

LABOR ACTION

A Review

Djilas on "The New Class"

... page 1

ANTI-SEMITIC TREND STRENGTHENED
BY KHRUSHCHEV PURGE

... page 4

REPORT ON ALGERIAN TRADE UNIONS

... page 6

August 26, 1957

TEN CENTS

Reuther's Wage-Price Proposal Puts Auto Industry On the Spot

The United Auto Workers Union has put the Big Three auto companies in an inextricable position. For a long time, the steel and auto employers have blamed price increases upon the union. Now, in preparation for its 1958 negotiations the UAW begins by offering to cooperate with the owners to cut prices of cars by \$100 just when the companies are contemplating an increase for 1958. If not for the union, the usual, even customary, annual rise would have been inevitable. But can they do it now? Not without outraging public opinion.

It is true that President Walter Reuther advances his latest proposal in the name of the "joint responsibilities" of labor and management; it is also true that he presumes to "find a way to raise collective bargaining above the level of a struggle between competing economic pressure groups." This is somewhat misleading.

What is actually taking place is a social conflict between organized labor and their employers over the right to set prices. In its own way, the UAW in the interests of the community is demanding a voice for labor in the setting of price levels. Its latest demand revives in a far more immediate and concrete manner, the big demands of the famous GM strike of 1945-6: Open the Books! and Wage Increases without Price Increases.

OPEN THE BOOKS

The crux of the issue is this: the UAW asks that the companies begin by agreeing to cut car prices. The union, on its side will agree to take this cut into account and will agree to adjust its demands to it. Further, if the companies can demonstrate that any given demand will make the price cut impossible or make "reasonable" profits impossible, the union will modify its demands.

Both sides are on record for the "free enterprise" system, better called in this connection the "profit system." Each wants only "reasonable" profits, or so they proclaim. But what are reasonable profits? There is the rub.

On one side is an opinion formed by those who receive profits: the employers. On the other side, however, is the opinion of those who create profits, not for them-

selves but for the owners: the organized labor movement. No wonder that their estimates of what is reasonable inevitably differs.

The union asks "only" that the companies prove their case. If any automobile company contends that it cannot meet the union's demands, cut prices, and still make a "reasonable" profit; and if the union contests its claim, Reuther proposes to submit this difference of opinion to public scrutiny.

He proposes further that a three cornered panel: one from the union, one from management, and one prominent citizen acceptable to both look into all the facts: the companies would present their figures on costs, profits, prices and all related matters. The union would do the same; the panel's findings would be made public and then collective bargaining would be resumed.

"The UAW has no power to set prices in the automotive industry. Price decisions are in the exclusive hands of management and are zealously guarded as 'management prerogatives.' Under these circumstances there are obvious limits to what we can do as a union to combat

(Continued on page 2)

THE NEW CLASS

Djilas Dissects Stalinism

By MAX MARTIN

The appearance of Milovan Djilas' book on Communism constitutes a political event of enormous importance.

This fact has been underlined, on the one hand, by the attacks which have been directed against *The New Class* in Belgrade and Moscow, and on the other, by the enthusiastic and excited reception accorded it in the United States.

The Yugoslav and Russian rulers regard it as a danger to themselves and to their rule. In much of the Communist world, including Russia and China, there currently exists a widespread ferment among intellectuals and students, as one aspect of the whole course of development in Communist countries since the Twentieth Congress. The impact of the ideas presented by Djilas on this ferment—in one way or another, his views will achieve circulation in the Communist lands—is correctly feared in Belgrade and Moscow.

It is for precisely these reasons that Djilas' book has received the kind of welcome given it by American journalists and political analysts. The American press is interested in *The New Class* not so much from scientific concern, as from its hope that it will be a weapon utilizable by Washington in its struggle with Moscow. In thus regarding it, *Life* and the *N.Y. Times* testify to a recognition, on some level or other, of the political facts of life.

Reactionary diatribes against "Godless Communism" may go over well in the United States, given the conservative, know-nothing atmosphere which by and large prevails in this country today. But only a serious attempt to grapple with Stalinism as a social phenomenon can make an impress on those in Europe and Asia to whom Communism has been able to appeal.

From an entirely different standpoint, but with regard to the same problem, socialists will regard *The New Class* as an event of great value and significance. Over and beyond its worth as a scientific analysis of

(Continued on page 3)

Negroes on March But—

Liberals Run from Civil Rights Battle

By SAM BOTTONE

Against a national background of increasing racial tensions in the North as well as in the South, Congress is engaged in the cynical game of seeing whether the Democrats or the Republicans will get the most political advantage out of the civil rights struggle.

With the possible exception of the racist Southern Democrats, it would be hard to find men of principle. There are only varying degrees of opportunistic politicians ready to trade off the most elementary rights of the Negro people for Presidential ambition, regional economic advantages or spurious party unity.

The inability of Congress to enact a law which at the very minimum provides for an enforceable means of protecting the voting rights of Negro citizen has long since become a national disgrace.

The protection of the democratic rights of Negroes in the South, and it also involves the rights of white Southerners who have been terrorized into silence,

is being dealt with as if it were all a question of a loaf of bread. The Congressmen, all of whom are in full possession of their rights and many privileges too, act as if they were in a bakery shop. At stake for them, it would appear, is whether they shall buy a whole loaf, a half a loaf, a few slices or sweep up a few crumbs—and not a question of human dignity for a people.

There was not one liberal Congressman who was ready to stand and speak for the conscience of America. Not one who was ready to become the spokesman of the crying needs of the Negro people for justice. Not one who was ready to stand up to expose and denounce the shameful emasculation of the civil rights bill. Instead they have receded into the background under the cover of the need to preserve party unity with the Southern reactionaries.

It is almost as if a gigantic farce is being enacted in Washington when the spokesman for a strong civil rights bill come from Republican minority leaders in Congress, Representative Martin and Senator Knowland. Standing in opposition and calling for a weak and compromised bill are the Democratic Congressional liberals in firm alliance with the racist wing of their party.

Up until the 1956 election returns came in, nothing short of an atomic blast could pry loose the Republicans from their alliance with the Dixiecrats which for many years block any consideration of any civil rights legislation. While up until the moment when a civil rights bill became a real possibility, the Northern liberal Democrats liked to picture themselves as straining at the leash and calling upon the Republicans to join forces on this issue.

DIXIECRATS IN CONTROL

But when the moment of decision arrived, the liberals were found to be a weak ineffective and unprincipled minority within their party. Decisive control of the Democratic party in Congress is in the hands of the Southern minority, which by the judicious use of the filibuster threat has effectively muzzled, if not destroyed the liberal conscience.

Starting from a position of maximum strength the supporters of civil rights, especially the liberals, have managed to get maneuvered into a position of maximum weakness. When the Congressional Republicans indicated that they were going to vote for the Administration's

(Turn to last page)

Labor Action FORUM New York

Thursday, August 29

THE NEW CLASS

by

Milovan Djilas

Review and Discussion by

Max Martin

National Secretary
Young Socialist League

8:30 p.m. at L. A. Hall, 134 West 14 Street, N. Y. C.

IN U.S. AUTO CENTER:

Storm Clouds Gather As Unemployment Mounts

By JACK WILSON

Detroit, August 11

As unemployment here climbed over the 115,000 mark, federal government officials designated Detroit as a distressed labor area. And in truth labor here is distressed in more ways than one.

It was, for example, just a year and a half ago that David Macdonald, president of the United Steel Workers, came here to proclaim the new agreement with Great Lakes steel, covering over 12,000 workers, as the beginning of a new partnership between capital and labor. At the moment, the plant is shut down, following a seven day wild-cat strike, now turned into a lockout. More than 1,200 grievances are unresolved, according to the local union president, not to mention the fact that the corporation fired 117 workers two weeks ago. The New Epoch, a unique contribution of successful American capitalism, didn't last very long.

UNEMPLOYMENT SOARS

Detroit's largest single employer, Chrysler corporation, likewise had its quota of wild-cat strikes in recent weeks. Behind the trivial incidents that caused each shutdown is a basic reason: fear of job loss. For Detroit is plagued by three inexorable processes: automation, decentralization and inflation.

Governor G. Mennen Williams urges a definitive study of industrial employment trends here. The trend is downward. Senator Charles Potter does the same in Washington. These are gestures, not serious efforts. All that either of them had to do is call General Motors, Ford or Chrysler. These industrial giants know exactly how many men they have eliminated by automation. They know how big their decentralization plans are. They know how much price increases in auto will affect the economy. Only they aren't talking.

Besides the 24,000 Chrysler workers not rehired after the fancy 1957 models were introduced (the corporation used overtime to make up for lack of some second shifts) another 15,000 Chrysler jobs will disappear between current model changeovers as the Newark, Delaware plant opens to assemble Plymouths and Dodges; as motor shop operations are shifted to a more modern plant, and the best automated stamping plant in America opens in Twinsburgh, Ohio.

Giant auto plants like Hudson and Packard are ghost factories. Out-moded Chrysler plants join this graveyard. Soon 100,000 seniority workers of the auto industry will be permanently out of jobs, a very disquieting phenomenon. The smaller graves are parts plants or small businessmen's bankrupt stores, a sight that looms ugly and large especially on the East side of Detroit.

ECONOMIC RECESSION

Meanwhile, J. L. Hudson opens the brilliant "Eastland," superior in many respects to "Northland," the big shopping center that received so much nationwide publicity. How many more small merchants will fall by the wayside in this process no one knows, but it will be plenty.

In the context of this economic recession—and that is what Detroit is having again for the fifth time since world war II—the strangest restraint marks the political scene, and the activities of the labor movement.

Where else in America could a testimonial dinner be held right now honoring James Hoffa, at which the mayor signs high praise of Hoffa, including the Republican theme that he is less dangerous than Walter P. Reuther.

What could be more painful than the spectacle of the UAW endorsing Louis Miriani for mayor at the Wayne County convention held this week end. Miriani

had been one of the honored guests at the Hoffa dinner. Mayor Ocobo is retiring and Miriani has the nod of the Chamber of Commerce, the real estate boards, the AFL, and last and perhaps least, the CIO. Until this week, the story was that Miriani had become a changed man (he had been opposed in other years by the CIO.) His appearance at the Hoffa dinner shattered that myth.

The Wayne County convention of the CIO fulminated, not at Miriani, but at Hoffa. He's blocking unity in Michigan, which is a true charge, he is a disgrace to labor, which is also true. And, he has a better in with Miriani, who is a cinch to be mayor this fall, for there is no candidate of any stature against him. Incidentally, some cynics insist that the CIO policy is simply the maxim, "if you can't beat em, join 'em."

The one candidate in whom the CIO has a special stake, Ed Carey, a UAW leader who is also minority leader in the state legislature, is having hard sledding, and not the least reason is the money and influence that Hoffa is using against him; for Carey is now on the UAW staff, and this makes him poison to the AFL, whose dominant figure is Hoffa.

FRIENDLY TO HOFFA

Unbelievable as it may seem, in view of the sensational headlines and stories from the New York hearings, Detroit papers are still playing it kind to Hoffa. Only today there is an excellent public relations job done in the Detroit Free Press for Hoffa.

It was announced that 176,000 retired truck drivers are now getting \$90 a month in pensions beginning at the age of 60. The usual quota of sad stories, sympathetic quotations from retirees, etc. is carried along with a nice big picture of Hoffa, a real labor leader!

As if to add to this topsy-turvy world, as it exists in Detroit, there has been not a peep let alone a major rally of labor in behalf of the civil rights struggle going on in Washington, which is being following excitedly by the huge Negro community here.

But this is surely the lull before the storm, for the coming municipal elections are bound to project all the explosive issues of economic insecurity, unemployment, racketeering in the union movement, and the acute crisis in the civil rights battle, for these are not controllable events or issues. They may be gingerly handled at union gatherings, or conferences. In life they are too sharp and raw to escape attention.

Reuther's Proposal—

(Continued from page 1)

On the other side, however, is the opinion of those who create profits, not for themselves.

So reads Reuther's letter. The union demands that the companies right to set prices unilaterally be curbed by the power of public opinion fully informed.

The press and company reaction to the UAW proposal are what might be expected. They cannot openly oppose the proposal so they give it faint praise but raise objections to all the concrete details. In short they recognize that it puts the auto industry on the spot.

The N. Y. Times in its editorial of August 21 will perhaps be typical:

"We applaud Mr. Reuther's avowed aim of stabilizing prices. But the burden of the sacrifices involved in his proposals are far from equal. The most the union would have to do is to reduce its demands for increased wages, while the companies are asked, to reduce their next year's income. And the union wouldn't even have to cut its demand if the panel should find that the companies' profits are unreasonable.

"An automobile company can hardly be expected to want the reasonableness of

BOOKS AND IDEAS

What Happens When Intellectuals And the Labor Unions Unite

INTELLECTUALS IN LABOR UNIONS—

by Harold L. Wilensky.
Free Press, Glencoe Ill.
\$6.00.

By BEN HALL

This is a book on a fascinating topic. The author teaches sociology at the University of Michigan and has held staff jobs in unions:

He writes about intellectuals in labor unions. As intellectuals, one would imagine, they are or should be concerned with the labor movement in its deepest meaning, its affect upon society, its potential for full democracy.

This labor movement combines two clashing aspects. As a movement which organizes the majority of industrial workers, it opens up a vision of "social liberation," however defined. On the other hand, it gets bogged down in trivia and self-defeating opportunism; it becomes bureaucratic; it remains narrow in outlook.

What happens when the intellectual and the labor unions are brought together? How is each affected by the other? How is the outlook of the intellectual affected by the labor movement and how can he make his contribution to it? Any serious discussion of these questions would be illuminating, particularly if it revolved around the labor movement as it arises concretely and uniquely.

SOCIOLOGICAL EXPERTISE

Wilensky contacted or interviewed 250 people in and around 39 large unions. He concentrates his attention upon 156 top staff experts in 28 unions.

Unfortunately, his account quickly gets burdened down with sociological expertise. As he categorizes the labor intellectual, dissects, organizes them into charts and tables, the treatment gets so heavy that we lose sight of what is really interesting. The labor movement, like other popular organizations stands out in this: trends to bureaucracy exist side by side with trends to democracy; which dominates which at any moment is determined by a complex of changing social and political forces. Wilensky however discusses the unions not in their own right but as another example of large scale social organization. Thus, we get caught up in an abstraction and never quite get free.

The author defines "intellectual" broadly, including all the hired staff experts; the intellectual, properly so-

called, slips out of sight. He concentrates, too, on the relationship between the staff man and the union official; thus, the bond between the intellectual and the movement is minimized.

Nevertheless, these basic shortcomings are offset somewhat by many little anecdotes and scattered insight into odds and ends. One example, of particular interest to Labor Action readers, touches on the problem of recruiting staff men to the unions:

RECRUITING UNION STAFFS

"Several top officials note the drying up of some old sources of union staff people—the labor schools such as Brookwood Labor College (which in its dozen years turned out scores of men who moved into union jobs, both elective and appointive), the Rand School, Commonwealth College, etc.; the radical youth groups or political parties (ex-YPSL's for instance, constitute a large number of my sample of staff experts); various units of the workers education movement on the periphery of the labor movement (American Labor Education Service, the WPA Workers Education Service, the Wisconsin School for Workers, Hudson Shore Labor School, etc.). Fifteen years ago, young men drawn from these sources would go to work for a union with much enthusiasm and little pay. Today, the top officers say they are not so sure they can depend upon 'idealism' to attract and keep either their staff experts or their line officials. A hint of things to come is seen in advertisements recently run by the ILGWU-AFL: 'Trade Union Career with Position Guaranteed. Free tuition. The ILGWU Training Institute offers an opportunity to men and women interested in making service to the trade-union movement their life work. . . . Applicants must be in the 21-35 age group. All students completing the years work are guaranteed a position with the ILGWU. . . . Act Now!' This training institute, established in its 50th year by a union once staffed largely from the ranks of the socialist movement, aims to train future organizers, business agents, managers, officers as well as staff experts." One union functionary commented, "The Training School is the modern equivalent of the YPSL and of course more . . . orderly and fair."

LABOR INTELLECTUALS

The writer unwittingly stumbles upon something deeper. The role of intellectuals in unions is bound up with socialism in the labor movement. Where the socialist movement is strong and influential, the intellectual is able to make a contribution through it to the unions; where socialism is weak, as today, the union and its staff are deprived of a source of idealism and inspiration. But the author passes over this whole line of inquiry.

This emerges clearly: The intellectual, or the staff expert, is restricted primarily to service as the hired hand of the top officials, carrying out the latter's decisions and decrees. He may modify or influence the course of the official but only in minor aspects or in non-essentials.

As the author says, ". . . the staff expert typically has consistent, sustained, high influence on problems that the top officers see as far from the core function of their union. High influence, yes. Leeway and discretion in initiating policy proposals, yes. But on matters that don't count in the eyes of the boss."

LABOR ACTION • 18th YEAR

August 26, 1957

Vol. 21, No. 31

Published every other week by Labor Action Publishing Company, 114 West 14th Street, New York 11, N. Y.—Telephone WATKINS 4-4222—Re-entered as second-class matter July 26, 1957 under the act of March 3, 1874.—Subscription: \$2 a year; \$1 for 6 months.—Opinions and policies expressed in signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent the views of Labor Action, which are given in editorial statements.

Editor: GORDON HASKELL
Assoc. Editor: HERMAN BENSON
Business Manager: Mel Stack

GORDON HASKELL
HERMAN BENSON

Editorial Board:
MAX MARTIN
SAM BOTTONE

Djilas Dissects Stalinism—

(Continued from page 1)

the Communist system, which though considerable is marred by a number of weaknesses, its import resides in its *symbolic value*, in its meaning as a political event, in the effect that it can have on political thought. A number of circumstances combine to ensure it this significance.

Many books which criticize or condemn Communism roll off the presses each year. But this is the first instance of such a work from someone who comes from within the ruling Stalinist world itself, from a member of the Stalinist generation of Communism who achieved extremely high status and authority within the Communist movement in his country and internationally, and within a Communist regime.

The number of leading Communist figures who have broken with the Communist system is small. These include various Hungarians, among them Nagy, but none of these has had the opportunity to write a critique of the system to which they once gave allegiance. Djilas' book represents, then, the first analysis of Communism from a former leading Stalinist bureaucrat, and thus presents an index to some of the thinking present in Communist society about the social system.

Communism from the Inside

Djilas tries to present "as complete . . . a picture as possible of contemporary Communism." Although his work is deficient in a number of respects; it attempts to grapple with Communism in a sociological fashion, it attempts to see it as a social system; it aims at presenting a coherent view about the phenomenon it treats. This stands in marked contrast to the overwhelming bulk of the material which is produced about Russia and Communism. Moreover, it is such an effort by one whose insights are derived from *inside*.

Djilas' work appears at an extremely propitious moment. The events of the last year and a half, most markedly signalized by the Twentieth Congress and the Hungarian Revolution have caused the most radical intellectual turmoil among Communists, both in countries where the CP rules and in those in which it does not. There has been more discussion of the "Russian Question" both in the Communist movement and in radical and socialist circles during this period than in the decades preceding it.

The New Class is bound to have a fertilizing effect on this discussion, not merely because of the stature of its author, but also because of the circumstances surrounding its publication. Given the fact that Djilas sits in Tito's prison because of his courageous call for democracy in Yugoslavia, and given the dramatic smuggling of his work out of Yugoslavia, Djilas' book will receive widespread attention and his views will undoubtedly receive a respectful hearing from those breaking with Communism throughout the world.

And finally, its value lies in the quality of the views it sets forth. Djilas firmly rejects the notion that the Communist countries are socialist, or progressive, and characterizes them as lands in which a new, reactionary social system holds sway, with a new ruling class exploiting the people. This view is, of course, not novel, having been maintained for a long time now by small groups of socialists, and being most firmly associated with the Independent Socialist League. Its injection into the public consciousness by a figure like Djilas, at the present time, moreover, means raising the political level of thinking about Communism in significantly wider circles than the ISL and others like it have been able to reach and of bringing greater clarity to that thinking.

A New Exploitative Class

Above all, it forcefully presents one essential idea indispensable for an understanding of Russia and of Stalinism: *that it constitutes a new social system ruled by a reactionary exploiting ruling class, which has nothing in common with socialism.*

Although the book has been widely hailed as a systematic theory about Communism, and even though it does approach its subject as an attempt to grapple with it theoretically, the book is not *exactly* that. In his preface, Djilas explains that he could have written this work as either history, theory, or memoir, and that while a little of each may be found in it, it actually sets out to present a "picture" of Communist society. "My aim," he writes, "has been to present a picture of the Communist world but not to philosophize about it by means of generalization . . ."

At the heart of the picture of the Communist social system presented by Djilas lies the fact that a new class has arisen which through the form of collective ownership "owns" and controls the means of production through its monopoly of administrative and political power. The bureaucracy, he explains, ". . . formally uses, administers and controls both nationalized and socialized property as well as the entire life of society." Its "monopolistic administration and control of national income and national goods consigns it to a special privileged position."

"The Communist political bureaucracy uses, enjoys and disposes of nationalized property. . . . In practice, the ownership privilege of the new class manifests it-

self as an exclusive right, as a party monopoly, for the political bureaucracy to distribute national income, to set wages, direct economic development, and dispose of nationalized and other property. This is the way it appears to the ordinary man who considers the Communist functionary as being very rich and as a man who does not have to work."

"The new class obtains its power, privileges, ideology and its customs from one specific form of ownership—collective ownership—which the class administers and distributes in the name of the nation and society. . . . The new class instinctively feels that national goods are, in fact, its property, and that even the terms 'socialist,' 'social,' and 'state' property denote a general legal fiction. The new class also thinks that any breach of its totalitarian authority might imperil its ownership."

While the class is not identical with the Communist Party, says Djilas, the party is the core of the class and its base. The ruling class, which Djilas defines as being composed of "those who have special privileges and economic preference because of the administrative monopoly they hold," is created in the party, especially "at its top, as well as in the state political organs."

As opposed to those who think of Russian society as being composed of different independent or semi-independent institutions, such as the army and the secret police—a view parallel to that which sees the United States as being composed of "interest groups"—Djilas regards the Communist Party as the ruling power in Communist society, through which the rule of the new ownership class is exercised, and to which other institutions are subordinated. The army, argues Djilas, is a party army; it is the creature of the CP. The party is the all-pervasive force which cements Communist society together.

The mechanism of Communist rule, writes Djilas, consists of "the fact that one party alone, the Communist Party, is the backbone of the entire political, economic and ideological activity. The entire public life is at a standstill or moves ahead, falls behind or turns around according to what happens in the party forums. . . . Regardless of laws, everyone knows that the government is in the hands of the party committees and the secret police. Nowhere is the 'directing role' of the party prescribed, but its authority is established in all organizations and sectors."

Total Control of Society

The ruling class must necessarily exercise totalitarian control over all aspects of social, political and cultural life, since its ownership of the means of production, since its status as class which owns property collectively, depends upon its total monopoly of administrative power in all areas of society. The regime can, as it has since Stalin's death, make changes either because of its own needs or the pressure of the masses, but it cannot give up its totalitarian control of society, since that ends its social position. Hence the new class and its regime cannot initiate genuine democracy and freedom.

Writes Djilas: "Every real demand for freedom in Communism, the kind of demand that hits at the substance of Communism, boils down to a demand for bringing material and property relations into accord with what the law provides."

But this, of course, means to put an end to the *real* social relations existing in Communist society, it means the abolition of the new ruling class and its system. Hence: "In Communist systems freedom has become the main economic and general problem."

Djilas is not one of those who, though hostile to the absence of political democracy in Russia and other Communist countries, is hypnotized by the "successes" of economic planning under Stalinism. While pointing to the industrialization of Russia as an "accomplishment" of Communism, he states that the system "conceals within itself an anarchy of a special kind," that it is "perhaps the most wasteful economy in the history of human society. . . . The absence of any type of criticism, even of any type of important suggestion, inevitably leads to waste and stagnation." This is why freedom is the main economic problem under Communist planning.

In his chapter on "National Communism," Djilas explains the Tito-Stalin break as a struggle between the "naked national and international interests, aspirations and plans of the various Communist oligarchies, comfortably entrenched." While the conflict between Yugoslavia and Russia produced certain reforms in the former country, these by no means stepped over the bounds of what was consistent with the continued rule of the Yugoslav bureaucracy. Nevertheless, National Communism presents great dangers for the system itself. "In reality," writes Djilas, "national Communism is Communism in decline."

Not only is Djilas' major thesis about the Communist social system a correct one, but he buttresses it with many specific insights and ideas gained from his participation in the system as one of its creators and rulers.

His book, however, fails to discuss the historical background and development of the Communist system. Thus it presents a cloudy view of the origins of the Stalinist system and is hazy in answer to the question:

"Why did it happen?"

For Djilas there seems to be an identity between the Stalinized Yugoslav Communist Party on the eve of its victory in Yugoslavia and the Bolshevik Party led by Lenin on the eve of the October 1917 revolution in Russia. Thus twenty-five years of history are in effect wiped out, and with them the momentous struggles and developments in Russia and the Communist International which intervened between the Bolshevik Revolution and the triumph of Stalinism.

At times he writes as if the origin of the Stalinist ruling class can be found in the organizational forms and the ideas of Lenin—and to an extent, also of Marx—while elsewhere he implies that in some disembodied manner Stalinism arose from the fact that Russia needed industrialization, that its industrialization could only be accomplished through the Stalinist social system, and that the Bolshevik party was the only instrument at hand which could be transformed into that ruling class which was required for industrialization.

Illusions About Capitalism

Djilas appears to hold many illusions about the capitalist world, seeing it as having been able to prevent stagnation and decline, and on the other hand, to expand production. He sees national planning and intervention of the state into the economy as emerging from capitalism, and leading towards the unification of the world—through diversity of economic forms—on a higher level of freedom and material well-being for the people.

In this, he undoubtedly mirrors many of the illusions to be found in Communist countries. These illusions, however, do not prevent him, as they did not prevent the Hungarian people, from regarding himself as a democratic socialist, and from seeing the system which will replace Communism as democratic socialism.

These mistaken views stem in large measure from the kind of theoretical education one receives in the Stalinist movement, as well as from a counter-reaction to the Stalinist indictment of capitalism. Having all his life identified Stalinism with Leninism, with Marxism, with revolution, Djilas, now that he has broken with Stalinism continues to make the same identification and hence rejects that which he mistakenly identifies with Stalinism. In his Stalinist days Djilas identified democracy with reformism and gradualness; now that he is a democrat, he therefore values these too.

But these elements are subordinate to the value of Djilas' work.

A wide variety of views will undoubtedly be found among those breaking with Communism, since one cannot expect a full and clear socialist program and ideology to emerge all at once. Djilas' book represents an important step in the thinking through of ideas that those who leave Communism will have to engage in. More than that, in his thinking about the Communist social system, if not on other questions, Djilas' views represent an advanced and mature stage in that thinking; they constitute, on the whole, a true analysis of the reality of contemporary Communism.

Clifford McAvoy Dies

We note with sorrow the death of Clifford T. McAvoy on August 9, at the age 51.

Comrade McAvoy had led a full political life. While teaching at Columbia University and the City College of New York, he was active in the Teachers Union. He later served as a deputy Welfare Commissioner of New York City under the LaGuardia administration. In 1941 he was appointed by the Greater New York CIO Council as Political Action Director. Five years later he became the Assistant PAC Director for the midwest.

McAvoy was a leading personality in the Progressive Party, helping to organize the Progressive Labor Committee for Wallace. In 1951 he ran for President of the New York City Council as the American Labor Party candidate, receiving 100,000 votes. His last political affiliations were with the American Committee for Socialist Education and the Committee for Socialist Unity.

Toward the end of his life, McAvoy, shocked by the Khrushchev revelations and outraged by the bloody suppression of the Hungarian revolution, reevaluated many of his political ideas. He totally repudiated Stalinism and affirmed his profound belief in democratic socialism.

In the months before his death, McAvoy devoted much of his time to achieving socialist regroupment. The unity he sought, and the extent to which he had broken with much of his past, was illustrated when, in a recent debate with a Communist Party leader, he said: "I do not believe, for instance, that the Left can be united if there is confusion as to whether we stand for completely democratic socialism or whether we revert to totalitarian Stalinism."

These were the words of one who will be remembered as a man of courage and integrity, a man of socialist faith and conviction.

Kremlin Purge Points to New Drive Against Jewish Minority

By AL FINDLEY

The Khrushchev purge in Russia will reveal wide ramifications in many fields as time goes by. One aspect is the influence this change will have on relations between the Russians and other nationalities, both in the satellite states and within the borders of the U.S.S.R.

The public position taken by the victors of the June struggle points to a "soft" line in dealing with the main problem of how to handle the centrifugal national forces which threaten to tear the Russian empire apart. For the Jewish minority in Russia, however, a continuation and even intensification of a "hard" line is foreshadowed.

The ousting of Kaganovitch, who is Jewish, and of Molotov, who has a Jewish wife cannot by any stretch of the imagination be attributed to anti-Semitism. They lost out in a power struggle whose over-all implications and issues far transcended this factor.

The promotions to the Presidium of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, however, show a decided increase in anti-Semitic elements. Frol R. Koslov, who played an appreciable role in setting off the anti-Semitic "doctors' plot" in early 1953 has been promoted to an alternate member of the Presidium. In early 1953 articles by Koslov dealt with "infiltration" by Jewish "bourgeois nationalists" into the organs of power in Russia, and the alleged menace they represented.

A less well-known case is the elevation of the only woman member of the Presidium, Ekaterina Furtseva. Little is known about her in the West, and less is known of the road that led her to her present high post. All that is pretty certain is that she has been a loyal supporter of Khrushchev, and has now been appointed head of the Moscow party organization. She is the wife of Firyubin, Russian ambassador to Belgrade.

JUSTIFYING ANTI-SEMITISM

Mrs. Furtseva is the first prominent representative of the Russian government to publicly acknowledge and justify discrimination against Jews in government positions. She expressed these sentiments in an interview she gave to the Moscow correspondent of the American paper *National Guardian* in their issue of June 26, 1956.

This interview took place in the period following the sensational revelations by the Polish Jewish Communist paper *Volkstimme* of the mass murder of Jewish writers and the suppression of Yiddish culture in Russia.

The *Guardian* correspondent asked Furtseva about the revelations in the Warsaw press. She replied that she knew nothing about the articles. She took the opportunity to deny emphatically any suppression of Jewish culture or of the Jewish people in the Soviet Union. She declared that if there were any truth to such statements, it would become known from Moscow and not from Poland. Certain errors were made, she admitted, but Jewish culture was developing freely in Russia.

"It is true," she continued, "that a few years ago there was talk about anti-Semitism here as a result of erroneous interpretations of certain acts of the government." She then added the following significant explanation:

"At a closer examination of the matter, the government discovered a number of departments and ministries which had a large concentration of Jews that constituted 50 per cent of the entire personnel. Steps were taken to transfer them to other enterprises where they were given posts as good as the ones they had and with no restrictions on their rights."

Neither in this interview, nor at any other time has Furtseva (or any other Russian government official) bothered to document the "charge" of "undue concentration" by naming the institutions involved, as well as those to which the Jews were "transferred," not on the basis of seniority or ability, but solely of national origin.

To anyone even vaguely acquainted with

anti-Semitic practices and arguments in all their forms, the euphemistic phrase about "concentration of Jews" in certain ministries has a familiar, even a classical ring.

If as a result of historical factors, the Jews, or any other national or religious minority concentrate in particular fields of endeavor in any country, there is nothing wrong in it. It is only wrong if a majority (or minority) monopolizes the better jobs by practices which discriminate against others who possess the qualifications for such jobs.

UTILIZES OLD MYTHS

Furtseva's "charges" about the percentage of Jews in leading positions in Russia are not only unsupported, but are part of an ancient myth which has been exploded many times. Only a few years ago Dr. Solomon Schwartz demonstrated in his book on the situation of the Jews in Russia, that although the Jews had a large representation in the Party and governmental officialdom in relation to the total population of Russia, this was true of many other national minorities, and for the same reason: their urban concentration. Schwartz showed that in relation to the urban population of Russia, the Jews had no larger share than their population ratio even in the early days of the regime. Since Jews were overwhelmingly city dwellers, and the Party and government apparatus was recruited mostly from the urban population, it is the latter ratio that should be considered.

Incredible that in 1956 this myth should be raised again. This is doubly astounding when one remembers that this poisonous dish is offered not about the "early days," but about Russia after decades of Stalinist anti-Semitism. These are decades during which there was a deliberate policy to restrict Jews in jobs, and during which they were accepted into institutions of higher learning and the officers' corps on a quota basis. The fact is also that two ministries, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Foreign Trade are reported to be Judenrein—not having in their employ a single Jew since 1951.

In the face of all this, to trot out in 1956 the ancient and exploded myth of Jewish "concentration" is to practice the technique of the big lie.

ANTI-SEMITIC BUREOCRACY

But perhaps even more significant is this: the degree to which this kind of anti-Semitism has become a matter-of-course in the upper strata of the Russian bureaucracy is demonstrated by the fact that they appear utterly unaware and un-selfconscious of the effect their announcements on this question will have abroad.

We learn from recent statements by the long-time leader of the Canadian Communists, J. R. Salsberg, that Furtseva's interview made a startling impression on the Jewish members of the Communist Parties in the U.S. and Canada. This was the final reason that impelled him to go to Moscow and investigate. The outcome of his trip is well known. Salsberg talked to Khrushchev and other Russian leaders. The facts confirmed his doubts. He returned to Canada and at the head of a leading group of CPers resigned from the Canadian Labor Progressive Party (see statement in *LABOR ACTION* for July 8, 1957).

When Salsberg asked questions about Furtseva's statements none of the Kremlin leaders denied that Jews were not being allowed to fill responsible jobs in "too great a number." They did not want to

deny it and could not. This policy has the stamp of approval of none other than Khrushchev himself.

Six weeks before the Furtseva interview, Khrushchev told a French delegation in the Kremlin that "The relationship between Jews and other nationalities in our midst is a complicated problem. At the beginning of the revolution we had many Jews in the leadership of the Party and the state. They were more educated and possibly more revolutionary than the average Russian. After that we created new cadres. . . ."

"Our own intelligentsia," Piervukin interjected.

Khrushchev continued: "If the Jews

should now want to occupy the foremost places in our Republic it would look bad to our citizens. They would not receive such pretensions kindly. They consider themselves no less intelligent, no less able than the Jews. In the Ukraine, for example, if a Jew were to be nominated to an important post and if he should surround himself with Jewish co-workers it would be natural that it would arouse hatred against the Jews. We are not anti-Semites. Look at Kaganovitch. He occupies a very high post. He is a Jew. You also see Mitzin. He too is a Jew. . . ." (Translated from *The Day-Jewish Morning Journal* of July 16, 1957.)

That was Khrushchev himself. Six weeks later when Furtseva gave her interview she took off where Nikita started but made progress in an anti-Semitic direction.

For Ekaterina Furtseva it was no longer a matter of apparent conjecture, but a report on accomplished facts. For it is a fact, and not a theory or a conjecture, that the Russian government, not under Stalin, but under Khrushchev, continues an official policy of discrimination against Jews.

Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor

Claims Israeli Bill is New Threat to Arab Rights

The writer of the following letter, E. N. Koussa, is a well-known Haifa attorney long active as a defender of the rights of his people, the Arab minority in Israel. A loyal citizen of Israel and a collaborator with the Ichud (whose organ *Ner* he has written for), he is a reliable and responsible spokesman for the Israeli Arabs, who have few such independent spokesmen who are neither Communists nor notables of the pro-Zionist "Arab parties."

Mr. Koussa sent this letter, as its first words show, as material for the article which appears in the current issue of the *New International*, "The Great Land Robbery." While I am not in a position to check on his account before leaving on a trip, Mr. Koussa's reputation justifies publication of his letter.

HAL DRAPER

Haifa, July 9, 1957

DEAR MR. DRAPER:

If you have not yet published the second part of your treatise on "Israel's Arab Minority" dealing with the usurpation of Arab land, you would, perhaps, like to insert in it a reference to a novel device about to be introduced by the Government to grab an additional large area of land belonging to the Israeli Arabs. The device is a bill entitled "The Law of Limitations," which amends the period of prescription from 10 to 50 years in land litigations. It is now before the Knesset for enactment.

To enable you to appreciate the detrimental effect of the bill on Arab farmers, especially in Western Galilee, it is necessary to explain some of the principles of land tenure. The land law in vogue in Palestine which is still in force in Israel, is the Ottoman Land Code which divides land into 4 classes, the commonest of which is "Miri" Land meaning "State Land." The legal theory is that the right of ownership in respect of this class of land is vested in the State and that of possession only in the actual possessor who is entitled to build on it, to cultivate and plant it, and to dispose of it as he wishes. For all purposes and intents the possessor is the real owner and the State the theoretical.

During the Ottoman regime, people were wont to evade registration of the land in their names for various reasons, especially to avoid military service and taxes. But they continued to possess land, to open and develop new parcels. In such cases, if the possessor continued to possess and cultivate the land for 10 years he acquired a registrable right by prescription and was entitled to a title-deed. Similarly, if the land were registered in an individual's name, and the individual neglected it, and that land was taken over by another who possessed and cultivated for 10 years, the registered owner could not eject him, but the other would not acquire a title. He is only entitled to remain in undisturbed possession and use of the land.

This state of affair continued during the British Administration until the promulgation in 1928 of the Land Settlement Ordinance which enabled Land Settlement Officers to admit claims of ownership based on continuance possession and cultivation for 10 years or more, and to direct registration of the land in the name of the possessor. The Ordinance is still in force and is being applied by the Israeli Land Settlement Officers to all lands under settlement.

During the British rule almost all Jewish lands were settled. Very few Jewish claims are pending which, being sub judice, are not affected by the bill. Many Arab villages were left without settlement. The bill applies and is primarily intended to apply to all these unsettled lands. The Arab farmer or owner who does not hold a deed has now to prove that he has been in continuous possession and cultivation of his land for 50 years, instead of 10 years as before, or else forfeit the land to the Government. In other words, he has to produce witnesses not less than 70 years of age to testify that they had seen him or his testators or both, in continuous possession and cultivation of the land for 50 years before the date on which the claim to the land was made. This is an impossibility because almost all the elders of the villages have either decamped or are dead. The inevitable result would be the forfeiture of the land to the State of Israel.

Again, where Turkish title-deed, or British certificates of registration not based on settlement, exist, the boundaries therein described are invariably vague and untraceable, and the area given is, as a rule, much less than the area actually possessed and cultivated. Unless satisfactory evidence is adduced to establish continuous possession and cultivation of the whole area for 50 years, the excess would go to the State.

There are at least 25 Arab villages in Western Galilee without land settlement. The villagers will lose the greatest part of their lands. A rough estimate of the area liable for forfeiture under the bill is 1/4 m. dunams (64,500 acres). I have applied to the Land Settlement Office at Haifa for a list of such villages and their areas. I shall not fail to forward to you a copy of it as soon as I receive it. It is, however, safe to assume that a large number of Arab farmers will be added, in consequences of this oppressive legislative act which threatens to further impoverish the Arab community of Israel, to the already large mass of Arab landless and jobless.

The Israeli Arabs are doing their best to stop the bill or to secure its amendment in manner that would safeguard the acquired rights of Arab farmers. The Arabs of Israel would be deeply grateful if you would interest yourself in the matter and invite the collaboration of all lovers of justice, fairness and humanity, Jewish and non-Jewish, to avert the impending blow with its concomitant evils.

Yours faithfully,

E. N. KOUSSA

Visits to China Panics U.S. State Department

By Mel Stack

The Chinese Stalinist delegation to the "World Youth Festival for Peace and Friendship" extended an invitation last week for 15 Americans to visit China on an all-expense paid tour. Approximately 50 members of the American delegation accepted the offer. Then the Chinese announced that, in addition to paying all costs for 15 Americans, they would also pay the expenses of the rest, excluding the cost of the return trip.

Suddenly the American government intervened. Acting Secretary of State Christian Herter announced that: (1) the State Department highly disapproved of such trips (a similar announcement had been made concerning participation in the "World Youth Festival" in Moscow); (2) those who went to China might lose their passports; and (3) the youth might even be prosecuted under the "Trading With the Enemy Act."

Mr. Herter's reasoning, as reported in the N. Y. Times, was that "... By traveling to Communist China at this time you will ... be acting as a willing tool of Communist propaganda intended ... to subvert the foreign policy ... of the United States ..."

The broadside did not have the intended effect: out of the original 50 youth, 41 finally decided to visit China and are now on their way to that country.

But the statements say much about the State Department.

Note the *method* of approach. First the State Department simply disapproves; then it mildly threatens ("we will take away your passports"); then it thunders in panic ("If you go, we may prosecute you for criminal action").

The whole procedure smacks of the petty, bureaucratic, police-type mentality. And in the face of this approach by leading governmental spokesmen, who can proclaim that we have completely emerged from the era of McCarthyism?

On a second glance, the method approaches madness. Even a policeman should be intelligent enough to realize that when you threaten someone, the least you can do is to threaten with an offense that looks rational. But not in this case. The State Department fell back upon a law which is totally indefensible, the "Trading With the Enemy Act of 1917."

Section 3 of this act makes trading with an enemy or ally of an enemy unlawful. Section 1, however, defines "enemy" as a government with which Congress has declared war.

The State Department suggests that the Act is involved due to China's participation in the Korean War. Let Edward Ennis, the wartime director of the Enemy Alien Control Unit of the Justice Department, in well-chosen diplomatic language, answer the paucity of the State Department's argument in a letter to the N. Y. Times:

"In the absence of such a declaration [of war] by Congress in respect of the Korean hostilities and the conduct of those hostilities under the authority of the United Nations and the termination of these hostilities, the possibility of any prosecution for a mere visit to China seems at best most doubtful."

Ennis answers only in nice diplomatic terms; but when an argument is as specious as this, then is it not fair to say it is not rational, but only a *rationale*?

And to put spice into this State Department mess, 47 groups have visited China in the last 6 weeks: ranging from Indonesian, Pakistanian, and Burmese parliamentary delegations, to an Egyptian basketball team, to British, French, and Belgian businessmen. Doesn't the American government realize how foolish it must look by its bullying statements to the 41 American youth?

Yet the affair is only the latest of many attempts by the State Department to control the traveling rights of American citizens. Since 1865 the State Department has considered passport matters to fall exclusively within its province, that here it has sole jurisdiction.

Thus the spectacle of all the passport cases up to William Worthy and now the 41 Americans in China. This spectacle would be a farce if it did not mean that another of America's cherished freedoms—the right of unrestricted travel—continues to be trampled upon by the government.

One must also not forget that this anti-democratic reaction by the government extends beyond the domestic restrictions on democracy. It also has a direct relation to foreign policy.

Remember Sec. Herter's words, "You will be acting as a willing tool of Communist propaganda intended to subvert the foreign policy of the United States." The key word is "subvert"—it contains the essence of the American government's analysis of, and response to, Communism. Can their visit really mean a serious threat to our security, even our "foreign policy?" It shows what a sorry state of affairs this foreign policy has led to: we can not even allow a number of youth to visit a foreign country during their summer vacation.

In this case the State Department has climbed the tallest tree it could find, then proceeded out to the frailest branch, and finally started to saw the branch off. The thud from the long fall will be heard when and if it tries to carry out its threats of criminal prosecution.

Student Resistance Grows in E. Germany

On the propaganda level, East Germany greeted the recent tour of Khrushchev and Mikoyan. But the reports which continue to come in from the socialists and trade unionists of West Germany indicate that the ferment which has been taking place in that country among the students and the intellectuals is continuing.

According to *Klarer Kurs*, the organ of the Young Socialists of Germany (youth section of the German Social Democracy), the crack-down after Hungary has not resulted in a silencing of the opposition. Wolfgang Hairich, the young professor who was sentenced to prison for his deviations, was supposed to be a symbol of the regime's new policy and a warning to the students and professors to get into line. But the repression has not been successful. Throughout East Germany, the Young Socialists report, study groups have been formed and the process of sharp criticism of the Communist regime continues.

WITHOUT ILLUSIONS

One of the most interesting aspects of these reports concerns the attitude of the students toward the Western bloc. According to the West German socialists, this opposition is not coupled with any kind of sympathy for the Adenauer government or for the NATO policy.

The students are concerned with changing the conditions under which they live, of overthrowing the totalitarianism of the Stalinist regime, but they are against any restoration of capitalism or subordination of their movement to the line of the Western bloc. In this, it would seem that the East German students have an even clearer conception of a political program than existed at a similar stage during the ferment in other countries in Eastern Europe.

One reason for this was reported in the *New Leader* last year during the Hungarian events. Education in West Germany is still very much class determined. In the Eastern part of the country, the Stalinists have consciously drawn upon

youth from the working class. Indeed, in the more recent period, the Young Socialists report, there has been a policy of more careful screening in the East German universities, apparently because the authorities feel that they can split the student body into hostile sections, one from a bourgeois, the other from a working class, background.

But the effect has not been the one which the regime sought. The working class students have joined in the opposition movement like everyone else. But what has happened is that this class-composition of the Universities has resulted in an attitude of hostility toward the social basis of education in West Germany.

Many of the East German students, the *New Leader* reported, would not be able to go to college if they lived in West Germany. Consequently, they have developed a basic attitude of opposition toward the Christian Democratic regime—and they have coupled this with their opposition to the Communist rule in East Germany.

The government's answer has been to step up the repression. It has been officially declared that East Germany faces the danger of "revisionism" (the Central Committee of the SED, the Communist Party, published "The Struggle against Bourgeois Ideology and Revisionism" last February).

Moreover, there has been a concerted effort to isolate the youth. On the one hand, picked committees have "spontaneously" come from the factories to tell the students that they must support the regime. On the other hand, the government has adopted a policy of trying to play the youth against the older people in the factories. "The youth," it was proclaimed not too long ago, "do not shun any sacrifice." On the basis of this line, special youth units have been organized in the shops in an attempt to pit them against the other workers.

REFORMING THE REGIME

But so far, all attempts to crush the ferment among the youth, and particularly among the students, have failed. In addition, there have been a series of academic firings and the fever of opposition has apparently spread to the professors, even to those who have high party posts.

Hairich's point of view (which was reported in *Challenge* and *Labor Action*) was that of attempting to reform the Stalinist regime from within. It tended to see many of the fundamental and essential aspects of the regime as unfortunate accidents which could be corrected.

As such, it was similar to the stage of political development which occurred in Hungary and Poland some months before the great events of last October. There, too, a section of the growing revolutionary movement stood on a reform program inside of the totalitarian structure, and this tendency persists, of course, in Poland down to this day.

The Young Socialist League

invites you to its

ANNUAL NATIONAL CAMP

Enjoy a delightful week in the country!

swimming—sports—hiking—excellent food—educational program—
and just plain fun

Discussion Leaders

Mike Harrington ... Gordon Haskell ... Cy Jackson ... Gerry McDermott
Max Martin ... George Rawick ... Sam Taylor ... and others.

TIME: Monday, September 2 through Sunday, September 8.

PLACE: Mountain Spring Camp, Washington, New Jersey.

RATES: From \$35.00 for the week up. Special rates for weekend. Reservations required. Five dollar deposit. For full information write Max Martin, 114 West 14th St., 3rd floor, New York 1, N. Y., or Call WAtkins 4-4222.

Young Socialist League, 114 West 14th Street, New York City

Enclosed find \$.....deposit for the following number of reservations:

.....Full-PeriodWeekend onlyOther (please specify)

NAME ADDRESS

Reflecting the Division in the National Liberation Movement:

The Dispute in Algerian Unions

By A. GIACOMETTI

A great deal of recent discussion in the international labor movement has revolved around the Algerian question.

At its Fifth Congress in Tunis, at which the Afro-Asian unions played a more important role than ever before, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions demanded that the French government open negotiations with the "legitimate representatives" of the Algerian people on the basis of the recognition of Algerian independence.

At the Congress of the Socialist International in Vienna the British and Scandinavian delegates sharply attacked the policy of the French SP and of the French government. Several delegates demanded independence for Algeria; the Congress decided to send an investigatory mission to that country.

It is all the more remarkable that the first Congress ever held by an Algerian trade-union organization—the First Congress of the Federation of France of the U.S.T.A., held in Paris from June 28 to June 30—received very little attention in the labor press. Some of the reasons for this silence, and the exceptional importance of the event, became clear in the historical

Need Independent Algerian Trade Unions

In France, the USTA remained in existence under the general laws applying to trade-union organizations, and set out to organize the 400,000 Algerians working in France, who had been either unorganized or members of the CGT. The UGTA did not appear in France as a separate union. Instead, Algerians of the CP and of the FLN organized a "friendly society" for Algerian workers within the CGT, called AGTA, which never found much support and in no way represents a serious competition for the USTA.

THE NEED FOR an independent trade union of Algerian workers has long been a recognized fact. In all fields (housing, wages, working conditions, social security, etc.) the Algerian workers suffer from discrimination in its most brutal form. They receive little support, if any, from the French working-class organizations. In the post-war years, almost all organized Algerian workers were members of the CGT. Nonetheless, the leadership of that union paid little attention to their specific needs, and instead exploited them for its own political purposes. In its report to the Congress, the Bureau of the USTA writes:

"We became aware that many of our demands were published in *Le Peuple* or in other papers of the CGT, but that no action was ever organized to obtain satisfaction for these demands by a common struggle of Algerian and French workers.

"On the other hand, as soon as a 'political' strike had to be organized, the leadership of the CPF (Communist Party of France) would come begging for our help. In fact, for the lead-

and present political context of this Congress.

The "Union des Syndicats des Travailleurs Algériens" (USTA) was founded in February 1956 in Algiers by trade-unionists close to the Algerian National Movement (MNA), the nationalist party led by Messali Hadj. A month later, the rival National Liberation Front (FLN) followed suit and set up the "Union Générale des Travailleurs Algériens" (UGTA). Both unions made rapid headway, the UGTA largely thanks to the support of the Confédération General du Travail (CGT) and the Communist Party of Algeria (CPA).

Their development was cut short by repression. The leadership of the USTA soon disappeared into the concentration camp of St. Leu; the building was shut down, the records confiscated, and membership in the USTA became sufficient grounds for internment. The UGTA continued to function for a few weeks in the building of the reformist nationalist party UDMA which had rallied to the FLN under the leadership of Ferhat Abbas. Then it too was suppressed, and its leaders were imprisoned in concentration camps. For over a year now, it has been impossible to assess the relative strength of these organizations in Algeria.

ership of the CPF-CGT, as much as represent a passive mass which both manipulate according to their interests.

"For the employers, we are a cheap labor force.

"For the CGT leadership, we are a political 'labor force' whose militancy can be very useful."

It is not surprising, under these circumstances, that the first independent Algerian union to appear in France made rapid progress. The first Congress of the French Federation of the USTA reflected this development.

The Congress was attended by 324 delegates, representing over 70,000 for colonialism, the Algerian workers Algerian workers who had joined the USTA in France within a year of its foundation.

It dealt, first of all, with various aspects of discrimination against Algerian workers: the miserable barracks and huts furnished by many companies as a pretext for housing; the wage differentials for equal work and the inferior working conditions; the violation of elementary rights of union members and organizers by employers and police (firings, searchings, arbitrary arrests); the restrictions on travel (Algerian workers have to apply for a visa to return to Algeria). A speech by one of several women delegates representing textile workers in the North attracted particular attention: she demanded political rights for the "woman class," a group triply exploited by colonialism as workers, as Algerians, and as women.

As could be expected, the Congress also dealt with political issues.

The USTA has made a special point to assert its independence from all parties, and to open its organization to workers of all political commitments and ethnic origins. It is clear, however, that an Algerian trade-union cannot evade the political issues arising from the colonial status of the country and from the present state of war. Consequently, the Congress adopted a resolution calling for a "round-table conference," including representatives of the French government and of all Algerian nationalist parties, trade-unions and other groups to negotiate a cease-fire agreement.

Other important political issues were raised: a delegate from the Saharan territories raised strong protest against the plan of the French government to dissociate the Sahara administratively from Algeria. It is important to remember that oil has recently been found in the Sahara, and that the MNA has stated that it would not recognize any contracts or commitments of the French government to French or other foreign companies.

The relations between French and Algerian workers also received special attention. The Congress addressed a special message to the French minority in Algeria, appealing to it to overcome its chauvinist and racist reflexes and asking it to collaborate with the USTA in the reconstruction of a free Algeria. A message from Messali Hadj was read which stated in part:

"Even now, you will have to seek by every means to establish ties of cooperation with the non-Moslem Algerians who are our fellow-countrymen and with whom we shall build a new Algeria tomorrow, on the basis of equality, of fraternity and of social justice. This great work, which makes demands on our whole intelligence

Stalinists Attempt to Smash MNA Unions

THE POLICY OF THE STALINIST leadership of the CGT constitutes one of the most interesting aspects of the Algerian question, and deserves to be exposed in detail.

Just like the Tunisian UGTT and the Moroccan UMT (the trade union federations of these countries), the USTA met with strong opposition from the CGT. At first, this opposition expressed itself in the support given by the CGT to the rival organization of the FLN, the UGTA. This policy parallels the support given by the CP to the FLN which it hopes, not without reason, to capture at least in part. Contrary to the MNA, the FLN is politically, as well as socially, a patchwork of conflicting interests, without inner cohesion or positive program. Consequently, the leadership of the UGTA was dependent from the beginning on the Stalinist cadres for questions of organization as well as political guidance.

In France, the CGT at first proceeded along the same lines, by setting up the AGTA, an FLN front, under CP

and human spirit, requires a firm determination to create a situation where the other ethnic groups living in Algeria will find on our part the friendship, the understanding and the security they need in this period of great changes. I say to you: although the most terrible poverty grips our people . . . we must come to our brothers of the ethnic minorities as liberators, not only of a part of the Algerian people, but of all people living in Algeria."

In France itself, the USTA has also sought the cooperation of French workers, and has found some response among ordinary workers, in spite of widespread racist infection through the press and the radio. Cases are known in the North—they still remain exceptional—where French workers have voted in union elections for the USTA as a protest against the inertia of the French unions. Although the official leadership of the latter boycotted the Congress of the USTA, such minority leaders as Tharreau of the Metal Workers' Federation of FO, Paul Ruff, secretary-general of the Teachers' Union of the Paris Region, Maraval of CFTC (the Catholic unions), Hébert, secretary of FO in Loire-Maritime (St. Nazaire), Charles Lemoine of the Miners' Union of the CGT spoke to the Congress or sent greetings.

The official attitude of the French trade-unions has been, not unexpectedly, much different. The leadership of FO (Force Ouvrier, the French union federation affiliated with the International confederation of Free Trade Unions—ICFTU) has supported all phases of Guy Mollet's policy and has opposed any independent Algerian trade-unions on the grounds that "Algeria is France" and that Algerian workers should join FO. The leadership of CFTC did not commit itself very strongly one way or another; torn between its governmental inclinations and the new policy of the Catholic Church favoring colonial emancipation, it has sought refuge in abstention.

tutelage. But, in the face of continued progress of the USTA, the Stalinist leadership fell back on the only methods it can use when it has no political answer. At first, it started a slander campaign, accusing the USTA of being splitters, diversionists, racists, chauvinists, police spies and enemies of the people in general. It denounced USTA organizers by name in publicly distributed leaflets, pointing them out to the employers and to the police.

Finally, it put its whole apparatus at the disposal of the FLN "extermination campaigns"—since the end of 1956—supplying the terrorist cells of the FLN with arms from the Stalinist countries (East Germany in particular). In Lyon, the police recently discovered a large arms cache in a building owned by functionaries of the AGTA-CGT; also in Lyon, the assassination of the local secretary of the USTA a few weeks ago seems to have been organized by French members of the CGT. This is the first case of this nature; it probably will not be the last.

YOU'RE INVITED

to speak your mind in the letter column of Labor Action. Our policy is to publish letters of general political interest, regardless of views. Keep them to 500 words.

Algerian Labor Moves Toward Independent Politics—

In the plants, the Stalinist delegates of the CGT work with the employers in keeping the USTA out of union elections. In many cities, the Stalinist mayors prohibit the use of city facilities for USTA meetings and rallies.

By this double policy of attempting to smash the MNA and the USTA, while attempting to take over as much of the FLN as it can, the CP is setting itself once more against the revolution of the Algerian people, trying to repeat its "achievements" of the Spanish Civil War. But the Algerian workers are forewarned. It is too late for police methods and political manipulations. By now, the Algerian revolution is too massive, too conscious and too well-organized a movement for the Stalinist leadership to handle.

From a trade-union point of view, and from a political point of view, the USTA is in a position to play an exceptional rôle in North Africa. It disposes of a degree of experience

which none of the other nationalist trade-union movements had at the outset: the Algerian workers know what bourgeois nationalism is, and how it can paralyze popular mass-struggles; they know what "liberal colonialism" is; they know what Stalinism is; they know that the only guarantee for progress and freedom in their country is in their own, independent, democratically controlled organization.

In other words, their own experience has emancipated them from both bourgeois nationalism and from Stalinism. In this sense, the conflict between MNA and FLN is not completely detrimental to the cause of the Algerian people: it has clarified the social and political issues from the beginning of the fight for national liberation, and has differentiated a conscious and well-organized proletarian current from the foreign influences that have set it back in Tunisia and in Morocco.

Comparison to Tunisia and Morocco

IN THESE TWO COUNTRIES, where the national bourgeoisie is much stronger than it ever was in Algeria, the nationalist parties (Neo-Destour and Istiqlal) remained under the leadership of the bourgeoisie and confined themselves mostly to political demands. The trade-union movement, as an integral part of the nationalist movement, also remained under the political leadership of the bourgeoisie. When the social conflicts appeared in full force after independence, neither UGTT nor UMT were sufficiently prepared to handle the new situation. Thus, when the well-organized and powerful UGTT entered into conflict with the leadership of the Neo-Destour in the course of the past year, and threatened to develop an independent political perspective, Bourguiba was able to utilize various oppositional currents to split the organization and to create a dissident "Union Tunisienne du Travail" (UTT). The two unions merged again at the beginning of July, but on the conservative terms of Bourguiba, and at the price of the temporary elimination of the most militant elements of the UGTT leadership, such as Ahmed Ben Salah.

In Morocco, a similar operation was attempted by conservative elements, but fizzled out: the dissident union remained quite small and was never able to weaken the UMT. The conflict there, however, was not one between the bourgeois leadership of the nationalist party and the trade-union movement, but between conservative groups on the outside of the Istiqlal and the Istiqlal itself; a very different situation from Tunisia, where the social conflicts became much sharper because they had reached the nationalist mass-party itself. Actually, the UMT has not shown many signs of developing an independent orientation, and this lack of dif-

ferentiation probably accounts, to some extent, for the success of Stalinist infiltration in its ranks.

The problems of the USTA lie on an altogether different level: less within the movement than outside of it. Because it stands firmly on the ground of working-class independence, and will not subordinate itself to interests foreign to the working-class, it has been able to create a particularly conscious and militant movement among the Algerian workers, but it has also made many enemies.

(In this respect its situation parallels that of the MNA, which fights a single-handed battle against colonialism, Stalinism and bourgeois nationalism, while the FLN enjoys support from an unbelievable variety of sources. It gets arms both from the Stalinists and the American oil companies; it gets political support at the same time from Nasser and from the French liberals, from the Stalinists and from the Catholic Church.)

The hostility of the CGT leadership is a case in point: in spite of bitter struggles, neither UMT nor UGTT had to face such ruthless opposition from the Stalinists as the USTA.

NEITHER HAS the USTA received much support from other sources. As is known, both USTA and UGTA applied for membership in the ICFTU. A year ago, at its meeting in Brussels, the Executive Committee of the ICFTU decided to accept the application of the UGTA and to reject the USTA. The decision was taken on the basis that the UGTA was more "representative," but the only criterion used was the union election in the Algiers Streetcar Department—which the UGTA won hands down because the management had prohibited the USTA from putting up candidates.

In reality, the decision was largely due to the pressure of the Moroccan and especially of the Tunisian delegates, who had deliberately chosen the FLN and the UGTA, as opposed to the MNA and the USTA, regardless of "representativeness." This is proved by the circumstances of the decision. At first Ahmed Ben Salah of the UGTT proposed that the USTA and the UGTA merge, and that the united organization become a member of the ICFTU. The representative of the USTA asked to refer to the Bureau of his organization before committing himself, while the representative of the UGTA accepted on the spot, declaring that whoever was against unity was an enemy of the people, etc.

At the following meeting, the USTA representative accepted the proposal, having received the agreement of his Bureau, but the delegate of the UGTA had changed his position. He now declared that his organization could merge with the USTA only if the MNA first dissolved and directed its members to enter the FLN as individuals. At this point, Ben Salah withdrew his original proposal and supported the new position of the UGTA. The delegate of the USTA naturally could not accept this kind of political condition, and the application of the USTA was rejected by a majority of one vote.

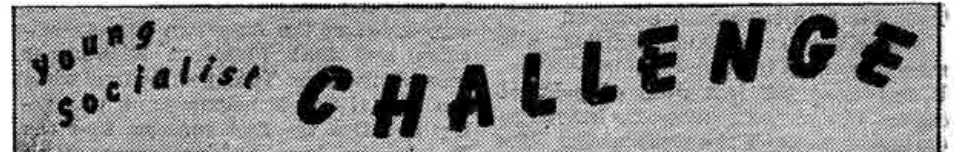
In a general way, the choice of the Moroccan and Tunisian trade-unionists was, and unfortunately still is, a symptom of their subordination to the bourgeois ideologies of the nationalist parties. The leaders of the Istiqlal and of the Neo-Destour feel much safer with the narrowly nationalistic and political outlook of the FLN, while they see a potential threat in the so-

cial radicalism of the MNA, especially in its program of agrarian reform.

Other factors also seem to have been at work: Ahmed Ben Salah, the leader of the group in the UGTT aspiring to play an independent political role on the domestic level, was probably reluctant to weaken an already shaky position by opposing both Bourguiba and the Arab League on the Algerian question as well. As to the Moroccans, it appears that they were led to believe that the relationship of forces at their border—where the FLN dominates—prevailed throughout Algeria, which is far from being the case.

As the case may be, there are indications to show that the ICFTU is reconsidering its ill-advised and hasty decision of excluding the USTA. As the USTA has proved itself to be a going concern, while the UGTA is developing into a Stalinist front, relations between the USTA and the ICFTU have improved markedly.

We can only welcome any such reappraisal by the ICFTU, however agonizing it may be for its Executive Committee to admit that it made a mistake. By the traditional standards of the international labor movement, the USTA offers guarantees as to soundness, democracy and independence which no other Algerian union can duplicate. The positive consequences of its action will be considerable, not only in North Africa, but also in France, where it may indirectly contribute to the development of a better trade-union movement. The USTA deserves the support of all those who believe in independent trade-unionism and in socialist democracy.



(Continued from page 5)

These ideas as they emerge in Germany are worthy of close attention.

Two of the leading East Germans who hold a position of reforming the Communist regime are Fritz Behrens and Arne Benary. Behrens is a statistician, Benary a member of the German Academy of Science, one of the central points of opposition to the state. Both are under sharp attack. For each of them, the problem which they face is one of the "transition period." They still accept (or phrase their criticism within a framework of apparent acceptance of) the general structure of the Communist rule in East Germany. Their aim is to reform it. And yet, the criticisms which they pose, like those which emerged in Poland and Hungary, obviously lead far beyond this initial premise. If they do not understand how revolutionary their opposition is, the Government does.

Thus both of these men place their emphasis upon the bureaucratic decentralization of the regime. This, they believe, is the fundamental cause of the miserable situation in which East Germany finds itself. Their solution is . . . the broad, spontaneous participation of the people in planning and in the exercise of state authority.

They do not realize (or cannot say) that the most fundamental prop of the Stalinist power in their country is precisely this centralization, and that the one thing which threatens the regime most basically, which opens up the way to revolution and not to reform, is to invite the people to take a hand in the determination of their own destiny.

Behrens and Benary have not yet publicly carried their criticism to a point of fundamental and basic opposition. But the regime has read between the lines. Both of them have been denounced as "petty-bourgeois anarchists"; and they have been accused of attempting to bring into question the very existence of the Government itself.

Of course, one must be careful in analyzing this development because it is quite possible that the professors are speaking an "aesopian" language, that they themselves realize that their demand for "reform" has a revolutionary content. This was certainly the case in Hungary and in Poland, where the working class tendencies within the Communist Party emerged within an apparent framework of commitment to the basic structure of the regime.

But the important fact to realize is that the criticism goes on, that East Germany today is going through an experience similar to that of Poland and Hungary. The students are restless; the illegal study groups are organized; professors are fired; the regime takes the process of criticism quite seriously. It is impossible to predict what form this ferment will take eventually, but it is clear enough that the seething opposition to Communist tyranny which has bubbled to the surface during the last year in almost every Communist country, almost always expressing itself first among the students and intellectuals, is a continuing process. It will go on as long as the tyranny which creates it goes on; it will go on as long as Communist totalitarianism maintains itself in power.

NOT IN THE HEADLINES . . .

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

Civil Rights Struggle—

(Continued from page 1)

bill, the long awaited coalition seemingly was in the making which would isolate the Southern Democrats.

Instead of pressing advantage, even at the risk of a threatened filibuster which they were now in a position to break, the majority of the liberal wing of the Democrats took the easy way of expediency and compromise to that of fighting for principle.

The extent of the capitulation is to be judged by the fact that it wasn't a pro-civil rights minority which was forced to make a compromise in order to get a half a loaf. Instead it was a majority able to carry out its program, if it so desired, which compromised and decided that a half a loaf is better than a whole loaf.

Now that the decision was made to accept a bill with weakened enforcement provisions, it has been reported that many who originally opposed the jury trial amendment now believe that it makes the bill more enforceable, while a bill with a stronger enforcement section would be less enforceable, because of strong Southern opposition to it. It is easy to see how they arrive at this.

A bill which has been weakened with the jury trial amendment will afford less protection for Negro voting rights; it will be easier to circumvent and therefore it will be more enforceable because it opens large loopholes through which to avoid punishment. It is a truism that a weak bill is more enforceable precisely because it can do less than a strong bill.

Little wonder that Senator Russell, the main strategist of the Dixiecrats says that this is a bill he can "live with." Russell and his co-thinkers in Mississippi must have dozens of gimmicks prepared by which to bypass civil rights enforcement just as they have done on school desegregation.

A WAITING GAME

Up until the time of writing, it is still not an open and shut case as to which form the bill shall finally get through Congress. Both the Republicans and Democrats are engaged in a waiting game to see which side will give in first. Thus far both have been adamant.

The Eisenhower Administration, primarily sparked by Vice-President Nixon, is squeezing the last drop of political capital out of the Democratic insistence on voting through the emasculated Senate version. It has even gone so far as to hint that there might be a Presidential veto if a strong bill is not passed.

It has also played the part long enough so that there can be little doubt in the mind of all Negroes that it is the Democrats who refuse to pass a bill with stronger enforcement provisions.

For their part the Democrats led by Senator Johnson and Representative Celler of N. Y. have been denouncing the Republicans for preventing enactment of the Senate bill right now and for running away from the civil rights issue. But no matter which way they squirm it will be impossible for the Democrats not to suffer heavy defections in their Negro strongholds.

There have been a number of crucial points in the Congressional debate starting with the willingness with which the Eisenhower administration abandoned Section 3 of the bill which called for wider protection of civil rights, including school desegregation. The climax was reached with the Senate vote on the jury trial amendment when the Democrats voted 4 to 1 for the amendment.

LIBERALS IN FLIGHT

Although these were a series of setbacks, they by no means signaled the defeat of the original bill. The House version still could be utilized in order to strengthen the bill provided that a concerted effort was made by the Democratic liberals to fight for the House version.

Just prior to the passage of the Senate bill, 16 liberal and labor organizations led by the AFL-CIO, NAACP, ADA, and the American Jewish Congress called for support to the Senate version with the important qualification it be done so "in the hope that some means

will be found to strengthen it in the House."

That qualification could have been the signal for an all-out fight for the stronger House bill which contain provisions for enforcement of the school desegregation decision. Instead it became the pretext to smooth over passage of the Senate bill. Since then, as far as it can be seen, the intent to work for a stronger bill became a dead letter.

Then on August 13, the AFL-CIO issued a statement calling for the acceptance of the bill as passed by the Senate. A similar statement was also made by the NAACP.

The AFL-CIO statement, according to the N. Y. Times of August 14 "was being insistently used by the Democrats particularly among liberal House Republicans who have been participating in the Republican leadership movement there to force the bill into a Senate House conference." Any attempt to strengthen the Senate bill would have to be done through a conference, and the Democratic leadership in Congress has been trying to avoid it like the plague.

REPUBLICAN OFFENSIVE

This bowing down before the open threat of the Southerners to filibuster plus the blandishments of Lyndon Johnson on the desirability of party unity created an opening through which the Republicans could effectively club the liberals.

This job was done by Secretary of Labor James Mitchell in a speech on August 15 in which he singled out the AFL-CIO, the ADA and Walter Reuther as those who "ran from the field [of civil rights] before the whistle is blown."

Mitchell was able to heap well-deserved abuse of "one-time civil rights supporters" on them. He also let them have it for "deserting those millions of Americans whose hopes for equal rights lie with Congress today."

Thus far neither the AFL-CIO, the ADA nor Walter Reuther have found the words with which to publicly take issue with Mitchell's statement. And they can't.

What would they say? That Attorney-General Brownell went to London to the convention of the American Bar Association and that President Eisenhower was at Burning Tree golf course when the crucial Senate maneuvering was going on? But the fact remains that the Republicans have stolen the march on civil rights. If any civil rights bill is finally enacted it will not be because of liberal militancy but in spite of liberal vacillation and indecisiveness.

When the jury trial amendment was up in the Senate, the Southerners and their Western Democratic spokesmen made long speeches on the inviolability of the right to trial by jury. Therefore when they passed the amendment it had to include jury trial for all cases of criminal contempt of court proceedings, including the Taft-Hartley law injunctions.

THE OLD SHELL GAME

There appears to be little doubt that this inclusion of the Taft-Hartley Law played a role in weakening or softening the opposition of certain labor unions to the amendment, especially the Mine Workers who actually came out for it.

But after the vote was over, it was realized that it applied to almost 40 laws in which there never has been any jury trial procedures, and could possibly tangle up sections of the Federal judiciary. Therefore a move has been on by the Democrats to narrow down the jury trial procedure to only voting rights cases.

If this is done it will once more relegate the protection of civil rights to a special and secondary position compared to other legal procedures. Those union leaders who were taken in by the illusionary sop will have been properly paid off for their willingness to compromise civil rights.

It is still too early to tell whether the Democrats will be able to bull through the Senate bill or whether the Republicans can force through a series of strengthening amendments. In any case it is virtually certain that the original

Administration bill is dead.

There has not been an unanimous position by liberal organizations and trade unionists on this question. But they have been in the minority and without support in Congress.

A. Philip Randolph, President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, has stated that it would be better not to pass any bill at this time than this emasculated one, and to work for an effective bill in the next session of Congress.

A similar position has been taken by the American Civil Liberties Union. The ACLU said in part:

"The vote-protection provisions of the bill in its present Senate form would, if enacted, lead both to popular complacency and to bitter disillusionment over its actual ineffectiveness.

"On the other hand, refusal to enact such a bad bill would be a necessary shock contributing to the creation of sufficient demand, in the near future, for something worth passing."

It is worth noting that the strongest statements of opposition to the Senate bill, even extending to a call for not passing it, come from those who are least concerned or involved in Democratic Party politics. They have shown themselves to be democrats first, and Democrats second.

In a certain sense the issue of a partial bill with weak enforcement of only voting rights has already been settled. The forces which should have led the fight ran from the field before the

whistle blew.

The political question which remains is the meaning of the bill. To pose the question in terms of whether half a loaf is better than nothing is meaningless, and in this case it was used as a means of not fighting for the whole loaf.

The real question is whether the passage of this bill will represent a beginning or a base for further civil rights legislation in the next session of this Congress and in the next Congress. Or will it become the pretext for resisting any further legislation.

We already know the arguments of the Lyndon Johnsons, the Senator O'Mahoneys, the Senator Kennedys and their ilk that any further attempt to write a more encompassing civil rights law will only run into a filibuster. Let's not push any further right now; let's see how this bill works out. It will take time of course, perhaps several years, but after all these things can't be rushed.

But it is the responsibility of those trade unionists and liberals who urged acceptance of the emasculated bill as a "first step" to indicate what their next step will be. What are they going to propose for the next session of Congress? How are they going to extend the protection of civil rights? Or are they, too, going to accept the proposition that unity of the Democratic Party is more important than the rights of millions of American citizens, and that the Democratic Party can win without the Negro vote?

SPOTLIGHT

Reversing Supreme Court

The Congressional counter-attack to overturn the Supreme Court's decision in the Jencks case, is finally taking shape. Beneath the clamor of the need to protect FBI files from "fishing expeditions" and "preventing sabotage of our national security," Congress is being rubber hosed into accepting a procedure more concerned with securing convictions than justice.

The Supreme Court decision of June 3 ruled defendants in criminal cases shall have access to any information relevant to his defense even if it is contained in FBI files. Since then the shouts of the Congressional witchhunters and the reactionary press have pictured an America in which spies, saboteurs and assorted varieties of criminals will roam free because courts will no longer be able to function.

But all the Supreme Court did was to reaffirm the long established right of the defense to try to impeach the testimony of witnesses by producing earlier statements inconsistent with court testimony. It had been, up till the Jencks decision, the practice by the FBI to deny to the defense such statements if they were in their files.

Contrary to the clamor of the FBI lobby, the Court's decision does not mean that the entire FBI file has to be handed over to defense counsel who may, if the defendant be a Communist, reveal the FBI's investigation methods and innermost secrets to Russian espionage agents. The decision merely stated that the prosecution must release "specific documents" of previous relevant reports or statements of an informant whom the prosecution is placing on the witness stand to testify.

This is a far cry from a procedure endangering the national security, or the justification for rushing through a bill without providing for committee hearings from civil liberties organizations.

The indecent haste with which Senator O'Mahoney (D. of Wyo.) and Rep. Martin (R. of Mass.) have moved at first produced a bill which would have denied an accused in an income tax case access to his own records which the government, as is its usual practice, might have taken into its possession.

After a series of compromises the O'Mahoney bill would allow those accused access to written or oral state-

ments or transcriptions made by witnesses against them. But all that is necessary is for the FBI to stop taking verbatim statements and only make summaries of these statements. The effect would be to circumvent the Supreme Court's decision under the guise of clarifying it.

Senator O'Mahoney was the principal sponsor of the jury trial amendment in the right to vote bill. In the civil rights bill he was full of pious legalisms of the necessity to protect the right to a jury trial. But then at the same time he is proposing a bill which would strip an accused person of the ability to properly organize his defense.

Declining Defense Orders

The government proposes to cut arms spending by about 2.6 billion dollars during the next fiscal year. The biggest cut-back is contemplated for the aircraft industry, which may lose up to 100,000 jobs.

This does not mean that spending for arms will stop being a big factor in the economy. The planned cut-backs are to be from a current rate of 40.2 billion dollars a year to something under 38 billions.

How much trouble does this really spell out for the American economy? No one knows as yet, as it is only one factor among many which has to be taken into account. But quite aside from the role such a cut-back may play in the over-all economic picture, it can have serious political repercussions for the administration in power.

Of course, businessmen's organizations have been among the foremost in demanding that the government retrench in its spending. That does not prevent individual businessmen or industry representatives, when their own direct interests are affected, from applying all the pressure they can to prevent damaging cut-backs in purchases.

The rumor in Washington has it that Vice President Nixon will be assigned two military aides to help him deal with complaints from localities and businessmen who are hurt by cuts in arms spending.

Wouldn't it be more to the point to give Nixon two leaders of the United States Chamber of Commerce whose job it would be to remind other businessmen that government spending is contrary to their interests?