed, directed and supervised the members of the central commissions to which it had to assign a good deal of executive work. . . . Their powers in this respect were unlimited, and were challenged by no one."

Similar conditions to those of Russia of 1903 led to similar organizational methods, and it is as ridiculous for socialists to inveigh against these methods as it is to transplant them to conditions where they are not required.

Unfortunately, the perfecting of the underground organization coincided with Hitler's successes which threatened to engulf Austria. The sombre international scene of Western appeasement of Hitler and the prostration of the international labor movement thrust the Austrian socialists into an acute dilemma of perspective.

On July 13, 1937, the party's *Information Service* sounded the alarm, "that Schuschnigg (the Austrian Chancellor) was turning more and more into a pacemaker for Nazism" and that the "Western powers' policy of non-intervention in the Spanish Civil War . . . would seal the fate not only of Spain but of Austria as well." But abroad Otto Bauer continued to grasp at straws: one day the democracies would stop Hitler; next day, he hoped for miracles from Leon Blum's Popular Front in France. When the *Arbeiter Zeitung* declared the Popular Front intact and continued to cover up for Blum after the latter was unceremoniously belted out of office in June 1937, the clamor in the ranks became an uproar, and the breach was all but complete between the Revolutionary Socialists and the old emigre leaders.

The predictions of the Revolutionary Socialist leaders were tragically confirmed when the Austrian fascists capitulated to Hitler. The Nazi juggernaut rolled over Austria, effected the Anschluss in March 1938 and the dread Gestapo went to work. While the leaders correctly analyzed the events and saw the trends, they could not devise actions to get the Austrian Socialists out of the horrible *cul de sac* into which history had thrust them.

A part of the central committee reassembled in France. But the underground leaders no longer had an organization to counterpose to Otto Bauer and the old Social Democrats, and the latter had the additional advantage of possessing the big international reputations. For a while, Buttinger and Podlipnig tried to work with

"THE CHALLENGE OF ABUNDANCE"

by Robert G. Lewis in the January *Progressive* provides a real insight into the Eisenhower farm program. Lewis explodes the myth the administration has been creating that it wants to remove the government from agriculture in order to return to the "free market." What it really aims to do, Lewis proves, is to install the complete domination of the "private government" of cartels and monopolies over agriculture. The real choice is not between the farmer as a "rugged individualist," a "private entrepreneur" serving a free market on one side and government subsidies and controls on the other. It is between controls that partially aid the small farmer and controls that lead to trustification.

One of the administration proposals along the direction of trustification is to substitute for the present price supports of 90% of parity for farm products a sliding scale of 60% to 90% of parity. Low prices to farmers, Lewis says, would thus force "vulnerable farmers off the land and into bankruptcy." It would eliminate, according to Undersecretary of Agriculture Morse, "inefficient farmers" and let their lands grow up to grass and trees. The first of these "inefficient farms," already going under the auctioneer's hammer, says Lewis, are those of "young veterans loaded down with high debts and young families, the families who have suffered illness or other disaster, the farmer who is 'overextended' because of trying to enlarge and improve a submarginal operation into an efficient unit."

But when a million or so of these "inefficient farmers" are pushed off The American Way into unemployment the rest of us will get *less food for higher prices*. "Those who remain," says Lewis, "will be enabled to shakedown prices, particularly in times of emergency, from consumers."

The crop reduction ordered by Secretary of Agriculture Benson for next year will result figuratively, says Lewis, in plowing under every fifth loaf of bread and every fourth cotton shirt on U.S. farms in 1954.

"We need a nation-wide repentance," said the Secretary.

Most farmers, according to Lewis, think we need the resignation of the Secretary.

THE NEW LEADER is worried. This home of bitter ex-socialists turned professional anti-communists seems to be fac-

ing the unenviable fate of "premature McCarthyism." Says Will Herberg, whose flight from Stalin took him all the way back to Moses: "The pro-McCarthy 'nationalists' . . . have an easy time exposing and ridiculing the 'liberal' hysteria about witch-hunting but in their excitement are rapidly losing all sense of proportion and rendering themselves incapable of making the most elementary distinctions—such as the distinction between the Communist entrapper and the dupes he entraps, between the Communist and the ex-Communist, between conspiracy and heresy." (*New Leader*, January 18)

So, trying hard to conceal a little hysteria of his own with lofty, sophisticated chatter, Herberg enters what he calls the "dreary," "senseless" debate over McCarthyism. He calls it "government by rabble-rousing." This technique, he learnedly opines, was invented by Marc Antony and then revived in our time by Roosevelt, Truman and Kefauver. The real villains, however, are the radio and TV. You see, our Founding Fathers, very sensitive to the problem, in their horror of "direct democracy" devised a complicated constitutional system to keep the government as far away as possible from the "ignorant mob." But now the demons of radio and TV have foiled their well-laid plans. The way to get rid of McCarthyism, Herberg concludes, is to put an end to this nonsense of "government of the people, by the people, for the people," to cultivate a lively suspicion of "direct democracy" and to put our trust in a "good, sound, responsible conservatism." There's a program to make McCarthy tremble.

May we make an irrelevant point? It was the Hamiltonians—not all the Founding Fathers—who were responsible for the "wisdom" that "the People is a beast," and that a monarchy was the best way to keep him chained up. And this "wisdom" didn't prevent those "responsible conservatives" from staging America's first McCarthyite show in the Alien and Sedition Law crisis at the turn of the 18th century.

JAMES T. FARRELL writes 50th birthday greetings to himself in the Jan. 25 *New Leader*. A better name for these "reflections" would be "Epitaph of a Writer." His mood, he confesses, is "melancholy." That's because of "the imperma-

the others. Finally, they could stomach the capitulatory antics of their Social Democratic associates no longer. They threw up their hands in disgust, and decided to quit politics. Buttinger and his political friends did not even return to Austria after the war. Unlike Lenin and the Bolsheviks, they lacked the tenacity over the long pull and never quite attained the Russians' historic

world perspective and political intransigence.

Today, the Austrian Socialist party is again in the hands of political trimmers and job holders, and the promising movement of the Revolutionary Socialists, which might have exerted such a beneficial influence in the post-war epoch, has disappeared without a trace.

nence of everything," because "life carries the price tag of death." Otherwise he's quite smug about himself—sounds like the perfect Babbitt with a literary accent.

"When I first began to write," Farrell relates, "I was full of indignation because of the sorrows of the world. I was angry because of cruelty, because of the exploitation of some men and women by others, because of the coldness with which some people manipulate others, because of dirt, poverty, ignorance, aggressiveness and the other things which ruin and sadden human lives. In various ways this indignation was reflected in my first writings."

True. It was that sensitivity to this America, which has not changed, that gave Farrell his renown as a writer. But now, says he, "it is not possible at 50 to feel the indignations of one's youth. . . . Indignation has turned to a stoical feeling. I have come to see that pain and agony are a part of the way it is in life."

The sorrows, the anguish, the injustices, the conflicts of the human drama remain, and are carried to their acutest point in these times of cataclysmic world crisis. But Farrell sees them no longer. He is content. Life has treated him well and he has "no complaints." It is no wonder that the trade now find Farrell's writings "more mature."

The artist-rebel turned conformist is a disgusting, tragic spectacle.

DISSENT, "A Quarterly of Socialist Opinion," made its debut in the literary world at the opening of the new year. The editorial board and contributing writers consist of a number of ex-Shachtmanites, most prominent of whom is Irving Howe; former Socialist Party figures like Travers Clement; the pacifists are represented by A. J. Muste; and publicists, novelists, educators of vaguer political complexion like C. Wright Mills, Norman Mailer, Meyer Shapiro. Obviously, because of this diversity of views and backgrounds, the journal opens its pages with the announcement that it "will not have any editorial position or statements. Each writer will speak for himself."

Within this vagueness, which they seem to consider a virtue, the editors try to fix some kind of political position. They are against the "status quo." They are in favor of the "tradition of democratic socialism." But they mean to discover "freely and honestly" what is still alive in this tradition and "what needs to be discarded or modified." Their one "positive belief," they say, is "socialism." But this, they hasten to add, is not the kind of socialism espoused by any existing socialist group or party in the country or the world; above all, it is not apparently the scientific socialism of Marxism. They are "united" rather by an "ethos and faith in Humanity" which for a hundred years have made men socialists in quotation marks. (The quotation marks are theirs.) They believe in "the dignity of the individual," they are against "one man profiting at his brother's expense" and they have an "intellectual conviction" that "man

Take Your Choice

ON PAGE 221 of the pretentious two-volume "Socialism and American Life" issued by Princeton University Press in 1952, we find the following remarks:

"By opposing World War I . . . the Socialist Party cut itself off from the labor movement and created a widespread distrust of itself among the American people. In its rush to embrace a policy which bordered on adventurism, the party isolated itself completely from the mainstreams of American life."

But on pp. 314-15, the following facts are set forth:

1) On April 6, 1917, war was declared, and the following day the Socialist Party convention met and adopted its manifesto which was an anti-war statement presenting the classic Marxist analysis of capitalist war.

2) Within two months, the membership of the SP, the only anti-war party, jumped more than twelve thousand.

3) In New York, the SP vote reached "new spectacular heights" (Hillquit's vote represented a 500% jump).

4) The party sent ten assemblymen to Albany, seven aldermen to City Hall, and elected a judge in N.Y.

5) In Chicago, socialists received 34% of the vote; Buffalo, 25%; Dayton, 44%; Toledo, 34.8%, etc.

can substantially control his condition if he understands it and wills it." No mention is made of the Golden Rule. The magazine will be open to everybody except "Stalinists and totalitarian fellow-travelers" on the one hand and "former radicals who have signed their peace with society as it is."

Having firmly defined its own political "philosophy" the editors bravely set forth to stake out their claim. This is to be somewhere to the left of *Commentary*, which represents "the failure of liberalism to do its job" and to the right of *The Nation*, which furthers "the disastrous position of quasi-appeasement of Stalinism. . . ." If you ask us, it's a rather barren patch of ground to be cultivating, and it's a weedy first crop that turns up in Vol. 1, No. 1.

Most of the writing is marked by two characteristics: 1. The authors start with a bang and end in a whimper; 2. They break their backs to avoid the precision of Marxist class analysis. Instead of classes and economic forces, instead of pin-pointing the trends, they serve up the wooly college sociology with its "group attitudes," "frames of references" and other gobbledygook. The more's the pity because many of the articles are well-written and show signs of serious thought and research. We have space here only for a sampling:

¶Irving Howe lashes the liberals for their blindness to the attack on civil liberties. But he considers it careless of Bertrand Russell to have said there is "a reign of terror."

¶Lewis Coser is irritated at liberals for not being able to recognize imperialism today even though it takes somewhat different forms than in the Kipling days of the British Empire. But then he finds "imperialism" all over the Soviet bloc from the exploitation of Polish mines to the starving of Manchurian coolies. You can almost hear the caustic question of his friends on *Commentary*: "Well, which is worse?"

¶C. Wright Mills writes a good critique of reactionary intellectuals who are trying to construct a "conservative ideology." For historic reasons, he says, America has had "neither a radical ideology or a conservative ideology but only a liberal rhetoric." Sounds good, but is a little too simple. The American ruling class may not have had an ideology. But it has long had a philosophy. Its name is *pragmatism*. And it has served both the conservative and liberal wings of capitalism. Moreover Mills is wrong thinking that American capitalism won't find a conservative ideology. Like its European counterparts, it will find it either in Catholicism or in Fascism.

¶"The Economics of Self-Congratulation" does a punishing job on the Galbraith miracle theory of the American economy. Unfortunately he had to wind up with college cliches which detract from an otherwise excellent study.

¶Finally, there is H. Brand who dissects the uprising of June 17 in East Germany somewhat along the lines of Benno Sarel's treatment in *Les Temps Modernes*. It is well worth reading. His evidence proves the total fallacy of designating Stalinist regimes with sweeping super-class terms like "totalitarian" or "red fascism in place of brown." It confirms Trotsky's likening of these states to trade unions run by bureaucrats. If Brand could see the distinction between such an organization and a company union, he could make a choice and wouldn't have to wring his hands in disappointment over "the West's inability to actively oppose Stalinism on the plane of social politics. . . ." But choices—for purposes of struggle or even of contemplation—are just what this school of thought wants to avoid.

As a contemporary of ours, we'd like to give *Dissent* a send-off. It's a good name for these times. Will the editors live up to it? Right now they sound much more like grumblers in the camp of the conformists than dissenters from the status quo.

The savoir-faire of the average Washington embassy attache was demonstrated this week when one of them, a European, was asked by telephone to provide a speaker for a meeting of the Daughters of the American Revolution. Without a moment's hesitation, the embassy voice replied deferentially that he was so very sorry but that the first rule of the Foreign Office for its representatives abroad was that they never become identified in any way with any "revolutionary" movement.

—N.Y. Times, February 1

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Some Amazing Things

About Genora Dollinger's very fine story "I Warned Reuther" [*American Socialist*, February 1954], what she says of the lackadaisical police pursuit of the anti-labor thugs is further borne out by the hearings on the "escape" of key witness Donald Ritchie. A police trial board is listening to some amazing things here.

One cop told the board he had orders to safeguard the witness, not detain him. A detective said he left the key in Ritchie's hotel door because "I couldn't remove the key from the lock." Hotel doors are provided with keys which can't be removed after the door is locked on the inside. When the detective was asked "Didn't it occur to you to lock the door from the outside?" he replied "I'm sorry, Commissioner, I just didn't think of it."

Ritchie "escaped," according to the cops, by turning on the shower and then walking out through another door.

L. M. Detroit

Calling A Spade A Spade

As a token of my interest in our new magazine, I enclose \$1 for a six-month subscription . . . and my congratulations.

I congratulate you for naming the magazine the *American Socialist*. Like most people, I believe in calling a spade a spade, and there has been a great deal too much indirection in the socialist movement already. I believe you may succeed where many have failed by being hypocritical and thus suspect.

In fact, I believe the American people are ready for both socialism and for a magazine called the *American Socialist*. Will you be good enough to count me in on the ground floor, as I was with you in spirit the minute I knew of your existence. . . .

V. W. Ransomville, N. C.

Please add me to your list of subscribers. Enclosed you will find \$1 to seal the deal. Not having had any contact with you or your ideas I naturally do not know beforehand what your particular outlook will be. I will say this, however: I believe the time has come for all of us to support as many democratic movements as possible. It is really much later than most people are prepared to admit.

G. F. C. Lancaster, Pa.

Absolute Freedom to Rail

After reading George Clarke's article on the secret of McCarthy's formula in your January issue ["The Secret of McCarthy's Formula" appeared in our February issue—

Ed.], am I to infer that the United States has no right to ferret out traitors, spies and agents of the Kremlin? Am I to infer it is Mr. Clarke's belief that the Hiss case—which broke years before "McCarthyism" was manufactured by the Reds for their new united-front movement—was a phoney, as was the Rosenberg case?

I am often amused by the fact that non-Stalinist radicals like you people, who, I imagine much to Norman Thomas' horror misappropriate the good name of Socialists, rail against the capitalist regime which grants you absolute freedom to rail against the capitalist regime. I know, I know, once you people take power (you people live under that delusion) you'll shoot socialists like Norman Thomas and "McCarthyites" like myself, just as your idol Leon Trotsky bumped off the oppositionists, before he himself got the business from Good Old Joe.

Why don't you incredible people wake up? Why don't you people thank the Lord (in whom you don't believe) for living in the greatest country in the world, a country to which the persecuted (by Communism) throughout the world would like to come.

Sincerely yours,
Victor Lasky New York

Response Continues to Amaze Us

The magazine has been selling well on San Francisco newsstands. If the next issue won't be out for a while, please send two dozen more of the last. You'll have to increase my bundle. . . .

A. B. San Francisco

Enclosed please find one dollar to cover the cost of a six-month introductory offer to the *American Socialist*. It is extremely gratifying to observe the stirrings of a socialist renaissance in the United States, and I wish you the best of luck.

A. F. Milwaukee

The response to the magazine continues to amaze us. One friend wants a regular bundle of ten a month to sell. . . . A lawyer is going to give us a list of names of lawyers and other professionals. . . .

Coming in the April
AMERICAN SOCIALIST
**THE DIRTY WAR IN
INDO-CHINA**
An Account and Analysis

You should get some financial contributions from these friends to help defray your expenses, which we know are very high.

Please rush more subscription blanks; we are running low again.

F. B. Detroit

I think the *American Socialist* is terrific. It is a classy looking magazine and the articles are written in a very clear and hard-hitting style. I am sure it will get a wide and enthusiastic reception here. I am sure of about six subscriptions from friends as soon as I can get to see them.

D. P. St. Paul

Why Another Monthly . . . ?

Why another monthly when there are already too many vying for the ever-declining potential? One would imagine that common sense would indicate cooperation rather than further division. . . . Withal, I hope you succeed.

U. T. St. Petersburg, Fla.

. . . Should the next crisis, which is only being prevented at the present time by continuing the war economy, come about as I believe it will, it may so impoverish the mass of people and throw businessmen into the position of workers, that fundamental changes will be urged. It is therefore to be hoped that working people will face the realities of life more than before and that from all this a new political party may arise based on the rank and file of labor unions. . . .

S. K. New York

I have received your February issue and am certainly heartened to see that you have not rested on the excellence of the first issue but have immediately taken steps to improve the magazine per suggestions of readers' letters. It is with deep satisfaction that I note you have the type of editorial board that continually strives to improve in the true tradition of Marxism. . . .

A. S. Chicago

The February issue was great, even better than the first. There was a real unity in the magazine without the articles becoming dull or repetitious. I think you have done especially well in presenting complex ideas in an interesting and readable style.

B. H. Milwaukee

NEW PAMPHLET ON SALE BRITISH GUIANA

Containing articles by:

- Dr. Cheddi Jagan
Former leader of Guiana House of Assembly
- Janet Jagan
Former Deputy Speaker, Guiana House of Assembly
- L. F. S. Burnham
Former Minister of Education

10c

You Can Still Get In Under The Wire—

IT'S GOOD to be able to report good news about the circulation drive of the AMERICAN SOCIALIST. With only three issues off the press, we already have established a following of enthusiastic readers all over the country. Every morning our mail box produces a good number of subscriptions and our file records a growing list of friends.

It is especially encouraging that our subscribers tend to become more than interested readers. Many are active promoters of our publication. Among these are left-wing unionists, college students and professional people.

This splendid initial response justifies our belief that a socialist publication able to come to grips with the problems of our times fills a real need.

We have been giving our circulation campaign an extra push by offering a special introductory six-month subscription for only \$1.00. This is a below-cost offer, which like all deficit financing, cannot continue indefinitely. We are subject to economic laws, and the price of the AMERICAN SOCIALIST will eventually have to rise to its natural level.

So the thing to do is send in your dollar bill while there's time, and ask your friends to do the same. You can still get in under the wire. Just fill in the subscription blank on this page, enclose a dollar bill, and you will get six stimulating issues of the American Socialist.



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GUATEMALA— Setback for Dollar Imperialism

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