

LABOR ACTION

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Fateful Decision: U.S., NATO Announce They Will Initiate Use of Atom Bombs in a War

Do the American People Understand What This Political Decision Means?

The U. S. government has decided, and has persuaded the NATO council to proclaim publicly with sufficient clarity, that it is the Western capitalist camp which, in the event of war, will launch attacks with A-bombs and H-bombs, *even if "the enemy" does not.*

They will take the responsibility before history and before the peoples of the world of initiating atomic warfare.

They have said so. The lead article on this page, and the argument by Hanson Baldwin (see page 2) sufficiently prove it—though the press reports of the NATO decision cannot be accused of impressing this fact on the national consciousness.

They have announced publicly and in advance that their over-all plan calls for this war crime.

This is no mere technical-military decision. This may well be the most fateful act of the year, if not the decade.

We are not military experts. Neither are you. We don't have to be. Military matters today are much too important to be decided by generals. The decision to launch atomic warfare, if and when, is a *political* decision.

Long before this decision will blow up a single "enemy" advance, it will blow up more sectors of pro-American support among the peoples of the world.

EXCLUDES CONTROL

More than that, it demonstrates that there cannot be a vestige of honesty and sincerity in U. S. protestations that it is merely Russian intransigence which stands in the way of international control of atomic arms.

This is so because the NATO decision means (1) that the Western chiefs see no way of defending Europe except by atomic weapons. How then can they agree to abolish the use of these weapons when such agreement means suicide in their conception? (2) Insofar as the NATO decision has already been put into operation, as is partly true, and even more insofar as it will be put into operation from here on, it means that it becomes increasingly excluded for the Western alliance ever to agree to limit the hell-bombs. For once the NATO war machine is geared around atomic strategy, it cannot be ungeared except by a major operation and revision, reversing everything done.

One can say, truly enough, that it is also impossible for the *Russians* to agree to any meaningful atom control which includes adequate rights for international inspection and supervision. But the U. S. has posed as the advocate of such real control. It will probably continue to strike this pose. It will be a lie.

But most important is the political impact and meaning of this announcement. In past wars, in the minds of the average man (not socialists), wars were

morally evaluated on the basis of whether they were "aggressive" or "defensive." Besides all other objections to this criterion, it was always next to impossible for the average man *really* to determine in any given case where the "aggression" lay, and many historical cases proved this.

But in the development unrolling before us, we have a new political criterion, different from though superadded to the old one: not merely who started the war, but *who starts atomic warfare*. And this is not necessarily so difficult to determine in every case; and anyway, what

(Continued on page 2)

By GORDON HASKELL

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization's Council has met for its annual review of the year's work and adoption of plans for the future. And this year's meeting was of special importance. It solemnly proclaimed that World War III will be fought with atom and hydrogen bombs.

Actually, this came as a surprise to no one. For many months the United States has been careful to publicize the fact that atomic cannon and atomic-armed air units are now stationed in Europe. Since it cannot be imagined that these have been placed there for the purpose of being captured in the event of war, it could only be assumed that they were there to be used against any possible foe.

Although the United States had placed these weapons in a menacingly ready posture in a forward area of any possible large-scale war in Europe, this did not necessarily determine the attitude of all the allied countries toward the use of nuclear weapons in the opening phases of World War III. It has been openly discussed for some time that the peoples and governments of Europe are much less inclined to accept the idea of an atomic war than is the government of the United States.

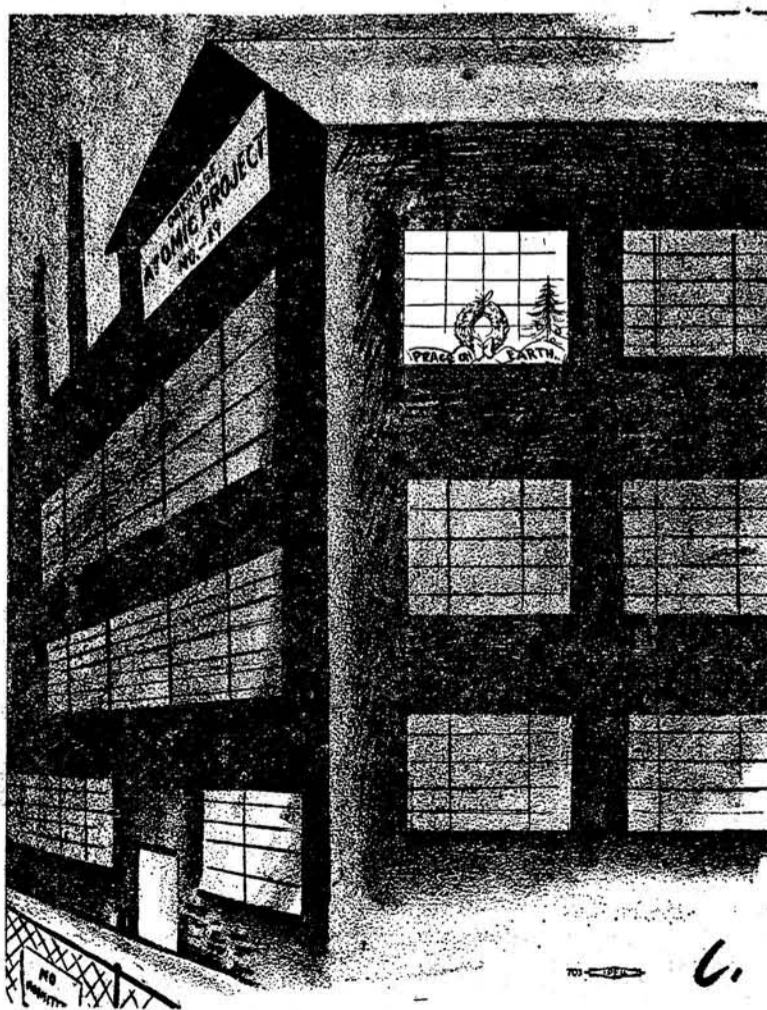
They realize all too well that in any such conflict between the U. S. and Russia European cities and installations are far more likely to take the initial brunt of atomic attack than are those in the United States, and that in the development of such a war they might very well be pulverized by both sides.

But now, it appears, the NATO Council has reached agreement between the American advocates of planning the "defense of Europe" by means of nuclear weapons and those European rulers who may have opposed it in the past. It is safe to conjecture that the Americans were able to have their way because to the European governments this seemed a good way to *postpone* actions which were being urgently pressed on them by the senior partners in the alliance from overseas.

The whole NATO structure, like the structure of American foreign policy, has been built up on the assumption that the danger of Stalinist expansion lies primarily in the armed might of Russia. From this notion it has been an easy leap to the idea that Stalinist expansion can be contained by confronting it with superior military force. Thus, American economic aid to the allies is granted with an eye to how it can result in strengthening military forces ready for action.

By the simple device of counting armed noses, the American generals can demonstrate that the Stalinists have standing armies and immediately mobilizable reserves far in excess of what Western Europe and the United States can hope to keep organized in the foreseeable future, even when and if West Germany is rearmed. And given a continuation of some degree of political democracy in these

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But Best Wishes for the New Year to Our Readers & All Fighters for Freedom

In New York, for the VERY best wishes, come down to the joint ISL-YSL New Year's Eve Party—at Labor Action Hall, 114 West 14 Street—9 p.m. and on.

They'll Use A-Bomb First — —

(Continued from page 1)

areas there is no way in which the people can be induced to keep in office any individual or party who would reduce their standard of living enough to match the Russian and satellite armies in numbers, man for man.

But if force and force alone can stop the invasion and subjugation of Western Europe by Stalinist armies, where else is that force to be found but in the boundless energies of the atom? And why should not the superior technology of the West be brought to bear to redress the military balance against the superior mobilizable manpower of Russia?

It appears that the logic of this argument has been found irrefutable by the European members of NATO, even though they cannot but recognize in it the logic of their own ultimate destruction. For to answer if they would have to deny that the major danger to Europe lies in Stalinist invasion, rather than in the decay of their own system which lays it open to political attack and degeneration from inside.

Or they would have to try to offset the military manpower of Russia with mass armies of their own, willing to fight and die in the defense of something they hold infinitely dear. But this is quite impossible for a social order which has long since been in steady decline.

So they have had to go along with the brash and trigger-happy Americans, even though it is quite likely that they hope and believe that between the agreements of this year and the actual pushing of the button for atomic war, many obstacles and changes will intervene.

ALLIES A BRAKE

And the statement issued by the NATO Council meeting indicates at least one of the obstacles which they have sought to erect to the use of nuclear weapons, even though agreeing with this use in principle. This was the declaration that the actual employment of such weapons will rest in the hands of the civilian and not the military authorities.

In exchange for European agreement that the NATO armies be organized, equipped and trained for atomic warfare, the Americans no doubt agreed to consult with European governments before giving the signal to let the hell-bombs fly. And the European "statesmen" may consider that when the cold war heats up, when some act is performed by one or the other side which can be interpreted as an "act of aggression," and when the Americans come and say "let's give it to 'em," the European allies will say "no" and thus stay their mind. (After all, when MacArthur wanted to let fly across the Manchurian border, Attlee and other European government heads played a major role in convincing the Americans that all-out war with China would be the worst possible outcome of the war in Korea.)

It is clear that in many possible situations the absolute insistence of America's allies that the use of atomic weapons would in effect isolate the United States from the whole world would carry much weight. But such insistence would diminish in importance to the degree that actual warfare, on a large scale, were under way.

This point is clearly illustrated by James Reston, New York Times columnist, in an article in which he discusses

the factors involved in any decision as to whether or not to use nuclear weapons.

"On the one hand," he writes (December 15), "the allies are not likely to authorize the United States or its commander to take an action that would lay their countries open to atomic bombardment."

"On the other hand, this nation is not prepared to give to other countries the power of veto over an action which, in the instant of crisis, might be necessary to the defense of the United States troops, the NATO command and the whole of the region."

DESTRUCTIVE LOGIC

Let us say that the cold war, instead of simmering, were to boil up in a series of incidents. Finally, an "act of aggression" is claimed by one side against the other, and measures are set in motion to counteract it. And at this instant the decision must be made: to attack with nuclear weapons or not.

The American military have long made it clear that in the present and foreseeable future state of NATO armament, the forces at their disposal can only wage a delaying action. This means that in the nature of things the American troops in Europe will stand in need of "defense," as will the whole NATO command and the "region." Thus the conditions described by Reston for the use of nuclear weapons without permitting an allied veto will be present the moment any large-scale military action starts.

Furthermore, the decision taken by the NATO council this year will guarantee that these conditions will be in force in even stronger measure as the years go

by. For once the whole NATO army is organized, equipped and trained to wage nuclear warfare, it would obviously be at a tremendous disadvantage if it had to fight a war with conventional weapons. This in and of itself will be an argument for the use of nuclear weapons in the future. To make the argument more palatable, it may start with the idea that the war can be confined to "tactical" nuclear weapons and will not necessarily involve hydrogen bombs which can wipe out whole cities at one blow.

But at this point the same logic which is used to justify the use of nuclear weapons by the American bloc against the Stalinists can be used by the latter to justify the use of city-busters against the allies. For if Americans can redress the balance of armed manpower with superior technology, why cannot the Stalinists redress the balance of technology by wiping out the centers which give the United States and Western Europe their superiority?

Thus, the whole idea that one can organize and prepare armies for nuclear warfare, and then prevent such warfare by investing the power of decision in civilian authorities, is false. In the first place, at the "instant of crisis" the military men on the spot may feel there is no time for consultation with their civilian superiors. If the "criteria" for the use of atomic weapons have been fulfilled, they may well use them.

And in the second place, once one has prepared for atomic war, the civilian authorities who have agreed that this should be the basis of preparedness will find it virtually impossible to turn their backs on the consequences of their own logic and stay the hand on the trigger.

The above is the logic of the decision made by the NATO council. It leads directly to all-out, unlimited nuclear warfare through a number of steps all of which are made much easier, if not inevitable, by the decision itself.

IS THE DIE CAST?

Why did the European leaders agree to it then? Are they less capable than socialist journalists of seeing the logic inherent in the situation?

They saw the logic of their decision clearly enough. For instance, Belgian Foreign Minister Paul-Henri Spaak told a news conference: "If an aggressor makes an atomic attack on us, I don't think anybody's veto will be of much importance. If an atomic bomb knocks out the telephone, I don't think we can wait for the service to be re-established before we make a decision."

This pretty well disposes of the matter of consultations among governments, and the necessity of a civilian decision before the atom weapons are launched. But there can be little doubt that Spaak realizes that even though he couched his remarks in the frame of a possible atomic attack on the NATO powers, exactly the same logic applies if the telephone were knocked out by a massed bomb-drop of the old fashioned type.

Still, Spaak and the rest agreed to the American plan. But does that mean that the die for nuclear war has been definitely cast, and that there can be no turning back for humanity from this unimaginably horrible fate?

It has been said above that the European "statesmen" have gone along in the hope that something will happen to save them from the logical consequences of their actions. And, forced as they are by the political and economic realities in their own countries to contract debts with history in the hope that they will somehow be able to avoid the creditor on the day of reckoning, they are more realistic than their "hard-headed" American whip-crackers.

FATAL FLAW

For the major flaw at the very base of the world-view of the American policymakers is that Stalinism is primarily an expansive nationalism, and that therefore military measures are the most important if not the only means of confining it.

Stalinism is a product of the decay of capitalism. It tends to spread wherever capitalism can no longer maintain its sway, and where at the same time the working class has not risen to its historic task of overthrowing it and establishing socialist democracy in its place.

Left to itself, without the intervention of the working class, Europe could conceivably fall into the hands of the Stalinists in such a way that not a single Russian soldier would have to fire a gun in the struggle. NATO's nuclear weapons would have to be used, in such circumstances, not against Russians in their own country or their invading armies in Europe—but against Frenchmen in Paris, Italians in Rome, and so forth. If things came to such a pass, NATO would have been buried along with most other capitalist institutions.

The war would be: America against the world, with the outcome hardly in doubt.

But capitalism will not and cannot be left to itself, to go down to complete disintegration and to bring civilization down with it, whether in the form of Stalinist totalitarianism, fascist barbarism, or atomic devastation. The working class is still the decisive historic force which can and must be channeled into the streambed of a struggle for its own interests, and hence for those of the whole of humanity.

And it is this struggle, rather than the vague hopes of the political leaders of the old ruling classes in Europe which can stand between the logic of the NATO Council's decisions and the fulfillment of this logic in the holocaust where matter and energy flow back and forth over the prostrate bodies and hopes of mankind.

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Military Analyst Shows Enormities of NATO Decision

Skepticism as to U. S. and NATO claims about civilian control over atomic-war decisions is expressed especially emphatically by Hanson Baldwin, N. Y. Times military affairs columnist. Writing December 21, Baldwin makes it clear that field commanders have been given substantial leeway in making the decision to use atomic arms, and thus launching the world on this course.

As he reports, the guise under which this is being accomplished is that of "simplifying" procedures. Gruenther, NATO commander, "and military leaders in the U. S. and abroad long have felt that the somewhat cumbersome procedures that have surrounded and restricted atomic arms must be simplified."

"In theory," says Baldwin, the AEC is custodian of the Bombs in the U. S. and in Europe it is the NATO council which will decide. "But in practice, the original rigid and time-consuming procedure of atomic authorization—which, in effect, would have focused in the president of the U. S., since the United States is the only major atomic power in the Western alliance—already has been made far more flexible and rapid." (Emphasis added.)

The custodianship of any civilian authorities means nothing in the sense of physical custodianship, since the Bombs are right now aboard U. S. aircraft carriers, at air bases and with army units.

Baldwin does not mince many words about the real meaning of the decision because he himself is opposed in tendency to the thinking which it represents. Therefore he is free to speak out. He thinks they are going too far—

"Many in the air force believe the price

of survival means beating the enemy to the first atomic punch. More and more military commanders are coming to regard tactical atomic weapons as just another part of their armory to be used as their judgment determines if war starts.

"But this very decentralization of authority and insistence upon speed of decision could commit the U. S., in some future time, without much reason or judgment and perhaps without actual necessity, to an all-out atomic war."

Discussing the concept of "automatic reflex" to aggression with atomic arms, he states: "If the 'automatic reflex' were applied to our offensive retaliatory power, we would be committed to an atomic war by our own fears and our own precipitate action."

MEANS ALL-OUT WAR

He discusses the case, envisaged by the NATO decision, of an "enemy attack with conventional forces" only—that is, where war starts and Russia does not use A-bombs. His discussion throws light on the brass-bound thinking of the NATO council:

"The 'automatic reflex,' if invoked in such a case, would commit us to the first use of atomic weapons and would expose us—and particularly West Europe—to certain atomic retaliation by the enemy. The strategy of atomic defense that the North Atlantic Council has now endorsed is based upon maintenance of an inferior number of conventional forces but of a sufficient size to force the enemy to concentrate his conventional forces for attack.

"By concentrating to achieve one objective—the defeat of conventional forces, the enemy presents tactical atomic targets that makes him vulnerable to defeat by atomic retaliation.

"But if the Western allies automatically meet a conventional enemy attack in Europe with tactical atomic weapons, they immediately face two major disadvantages: (1) The enemy will use them in attack; and (2) There can be no clear-cut differentiation between tactical and strategic arms; for all practical purposes the free tactical use of atomic weapons in Europe almost certainly would mean an all-out atomic war in both hemispheres."

Here is an American authority stating clearly that the NATO decision means that the U. S. is ready to take the initiative in launching atomic warfare, without even guarantees that the initiative would be taken in responsible fashion even from the view of the launchers.

Do the American People — —

(Continued from page 1)

we have before us now is a confession in advance. It is a determination of intention in advance, made under the leadership of that power which has in fact already launched atomic warfare, when it blasted two Japanese cities off the landscape.

We are interested here not in the use of atomic warfare, any more than the concept of aggression, as a criterion for supporting or opposing a war, but in the political bankruptcy which is represented by the announced NATO decision.

It could have been taken only by statesmen and generals who are utterly helpless before the political methods of at-

tack which have been the primary weapons of Stalinist expansion.

But the fact that it was taken is not the most revealing thing about it. It may be that the Kremlin has done so too, for that matter. What is most revealing is that this act of political bankruptcy is openly announced to a horrified world which is preparing to pour the usual libations to "Peace on earth" at this season of the year. We are not advising secrecy or hypocrisy in saying this; we are merely pointing out that criminals or fools who shout their sins or follies to the world do so not out of honesty but out of callous lack of appreciation of their own condition.

The Cloak-and-Dollar Agency: WHAT IS THE CIA DOING?

The following study of the Central Intelligence Agency, by I. F. Stone, from his Weekly of Dec. 6, is a timely contribution to knowing the kind of agency which has become one of Washington's leading tools for intervening in the affairs of other nations (and not only the Stalinist dictatorships). Stone himself, as conclusion, proposes support to the move to establish a supervisory congressional committee over CIA; and, as a champion of the "coexistence" doctrine, he ties the activity of the CIA up with that question. The following excerpts from Stone's study will be of special interest and information to our readers.—Ed.

The CIA was not conceived of originally as an instrument of political espionage or political warfare. The 1947 act explicitly provided that it should "have no police, subpoena, law-enforcement powers or internal security functions."

A dangerous expansion of powers became evident with the passage of the Central Intelligence Agency Act of 1949. This for the first time gave CIA its peculiar freedom from Congressional budgetary supervision.

Alarm was created in Congress by Section 10(b) which says "The sums made available to the Agency may be expended without regard to the provisions of law and regulations relating to the expenditure of government funds; and for objects of a confidential, extraordinary, or emergency nature. . . ." In the Senate, Johnson of Colorado said this was the most sweeping legislation Congress had been asked to pass except for the Atomic Energy Act. He said he feared "military Fascism" and the establishment of a "Military Gestapo" (May 27, 1949).

Senator Langer citing an admission in the House committee report on the bill, said this was the first time in the history of the House or Senate that they had been called upon to pass a proposed statute "without having full and detailed information of the provisions of the bill."

"Though CIA officials do not admit it publicly," *Time* magazine reported August 3 of last year, "the agency was from the start engaged in a wide range of 'covert activities': espionage, aid to resistance movements and perhaps sabotage. Armed with all the traditional devices of espionage and a few 20th century improvements, such as plastic explosives . . . CIA agents spread across the world."

IMPERIAL EXPLOITS

What are these agents doing? One of the earliest glimpses was given by the *Washington Post* in an editorial on January 9, 1953, which seemed to be based on special information from informed sources.

The paper cited five instances as a "sampling of exploits which have been the subject of many whispered complaints." The first was the CIA's subsidizing "of a neo-Nazi organization" in Germany which had marked leaders of the Social Democratic party for "liquidation."

The second was holding a Japanese citizen incommunicado for eight months "under excuse of cross-examination—a job initially undertaken by General Willoughby's Army Intelligence and passed on to CIA."

The third was tapping the telephones of Jose Figueres, the President of Costa Rica.

The fourth proved rather prophetic: "Abortive effort by CIA undercover men to start a revolution in Guatemala and blame it on the United Fruit Company."

The fifth concerned Burmese, Siamese and Vietnamese suspicion that CIA was supporting the activities of the Chinese Nationalist forces in Burma. According to the *Washington Post*, the Burma episode "led to the resignation in disgust of one of the best and most respected of our career Ambassadors."

This tendency of the CIA to become an autonomous undercover "State Department" using cloak-and-dagger methods instead of diplomacy can now be documented more fully from CIA's own boast. The *Saturday Evening Post* (Oct.

30, Nov. 6, Nov. 13) ran a three-part article, "The Mysterious Doings of CIA," an official portrait done with CIA's approval.

In this series the CIA takes credit for the overthrow of Arbenz in Guatemala, of Farouk in Egypt and of Mossadegh in Iran. This is "dollar diplomacy" in a new and more melodramatic guise, utilizing secret agents, sabotage and subvention instead of the Marines to overthrow governments we—or the CIA—dislike.

PLAYING WITH FIRE

Another activity which is neither diplomacy nor military intelligence is sabotage. "Besides its spy network and the open CIA function of research," the *Saturday Evening Post* reported, "the agency operates a super-clandestine third force—the top secret activity of aiding and abetting freedom forces where the patriotism of captive peoples may be fanned from a spark into action."

Or where even a handful of malcontents may be mobilized for lawless activity: "In another country, where the resistance movement is small but daring, a CIA agent dispatched a band of saboteurs to a trestle on the main Red rail supply line" and the bridge was blown up. When railroads are blown up, people are killed, property is damaged. This is war, carried on secretly in peacetime against countries with which we are at peace and have normal diplomatic relations. This is dirty and dangerous busi-

ness, a violation of international law, and of common morality.

Against this background it becomes possible fully to appreciate what Mansfield of Montana told the Senate last March 10 in calling for the establishment of a Joint Congressional Committee to act as a "watchdog" over CIA activities.

"We cannot permit CIA," Mansfield said, "any more than we can permit any government agency to have free reign to do anything it wants anywhere in the world. If its agents play carelessly with fire, the whole world might get burned."

The *Washington Star* of December 30, 1952, carried an article asserting that "the CIA established an intelligence service in the United States," though as we have seen it is forbidden to do this by law. Senator Mansfield cited the case of the two CIA agents who last year spread the false report that Owen Lattimore was about to flee the country and later refused to testify when subpoenaed. "Does this incident," Mansfield asked, "mean that the CIA is getting into the internal security field in competition with the FBI? Does it mean that officials of this government agency can defy the courts?"

How much of CIA's activity is devoted to blowing up bridges in Poland or watching radicals in America? Nobody knows. How effective is it at the job it is supposed to do—military intelligence? Nobody knows that either.

CIA claims the U. S. intelligence sys-

tem is second only to that of the USSR. "I do not know," Mansfield commented, "whether this is a boast of strength or a confession of weakness. Hanson Baldwin has reported that some observers believe it is actually not as effective, in terms of end results, as the British Secret Service with roughly 3,000 employees, or the Israeli service, with roughly 300." Mansfield said estimates of CIA's personnel run from 8,000 to 30,000, and its annual expenditures from \$500,000,000 to \$800,000,000. That is a lot of men and money to be used without supervision.

DANGEROUS MEN

A network of this kind, by miscalculation, could precipitate a third world war. Its control of intelligence gives it strategic power over policy decisions. Its blank check to act against communist influence everywhere may easily be used against any government which seems "communist" to American business interests. What happened in Guatemala could happen on a larger scale in Mexico. What happened in Egypt could happen on a larger scale in India. Any liberal, any radical, any neutralist may easily appear suspect in CIA's eyes.

Congress and the country ought to know more about the man who heads CIA and wields all this power. Allen W. Dulles, its chief, is much less well known than his brother, John Foster. But the former, like the latter, showed no such crusading liberationist zeal before the war when Fascism threatened to envelop the world. As a partner in Sullivan & Crowell and a director of the Anglo-German J. Henry Schroder Banking Corporation, Allen W. managed to co-exist quite peacefully with Fascism and Nazism. The Schroder bank helped Hitler obtain raw materials and foreign exchange with which to fight the world boycott. Another of its directors, V. Lada Mocariski, served with Dulles in the OSS during the war, operating out of Switzerland. How happy the German clientele of the Schroder bank must have been to have influential friends in both camps during the conflict. . . .

LONDON LETTER

Storm over '1984': BBC Puts It on Screen (No Ads)

By DAVID ALEXANDER

LONDON, Dec. 15—Last Sunday evening there appeared on our television a dramatized version of George Orwell's masterpiece "1984." The usual warning given by the BBC that the play was unsuitable for "young children and people of a nervous disposition" was broadcast beforehand.

Nigel Kneale had adapted the book very carefully, and Rudolf Cartier's production was a masterpiece, so that the full impact of the story was imparted to the play. At least 4,000,000 people saw it.

American readers will be aware of the story of "1984." Briefly, Winston Smith is a person of independent mind who revolts against the totalitarian system in Airstrip One (once known as London). He cannot bring himself to regard thought, love, feeling and sex as crimes. He is disgusted at the way 80 per cent of the population, "the proles," are kept in ignorance and filth; they are given pornographic literature to read, and plenty of liquor to dull their senses.

Winston Smith finds in Julia—the operator of a machine for writing pornographic novels—a kindred spirit, and they decide to go to O'Brien, whom they believe to support the ubiquitous Goldstein, running an underground campaign against Big Brother, the party leader. They tell O'Brien that they are prepared to do anything to bring about the overthrow of the regime. O'Brien turns out to be a loyal member of that regime, and they are imprisoned and tortured.

NOT JUST ANTI-STALINIST

The torture, particularly that in the infamous Room 101, is designed to make a person do and think whatever he is told without considering whether it is right or wrong. In the end Smith agrees that if the party says that two and two make five, it must be so, after his ordeal has forced him to betray Julia.

One cannot, of course, do justice to the plot in a couple of paragraphs but its significance to socialists is worthy of note.

Firstly, it is a sincere attack on to-

talitarianism of whatever brand. It uses Stalinist terminology, and its inspiration is clearly derived from Russia, with Stalin as "Big Brother" and Trotsky as "Goldstein." That many of the features, e.g., rewriting history, disrespect for the individual, worship of Big Brother, are features of modern Russia was obvious to every television viewer.

What perhaps was not so obvious was that the book showed the acme of totalitarian ideology as it could well develop in either Britain or America. The moral that thought was a crime might perhaps be taken to heart by certain diehard reactionaries.

Furthermore, the despoliation of the proletariat and its assumed degeneracy is an attitude which is so often seen among press barons and cinema producers today. This seems to me to be the most pointed part of the whole book.

As an example, you see "Pornosec" where a machine containing six basic plots juggles them around, and links up sentences to make cheap novels sold under convincingly violent names. A scene showing the degenerate "proles" in ruined houses in the "prole" quarter, drinking "Victory" beer, and reading this trash with avidity, was a bit caricatureish but nevertheless real.

PUBLIC STORM

It was, I think, for this reason that the Monday morning popular dailies, the *Daily Mirror* and *Daily Express* (4,000,000 circulation each), came out with a violent attack on the BBC for broadcasting the play, and tried to frighten them into not broadcasting the recording on Thursday. They felt it was going too near the bone to point out the degenerate nonsense for which they are so widely responsible in our times, the sex crimes, the fashionable parties, etc.

On the other hand, most newspapers, believing that viewers would only see the play at its most superficial level, thought it wonderful anti-Russian propaganda. The differing views were reflected in motions put down in Parliament yesterday.

One group of Tories put down a motion attacking the BBC for broadcasting a play of a "sadistic and violent nature." Another group took advantage to draw attention to the fact that when commercial television came, viewers could turn on to another program.

A number of Labor MPs, with one Tory, congratulated the BBC on producing an adult play, while others hailed it as anti-totalitarian propaganda.

Thousands of letters have been arriving at all newspaper offices, about equal numbers condemning and praising the play. The popular newspapers in their vendetta have drawn attention to, and published, only those attacking it. A break in their condemnation occurred when the *Daily Express*, still vituperating against the book, announced its intention of serializing it.

So far the BBC has reiterated its intention of repeating it, and this can only do good.

I am sure the ill-fated George Orwell would have been pleased to see the vogue which his ideas and books are at present enjoying, but would have been disappointed perhaps, at the lack of realization that they were not just anti-Stalinist propaganda.

HOLD OPEN

New Year's Eve

ISL-YSL PARTY

at

LABOR ACTION HALL

9:00 p.m. 114 W. 14th St.

Dynamics of the Revolution in Peru

From LA BATALLA

By RAMON COLLAR

To define the basic tasks of the Peruvian revolution, national liberation and agrarian reform, as bourgeois tasks historically, does not close the discussion but rather begins it. It remains to discuss the most important thing: Can the Peruvian bourgeoisie achieve its historic tasks, or will the proletariat have to be the one to complete these tasks after establishing its own rule?

In order to answer this decisive question, in order to determine the class character of the Peruvian revolution, it is essential to analyze the relations between the classes in Peru today.

The principal industries of our country, the extractive industries, are foreign property, mainly the property of North Americans. In 1946 the engineer Carlos del Solar wrote that "the mining of gold in Peru is the only important mining industry which can be considered to be the property of nationals." Copper, lead, zinc, vanadium, antimony, silver, bismuth and coal are Yankee property.

The International Petroleum Company, Standard Oil affiliate, takes out of the ground and refines around 90 per cent of the oil that is used in the country and exports the bigger part of its own production; the oil law approved by the Odría congress has handed over the oil fields of Peru to Standard Oil.

Likewise under foreign control, in whole or part, are cotton, textiles, sugar, and transportation by land, air and sea. The banks are controlled by Wall Street.

The Peruvian bourgeoisie, in a shaky state, totally dependent on imperialist capitalism, is incapable of rebelling against the master who drops the crumbs from the table upon which it lives. Even

aside from its own weakness, there are other factors which make it impossible for this bourgeoisie to adopt an anti-imperialist policy, let alone a consistent one.

BOURGEOISIE REACTIONARY

First, there is its class solidarity with the monopolistic bourgeoisie of the U. S., which, it knows, is the last-gap paladin of the capitalist system.

Secondly, and no less important, there is its fear of mobilizing the working masses. But without leaning on these masses, no colonial or semi-colonial bourgeoisie can dream of standing up to imperialism. But the Peruvian bourgeoisie is afraid to do so because it knows that the masses, hungering for liberty and revolutionary changes, will end by devouring it themselves.

Naturally, this does not mean that the Peruvian bourgeoisie has no interests contrary to those of imperialism, with respect to the exploitation of the Peruvian workers, the majority of whose surplus value it would like to swallow up; but it is one thing to beg imperialism for a bigger share of the booty, and it is another thing to join with the revolutionary workers to drive them out and liberate the nation.

The leadership of APRA, during the years from 1945 to 1948, was the most radical spokesman of the native bourgeoisie. Its politics of abject surrender to Wall Street and the State Department is a confirmation of much that has been said above. The leftism that has been shown most recently reflects much more the pressure of the popular base of APRA on its middle-stratum leaders than the interests and wishes of the Peruvian bourgeoisie.

After 25 years, the conclusion stated by Mariátegui [founder of Latin American Marxism] is more valid than ever: there is no progressive bourgeoisie in Peru.

DIVIDED MIDDLE CLASS

The middle class of the cities, in Peru, is markedly divided. On the one side, there are the prosperous merchants and high state functionaries, and on the other, the little storekeepers, white-collar employees, teachers, etc.

The poor urban petty-bourgeoisie is profoundly discontented with its position in society and with the present conditions of the country; the recent strikes of students and bank employees are symptomatic of its restlessness. The bourgeoisie, powerless to follow any policy independent of imperialism, offers it no way out.

But from this it does not follow automatically that the pauperized middle class of the cities has to ally itself with the proletariat. For this to take place, the proletariat must show that it is capable of putting forth a practical, realistic—i.e., revolutionary—program, different from the platitudes with which the APRA deceived the workers so long

(with the aid of the Communist Party).

The immense majority of the population of Peru is made up of the peasants. The day-laborers of the great landed estates of the coast are continually being assimilated into the working class, more and more; proof of this was the great strike wave of 1952. But the rest, that is, the overwhelming majority of the peasantry, vegetate in semi-serfdom and in the poverty of their microscopic-sized plots of ground. In spite of their dispersion and backwardness, the Peruvian peasants have a long tradition of rebellious struggle; their native uprisings, frequent during colonial days, did not cease during the Republic.

INDIAN PEASANTS

The Peruvian peasants, in their great majority, are of the Indian race. A big percentage speak Keswa or Aymara and do not know Spanish; the rest speak Spanish occasionally but remain faithful to the language of the Incas. On top of their economic oppression as agricultural workers is added national oppression as Indians, and this is shown by their lack of equality in rights with the rest of the people, by the discrimination which is practised against them in the cities (Lima, above all), and by the infinite kinds of oppression which add their status as "inferior race" to their exploited condition as workers.

The semi-serf workers of the Sierra, the despoiled commons, the tenants oppressed by feudal corvées, the small landholders crushed by debt and threatened by mortgage foreclosure—all of these want the land and aspire to equality with other Peruvians.

The working class, which by its own aims is interested in the abolition of the bourgeois state, is the only one that can formulate the program of the agrarian revolution and organize the spontaneous peasant uprising; for the landlords are as much the enemies of the workers as of the peasants. As a minority class, the workers need the alliance of the great peasant majority in order to consolidate victory.

We will not stop to explain here why the proletariat is the revolutionary class of present-day society. Discussion with those who deny it is not interesting.

Twenty-five years ago, Haya de la Torre [APRA leader] could deny the capacity of the Peruvian working class to lead the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution. Today, after the irremediable and shameful collapse of the Aprista leadership in the period 1945-48, especially after the new rise of the mass movement under the leadership of the proletariat which began in August 1952, after the massive strikes of the last 18 months, the only ones who can still talk that way are the fossils of the Aprista right wing and the leftists of the Seone type.

History has concluded the polemic between Mariátegui and Haya de la Torre: the Peruvian revolution will triumph as a working class revolution or it will never triumph.

Rightist Emigre Congress Has a Little Plan to Solve It All

The right-wing émigrés from Stalinism in East Europe—the representatives of the preceding capitalist regimes who are still hoping to bring the old system of exploitation back on the gun carriages of the American army—held an "Assembly of Captive European Nations" in New York and came up with a modest proposal.

All they want is for the UN to declare war on Russia right now, or at least day after tomorrow.

Apparently they were perfectly serious in this appeal, which is to be officially conveyed to Washington by a roster of dignitaries-in-exile.

Some harsh words have to be said, and they can best be said by Independent Socialists who support any genuinely democratic movement of underground resistance and struggle against the Stalinist dictatorships in East Europe—rather than by the Stalinist apologists who are sure to make hay out of the brashness of the capitalist-restorationist warmongers.

Some headlines we saw merely spotlighted the call of these bourgeois politicians-on-ice for ending recognition of the East European satellite governments. But even this proposal was only the first of three, all absolutely logical conclusions therefrom.

Point 2, the exiles laid down, was that the UN recognize that these peoples were "without legitimate governments" and asked for "free and unfettered elections" under UN conditions.

The last and climactic point was that if any government prevented realization of the first two points, it should be declared an aggressor by the UN. (And of course we all know how they expect the UN to reply to aggression.)

Thus these émigré powers-that-were would be spared the inconvenience and annoyance of having to organize their own people to throw off the Stalinist oppression. Those democratic H-bombs would do it for them, after which they would be restored to the pomp and panoply of office with the accompanying emoluments thereof.

"ATTACK US, PLEASE"

These are men completely cut off from any real contact with, or possibility of real contact with, revolutionary anti-Stalinist masses.

They are calling on a foreign foe to make war on their own country. It is of thing to organize revolution against despotic rule. It is another thing, as substitute for revolution (of which these gentry have never been very fond), to invite a foreign country to drop A-bombs and H-bombs on one's own people—and as everyone knows now directly from NATO, this is the American method of "liberation."

Even after the experience of the Second World War, the peoples of the Continent—the French and Germans, for example—have been shouting aloud that they don't look forward happily to being "liberated" again. We do not believe that the East European peoples look with anything but fear on the warmongering preparations of their own governments, subservient to Moscow. But we also do not believe that they look with anything but hatred and fear on those others who wish to attack their lands.

Let any American try the situation on himself in his own imagination. The Eastern European peoples are not panting for the restoration of capitalism, much as they hate the Stalinist totalitarianism, and they are not panting for emancipatory hydrogen atoms blessed by the counter-revolutionary has-beens who pose as the representatives of the struggle against Stalinism.

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Gov't Proposes Disguised UMT Program To Push the Militarization of Youth

By MAX MARTIN

Secretary of Defense Charles E. Wilson has announced the Eisenhower administration's program for military training in a formal proposal which will be submitted to Congress when it convenes in January. The new military manpower system—in effect, a form of Universal Military Training—will “train all fit young men for the armed services and provide a reserve of 5,000,000 trained men by 1959.”

The system involves a twofold aspect: for some, a six-month training period followed by nine and a half years in the Reserve; for others, a two-year draft into the regular armed forces followed by six years in the Reserve. Young men reaching the age of 17 will be able to choose between these alternatives.

The adoption of this system would signal a victory for those who have long agitated for Universal Military Training in peacetime, involving, as it does, a form of UMT with certain disguises designed to overcome the reluctance of some legislators.

The brass, the American Legion, and other reactionary, “patriotic” groups and movements have been fighting for UMT with great vigor since the Second World War. All proposals for it have, however, heretofore been defeated. This past summer (see *Challenge* of August 9), the administration announced that it would introduce some proposals relating to military training for American youth.

The Selective Service Act now in effect expires in June of 1955. The question before was: “What would the administration propose in its place?” Long-time advocates of UMT had been suggesting that a military-training program be proposed and the draft proper be extended in addition.

The stumbling-block in the way of this program in the resistance which UMT in peacetime would be sure to arouse. A possible extension of the draft, on the other hand, would provoke much less opposition, since the “provisional, emergency” nature of the draft, and the argument that while the United States is not really at war, technically it still is so, could satisfy those representatives and senators who still boggle at the idea of

Universal Military Training in permanence for American young men.

WHAT THEY COUNT ON

The Eisenhower program combines a military-training system with the draft into one package, undoubtedly on the calculation that this would make the adoption of the military training feature easier.

As the *New York Times* put it: “Administration officials believe, however, that most of the objections raised in the past [to UMT] have been met in the proposed plan.”

The administration undoubtedly also counts on the fact that the training period will be for only six months to gain it additional support. Military spokesmen have explained that while in the past they deemed a year's training as the minimum necessary, they are now quite ready to accept a six-month period. They state that under the stepped-up training program which the army will introduce, six months will be adequate, and will enable the army to form combat-ready units out of men trained under this program in four to six months after the outbreak of a big war, or of a “police action.”

Furthermore, the program will be presented to Congress with the request that it be enacted for a four-year period. Advocates of UMT will therefore be able to claim that this program is not a proposal for a permanent system of UMT, but rather a military manpower system designed to meet the present “emergency.”

But who can doubt that four years from now, the proposal will be made to extend the act and even perhaps to write the feature of permanency into it, regardless of the state of international tension at that time?

Under provisions of the program a young man choosing the training option will have the “advantage” of having to

spend only six months away from home instead of the two years which face those who choose to be drafted. This will undoubtedly make the military training alternative seem more attractive to hundreds of thousands of youth despite the fact that draftees will, considering the reserve provisions of the two aspects of the program, have two years less of their lives spent under the control of the military, and despite the benefits of the GI Bill of Rights, which draftees will get unlike those who take military training.

PRESSURE IS ON

Thus the pressure is poured on to assure a steady stream of young men into the training program while the formally “voluntary” nature of it is preserved, and those who oppose UMT can be lulled into believing that this is not really it.

The system proposed by the Defense Department also involves the integration of the National Guard into the system. Up until now, enlistees in the National Guard were exempt from the draft by maintaining their attendance at weekly drills and summer period encampments each year.

Now those who join the guard will ultimately have to go through either the six-month training period or spend two years in the armed forces, just like those who do not. All young men, therefore, face the prospect of either eight or ten years in the army, depending on the system they choose.

On the day following the announcement of this new proposal, Wilson informed newsmen that manpower cuts in the armed forces would be instituted with the aim of reducing their strength by some 400,000 by mid-1956. Draft calls will be cut in half starting in February 1955.

The Defense Department gave two reasons for these reductions; it explained them on the basis of the new military strategy which calls for greater emphasis on air power, rather than on ground forces, and also on the decrease in the threat of global war at this time. While these considerations are undoubtedly part of the picture, the decision to cut the size of the armed forces must surely

also reflect the confidence that the administration feels that its program will be adopted and thereby ensure a large pool of trained men in the reserve to offset the decrease in the actual forces under arms.

Thus a long, long step toward the permanent institutionalization of the garrison state looms before the country. Its results would be the placement of all able-bodied young men at the disposal of the military for long and extremely important parts of their lives. The prestige and power of the military brass would be increased enormously and the process of the militarization of all walks of life which has been going on since the Second World War would take a large leap forward.

DON'T BE TAKEN IN

Fortunately, the administration program is not yet law. The possibility of defeating it exists.

There still persists in this country strong opposition to UMT; it is an area in which the anti-militarist tradition in American life retains some force. The labor movement, which accepts almost all aspects of the government's plans and institutions for the cold war, still hesitates before this one. The same is also true of large numbers of liberals and even some conservatives. There also exists a reactionary opposition to UMT stemming from the isolationist “America-First” circles of the thirties.

The labor movement and liberals may still be gotten to rally against this latest proposal for UMT. Such opposition will depend upon the degree of understanding of the true nature of the administration program.

The danger that the traditional opponents of military training will be taken in by the deceptive nature of this program is a great one. The desire to be “taken in” will undoubtedly exist in many and will cause them to close their eyes to the realities involved. Those who understand these realities have the task of shedding light on those whose propaganda is aimed at confusing the country about this proposal, and for those who have tendencies to be confused.

The Boys Were Puerto Ricans, So Six Months in Jail . . .

By PRISCILLA CADY

We are properly gratified by a story we read in the *N. Y. Post* of December 13 about two Puerto Rican youths in New York who, after being held in prison for six months (being unable to procure a high bail), pending trial on a charge of rape or attempted rape, were found to be innocent of the charge, and by the assistant district attorney at that.

This estimable gentleman, after hearing the open-and-shut case against them—that is, hearing that a woman, a real American, had accused the boys) both—both to take time out from his family and Boy Scout activities—he seems to be a voluntary functionary for the Boy Scouts—to dig deeper into the matter. Apparently this is not considered part of the regular duties of a man sworn to uphold truth and justice.

Digging deeper consisted of interviewing a witness whose name had already been taken down by the police and then forgotten. (It was an open and shut case, after all—the accused were Puerto Ricans, weren't they?)

The witness, a thoroughly respectable gentleman, shed entirely new light

on the case, however, when he testified that the accusing woman had been drunk and had tried to seduce him; failing this, she had approached the two youths, who were more susceptible. She walked with them into the park and then, for reasons of her own, called the cops. When confronted with the evidence, the lady (the real American) confessed to a lie, upon which the judge declared her previous evidence to be a scandal upon the courts.

We liked that. It showed that a judge can achieve a degree of righteous indignation when an injustice is uncovered.

But there is doubt about what will be done for the proper protection of prisoners who not only lack funds but the ability to speak English, other than the kindly whim of an assistant DA. What if he had decided that his Boy Scout duties were more pressing?

Ah, well, it's a kindly world when an influential man stoops to aid the lowly, and we shall not quibble.

The *Post* also takes pains to reassure us that one of the youths (it does not mention the other's reaction) is “not bitter” over his six months' false imprisonment. We'd be bitter. As a matter of fact, we are bitter.

Resolutions of the Socialist Youth International

We print below for the information of Challenge readers some of the resolutions on international questions adopted by the International Union of Socialist Youth, at its Fourth Congress, held in Copenhagen on October 29-November 1. We are certain that they will be of interest.—Ed.

CHINA AND FORMOSA

This Fourth Congress of IUSY, recognizing the Peking government as the effective government of China, and deploring the association of Chiang Kai-shek with the Western democracies, (1) claims the admission of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations; (2) considers that the problem of Formosa is an international matter and, wishing to avoid an international conflict, asks: (a) the dissolution under international control of the Nationalist army, wherever it may be, especially in Burma; (b) the right to self-determination for the people of Formosa and a guarantee of independence by all powers concerned.

TO EAST EUROPE'S YOUTH

The Fourth Congress of IUSY sends its most hearty greetings to the youth in the countries oppressed by Soviet Rus-

sia; expresses its solidarity with the socialist youth of the Soviet-dominated countries fighting for national independence, political freedom and social justice; sends a message of deepest sympathy to the young socialists in Communist prisons and concentration camps and demands the release of Anna Kethly and other fighters for democracy and socialism; considers that only the restitution of national independence to all oppressed peoples, together with political and economic democracy can assure world peace and real security; and assures the youth of the oppressed peoples that IUSY will never stop fighting political and national oppression and economic exploitation of all kinds until the final victory of democratic socialism throughout the world.

LATIN AMERICA

The Fourth Congress of IUSY states that a policy negative to democracy continues in the countries of Latin America, characterized by the abolishment of democratic governments and their substitution by dictatorships or semi-dictatorships, and that the root of this policy can be found in U. S. pressure growing stronger every day in the political life

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The fullest listing is by SUBJECT. Names and personalities mentioned in articles are usually not listed separately except sometimes when the article is primarily about the given person.

Entries relating to foreign countries or places are listed under the name of that country or place, and not necessarily under any other subject heading.

Trade-union articles are listed under the name of the occupation, e.g., Auto Workers, Steel Workers.

Entries are separated by periods; but successive related entries are separated by semi-colons to so indicate. In some cases, related entries are grouped under boldface subheadings.

ABBREVIATIONS

L—Letter to the editor.
BR—Book review.
Disc—Discussion.
Edit—Editorial.

CHALLENGE INDEX

In future indexes, we will endeavor to work out a more distinct listing of articles in the *Young Socialist Challenge* section. In the present index, all articles are listed together. In looking up *Challenge* articles, however, it will be helpful to keep the following in mind:

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Socialist Youth International — —

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of this part of the world and in the direct use of Spanish influence which, under cover of the so-called "Hispanism," introduces Falangist theories and specialists in repression.

IUSY fights side by side with the oppressed peoples and will develop action so that the Latin American countries can progress toward economic prosperity and social development; condemns the violent action of the Peron police against the Argentine students, whom IUSY will support in the defense of their rights; and extends fraternal greetings to the young socialists of the various Latin American countries—especially to those in Uruguay—expressing its desire for sincere and close collaboration for our common ideal.

THE FIGHT AGAINST FRANCO

The Fourth Congress of IUSY greets the Spanish democrats and expresses its feeling of solidarity with their struggle against the tyrannic regime of Franco; greets with emotion all those who in Spain work actively for the restoration of democratic liberties and have courageously and heroically joined the clandestine struggle; pays homage to all victims of the Franco regime and condemns all help, whatever it may be, given to the dictator, because it contributes to upholding Franco-Falangism.

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The Young Socialist League is a democratic socialist organization striving to aid in the basic transformation of this society into one where the means of production and distribution shall be collectively owned and democratically managed. The YSL attempts to make the young workers and students, who form its arena of activity, conscious of the need for organization directed against capitalism and Stalinism.

The YSL rejects the concept that state ownership without democratic controls represents socialism; or that socialism can be achieved without political democracy, or through undemocratic means, or in short in any way other than the conscious active participation of the people themselves in the building of the new social order. The YSL orients toward the working class, as the class which is capable of leading society to the establishment of socialism.

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The ISL Program in Brief

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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