

Behind the Formosa Crisis

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In the Shadow Of the Blackjack

Report on West Coast Maritime Unionism





Voyage to the 19th Century by Harvey O'Connor

F you're thinking of packing your bags for the Trucial Coast any winter, you might write the British Information Services at Rockefeller Center for the "Handbook on the Persian Gulf." It's free, and published for your convenience by the Foreign Office. When you open its pages you can step back a hundred years or more into a quaint world of 19th century imperialism, spiced not by all the perfumes of Arabia, but by the sour crude of petroleum.

The quickest way to get there is via TWA to Dhahran, Saudi Arabia, (fare \$1,365.20 round trip), but if you're Jewish, please don't try that way. The Saudi Arabian embassy won't give you a visa, and that's that.

"That's that" might well be the watchword for the entire Persian Gulf. For if you're not acceptable to the Political Agents of Her Majesty's Government stationed at various points among the "Gulf States," you won't get a visa either. It seems to be closed country.

If you're still interested, the "Handbook" will inform you that the Persian Gulf Residency, as it is termed, was established by the East India Company in the 1700's, later was controlled by His Majesty's Government in India, and had its headquarters (of all places!) in Bushire, Persia. Since India released its attachment to London, the Persian Gulf Residency now seats itself on the island of Bahrain. This has led to no end of hard feelings with Persia (forgive us if it's still Persia and not Iran, for we're transcribing from the "Handbook") because His Majesty,

Harvey O'Connor, whose book "The Empire of Oil" is soon to be published, is noted for widely circulated books like "Mellon's Millions" and "Steel—Dictator." Mr. O'Connor is among those who have been honored by a McCarthy Senate indictment. He is chairman of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee.

the Shah, says he owns Bahrain, and so he does not recognize the British paramountcy either there or in "the other Gulf shaikhdoms" (that's the way the "Handbook" spells the word). So you'd better not try to go from the Gulf States to Iran with a passport containing a British Gulf States visa for it won't be recognized; and if you should post a letter from Bahrain with a stamp bearing Her Majesty's visage, overprinted BAHRAIN, the Iranian postmaster will regard it as unstamped.

f YOU will look in vain in ordinary dictionaries for any definition of "Trucial" as applied to this section of the Arabian coast. But the "Handbook" will tell you that this was the Pirate Coast until 1820 when His Majesty's Navy sailed in and obliged the shaikhs to sign a perpetual truce (hence Trucial) with each other and with "the world at large on the sea." The Admiral also signed treaties with the shaikhs under which they became "Britishprotected States." Along the Trucial Coast the British control all British subjects and foreigners under "extraterritoriality," something which has disappeared from the rest of the globe. This means that if you get into trouble, you'll be dealt with by a British Political Agent (a much nicer word than commissar), rather than by the Shaikh. As there are no hotels "of European standard," the Agent will inquire where you intend to stay, and you'd better have a good answer.



The "Gulf States" include not only the Trucial Coast, but Bahrain, an island off the Arabian coast, Kuwait, a rectangle of desert between Arabia and Iraq, and the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman. While most of them are desert and are occupied, if at all, mostly by wandering Bedouins

with famished camels and goats, nevertheless the Persian Gulf States are a most desirable piece of real estate. They have oil. The Ruler (no other title is given in the "Handbook") of Kuwait has oil coming out of his ears. He gets \$140,000,000 a year, rates as the world's richest personage, and literally doesn't know what to do with it all. He governs "personally," as the "Handbook" puts it, with the assistance of members of his family and the advice of the Political Agent, who is at his wit's end trying to figure out new ways for the Ruler to spend his money and still keep out of trouble. But when the Ruler wants to send a letter somewhere he has to lick a stamp with Queen Elizabeth II's profile on it, overprinted KUWAIT. "The Oil Company have Anglican and Roman Catholic priests," the "Handbook" informs us, but the local water "is too brackish even for the inhabitants."

Let us now depart for Bahrain where another Ruler also governs personally, with the assistance of an Adviser who "performs the functions of Chief Minister." Here the Persian Gulf Squadron of Her Majesty's Royal Navy has its station when the Senior Naval Officer "is not at sea." The Royal Air Force also hangs out here. The Political Resident, the Political Agent and the Adviser "keep callingbooks at their houses in which visitors who care to meet them can enter their names." If you want to see the Ruler, please make your

arrangements through either the Political Agent or the Adviser.

UNLIKE British Kenya, where they have Mau Maus, "there is nothing to shoot in Bahrain except a few snipe, and the importation of arms and ammunition is forbidden." For spiritual guidance, Anglicans may turn to the Bishop of Jerusalem, Roman Catholics to the Bishop of Aden. But Friday is the usual holiday, in deference to Muslim customs, except at the Residency, where it's Sunday. There is no income tax, in case you're still interested.

But there is oil. The Ruler personally receives about \$6,000,000 a year, of which graciously he is pleased to retain only a third for the Privy Purse.

It is from Bahrain that you set out for the Trucial Coast, to such shaikhdoms as Abu Dhabi, Dubai, Sharjah, Ajman, Umm-al-Qaiwain, Ras al Khaimah and Fujairah. You are met on arrival by customs officials hardly less ragged than the beggars who surround you from every vantage point. The "Handbook," being official, doesn't say this, but an Overseas News Agency man who was there vouches for it. For customs are about the only revenue for most of these shaikhs, aside from British subventions, when it seems wise. The only exception is Qatar, where there is oil, and customs don't matter much. The shaikh there is getting some \$15,000,000 a year and is assisted in spending it and "in conducting the internal government of the country" by an Adviser. The Commandant and the Superintendent of Police, need we add, are also British.

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Qatar is a preserve of the Iraq Petroleum Company, which is owned 23.75 percent by Anglo-Iranian (British Petroleum), 23.75 percent by the Royal Dutch Shell group. 23.75 percent by Standard of New Jersey, 23.75 percent by the Cie. Française des Petroles, and 5 percent by C. S. Gulbenkian, an enterprising Armenian who collects art as well as oil royalties. If you're concerned about the provenance of the princely revenues of the Ruler of Kuwait, they come from a company owned one-half by our very own Gulf Oil and one-half by Anglo-Iranian. It seems that the bright British geophysicists discovered that there was no oil in Kuwait, so Gulf went in and found some, and then had to divvy up with Anglo-Iranian. The British, it turned out, had a treaty with the Ruler which forbade him to sign oil concessions without British conseni, so Andy Mellon's company had to take in a partner whether it wanted one or not.

The British geophysicists also said there was no oil in Bahrain, so Standard of Calirornia went in and found some, and let Texas Company in on the deal. Then they crossed the narrow strait to Saudi Arabia and established Arabian American Oil (Aramco) as a 50-50 venture. That was too much for Standard of New Jersey, which demanded in. So now the quotas are Standard of California 30 percent, Texas Company 30 percent, Standard of New Jersey 30 percent, and Socony 10 percent.

But enough of these mercenary details about romantic, aromatic Araby, where it is impolite to turn the soles of your feet toward your host, and where a service of rose water and incense means: You may go now.

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Behind The Formosa Crisis

THE crisis over Formosa drives home the lesson that war and peace are poised on a razor's edge. The recurrence of "incidents" and "little wars" in such rapid succession makes people fearful that at any moment events may get out of control and the war of annihilation begin.

In the past five years, the world has been subjected to one scare after another. The Korean "police action" billowed out into a savagely fought small war involving big armies, big casualties and big costs, and devastating that unhappy country from one end to the other. When that war was finally ended by carving up the country, we had the Indochinese scare with proposals made in high places to atombomb that country, and set off the world conflagration. Then, a settlement was effected at Geneva by carving up that country, and people boasted that for the first time in years there was no shooting going on in any portion of the globe. Now, scarcely more than a half-year later, we have a new war crisis-again in the Far East---6,000 miles from the shores of the United States.

It is entirely possible, as some of our slick newspaper strategists aver, that Eisenhower and Dulles are attempting by a blackmail operation to achieve a settlement of detaching Formosa and the Pescadores from China, in return for which the Mao government will be able to get hold of its offshore islands, and rid itself of the worst of Chiang Kai-shek's naval harassments and blockade. But without becoming too involved in abstruse speculations and guessing at the intentions of political and military leaders, the facts and results of the policy are writ plain for all to see.

The United States has mounted the most massive military intervention in another country's affairs since the Allied powers sent their troops into Russia after the 1917 revolution, with the Seventh Fleet, reinforced to five air-

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craft carriers and over 100 ships, patroling the Chinese seas. We have signed a hard-and-fast treaty of military alliance with the discredited adventurer, Chiang Kai-shek. Admiral Radford, Senator Knowland and the preventivewar crowd have had their hands strengthened. And the U.S. Congress has turned over to the President what has been called a "pre-dated declaration of war." Such a provocative course can be called a policy of peace only by depraved cynics, or on the theory that the other side will become frightened and crawl before our might.

The whys and wherefores of the Formosa question are not complicated. The island was stolen in 1895 by force of arms from China by Japan. In 1943, the U.S. and British representatives solemnly promised in their Cairo declaration that it would be returned to China at the end of the war. Japan surrendered Formosa when it signed the peace treaty with the West. The was is over for ten years. Why isn't the territory returned to its rightful owner?

COME newspaper pundits have \mathbf{S} thought up a fancy explanation. "Yes," they say, "all this is true, but who represents China?" Well, it is quite evident that China is represented by the communist government, and not by the corrupt clique which was driven out of the country at the end of the civil war. But, in any case, this is not a matter for the Washington politicians to determine. Who appointed Eisenhower, Dulles and Radford as the trinity of deities to preside over the destinies of mankind and to render judgments on all disputes taking place in the various sections of the globe? The American people have no interest in meddling in Chinese quarrels, and its political and military leaders have no business trying to dictate to other peoples how to arrange their national affairs.

Some commentators have even hand-

ed us the astonishing argument that Formosa is strategically necessary for the United States, as if that was sufficient to justify its seizure. Necessary for what? This is an argument of Prussian militarists and unbridled imperialists, to whom the rights of peoples mean nothing. Suppose our Pentagon strategists decide tomorrow that Ireland is necessary to protect our bases in England, or that all of England is necessary to protect our bases in France. Would that justify the military grabbing these countries? Imperialism never was and never will be a policy in the interests of the American people, and will not be supported by them, if it is truthfully explained, and if they are permitted to pass upon it.

Some are mesmerized nowadays with what passes for "global thinking": Isn't communism swallowing up one country after another, and won't this country be surrounded in time and rendered helpless before the monster from the East, unless we resist now while we have the power? We will not embark here on a discussion of capitalism, socialism, the evolution of social forms and systems in history, the changing needs and desires of peoples, and related questions. We will keep the discussion on the level of the newspaper propagandists, whose main intellectual inspiration seems to come from Mickey Spillane. Take a look at a map, and see which country it is whose military bases are dotted all over Europe, the Near East, North Africa, the Philippines, Okinawa and Japan. Is it Russia, or is it the United States?

NEXT, let us glance at the military spending of the two powers. We hear the Russians and the Chinese have huge armies, while we are told that we are cutting down our army manpower. The newspapers are out to deliberately mislead American public opinion. In an analysis prepared for the Joint Congressional Committee on the Economic Report, the experts estimate that in 1953 Russia spent the equivalent of \$17 billion, while the United States in that year spent \$51 billion-in other words, three times as much. Even if we throw in for good measure all of China's military budget -a maximum of \$3 billion-the United States would still be spending two-anda-half times more than both Russia and China, countries with a combined

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population of 800 million people. Who then is the aggressor, who is threatening whom, who is trying to overwhelm others with its military preponderance?

We have heard some liberals readily admit to all these basic factors in the situation. But, they say, Eisenhower is trying to calm things down, and wasn't it a piece of criminal stupidity on the part of the Chinese leaders to rock the boat at this time by imprisoning the eleven American fliers, and then proceeding to take by force the Yikiang islands? The matter of trying to determine who is the formal aggressor in a fast-moving diplomatic tugof-war is always a risky, and sometimes impossible undertaking. In 1870, for instance, many of the world chancelleries were of the opinion that Napoleon III of France was the aggressor against Germany. Only later, when secret documents came to light, was it apparent that the wily Bismarck had forced the French emperor into war. But in the present conflict, the sequence of events is by no means this difficult to determine, even if we narrow our gaze to the diplomatic chess board, and ignore the underlying questions.

The spokesman of British Big Business, The Economist, does not go along at all with the official American explanation of who started the rumpus. It states bluntly in the February 5 issue: "The drawing up of a formal defense pact covering America's relations with the Chiang Kai-shek regime was a blow to the Chinese in Peking, which they felt they could not ignore. The news last summer that such a pact was in the offing stirred them to action and marked the beginning of the present crisis. There is no reason to doubt that the Chinese Communist government meant exactly what it said in the Peking People's Daily when the pact was signed in Washington: the Chinese people 'will never stop till Taiwan (Formosa) is liberated and will never forget the date of December 2."

WHAT are the immediate prospects of resolving the crisis? As matters stand now, China is refusing to come to the UN Security Council in order to bargain away some of its rights, and the West has turned down the Moscow proposal for a 10-power conference which would exclude Chiang Kai-shek. It therefore appears as it if will be quite a while before it becomes possible to effect a settlement. China obviously has no intention of agreeing to any legalization of the Chiang Kai-shek crew which is dedicated to overthrowing the Mao government and to involving the United States in starting the third world war. Neither is China willing to agree to any detachment of Formosa and the Pescadores.

The Washington leaders on their side might be willing to bargain away the off-shore islands, but are determined to hang on to Formosa. Their policy derives, in reality, not so much from the strategic importance of the island, but from their determination not to recognize the Chinese revolution as an accomplished fact. We are therefore entering a more or less extended period of uncertainty in the Far East, with the possibilities for sporadic shooting and even a "little war" erupting in the Chinese waters, and all the incalculable dangers that these create.

In the Senate discussion on the "preventive war" joint resolution, only three Senators - Morse, Langer and Lehman — had the temerity to vote against, once the heat was turned on. And even these three did not find fault with the basic policy of the administration. The American people are therefore in great peril if they depend on either the administration or the Democratic liberals to preserve the peace. A peoples' peace movement is long overdue. This matter of war and peace is too important to be left in the hands of military men and politicians in the service of imperialism. By all indications - Congressional mail, newspaper letters, personal observation, and echoes in the union movement-administration policy is starting to meet more opposition than was the case in previous adventures. The common people have to find a vehicle to make their voices heard, and to have their interests shape the policies of government.

Are the Unions Safe?

THERE have been recent signs that the leaders of American unions have been feeling some misgivings about their studied ostrich policy towards the witch-hunt. The roarings of the McCarthy debate which rent the political atmosphere last summer and fall seem to have awakened some of them to the fact that there is something out of the ordinary going on, and helped them to catch up with the Senator Flanders-type conservatives under the circumstances, a step forward.

The CIO convention resolution on civil liberties last fall, while it raised false hopes in some who didn't realize

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AMERICAN SOCIALIST

that the CIO has been passing ritual resolutions of this kind for the past five years, nevertheless was somewhat stronger in wording and more specific in recommendation than previously. Since the passage of this resolution, the CIO has shown sufficient interest to file, together with the auto union, a friend-of-the-court brief in the case of Yale University medical professor Dr. John P. Peters, who has been ousted from a government consultant's post on the basis of unsubstantiated allegations by unrevealed witnesses.

But a genuine campaign effort is still not forthcoming. The continuing hands-off apathy on labor's part is all the more remarkable in view of the devastation which could be wrought in the labor movement with the weapons now being forged by the witch-hunters. The Communist Control Act of 1954 provides what is tantamount to government licensing of unions. The security purging, as it spreads into the field of private industry, is placing into the hands of American corporations a lethal weapon against the unions. Thousands of firings that have already taken place, in the maritime screenings, in the electrical and aviation industries, in steel, rubber and a dozen other industries, have included not just Communists, not just some radicals of other persuasions, but many plain union militants-and certain management representatives have openly boasted as much.

The recent ruling by District of Columbia Federal Judge Charles F. Mc-Laughlin is truly a loud warning signal. McLaughlin ruled that a worker who had been fired by the General Electric Corporation after he pleaded the Fifth Amendment before a McCarthy hearing should not get his job back. Then, going further, the judge stated that employers have a right to fire anyone they please for any cause they please unless specifically prevented by a definite contract clause. This loose and broad ruling gives a boss the right —among other things—to screen the political opinions of his employees and fire those whose views he doesn't like.

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GIVE the wheel one more turn and not a very big one either and the entire artillery can be swung against the now officially sanctioned unions; the present local fires can become a raging blaze to devastate the entire labor movement. The apparent smugness of the labor leaders is almost beyond comprehension when one recalls that this same labor movement, with many of its present leaders, had to face the cry of "communism" in its battle to establish itself, at a time when that cry did not have half the dangerous potency that it has today. By what guarantee can they feel secure that the industrialists will resist the overpowering temptation to use it again against the unions at large?

A dangerous abyss opens before the unions in the coming years as a result of one salient fact: The union leaders, some six years ago, submitted themselves to the yoke of government "approval" and agreed to give to the industrialists the right to pass judgment on the political opinions of union bodies and union members. At the State Department's behest, they drove a group of eleven unions with close to a million members out of the CIO. They signed the Taft-Hartley "non-communist" affidavits, and agreed to hang their entire existence on the single shaky peg of sufferance by the rulers of the land. John L. Lewis, in refusing to sign the Taft-Hartley oath, is not any more radical than any other union leader. He simply refuses to give up that elementary precept-once accepted by most union leaders-that one must never make the security of the union contingent upon the tolerance of one's enemy.

The trouble with the union leaders' present utterances and actions on the witch-hunt is that they accept the essential principle of it, and only fight, like many of the liberals, for correction of some of the abuses, cases of mistaken identity, etc. But once it is accepted that the government and the capitalists have the right to a program of wholesale discharges of "security risks"-everything else follows. A political police is needed to scrutinize the thinking and affiliations of the people; the policeman holds the whip hand. And a system of political policing has a logic of its own. It brings the most reactionary elements to the fore, and it feeds on a constant broadening of the area of surveillance. In the process, mistakes are of course madelike Lattimore and Oppenheimer and Ladejinsky and Annie Lee Moss, etc. etc.-mistakes which never seem to get corrected even after everybody admits them to be mistakes. And, pretty soon, the emboldened witch-hunters stop calling them mistakes.

CAN the witch-hunt be placed under liberal control and restricted within "proper" bounds as the union leaders hope? We have had two pretty conclusive practical proofs that it cannot. The first was the fact that every single tendency exhibited under Eisenhower was also seen under Truman. And the Truman regime was far more liberal and far more amenable to labor pressure than anything the Democrats are likely to produce in their next try. The second proof was the fact that the logic of the witch-hunt-once accepted in its essentials-is so powerful that it has made eager accomplices of the Senate liberals, the most liberal grouping in the Democratic Party.

The only weapon, the only recourse, is the rejection in toto of the basis upon which the whole monstrous edifice stands: the attempt to scourge, ostracize and outlaw a labor political tendency by governmental fiat. That is wrong, it is undemocratic, it is harmful, and-worst of all-it is dangerous to labor itself. And above all, the labor movement must begin now to take a firm stand against the notion that workers can be fired from their jobs because of radical opinions. The "security" angle is a complete fake in the factory cases-all of the secret work is in the hands of engineers and technicians. It is nothing but a cover for the drive against militants, dissenters and good union men.

Let no one forget that the only instances when a congressional committee of inquisitors was defeated in its aims and driven in confusion and rout from the scene of battle were the two cases where labor took a firm and militant stand. The Velde committee packed up and scooted out of San Francisco in December 1953 after a massive labor protest, spearheaded by the International Longshore Workers Union, made its position untenable and its stay unfruitful. And the Clardy sub-committee failed in its near-successful drive to smash the Detroit Square D strike when an aroused auto labor movement took the field against it without stopping to get a kosher certificate for the striking union from Washington. Those were the only two clear-cut and unmistakable victories, and they still point the way for labor.

What the Colonial People Want

by Harry Braverman

THE industrialization of the so-called backward or under-developed countries is a comparatively recent idea. A few generations ago, the people of colonial Asia, Africa, South America—insofar as they were not dormant —were seeking for a nook or cranny in which to hide from imperialist exploitation, or for a way to drive out the invader and return to old-time modes of life. Today these people are reaching out for the benefits of an industrialized society. And when they seized upon the idea of industrialization, they seized it with a fervor and zeal that has thrown the world into the greatest uproar. Imperialism had indeed done its work well of awakening the colonial world from the slumber of centuries—too well for its own good.

One of the early rationalizations of the imperialists was that they would bring the advantages of modern industry and science to the colonial lands. Yet today, after several hundred years of British imperialism in India and elsewhere, after a hundred years of manhandling China, of French rule in Indochina, a half-century after the American grab of the Philippines and the dominance of the U.S. in all Latin America, scores of years after European penetration into the recesses of Africa, the ancient lands remain still undeveloped, poverty-stricken, crude in their agriculture, almost barren of industry, miserable in standards of health and life.

Sixty-seven percent of the world's population, over one and one-half billion people, continue to live in subsistence economies in which primitive agriculture is predominant. This two-thirds of the world has an average per capita income not much over \$50 a year. Where the average use of electricity in the U.S. per person in 1946 was 1,610 kilowatt hours, and in some European countries was as high as 3,500, in countries like Egypt, Turkey and Greece it was below 40.

The poorest two-thirds of the world hardly ever gets enough to eat—the children are said to be always hungry. It has been calculated that fully 60 percent of the world's people do not get the daily minimum of 2,500 calories required by a person doing even the lightest kind of work. Yet their work is generally far from light. Disease, infant mortality, undernourishment and the absence of medical care and elementary hygiene—because of all this the life expectancy at birth is only between 25 and 30 years.

I^F imperialism penetrated these lands in order to exploit them, and if, in order to intensify exploitation, imperialism brought in machinery and modern methods, how is it How can the world's primitive areas build modern, industrialized economies? This biggest question of our century is at the core of Asian, African and South American politics as people strive to clean up mess left by centuries of imperialism.

that such conditions still remain? The answer to this question is really most important, as it reveals just how the colonial nations were kept at their present low estate, and also just why the industrialized capitalist nations cannot, without first altering their own social and economic institutions, aid fundamentally the under-developed lands.

The pattern of imperialist exploitation has been the intensive development of a few raw-material-supplying industries (often only one in a country), while the rest of the subjugated land remained in the darkness of centuries. The name of Iran has become, for example, practically synonymous with oil. But, in that country, the oil industry normally employs only about two percent of the population, and 85 percent of the population still lives from primitive agriculture, ferociously exploited by the landlord class. "The oil industry," wrote A. Kessel, an Iranian oil engineer, in the *Nation* (Sept. 11, 1954), "has been simply an isolated production island with a minimum of contacts with the rest of the economy."

In his 1953 book called "Problems of Capital Formation in the Underdeveloped Countries," Professor Ragnar Nurkse of Columbia University contends that this pattern of exploitation "can be readily accounted for on obvious economic grounds. There is nothing sinister about it. The explanation lies, on the one hand, in the poverty of the local consumers in the under-developed countries, and , on the other, in the large and, in the Nineteenth Century, vigorously expanding markets for primary products in the world's industrial centers."

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Granting Mr. Nurkse his "obvious economic grounds" for these were surely the reason for the lopsided economic structure that arose in the colonies—his implication that the economy "just growed" that way is far from right. The economic need gave rise to a colonial policy, the colonial policy was strictly enforced, the local efforts to gain industrial and commercial strength were looked upon as a challenge to the imperialist power and quashed. In her excellent pre-war summary, "Industrialization of the Western Pacific" (1942), Kate Mitchell characterizes the general policy:

In varying degrees, the leading imperialist powers in Southeast Asia proceeded on the assumption that the chief value of a colony is as a source of essential raw materials for the manufactures of the mother country. To this end, they discouraged the establishment of any modern industries in their colonies which might make their subjects less dependent upon foreign manufac-

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tures, or which might lead to the rise of a native industrialist class strong enough to challenge the financial and commercial control of the mother countries.

VER the years, the colonial capitalist classes have been stunted in their growth, and the most prosperous sections have been those dependent upon imperialism and even attached to it in an agent or comprador capacity. The semi-feudal aristocracies and landowning parasitic classes have been preserved and sometimes even reinforced as part of the necessary scheme of things in the imperialist rule over the colonies. Thus the imperialist powers, after breaking up old modes of life, have prevented the development in the colonial regions of an industrialized capitalism similar to their own. They have feared, and with good reason, that newly industrialized capitalist nations would cease to be mere pawns for exploitation, would resist the looting, prevent the metropolitan nations from manipulating the terms of trade in their own interest, and would develop into competitors in the world market.

The recent example of Guatemala is significant. The outcry of "communism" has tended to conceal from public view the fact that the program of the capitalist and petty-capitalist elements who controlled the government after the successful revolution of October 1944 was nothing but the development of capitalism. That is what they said and that is how they acted. Yet it was this very ambition to develop their own capitalism that so angered the imperialist interests. It meant that imperialism would lose its stranglehold and its super-profitable exploitation. That is why imperialism tries to freeze colonial social development at the level of ancient semi-feudal landlordism covered by a thin veneer of industrial enterprises: the raw materials industries together with the transportation network required to serve them.

THE actions of the major imperialist nations today, their political and military policies of propping up the feudal-reactionary leaders of the colonial regions, their capital investment programs which still run—more heavily than ever—along the raw-materials exploitation channel, these actions show that the leopard has not changed its spots, and that imperialism remains the foremost enemy of the social changes needed in the unindustrialized areas before they can be developed.

But how about those lands where the imperialists have been forced to retreat, where political sovereignty has been won, such as India, Burma, Indonesia, etc.? What are the prospects for a self-industrialization of those countries by their present governments? In these lands, even though the imperialists no longer control the government apparatus, the conditions left behind by imperialism remain as a barrier to industrialization. This point must be developed in detail.

Industrialization can go forward in the under-developed lands if necessary, by the accumulation of a surplus each year, in the form of machinery and other instruments of labor, out of the work of the people, and without any gifts from abroad. The Soviet Union, after all, lifted itself to the industrial heights of the world through an operation in which outside aid was a minor element. True, this is the much harder and costlier way, but if circumstances compel, it can be done. But what cannot be done is the accumulation of such an industrial apparatus under social conditions of capitalism. That is a fact overlooked by those who think that a little (or a lot) of Point Four aid is all that is required. For the chief characteristic of these lands is their social inability to make use of accumulations of wealth as industrializing capital even when they have it. It is this, and not lack of "know-how," that is crucial.

In 1949, a United Nations' study ("Relative Prices of Exports and Imports of Under-Developed Countries") pointed out that the trend of prices has been such that the colonial countries have to pay an ever-larger amount in exports for the same quantity of imports. If, this study estimated, the 1947 terms of trade were put back to the 1913 level, this would yield the under-developed countries from \$21/2 to \$3 billion extra, which could be used, the UN thought, for economic development and industrialization. Within a short time, something like this actually occurred, but, contrary to the UN notion, no lasting benefit resulted. During the Korean War, there was a big boom in the prices of primary raw materials produced in the colonial countries. In 1951 alone, these countries realized an added income of about \$2 billion on the same volume of exports as in 1950 (even after taking into account the higher prices they had to pay for industrial goods). It was a switch of the terms of trade in their favor.

But what happened when many of the colonial-type countries had added income? They, in most cases, proved unable to convert it into industrializing capital. Most of the income went into luxury goods, and where the import of luxury goods was limited, it went into the enlargement of the domestic luxury industries, and into additional

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hoards, both in their own banks and in foreign banks, credited to the accounts of the native satraps.

PROFESSOR NURKSE, in his above-mentioned book, proceeds on the premise that all the undeveloped countries need is more capital to give them a start, and they can't get it because they are too poor to begin with. He ignores the essential element of social institutions and economic patterns entirely. And yet he himself points out-while failing to see the significance of his pointthat, in terms of savings from the national income, Latin America possesses the possibility of a good-sized capital formation each year. Estimates of the average savings ratio show that it was about eight percent of the national income in 1949, and probably higher in later years, which is enough to provide a fair rate of expansion of industrial capacity. But the savings tend to go largely into money hoards, expansion of luxury consumer industries, extravagant and productively useless public works, fabulous upperincome residential construction-into almost everything but industrial expansion.

In Venezuela, Harvey O'Connor pointed out in his informative article for Monthly Review (July 1951), the national revenue has grown tremendously. In 1917, the government budget was only \$20 million; in 1950, due to oil royalties, this had risen to \$525 million. Yet the country is even less self-sufficient than it used to be. It must now import part of its food supply. The money is spent on "expensive baubles"---immense highways, luxury hotels, administrative buildings. The vast majority of the population continues to live in the ancient way, impoverished and exploited on farms which are tilled by outmoded and primitive methods. "Barcelona [Venezuela] has no sewage system," says Mr. O'Connor, "but its airport is better than Philadelphia's." Only the oil regions and those other places where the foreigner must have his conveniences have been really altered.

In the Middle East oil lands, the money goes into the most expensive modes of life for the royal upper crust. It is heaped upon the scales in glittering pyramids to match the weight of hefty rulers. Imported motor cars, glassed-in swimming pools, dozens of little-used establishments in the pleasure spots of the world are the rule for the rich. In Iraq, the fast-rising oil revenue of recent years—most of which is supposed to be set aside for "development and education"—goes into the "development" of the biggest private estates, after which rents are raised for the peasants who work them.

A^S this point—the inability of the capitalist classes of the colonial areas to transform money into large-scale industrial capital and thus to fulfill capitalism's historic function of industrializing the economy—is plainly a crucial one, the reasons behind it are worth investigating carefully.

In the first place, capital tends to flow most readily into those areas of the economy in which it will yield the highest rate of profit. Under colonial conditions, where the mass of the population is impoverished and the mass market thus extremely limited, and where on the other side a thin layer of landowners and functionaries has grown extremely wealthy, trade in luxury goods offers the quickest and most substantial profits. Large-scale industrial production requires a heavy investment, does not begin to pay off for quite a while, and, most important, must meet the competition of the imperialist nations with their high productivity of labor and fully developed machinery of commerce.



Early capitalism in America, Germany, etc., also faced many of these problems. But the difficulties were met by strong central governments, which used the state power like a piledriver to sink the foundation of an industrial economy. Infant industry was given tariff protection, bounties, huge grants in one form or another. The Hamiltonian system in America, and the later expansion of that system in the post-Civil War period, are examples of the manner in which the early industrialists and financiers used the state power as an instrument with which to equalize the rate of industrial profit to the rate of merchant profit, and to give special encouragement to the development of industry. Furthermore, the rise of the present capitalist-industrial nations took place in the period of the swelling of the world market, while today the world market is shrinking and is already pre-empted by imperialism. And without ready access to an expanding world market which could supplement the slim home market, it is doubtful that large-scale industry can be developed on a capitalist basis.

UT possibly the capitalist classes of the colonial areas can develop a great home market among their vast populations and thus make industrial development very profitable and attractive to investment? This brings us to our second point. The chief market for capitalist industry (in the period before a big urban working class is developed) is the class of independent farmers. Slaves, plantation serfs, semi-free or bond labor living on a bare subsistence minimum-or below it-under primitive conditions of feudal, plantation or share-tenant farming do not form an adequate market for industrial products. Capitalism, in its early development, revolutionized social conditions on the land as a concomitant to its revolution in production in the cities. Thus the French Revolution smashed serfdom, broke up the big estates, and launched the independent peasant class of France; the American Revolution broke up the manorial estates of the middle

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colonies and in much of the South, and at a later stage abolished slavery; the English Revolution cracked up the feudal and manorial land structure and spread the yeomanry over the countryside.

That revolution in agriculture has never been accomplished in Asia, Africa, and much of South America. The big landholders, even when they may become anti-imperialist to a limited degree, remain the chief bulwark against the agrarian revolution. Can the small and weak capitalist classes pioneer a revolution on the land? This has been strongly answered in the negative by experience. Colonial capitalism developed not as a revolutionary social and economic movement, but as a conservative form of exploitation. It did not revolutionize existing social relations, but merged into them, and cautiously found ways to coin profits in the crevices of the ancient social structure. Under these conditions, the capitalist classes are not the enemies of the landlords, but their partners, connected to them by a thousand strands of economics and politics. Not in India, nor in Burma, nor in Indonesia, where the political power of imperialism has been delimited and a degree of sovereignty achieved, has the new capitalistlandlord coalition revolutionized land relations. In Burma, despite much talk, what appears to be in the offing is at best some insufficient reforms along the lines of what was done in Eastern Europe between the two wars. In these countries the heads of state talk of bringing "socialism" in order to appease the masses, but they haven't even brought capitalism to the countryside.

IT IS in this fact, the indigestibility of capital in the colonial economies, that one can discover why U.S. aid to Asian lands has been very meager compared to Marshall Plan aid to Europe. The colonial economies, unlike those in Europe, have no way of absorbing large amounts of money by converting it into productive capital, because such a process upsets the traditional social relationships,

A Loan from the U.S.A.

ALL over Asia there is a story of the Prime Minister of the little country of Monaco, who under the Marshall Plan asked for \$10 million, and he was told, "We can get you that; that is not a big amount. How is your Communist problem in Monaco?" He said, "We have no Communist problem; we are poor people but sensible people." This man shook his head and said: "How do you expect us to get the American Congress to give you any money if you have no Communists?"

He went all the way to France, and he stopped at the government building and said to the Foreign Minister, "My friend, I am in trouble. We have a desperate economic condition. Our people are hungry. We have no money. I can't get a loan from the United States on the Marshall Plan; I have no Communists. Could you loan me a thousand Communists for a few days, and let them come to Monaco and shake their fists and march behind banners, and the American newsreel photographers will take pictures, they will be shown all over America, and I will get my \$10 million."

And the French Minister stroked his beard and looked out the window and said: "No; we would like to be a good neighbor, but France needs every Communist she has."

> Chester Bowles at the 1953 CIO Convention

and neither the donors nor even, in most cases, the recipients of the aid can permit that to happen. Thus American aid to these lands has been limited to virtually direct bribes to the high-living aristocrats and landowners, in return for which the State Department extorts military bases and expects support in foreign policy matters. And that is why, despite talk of a "big" Asian aid program in Washington, the talk is sure to simmer down to a fairly modest outlay, in no way comparable to the huge quantities shipped to Europe. Here, in indirect form, is another proof of the inability of the capitalists and landowners of the undeveloped lands, even where they are befriended by the richest imperialist land, to absorb industrializing capital under their present setup.

The corruption and theft of American aid under Chiang Kai-shek in China (and now in Formosa) stemmed from the social structure, not from corrupt personal traits primarily. The same is true of Korean "relief and rehabilitation" money. A year ago, Rep. Charles B. Brownson (R. Ind.) head of a congressional investigating team, reported that Syngman Rhee, who has insisted on control of every relief penny, is not building schools, hospitals, housing, industrial and agricultural equipment with relief money, or even investing it mainly in food and medical care. Instead, he plans a super-highway, a chain of American-style motels, a new capitol building, a super-power radio transmitter beamed to North Korea.

He has insisted on the conversion of a big office building in Seoul into a luxury hotel—at a cost of \$2 million complete with bars, cocktail lounge, garden rooms, starlight room, and a Hollywood-type steak restaurant. This in war-ravaged Korea! It is almost unbelievable, but better understood when one realizes that Rhee is a most belligerent representative of a landlord class for whom the worst possible calamity would be an improvement in living standards and educational opportunities for the people. And the U.S., by the very exigencies of the "war against communism," as well as its general imperialist interests, is irrevocably committed to the same course. It can rest on no other social class than that represented by the Syngman Rhees, Chiang Kai-sheks, Bao Dais, Arab sheiks, etc.

THE highly touted Point Four program and Colombo plan have not changed matters much, and show no sign of being able to in the future. Insofar as the imperialist nations continue to ship investment funds into the colonies, it follows—despite all talk—precisely the same pattern as in the past. Almost all American overseas investment during the postwar period has gone into the production of primary raw materials, thus reproducing the servant-master relationship of the past. Over 90 percent of recent direct investment in colonial lands, according to the Gray report on Point Four, has gone into oil production. It is vain to expect the imperialist representatives to remedy, by more of the same sort of activity, the intolerable situation which this activity produced in the first place.

The "technical advice" programs, while they may have helped to raise production a bit here and there, are programs of frustration to the colonial people, since they can do nothing but scratch at the surface. Egyptian Prime

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Minister Nasser, who, like other in-between colonial rulers, expresses some of the feelings of the people without severing his connections with the landlords and imperialists, told the U.S. News in a September 1954 interview:

Point Four gives a country a little technical aid, but there is no material result that can be seen by people when they look around them. Nobody can feel the technical assistance. The man in the street has to see a material thing, and he doesn't see it. It is widely thought here, as a matter of fact, that Point Four is a sort of project that the U.S. Government is using to employ Americans abroad, because there is unemployment in the United States. . . There was a Point Four project for breeding better chickens, and now everybody jokes about it. They all laugh about American "chicken aid." The saying is that, after all the talk about American aid, all we got were a lot of chickens.

Thus far, Point Four has not been an investment plan, but a plan for technical assistance and for encouragement to investment, with very slim results. The Colombo plan, which actually proposes a schedule of investments by participating powers, is also not headed for any great deeds. Even if the contemplated investments under that plan are made, they can be expected to barely keep up with population growth, so that the per capita investment position of these countries will not be altered.

INDIA, where the Nehru regime has often spoken of industrialization and even has a five-year plan running now in pale imitation of the Chinese and Russian plans, doesn't seem to be holding its own. Here again, if the contemplated plan is successful, it will do little more than hold the present per capita level of national income, and unemployment is expected to be a good deal larger at the conclusion of the plan than it was at the outset.

The example of India is very revealing. If industrialization can be achieved anywhere by the colonial capitalists, it is there. India has all the basic technical pre-requisites —a large land area with adequate natural resources, large population with huge unemployment at present. It boasts the strongest of the colonial capitalist classes; the class which planned industrialization most ambitiously during the years when it was pushing for freedom from British control. In its Tata plan of 1942, it projected a \$33 billion investment program over a three to five year period.

Yet, in its first five-year plan, only \$4 billion of new investment is actually expected. Land reform proceeds at a snail's pace. The Congress Party left wing, putting forward the most ambitious plan in that party, actually favors the development of *small-scale village industry* with a *minimum* of capital expenditure, in order to keep the industrialization program moderate and unburdensome.

In truth, there has not been a single case during the Twentieth Century—outside of the exceptional and highly specialized instance of Manchuria, which Japan industrialized as part of a conscious plan of the extension of its own capitalism to the Asian mainland—where a formerly backward country was industrialized under capitalist auspices. When then is the answer? How will the under-developed lands get the industrialization which they so ardently reach for, and which they must have to catch up with the West in living standards?

The sole practical demonstrations of industrialization on the required scale have been given by the countries which have abolished capitalism, nationalized industry and operate under a plan and with an economy of a generically socialist type. Russia did it, and nobody doubts —even including the atrocity-mongers of the daily press —that China will accomplish it, given sufficient time.

Here is the real reason why the U.S. is losing the propaganda war in the East. Not because Soviet propagandists are more forceful than American, but because the propaganda of the deed is always more emphatic than the propaganda of the word. It means nothing to the colonial people that America or Britain has a very high standard of living—higher than that of Russia. What is significant to them is that a nation comparable to their own has broken the iron ring—the vicious circle of poverty-whichbreeds-poverty—and lifted itself into the topmost ranks of industrial power. And from industrial power, the colonial people correctly figure, all other types of modern power and material improvements can flow.

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THE secret of the industrial success of the Soviet-bloc countries can be summarized in two simple points. First, being free of all ties to landlordism, corrupt merchant capitalism and imperialism, these new regimes can undertake all the necessary measures of agrarian revolution; battle against ancient remnants of superstition, illiteracy, religious barriers, bondage of women; protect infant industry, etc., without any hesitancy.

Second, being a socialist movement and not being bound by the profit motive, the new force in Asia can plan production, allocate resources, build new industries, invest in basic industries at a *present* loss, without being inhibited by the lack of profitability in the immediate and personal sense, and without being attracted by the lures of quick-profit luxury turnovers, etc. The chief idea in these economies is not investment of capital at a profit, but the *social profitability* of the new industries in the sense that they contribute to the industrialization of the nation. This must be understood as the salient economic fact of the new societies. It remains true whether one considers their rulers to be generous humanitarians, selfish power-seeking monsters, or anything else. It is an objective fact dictated by the basic economic structure.

The general meaning of this entire analysis can be formulated very simply: Under modern conditions, it is not any longer possible for the capitalist class of a backward land to accomplish even such jobs as the reform of the system of land ownership, expansion of trade, industrialization of the economy, etc. As has happened in Russia, and as is now beginning to happen in China, the work which early capitalism accomplished in the advanced metropolitan countries must now be done by socialist methods.

Meanwhile, the Twentieth Century is being marked for the books as the century in which, whatever else may yet occur, the formerly ground-down and oppressed peoples of colonialism rose to their feet and heaved the master from their backs, and set out to find their own future, their own destiny, their own improvements in the conditions of their lives, in their own way.



Assault against militant unionism: How a government-employer barrage, aided by a raiding and reactionary union leader, threatens to smash stewards' department union in West Coast maritime industry.

In the Shadow of the Blackjack

by Al Burton

San Francisco A SEVEN-YEAR struggle for survival by the steward's department seamen on the Pacific Coast is now coming to a climax. Since 1948, this group of union seamen has stood firm in the face of raids, employer-provoked strikes, red-baiting, adverse court decisions, Taft-Hartley indictments, expulsion from the CIO, hostile NLRB rulings, Coast Guard screening, goons and gunmen. For three years they have had no contract with the ship operators.

The current raid against the steward's department is being conducted by the Sailors Union of the Pacific. The story of the raid is a sordid one, shocking even to those inured to gross unfairness and injustice by years of the witch-hunt. The viability of the little stewards' union, and its fighting will to exist, has surprised many observers over the past few years. But for those close to the scene, the resistance was expected.

The main West Coast maritime unions which arose from the great union victory of 1934 are now known as: International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU), led by Harry Bridges, and embracing longshoremen, fishermen, cannery workers and warehousemen on the Pacific Coast, longshoremen and plantation workers in Hawaii; Marine Firemen, Oilers, Watertenders and Wipers Association (MFOW), with V. J. Malone as its president, covering workers in the engine room on Pacific Coast ships; Sailor's Union of the Pacific (SUP), of which Harry Lundeberg is secretary-treasurer, with contracts for deck hands on West Coast vessels; and last, the union whose membership fights on against great odds, the National Union of Marine Cooks and Stewards (MCS), president, Hugh Bryson, with jurisdiction over galley and service workers on the West Coast. In 1937-38 Bridges and Bryson joined the CIO. Lundeberg went into the AFL, and the firemen remained independent.

Al Burton is an active member of the West Coast longshoremen's union.

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IN 1946, when the shipowners made an all-out effort to house-break the maritime unions, their anti-union offensive buckled in the face of massive preparations for strike action, in which the Bridges leadership of the longshore union was the spearhead. After this drubbing, the West Coast ship operators decided to throw their support behind the AFL as against the CIO, in place of their previous tactic of opposing all the unions. Their publication, the *Pacific Shipper*, on August 8, 1946, declared: "It is our considered judgment that the CIO maritime unions deserve to be either liquidated or absorbed by more responsible leadership."

Passage of the Taft-Hartley Law emboldened the shipowners to make the attempt. Insisting that the hiring halls were illegal under the new law, and refusing to meet marine workers' demands on manning-scale guarantees and wages, the employers provoked a strike. Pacific Coast shipping came to a halt on September 2, 1948. Under the slogan "We're through with appeasement," the employers conducted a campaign to replace the ILWU and MCS "commie" leadership with "safe and sane" leaders who would sign the Taft-Hartley non-communist affidavits. But the union lines were solid, and ninety days after the strike began, the unions got their contracts.

The shipowners, hurled back in their attempt at headon union busting, now received aid and comfort from an unexpected source: the divisions which the cold war created right inside the unions. The MCS had been an early and active participant in the formation of the Independent Progressive Party in California. The CIO leadership, following the line of the State Department, went after the CIO stewards and longshore unions for their support of the IPP and their opposition to the Marshall Plan. The longshoremens' and stewards' conventions voted to fight for their autonomous rights inside the CIO. Both unions voiced their determination to remain affiliated to the national body, however. But the CIO top command decided otherwise, and in 1950 the two unions were expelled on the charge of being "communist dominated."

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THE years of the Lundeberg attack and employer redbaiting, the hysteria in the opening phase of the Korean War, combined with the expulsion from the CIO, now produced a reaction. A small right-wing group crystalized in the MCS and began to circulate CIO pledge cards. The first raid-attempt was on.

But it soon became apparent that the raiders were associated with the Malone machine in the firemen's union. When this news was publicized, the pro-CIO drive in the MCS ground to a halt and rapidly went into reverse. Malone's union had a Jim Crow policy, while the stewards' union was made up fifty percent of Negroes, and had other minorities as well who had fared little better than Negroes in the MFOW. Malone had earlier expressed the intention of organizing the marine cooks and stewards "to get white cooks." The rumor of a CIO tie to Malone was all that was needed to put the CIO raid on the rocks.

But where the divisions between the maritime unions were insufficient to carry through the shipowners' aims, the government directly came to their rescue. Using the hysteria whipped up by the Korean War as a cover, the Coast Guard began its "screening" program. In reality, it was the old blacklist which the government had been attempting to institute ever since the 1934 strike, after the establishment of union hiring halls took away the ship operators' and stevedoring companies' right to discriminate against the militants. Within a few months the Coast Guard had beached hundreds of men whom the employers had been wanting to get rid of for years for their union activity.

After an initial period of temporizing and confusion, the left-wing unions began to oppose the "screening" program. The ILWU convention of 1953 publicized the story of Captain Yost, Isthmian SS Lines official who, appearing before an arbitrator regarding an engineers' strike, testified that it was company policy to have the Coast Guard lift the licenses of marine engineers who obeyed their union's orders to walk off the ships. But the rightwing leaders welcomed screening as a factional weapon against internal opposition.

THE two main forces in the West Coast maritime union situation are Harry Lundeberg's sailors and Harry Bridges' longshoremen. If these two unions worked in solidarity, the maritime workers would be invincible. But for years these two unions have struggled for supremacy. In the early period this took the form of an AFL-CIO jurisdictional fight. But with the beginning of the cold war, Lundeberg aligned himself with some of the most reactionary of political and economic figures, and his raiding operations are endangering the whole structure of West Coast unionism. His present cannibalistic raid on the stewards-in which he has direct government supportis a crucial part of his over-all scheme. Since this will be the hub of maritime developments on the West Coast for some time to come, it is worth pausing here for a good look at Harry Lundeberg.

Lundeberg's story is the all-too-familiar one of the leader who voiced the militancy of the workers in the upsurge of the Thirties, and has since grown reactionary. Having abandoned the policy of solidarity and labor militancy, Lundeberg, like so many other union skates, tries to convert the union into a job trust. As employment declines, he tries to solve problems by raiding other unions to keep his own membership working.

Haggerty, secretary of the AFL State Federation of Labor, has accused Lundeberg of "consistently supporting anti-labor candidates who have voted against everything of benefit to labor and the working people of the nation." Haggerty was probably referring to Lundeberg's friendship for the late Senator Taft and his cozy relationship with Knowland and McCarran.

A panegyric to Lundeberg in the Saturday Evening Post gave a glimpse of how he runs his union:

He has been throwing them [left-wingers] out ever since [he began to run the SUP] with the result that he now has little to worry about from that quarter though anybody who seriously challenges his program is still liable to be branded a commie.

The SUP paper, the West Coast Sailors, refers to ex-Ambassador Grady as a "fellow-traveler" and "pinko." Of the San Francisco Chronicle, a Republican daily, it said: "Their news and editorials on international affairs are always slanted toward the pinkos and fellow travelers." Regarding Daniel Del Carlo, a Republican, secretary of the AFL Building Trades Council: "a notorious friend of the commies." An SUP committee once refused to meet with the Republican employers' representatives, "the commie stooges of the Pacific Maritime Association." Then every once in a while there is a little anti-Semitism thrown in just to display versatility. Dr. Wallace Sterling, president of the ultra-conservative Sanford University (the Princeton of the West), wrote an article in the Sanford Law Review dealing with a lawsuit against the Sailor's Union leadership by some expelled sailors. The West



Harry Bridges, much-indicted longshore leader, whose union is fighting a ferocious reactionary threat.

Coast Sailors said: "We charge this author with subversive activities."

SUCH a Pegler-McCarthy line is a potent weapon against the rank and file. But the blatant red-baiting is only part of the problem. The eulogizing article in the Saturday Evening Post also shed some light on what happens to dissenters in the SUP: "Lundeberg still thinks that 'an old fashioned working-over' is more expeditious justice than a day in court." More than one seaman can testify to the truth of that, and not just members of the sailor's union either. The Marine Firemen's editorial, for example, of November 17, 1949, after several MFOW members were beaten into unconsciousness by Lundeberg's goons, commented: "We would have no great interest in what happened in the SUP if it were not for the fact that the goons who have pitched SUP men down the stairs for daring to stand up and voice their opinions, also have been used on members of the Marine Firemen's Union." The same editorial aptly described the SUP as a union living in "the shadow of the blackjack."

The testimony of the SUP Seattle agent summed up the approach the Lundeberg machine has to union democracy. In an interview with a student who was preparing a master's thesis, the SUP agent explained that drunks "and the guys that talk off the point, to stir up trouble," are told to "sit down," and if they don't, "we get a couple of guys, they throw them out." One young sailor, Dick Kyle, counted forty stitches in his face after a "couple of the guys" worked him over. It seems he talked "off the point," when he voiced his antipathy to the raid on the MCS.

Lundeberg does a lot of "organizing," especially during strikes. Just about every union in the maritime industry, as well as some shoreside unions, have accused him of scabherding at one time or another. Lundeberg uses mainly the younger and more insecure elements for the strikebreaking activities. Then, all the scabbing nowadays is done in the name of fighting Moscow.

Not all his "organizing" has been unopposed in the SUP. When Lundeberg was in the midst of breaking the Canadian seamen's strike in 1949, John Mahoney, a sailor, rose in a union meeting and asked this question: "Who gave the officials or piecards the authority to send men through the Canadian seamen's picket lines?" Mahoney was quickly placed on charges and expelled (in San Francisco). But the Seattle branch cleared him and set up a Mahoney Defense Committee which published a paper, the *Defender*. The fight went on for a long time, but intimidation, beatings and expulsions, including one entire ship's crew, finally brought the port under control.

IN recent years Lundeberg has regularly staged jurisdictional raids, many of them against the ILWU longshoremen. In 1952 he conducted a strike which all other maritime unions regarded as jurisdictional. He bluntly announced that the strike means "more jobs for us." Malone of the firemen's union flew to Seattle to aid in the setting up of a united front committee to stop Lundeberg's raids. At strike's end, Lundeberg agreed that stores would be loaded by longshoremen as they had been in the past. Having been set back, he ingeniously explained to his members in the West Coast Sailors of July 28, 1952: "We



Harry Lundeberg, head of the Sailors Union of the Pacific, which is now conducting the crucial raid on the stewards' department unionists, with the late Senator Robert Taft.

do not want to be put in a position of having the commies scream that we are taking work away from other workers."

These shoreside jobs, longshore or otherwise, are important to Lundeberg in running the SUP. Lundeberg cannot rely on red-baiting and the "old fashioned working over" alone. He has to also "take care of" the loyal ones. Mahoney's defense paper, the *Defender*, charged that the best stand-by jobs went to the hangers-on of the machine, a large, hard core which never or rarely ships out any more. But they are always present at the meetings and on the committees. From among them, the *Defender* charged, the goon squads are partly made up. The defense paper cited another significant source of goons:

These foot soldiers include another group greater in number than many suspect, who are indebted and obligated to the Old Man [Lundeberg] and are therefore forced to serve him whether they like it or not. These are the parolees and others with records that can be used against them if exposed, either to scandalize them or deliver them to the state authorities."

Most of Lundeberg's short strikes have followed in the wake of the gains made by other unions. Then Lundeberg ties things up, demanding just a little bit more—especially for those much-romanticized seagoing foremen, the bosuns. It is the bosuns and a few other key ratings that get well taken care of. Lundeberg depends upon them for support on the ships. Not all short strikes called by Lundeberg have been picayunish or jurisdictional. One, directed against a wage board ruling in 1946, with the support of all labor, toppled the national wage-freeze board. But this type of struggle has been all too rare.

LUNDEBERG'S present big raiding operation dates from June 1951, when he filed for a National Labor Relations Board election in the stewards' department.

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Here began the sordid tale of the union-busting Taft-Hartley NLRB working hand-in-glove with Lundeberg to destroy the stewards' union. Lundeberg's filing for an election was only the opening gambit to get his sailors' union into the picture. But he didn't want an election right away. He had no support among the stewards because of his Jim Crow policy. The NLRB cooperated by setting no date for an election.

Seven months later, the stewards' union complained that the NLRB, which usually made decisions on petitions for elections in five weeks, had still not ruled. It demanded that the government board throw out Lundeberg's petition or grant an election. Instead of granting either request, the NLRB threw out its bombshell: It voided the Marine Cooks and Stewards contract.

The NLRB then went to work in earnest to cut the steward's union to ribbons. In April 1952, it ruled that ninety-eight men who had deserted the MCS picket line in 1948 had been discriminated against, and ordered them reinstated to their jobs. The MCS decided to comply. As part of obeying the order, the union agreed to a central registration office to be operated by the government.

Within six weeks the registration at the central office offered evidence of the comparative strength of the two unions. 4,559 registered for the MCS; 384 for the SUP. The MCS members were jubilant and looked forward with confidence to the promised government elections that would re-certify their union. On Septembr 25, 1952, the MCS Voice reported that the NLRB ordered two elections, the decisive one on the offshore ships, and another covering a few ships in the coast-wise trade, the steam schooners. An immediate date was set for the steam schooner election, while the important offshore election date was to be announced later. The MCS won the steam schooner election 2 to 1. But the AFL challenged the election, and the NLRB *again* refused to certify the MCS as bargaining agent.

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IN February 1953, the NLRB struck from another direction, demanding \$125,000 for a number of scabs who had allegedly lost pay because of union discrimination. The union was already facing a \$475,000 court suit from the same sources. Although five months had already elapsed, the NLRB still refused to set a date for an offshore poll.

Then, a paper put out by Lundeberg's stewards' group complained to the FBI that MCS leaders had committed perjury when they signed the Taft-Hartley non-communist affidavits. In March 1953 Hugh Bryson, MCS president, was called before a grand jury and in April the jury indicted him for perjury. Then the raiders filed a motion to keep the MCS off any NLRB ballot! At the same time, the firemen's union leadership began to discuss affiliation and soon afterwards joined the SUP in a sharply contested vote. This was another big blow against the stewards and longshoremen because it still further tended to tip the balance of power in West Coast maritime towards Lundeberg.

These developments had a great impact on the Harry Bridges ILWU leadership. The longshore leadership saw that if the government and right-wing union leaders succeeded in crushing the stewards, they would be next in line for victimization. The ILWU decided to move. Its convention was going on when Bryson was indicted. It promptly spoke out, giving him full support. The convention resolved:

The Opposition in the Firemen's Union

San Francisco

THREE years ago a new progressive opposition arose in the West Coast firemen's union to challenge the reactionary course of the Malone machine. The membership was increasingly critical of the officialdom at this time, and responded to the opposition's program which stressed a 2-term limitation of tenure for officials, an end to jurisdictional raiding, and the creation of a new maritime federation to present a solid front to the shipowners.

Malone tried to discredit the opposition by branding all and sundry of its supporters as "commies," even though the opposition leaders had no political connections of any kind. The red-baiting barrage was not successful, but the Coast Guard obligingly came to Malone's rescue and removed most of his leading opponents from the ships.

Even after it was cut down in this brutal fashion, the opposition has continued its fight for clean unionism. As was the case in the past struggles within Lundeberg's SUP, one of the main bases of the opposition is Seattle, which has a rich tradition of labor militancy.

The Green Slate, as the opposition is known, put on a strong campaign last year against affiliating with Lundeberg's union. They scored heavily when they pointed out that they were being asked to join an outfit that practiced scab-herding and that was run by goon squads. They further hammered away at the fact that Lundeberg was hungry to secure control of more jobs for his faithful SUP henchmen, and that many firemen would probably be out of work under the new setup. They quoted Malone's own editorial statements of the past printed in the *Marine Firemen* which made these very same arguments when Malone was fighting Lundeberg's raiding attempts against the firemen.

One of the opposition's releases quoted an AFL maritime trades conference resolution which pledged "renewed efforts to combat Harry Bridges' influence on the West Coast." The Green Slate replied: "We all welcomed Bridges' influence on the West Coast. He was instrumental in driving Ryan & Co. back to the East Coast. The ILWU has always upheld the slogan, 'an injury to one is an injury to all.' Now we are being asked to stab these people in the back."

DESPITE the fact that the opposition has been reduced by the combination of Coast Guard "screening" and Malone's ruthless expulsions, the vote to affiliate with Lundeberg was fiercely contested. At the final count, the machine reported a vote of 1,826 to 987 in favor of affiliation, with close to 400 ballots unaccounted for. Opposition figures showed 1,000 ballots unaccounted for.

Last year Malone moved to destroy the base of the Green Slate in Seattle, but he was badly rebuffed by the Seattle membership.

In a recent statement signed by R. D. Casey, chairman of the Green Slate, the opposition declared: "Although our election slate has in the past and will in the future state that none of our candidates is now or ever has been a member of the Communist Party . . . it is our belief that the right wing's failure to solve any of labor's major problems (such as the shorter work week) . . . has led them to cynically exploit the communist hysteria by viciously red-baiting any opponent or critic solely as a means of diverting attention from their own records." To serve notice right now that the ILWU will not stand idly by and watch the destruction of the MCS and the preparation for our own destruction. We will take every possible effective step to prevent this happening.

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The ILWU officers demanded that the employers bargain with the MCS, and that the NLRB grant an election. They pledged that if the NLRB didn't hold an election the ILWU would begin the organization of the steward's department. On June 12, the ILWU leadership declared:

The MCS has been operating for over a year without a contract. Replacements for the stewards' department are being dispatched from a Central Registration Office—another name for the first open-shop employergovernment dispatching hall we've had on the West Coast since 1934. All this is the result of the SUP raiding of the Cooks. And there's no election in sight to help settle the matter. . . We have decided that the time has come for us to move. We are going to start organizing the seamen in a steward's department of the ILWU.

THE Bridges union then began organizing steward's department personnel. A special committee, the ILWU Stewards' Department Organizing Committee, signed up 1.956 out of a potential 2,600. In January 1954, the NLRB excluded this organizing committee from scheduled talks on the tangled situation. After almost two years since the first hearing, the NLRB announced an election for February 10. Lundeberg was now ready. The ILWU filed a motion to be placed on the ballot. But the NLRB refused on the grounds that the ILWU hadn't filed soon enough to convince the board that the union had an "adequate interest" in the scheduled election. Thus the NLRB proceeded with an election, knowing full well that the union which represented a majority of the workers wasn't on the ballot. The ILWU thereupon urged the stewards department to vote for "neither union." And that is what the workers did. The vote was 1,287 for "neither union," to 743 for the SUP. On May 18, the ILWU demanded that the shipowners bargain with them. The letter they sent pointed out that, counting the seamen ashore, the ILWU represented 85 percent of the workers. The employers refused.

Many of the rank-and-filers felt that the longshore union should have struck the ships at this time, and would have thereby established its rights to bargain for the stewards. But the longshore leadership hung back from resolute action. Meanwhile, Lundeberg was completing his negotiations with the firemen. He needed them in his setup before he could proceed. As soon as they were safely in his fold, Lundeberg launched a "swamp" attack in collaboration with the government. He proposed to the NLRB (some say it was suggested by the NLRB) that there be a three-department election of sailors, firemen and stewards to determine who was going to represent stewards' department members. The shipowners came in with their assist for the scheme. Pacific Maritime Association president J. Paul St. Sure, in testimony before the NLRB, put his association on record in favor of the SUP proposal to hold a single-unit election.

The ILWU pointed to 50 years of practice in which the deck, engine and stewards' department members had separate agreements and unions, as well as to the obvious evidence that the stewards' department members didn't want to be in Lundeberg's union or attached to it. But the NLRB ignored these arguments and refused to allow testimony regarding the 40-year policy of total exclusion of Negro workers. Thirty-eight working cooks and stewards, who had sailed from three to 44 years, were ready to testify that they'd never seen a Negro in the SUP or MFOW departments. The San Francisco branch of NA-ACP filed a brief before the NLRB in Washington, stating:

The waterfront of San Francisco constitutes the economic backbone of the community. A substantial number of Negroes residing in San Francisco are dependent, in whole, or in part, upon economic activities of the waterfront for their livelihood. Many of these men are seafaring personnel. Any case, such as this, which involves the question of the continued right of Negro seamen to earn their living at sea, is one in which this organization has a vital interest and which impels it to seek to present its views to the board. . . . If the SUP and MFOW are permitted to gain the status of certified representatives in a unit which includes stewards' department employees, they will be able, by sheer weight of members, to impose their present exclusionary policies toward Negroes upon the steward's department.

THE regional hearings ended on November 5. Acting with speed now, the NLRB in Washington okayed the three-department election which Lundeberg demanded. All other contentions of Lundeberg were upheld, while every motion the ILWU made was denied, including the NA-ACP brief for evidence on discrimination policies of Lundeberg and Malone.

The vote is now proceeding, having begun on January 31, and is scheduled to end about March 14. Despite an expected good vote from the MFOW against the attempted raid, and the stewards' vote which will be considerable, it is expected that the SUP will succeed in swamping the stewards and thus winning the election.

Will the Lundeberg purge-and-goon squads then go to work weeding out anyone they wish? Lundeberg was forced to promise at the NLRB hearings that SUP would not discriminate any more and the NLRB was placed in a position where it had to pledge to move against Lundeberg if he did discriminate. Whether these pledges have any value it is hard to say. The ILWU is organizing the Negro community to aid against possible victimization by Lundeberg.

The ILWU longshoremen may prove to be the next target of attack. The solidarity and strength of this group make impossible any straight raiding operation. But the union faces the formidable combination of Smith Act convictions, Taft-Hartley indictments, Bridges case No. 5, Coast Guard "screenings," and now the Brownell-Butler "communist infiltration" law. The cold war's depredations against the civil liberties of the nation at large have had their counter-part inside the unions. What is at stake is independent unionism.

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by Our European Correspondent

Rome THE muffled sound of internal conflict from behind the scenes of the recently held Italian Communist Party conference may indicate that the thaw which loosened some of the ice-bound moorings in Russia has finally reached the communist movement in the western world. The principal, but not open, antagonists at the Rome conference were Palmiro Togliatti, general secretary of the party on the one side, and Pietro Secchia, vicesecretary in charge of organization, on the other.

The dispute did not reach the floor of the conference, but the position of the opposition faction, the "Communist Action Group," which Secchia is credited with seUnder Togliatti, the policy of the Italian Communist Party has had the aim of reviving a coalition with the parties of the Center. Opposition flared at recent conference.

cretly inspiring, was made known to the delegates through the distribution of a daily bulletin. One of the open leaders of this group was Julian Seniga, a highly-placed Communist and intimate co-worker of Secchia. After the conference Secchia was relegated from his high post to that of regional secretary of the party in the Milan district. Without mentioning Secchia by name, Togliatti publicly denounced the opposition for "leftism."

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We can gauge the depth of the dispute by the different treatment given the Italian dissident from that meted out a few years ago to André Marty in the French CP. The old Communist leader was simply booted out of the top secretariat, the Central Committee and then the party itself, branded as a "flic" (police-agent) and never heard from again. Secchia's followers, far from being scattered to the four winds, seemed to consider they had won something of a victory. "Today," they commented, "Togliatti in Rome and Secchia in Milan. Tomorrow Secchia in Rome, Togliatti in Turin."

Their optimism may prove ill-founded, but there are a number of surprising facts. First, being head man in Lombardy province is not exactly "exile" as it is the most heavily industrial area of Italy and contains the largest and most militant concentration of the party's workingclass following. New rules were adopted at the conference placing regional secretaries under direct control of emissaries sent from Rome. But since then, in Secchia's case, it appears an exception was made whereby the emissaries are to act as his assistants and he himself is to be responsible to central headquarters. Second, Secchia has made no statement denouncing "Communist Action" or Seniga and none has been publicly demanded of him. Third, there have been no expulsions of the members of this group as yet although their statements are a scathing indictment of the methods, leadership-and the policy-of Togliatti and his machine.

The manifesto of the group accuses Togliatti of "squelching and opposing political discussion"; of creating a "personal cult and opposing the principle of collective leadership"; of "promoting to important posts in the organization and press of the party ex-fascist leaders and propagandists"; of " systematic violation of the statutes." Togliatti is characterized as a "typical example of personal leadership and of political satrapism."

The politico-organizational activity of provincial and state congresses, of the leadership and press of the party, have been sacrificed to the higher interests of the parliament and the Montesi scandal. . . . The cadres of the party are pervaded with opportunism, ambition, conformism and fear. Revolutionary vigilance has been transformed into a police vigilance, concerned solely with stifling any critical voice, any doubts on the policy of the party or the pretended infallibility of the leaders.

From this monopoly at the top are chosen leaders in the lower brackets and representatives in electoral constituencies. . . The party hierarchy has inculcated the behavior and custom of blind hero-worship and the wretched and servile cult of leadership. . . There is no control and self-control over the revolting mode of living of leaders and parliamentarians and the degree of their participation in the habits and customs of the life of capitalist society.

Togliatti is further accused of a "false estimate of the elections of June 7 [1953], with indirect support to the center-right government headed by Pella" and of "giving currency in the party to the thesis that the USSR has advised that a fundamental struggle is historically inappropriate in Italy." The struggle against "internal satrap-

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ism" is associated with the demand for "revolutionary class action" against "collaboration with capitalist political forces and against the myth of a coming 'progressive democracy' which creates illusions among the masses in the possibility of an electoral majority."

 \mathbf{A}^{S} the press does not furnish details for these charges, we can assume the opposition held them in reserve awaiting a challenge which was not forthcoming. Here are some of the facts which are too well known in Italy to brook denial.

Ex-fascists in the leadership: The editors of the various editions of *Unita*, central organ of the CP, are ex-fascists: in Milan, *Lajola*, who fought with the fascist legions in Spain; in Rome, *Ingrao*, who had been "littore" (lictor) of the fascist university youth; *Alicada*, in Naples, who had a similar position in his city. Even though no longer fascist today, such types are obviously careerists and office seekers.

Corruption: Last year, Satgui, a bourgeois protégé of Togliatti and president of the provincial assembly of Rome, was arrested for malfeasance. His was only the most sensational of a number of such cases involving Communist leaders, and it took the edge off the CP's wellfounded charges against the government in the Montesi scandal.

Autocratic methods: The recent conference had been originally scheduled as a convention. There were thousands of discussion meetings in party units throughout the country in which there was considerable criticism by the rank and file of the leadership and its policy. At the last moment, the convention was altered to a conference which permitted the leaders to hand-pick the delegates.

Opportunism: Since the break-up of the coalition government in 1947, the sole aim of the policy followed by Togliatti and his associate Pietro Nenni, head of the Italian Socialist Party, has been to create a rift in the Christian Democratic Party in order to get a revival of this collaboration. For this purpose, they put the damper on working-class struggle, spoke softly about a program of social reform and not at all about socialism, and kept their conditions of collaboration down to the bare minimuma break with the Atlantic foreign policy. Illusions in a parliamentary reshuffle were highest after the 1953 elections when the CP and SP obtained a combined total of 10 million votes and the Christian Democrats, failing to win an absolute majority, were faced with the choice of pacting either with the monarchists on the Right or with Nenni's Socialists on the Left.

The opposition's charges about Togliatti's opportunism are borne out by an amazingly candid interview he had with R. M. H. Crossman, the British Bevanite, published in *New Statesman and Nation*, June 27, 1953. Togliatti had described De Gasperi, the late leader of the Christian Democrats, as a "great corrupter" with a knack for "loosening their party loyalties." Crossman then asked him:

"But are you not then afraid that, if Nenni enters the Coalition, De Gasperi will have an opportunity to corrupt him?" At this he smiled. "But one thing De Gasperi knows very well. He cannot drive a wedge between the PSI and the Communists because if Nenni moves to the Right, I jump over his head and move even further to the Right. Yes," he said when I looked a little surprised, "De Gasperi knows this perfectly well from his experiences in 1944 and again in 1945 with the Monarchy and the Concordat."

Togliatti's last remarks refer to the role he played in arresting the stormy revolutionary movement which swept over the peninsula after the fall of Mussolini in 1943. The agreement with the caretaker government of the ex-fascist Marshal Badoglio, who succeeded Mussolini, saved capitalism in a fatal crisis. The Concordat with the Vatican, which could not have passed without Communist votes, restored the Catholic Church to the rank of the foremost secular, anti-communist power in Italy. The thanks Togliatti received for his pains was to be booted unceremoniously out of the government when the "cold war" began.

SINCE then the policy, unlike the zig-zag course of French CP leaders, has been one of unbroken opportunism. With a membership of upwards of a million and a half—the largest Communist organization this side of the Elbe—the CP has been a model of passivity; and this in a country with the lowest wage standards in western Europe, with some two million chronically unemployed, with appalling misery and land-hunger of the share-croppers and farm laborers of south and central Italy. A heavy lid has been clamped on this explosive situation so as not to disquiet potential allies in the Center.

From time to time, the CGIL, Communist-controlled trade-union federation, has called token general strikes in one or more industries, but as these were intended merely to placate discontent in the ranks or to put a little pressure on the government, little was gained after the halfhour or the 24-hour stoppage was over. Here, as in France, one of the by-products has been to create a mood of frustration and disgust among the workers. The CGIL vote in trade union elections has dropped from 90 percent in 1949 to 60 percent today.

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Meanwhile the Christian Democrats have repaid the tolerant attitude of Togliatti-by pressing the offensive against the Communists on all fronts. Their resoluteness has been stiffened by the political use made by the American Embassy of military "offshore orders" which, in the last three years, have run up to \$470 million. Last January, NATO decided that orders would be withdrawn from every firm whose works council was controlled by Communists. In the Piaggo shipyard, near Palermo, where the Communists won the election despite this threat, the Embassy last October cancelled an order of \$7,500,000 for the construction of a destroyer-escort. Orders have also been cancelled at the Marelli works, specializing in electronic equipment, and in the Bombrini, Parodi and Delfini chemical plants at Colleferro, located to the south of Rome. This blackmail subsequently worked at Bombrini, whose offshore orders represented 18 percent of current business. Eight hundred workers were laid off when the Communist slate received 68 percent of the votes in the council elections. In a subsequent election the proportions were reversed, and the anti-Communist unions received 78 percent of the votes, leaving the CGIL with only three out of the thirteen delegates.

RESULTS on the parliamentary front have been equally disappointing. After years of agitation limited almost exclusively to "the struggle for peace," CP and SP deputies voted virtually alone against the Paris agreements. This, and discontent in the ranks, may account for the emphasis at the recent conference on "the struggle against the monopolies." How far this campaign will go and how effective it will be remain to be seen.

It is important, however, to keep in mind the relative nature of this decline. If the CP has suffered some reverses among industrial workers, its influence among the youth has grown—in the 1953 election 44 percent of voters between the ages of 21 and 25 voted for the Left—and its strength in the South, previously weak, is also growing.

On the other side, the governing Center coalition, composed of widely disparate elements, threatens to blow up each time an attempt is made to exploit some setback or weakness of the Left. When "get tough" measures are proposed, liberals and Social Democrats, frightened by a resurgence of neo-fascism, start talking about resignation. When social reform is proposed as a means of undermining the Left, the conservative elements, representing big landowning and industrial interests, raise the banner of revolt.

Togliatti accuses his opposition of wanting to ignore these schisms in parliament, and as is usual where there is no free and open discussion, issues tend to become distorted and differences degenerate into muddled disputes. It is clear however that an aggressive policy of workingclass struggle joined with a legislative program for farreaching social changes would soon collapse the Catholic coalition and open a new road for socialism in Italy. Not even Mrs. Luce could stop it. Rising mental illness, deterioration of social standards, crisis in ideology, all point to decline in capitalist society.

Our Decaying Moral Climate

by Hugh Weston



R ECENTLY, there has been a rash of newspaper stories about juvenile delinquency. Some of these stories have been shocking enough to curdle one's blood. But those who still believe that "God's in his heaven: All's right with the world" (or at least with our economic system), tell us that "there was juvenile delinquency when I was a boy." Juvenile delinquency may be increasing, the comfortable sages say, but so is population.

The plain fact is, however, that delinquency in general, juvenile and otherwise, has been increasing far faster than population for at least 30 years. For example, the homocide rate in 1900 was 1.2 per 100,000 population. It is now 5.3, exclusive of the armed services. The U.S. Children's Bureau figures indicate that juvenile delinquency court cases have increased 17 percent from 1948 to 1951, while the population in that age group has risen five percent. Federal Bureau of Investigation reports show that major crimes are increasing at a rate about 100 percent faster than population. In the first six months of 1953, major crimes were up 8.5 percent while population increased two percent.

Modern psychology distinguishes three types of maladjusted personalities: neurotics, psychopaths and psychotics. America has reached such a state that it is now fashionable to say that "everybody is a neurotic," and it's just about true. Psychopaths are those who possess a character disorder which often manifests itself in criminal defiance of society, and we have already given figures which tend to demonstrate an increase in this type of disease. It is extremely difficult to tell by figures the rate of increase of psychotics (commonly called the insane), but there is hardly a psychiatrist alive who does not believe that they are increasing faster than population. The tendency to suicide, an evidence of extreme neuroticism, has been irregular, increasing just a little faster than population except in war years, when opportunities for valorous suicide have cut the rate slightly.

THERE are those who believe that the fortunes of progressive social movements vary in a precisely inverse manner to the material fortunes of the people. The major classical thinkers of socialism always condemned this as a too-mechanical application of materialism. They pointed out that there was a complex interaction between the culture or ideology of a country and its physical and material status. In fact, they pointed out that a progressive movement may actually rise on material living standards and fall during a time of low or falling material standards, although this is not the rule. They stressed the fact that the ideology of a people was extremely important, and a social change does not come just when there is a material crisis, but only when there is a *confluence of material and ideological crisis*.

There can be no question that today there is a deepening ideological crisis. At the very same time that the American people have a relatively higher standard of living than they had a few years previously, they are not happier. Their happiness has not grown proportionally to their increase in material standards. In large numbers, they are bewildered, lost, confused. Vast numbers of them do not, in the present world, feel secure, nor do they feel any sense of love, beauty, and purpose in life. Dr. Julian Price, lecturing to the American Medical Association, said that an ominous "spiritual disease" is spreading, a disease characterized by lack of ethics and growing unhappiness. Dr. Robert Lindner, prominent psychologist, says that the whole younger generation is becoming psychopathic. They are in a condition of "downright, active, hostile mutiny" toward society, in his words.

Since it is becoming more and more difficult to deny the fact that our chrome-plated motor cars are not bringing the day of the jubilee for their owners, all kinds of experts are being mobilized to find out why these autoowning Americans are not getting happier. The authorities of our present social order always believed that—no matter how much he might be required to lie, cheat and hurt his neighbor to get it—if a man owned a motor car he would be happy. SOME of the experts have reported that it is all due to the upbringing of the unhappy person. The psychoanalysts, who have a certain amount of truth in their theories, unfortunately tend to trace everything back to the parents, isolating the parents and everyone else from the social and economic forces that shape their psychology. If we followed their theories without amendment to the logical conclusion, each person would blame his parents, tracing the whole trouble back to Adam and Eve. The main branch of the psychoanalytic school feels that all these troubles would disappear if only everyone were psychoanalyzed. The few brave psychoanalysts who have tried to help the patient see the problem in its total environment, including the economic environment, are today for the most part scorned or ignored.

Another group of experts, including of course the police, have decided that the whole trouble with our society is a "lack of discipline." We are too soft on our kids, they say, so they grow up to be either delinquents or neurotics. It is interesting to note that, at the same time, there is still another group of experts that says young people become neurotics and delinquents because they get too much discipline. You can take your choice.

All these experts, of course, are paid not to see the point. Because, to see the point, to find the causes—leads to drastic conclusions.

Dr. Robert Lindner has come as close as any to the point when he all but says the rise of juvenile delinquency is due to the witch-hunt conformity drive, without using those very words. "We can no longer regard the mutiny of our youth," he says, "as the product of 'bad' influences, a transient perversity that time will cure or that a few applications of social-service soporifics and mentalhygiene maxims will fix. Mutinous adolescents and their violent deeds now appear as specimens of the shape of things to come. . . ." He goes on to point out that our social system has produced a kind of mimicking collectivemindedness which has utterly destroyed creative solitude and individuality. Every tendency toward creativity or non-conformity is stamped out or ridiculed, and, consequently, there is a total loss of identity, and a feeling that "no one cares." Dr. Lindner bravely mentions, as specific causes of this, our wars and our economic relationships. In a freer, more considerate society, problems might be worked out through politics, and even through literature and art, and just ordinary discussions. Today, problems of youth must be acted out, by deeds of conscienceless violence against persons or property. It is interesting to hear from a leading psychologist that it is not just in the "terrible" Soviet Union that individuality has been wiped out. Dr. Lindner says that everything in modern society compels the young to "conform, to adjust, to submit."

ONE NEED only attend the classes of any American high school to see how this happens. The slightest intellectual curiosity on the part of the student must be discouraged by the teacher if it ventures into forbidden waters. Teachers are immediately called into the principal's office if outbreaks of thinking occur. In more than one school, the teacher is called in if he or she even attends a liberal church!

The result has been a contempt for education never

before known in America. Surveys of public high schools made by professors at conservative George Washington University indicate that group-action subjects, gymnasium courses and vocational guidance courses are replacing the arts, sciences and humanities. The plain truth is that American society has lost its sense of values and its *esprit de corps*. Few any longer believe that we fight wars to "make the world safe for democracy" or that capitalists build corporations out of love for America and for mankind. The fairy tales and illusions of yesteryear have been replaced by a cold-blooded cynicism. And this is an advance in American thinking. In past decades, although evil tycoons threatened to close the mortgage on Mother Macree, there was always Honest John Stoutheart to the rescue. Today hardly anyone, not even the capitalists,



believes that our social system can produce a life of truth, beauty and brotherhood. Unfortunately, no group has yet risen to command the attention of the masses with a message of idealism and a hope for happiness.

Today the average young person is reared in an atmosphere of ideological contradictions. From his Christianity or Judaism he learns certain ethical principles, which if practiced, would bring him ridicule in his youth, and ruination in his later life. Growing young people quickly learn that everything in business life is based on the struggle for profits; that the slogans of business are "me first" and "dog eat dog" and "the devil take the hindmost." The worker in the factory sees that in the union lies the only hope of some degree of counter-balance against the highly endorsed avarice and greed; but even into the union, the prevailing system of rapacity infiltrates.

Indeed, the whole history of class society has been a history of utter rapacity and violence, and contempt for every ethical principle in the book. American history has been a history of some grand idealism, but also a history of the rum trade, the slave trade, the exploitation of women and children, and the slaughter of hundreds of thousands of youth in the quest for new profits. As the true nature of the economic order stands revealed in all its nakedness, it is no wonder that a segment of youth goes over into a more *open* form of crime, and large numbers of people, who cannot believe that life must be so soulless, flounder in neurotic unhappiness. And the present cynicism cannot but be an advance, and a prelude to a new burst of shining idealism, once the mass is reached with a message of hope and brotherhood. ķ

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A LTHOUGH no true happiness for all of mankind can be realized until our economic relations permit the full flowering of individuality in the bond of brotherhood, those who unite with one another in groups bent upon realizing the goal will experience a partial measure of this future happiness *today*. Oswald Garrison Villard, the great liberal who died recently at the age of 73, said:

I am convinced that the struggle itself, whether temporarily won or lost, is what counts. To press for some cause bigger than oneself, however hopeless it may seem, is not necessarily noble. It's just about the best fun there is in life for people of my disposition.

Socialists, liberals, progressives, who unite today in groups and associations wherein freedom for the individual is cherished and wherein brotherhood and friendship are sustained, will be able to share in some measure in the redemptive and healing powers of cooperation—which will combat the social disease of antagonism and cynicism. To the degree that they fully understand their role, and to the degree that they are with the working people, their therapy will be successful and their happiness increase. Socialist group activity, if it is truly intelligent, free and brotherly, is the best therapy there is.

There is a poem that reads:

Sages, leave your contemplations, Brighter visions beam afar! Seek the great Desire of nations, Ye have seen his natal star.

Behind this bit of orthodox theology, there is a great truth. The great Desire of men is not for knowledge. The great Desire of men is for brotherhood. And knowledge is our tool, our weapon, in the struggle for brotherhood. Any contemplations that do not lead to a struggle for a society in which brotherhood can flourish should be abandoned. For this new society is the great Desire of the nations of our time. In it is the happiness of the future. And Americans, too, will see its natal star.

What's Cooking with Gas?

A MASSIVE campaign to force through Congress a bill exempting natural gas producers from the regulation of the Federal Power Commission as ordered by the Supreme Court is just beginning to get under way. The campaign is to be heavily financed by the big oil companies who have the most to lose.

It is a three-pronged campaign. The Natural Gas and Oil Resources Committee, with headquarters at 350 Fifth Avenue in New York, is to sponsor a national multi-million-dollar advertising campaign. Local branches of this committee, such as the Illinois Natural Gas and Oil Resources Committee, are also being organized to educate the public on "the consequences of the 1954 decision of the U.S. Supreme Court in the Phillips gas case." The campaign will stress that federal control of prices will mean "dwindling supplies of natural gas" and "creeping socialism."

Supplementing this campaign in the press and on radio and television, the oil companies have undertaken to indoctrinate their employees on a mass scale. Most oil companies already have extensive courses for their supervisory personnel, but the gas "education" is scheduled to reach refinery workers, gas station attendants, and office boys.

The third arm of the campaign is to handle the congressmen in Washington. Here the oil companies look to J. Percy Priest (D. Tenn.), chairman of the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, to take the lead, although as unobtrusively as possible, in securing passage of the bill. Behind Priest will be a lobby composed among others of the American Petroleum Institute, the American Gas Association, the National Oil Jobbers Council; the National Petroleum Council, and the Independent Petroleum Association of America.

The cause of all this yowling among the fat cats of the American petroleum industry is not too difficult to trace. Congress passed the Natural Gas Act in 1938 which gave the Federal Power Commission regulatory authority over transportation of natural gas in interstate commerce and over sales of gas in interstate commerce for resale. The Federal Power Commission began to regulate the interstate pipelines that transported the gas from where it was produced in the Southwest to the big consuming centers of the East and Middle West. However the F.P.C., always responsive to Big Business interests, continued to refuse to regulate the price of the gas at the well head. But in 1954, by a five-to-three decision, the Supreme Court in a suit against the Phillips Petroleum Co. upheld the wellhead regulation of the price of gas. So the F.P.C. had no alternative but to start regulating prices. It began by freezing the price in the field. Then at the beginning of this year it started allowing price increases on the basis of what the F.P.C. called fair field value.

THE F.P.C. regulates public utilities on a legitimate-cost basis; that is, its accountants determine the cost of production of the service the utility renders and then allows a maximum 6 percent return on the investment. But under the fair-field-value rule which the F.P.C. concocted for the natural gas producers, there is no effort made to estimate cost; the F.P.C. merely allows the gas producers to charge whatever they have been charging and to get price increases whenever they show that such an increase would be "fair."

This brazen attempt by the F.P.C. to get around the Natural Gas Act has not gone unnoticed, and two representatives in Congress have already introduced bills to compel the F.P.C. to apply the legitimate-cost basis to the pricing of natural gas, as the F.P.C. does in all other cases where it regulates price.

The application of the legitimate-cost basis of pricing to natural gas is the nightmare that has the big gas producers chewing on the rugs. For the big gas producers are also the big oil companies, as most of our present reserves of natural gas were discovered in the search for oil. This was in the Twenties and early Thirties when almost all gas consumed was manufactured, and natural gas was thought to be little more than worthless. The oil companies therefore wrote off all the cost incurred in finding this natural gas as cost incurred in the search for petroleum. And they continue to write off the cost of natural gas in this manner. The natural gas that the pipelines take from the ground in Texas and Louisiana is thus costless to the producers, although the present price they receive is around ten cents per thousand cubic feet, and the total take is around \$900 million a year.

But the oil companies are also worried about the application of similar pricing methods to oil. They are worried because an investigation of the costs of discovery of natural gas and oil reserves would expose the fraud of the 27 percent depletion allowance, certainly the biggest of all tax loopholes siphoning billions into the pockets of the new-rich Texas oil billionaires.

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My Travels in French North Africa

by Daniel Guerin

THE story of my voyage to Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia in October-December 1952, which follows, is much more an eye-witness account of the permanent features of colonialism in North Africa than a report of political facts. And that is why I believe it is still timely. However, many events have since occurred which have considerably altered the political physiognomy of Maghreb. [Maghreb is the name given to the three North African countries: Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia.] I should like, as a kind of introduction to my narrative, to recount them for the American reader. Morocco has been in a state of open rebellion since the coup of August 1953. A wave of terrorism has stained the country with blood; to this, as in Tunisia in 1952, there was a rejoinder of numerous assassinations and counter-terrorist attacks fomented by a French Ku Klux Klan, while police repression and a blind and savage judiciary ravaged the country. Many nationalist figures were mysteriously kidnapped by the police, and while for several months their families did not know if they were still alive, their arrest was denied at Paris and Rabat. Natives arrested at random after rioting in Oudjda were shut up in large numbers in so small a cell that, the

French North Africa, oppressed for many years, has developed a militant nationalist movement in the post-war period. A vote of confidence over Mendès-France's policies in that region was the immediate issue over which his government fell early last month. Because of the timeliness and importance of the material, we print herewith lengthy excerpts from Daniel Guerin's description of his 1952 trip in North Africa, translated from his book "Au Service des Colonisés" (Les Editions de Minuit, Paris). Mr. Guerin is the noted French author of "Fascism and Big Business," and of a recent study, "Whither the American People?"

Mr. Guerin has written for the American Socialist an introduction in which he has briefly summarized the major political developments in North Africa since his trip. The descriptive material follows this introduction.

following morning, fourteen had died of suffocation! The French attorney defending the Moroccans indicted in this case was besieged in his hotel and narrowly escaped lynching by a wild mob of colonists. It brings to mind the "Deep South." . . .

The coming to power of Mendès-France has up to now not produced many changes in this dramatic situation. Just when one might have hoped that the new premier was going to try to redeem the crimes of his predecessors, the Moroccan colonialists forestalled him with their favorite weapon: police provocation. At their instigation, fights were started and blood flowed in several Moroccan cities in August 1954; and the gulf between the French people and the Moroccan people was widened further. As this is being written, relations between the two peoples have not yet emerged from the blind alley in which they have been bottled up since the coup of August 1953.

THE situation is somewhat different in Tunisia. The obvious political in Tunisia. The obvious political maturity of the Tunisian people obliged Mendès-France to fulfill the long overdue promises France had made and never kept. Appearing personally in Tunisia after a surprise plane trip, he spectacularly granted the Tunisians "internal autonomy"that is a partial right to govern themselves-but the key posts of the administration (diplomacy, army, the main police power, finance) remained, of course, in the hands of imperialism. A representative Tunisian government was finally constituted in which the Neo-Destour (nationalist party) holds several portfolios and exercises a preponderant influence. Habib Bourguiba, the national leader, has been released from the small Mediterranean island where he was detained for two years, and authorized to reside in the Paris region, where, from behind the scenes, he directs negotiations relating to the future status of Tunisia. No sooner did this change of climate occur than terrorist acts ended in the cities.

However, a Tunisian resistance of a new kind made its appearance in the mountainous regions. Guerrillas of an "army of liberation," several thousand strong, held the French repressive forces at bay. It could not be easily determined whether they were in liason with Neo-Destour or whether they

were out of its control. The Mendès-France government announced to these "fellaghas" that they would not be molested if they surrendered and posted their arms, while the Tunisian government agreed to send emissaries jointly with the imperialists to make contact with the mountain fighters and to prevail on them to surrender. This unusual operation has aroused both the fury of the colonialists and the uneasiness of the anti-colonialists. Indeed, the *fellaghas* made a triumphal entry into the cities where the native population gave them a heroes' welcome.

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But it may be asked whether Neo-Destour did not act a little too hastily in contributing to the disarmament of the Tunisian resistance before negotiations with the Paris government had been concluded and before the promise of "internal autonomy" had been properly signed and sealed in an agreement—an agreement which the colonists are trying (and will try) to sabotage by all means.

In addition, "operation *fellaghas*," as it is called in Paris, was occurring at the very time when, not far from the Tunisian frontier, imperialism was engaging in a veritable war against another group of guerrillas which had made its appearance in Algeria, in the Aures mountain range. Whereas the *fellaghas* in Tunisia had an agreement, in Algeria they were hunted, bombed, massacred. And moreover, there were and still are many *fellaghas* from Tunisia among the Aures rebels. By mak-

 $\mathbf{F}_{\text{the Pittelevel}}^{\text{OLLOWING}}$ the appearance in the Pittsburgh Courier of excerpts from my study of the racial problem in the United States, I received from Atlanta, Georgia, a courteous but severe letter. This writer, evidently a white, told me that in his youth he had beaten his way around the world in the merchant marine, during which time he had visited some of the French possessions. He had been able to see with his own eyes that racism and poverty were rampant. He advised me to sweep my own French doorstep, rather than meddle in righting the wrongs of remote countries, such as the good old South of the United States.

Had my correspondent given me an address, I would have replied with a

ing a separate peace with colonialism, Neo-Destour has opened itself to the reproach of lacking the elementary solidarity which the Tunisians owe to their Algerian brothers.

O^F the three countries which con-stitute Maghreb, Algeria probably contains the greatest explosive potentialities. In fact, colonialism has wrought its havoc there much longer than in Tunisia and Morocco. Agrarian feudalism has seized a larger portion of the soil and has reduced the robbed and uprooted population to greater unemployment, while the birthrate increased even more rapidly than in the rest of Maghreb. On the political and cultural plane, oppression is also much more brutal than in the two protectorates where treaties act as a curb on the thirst of imperialism for direct administration, and where, up to a certain point, the national movements can, by invoking the treaties, appeal to international public opinion. Algeria, on the contrary, has been declared an integral part of France, an effort has been made to "Frenchify" it and to colonize it completely. And every move of the Algerian people for emancipation is suppressed as a "separatist" conspiracy. Even in the United Nations, there have not been, up to now, any defenders of the Algerian people.

Desperate, they in turn are taking the road of terrorism and armed resistance. The terrorist acts and the re-

bellions which broke out on the night of Nov. 1, 1954, came like a thunderclap in an apparently clear sky. The repression was immediate and ruthless. Thousands of nationalist militants have been arrested and savagely tortured. The most important of the native political parties, the MTLD (Movement for the Triumph of Democratic Liberties) has once again been arbitrarily dissolved without the slightest proof of its collusion in the November 1 riots. Troops dispatched in haste and equipped with American weapons and supported by air power were hurled against the Aures rebels with the aim of exterminating them.

Since the end of 1952, when I made my voyage, peace has become more remote in Maghreb. It is likely that the civil war in North Africa, taking diverse forms and variants, will continue between exploiters and exploited, and that the class struggle superimposed on a national struggle will not cease until colonialism (already somewhat shaken) is finally dealt its death blow. The length and the outcome of this struggle depends in good measure on the attitude of the American workers. By compelling the American government to withdraw its support from French imperialism, by no longer letting France use Atlantic armaments to suppress the colonial people, labor can deprive the oppressors of Maghreb of the last crutches on which they stand today.

Paris, Dec. 18, 1954

few choice phrases dipped in Cartesian logic. I would have told him that in the eyes of an internationalist injustice has no fatherland, that the injustice of Tunis or Saigon does not excuse that of Atlanta, and that, besides, the writer in question has fought French colonialism for years, and that finally, if he has more recently specialized in American questions it is because of the pretentions of the U.S. to world leadership, etc. But I would no longer dare argue that way today.

For I have just returned from three months of travel in "French" North Africa, from Casablanca to Tunis. And what I have seen fills me with remorse. How have I been able to sleep peacefully, how can any of us sleep peacefully, when, nearby, men of our nationality are bringing such dishonor upon it? After all, this isn't some distant and inaccessible possession which could excusably be ignored. North Africa is considered to be the "extension" of France; its middle part, Algeria, is even labelled "French territory," its police wear the same uniform and the landmarks are the same as ours. Casablanca, Algiers or Tunis are a few hours away by plane. And for so many months, I explored the United States in search of injustice when it was right there on my doorstep.

Dar El Beida (Casablanca) reminds me of the cities in the South of the United States which sprang up overnight and became industrialized during the last war. This might be Houston or Mobile. Skyscrapers rise up from the ground in an empty terrain. Everywhere there are flashy shops and buildings. American cars crowd the toonarrow streets. USA stands out in the style of the movie houses, the "quickie bars," the suave ice-cream parlors. And to complete the resemblance, the Americans are there too. Every night the immense air bases of Nouaceur and Sidi-Slimane unload on the city their cargos of young and heavy drinkers clad in sweater or leather jacket. The suburbs, with their whitewashed ultramodern factories, have sprouted like mushrooms after a rain. Boom-town: 257,430 population in 1936, almost 700,000 today.

The coastline with its huge swimming pools, its deluxe hotels, its rich night clubs recalls California, as does also the Casablanca-Rabat highway, teeming with fast cars, arrogant and reckless drivers, and with its impressive accident record. Gas is cheap, the tax laws don't interfere. The French franc is streaming into this haven where capitalism still functions in "pure" form and where, despite some friction due to the excessive appetite of each of the two partners, it gets along well with the American dollar. The touchy patriotism of the French of Morocco does not seem to be unduly offended by the invasion of Yankee businessmen and flyers. ("If only the Americans didn't pay the natives so generously!" I was told on the boat.) For our Moroccan compatriots, there is something reassuring in the presence of American forces; they are not alone any longer in their interest in maintaining "order."

NATURALLY, all of French Moroc-co is not as Americanized as Casablanca. Apart from Agadir, whose position as the Atlantic harbor of the Moroccan South gave it a big spurt, the other European centers are not so feverish. There is however a gaudiness and megalomania surprising to the metropolitan Frenchman (how ill-concealed is the disdain with which the Moroccan French receive this visitor from France!). The European city spreads over a vast area. Wide avenues, sumptuous public monuments. Every city boasts a palace-hotel whose prices are prohibitive for a "poor relation" from the metropolis. Arrogance

stands out in the stones and on the faces.

Fantastic sums have been wasted this way while nothing or almost nothing has been done to improve native housing. Immense areas have been bought up to house a few thousand Europeans while the Moroccans are packed like sardines into the congested, antique and unhealthy *medinas*.



Up to 1947, 1,330 million francs were expended to house 350,000 Europeans, while only 841 millions were spent for 8,000,000 Moroccans. Add to this the facts that the native Moroccan population is growing at the rate of 250,000 annually and that legions of country people are being attracted to the cities every year.

In Casablanca, which exercises the strongest pull, hundreds of thousands of uprooted workers have had to camp in hovels made out of gas cans and old boards—the famous *bidonvilles*. The Ben M'Sik *bidonville* is about twodozen acres and shelters some 60,000 persons. The population of central Carrieres, where blood was shed in December 1952, is almost as numerous. No running water, no sewage. Contagious diseases run riot. Is it astonishing to discover there, as I have done, inscriptions such as "Down with France"?

The French administration is aware of the harm this abomination does to its prestige. A movie filmed partly in the *bidonvilles* by an official agency has been withdrawn from circulation. Following the recent events, a Moroccan was arrested, the press tells us, merely because he used to guide American tourists through the bidonvilles. To counteract the painful impression made on visitors, they are deliberately diverted to the recently completed little Arab city, Ain-Shok, which is not lacking in charm. But ten cities like that would be needed to absorb the population of the bidonvilles and, despite what has been done, the figures speak for themselves; the administration spends only 300,000 francs (less than 1,000) for a Moroccan housing unit while it sets aside $1\frac{1}{2}$ million francs to erect a European residence.

THE spectacle outside the cities is not much more comforting. First, Morocco, almost in its entirety, has no trees, hence an impression of aridity and monotony. One has a right to ask whether the civilizing power could not have undertaken more re-forestation in 40 years. But it seems that it was occupied with public works which are more liable to benefit the colonist, the object of all favors.

Morocco appears almost barren. Villages are very rare. The *fellahs*, especially in the North, are dispersed in tiny dwellings. At a distance they look like haystacks. In reality, they are a kind of hut covered with straw which are called *noualas*: habitats of nomads, recently settled, which can be carried on the back. The naked ground is the floor; there is no furniture. Nowhere else in North Africa does the peasant live so miserable and primitive a life. You would think it was the Congo.

No horses. Together with the camel, the donkey is the only means of transportation. The wooden plow dates back to antiquity. It skims the surface of the soil without plowing it. Frightful backwardness of agricultural technique is the essential cause of rural poverty in Morocco, even more than the seizure of a part of the land by colonization. But indirectly the colonists bear the responsibility for this, for they have resisted all attempts to modernize.

The *fellah* displays on his person the visible marks of a very inadequate diet. As the "Guide Michelin" points out with considerable tact: "The Moroccans are very abstemious, or, to put it better, are inured against an unfortunately frequent malnutrition."

No vital statistics. People don't know their own age. Too few doctors and too few clinics—despite recent progress in this field. Where there is one hospital bed for every 185 Europeans, there is one for 2,150 Moroccans. Obscurantism reigns supreme. More than a million and a half Moroccan children eligible for school (from the age of 6 to 14) are not in school. Only 7 percent of them are in the schools of the protectorate. They receive a cut-rate education: Annual expenditure for the European pupil is double that of the Moroccan pupil.

The agricultural tax, the "terib," is proportionately heavier on the native than it is on the colonist: The latter pays only 332 francs per hectare while the Moroccan pays 419 francs, or 24 percent more. Besides, the common man is pressured by a band of parasites, caids and pashas, usually servile to the French authority and who batten off two sources, their subjects and their protectors. This form of exploitation is common in a particularly odious way in the South, where the pasha of Marrakech, the infamous Glaoui, makes them sweat until they are ready to drop from exhaustion. In consequence of which, Marrekech, despite its usurped reputation and the false front it sports for the benefit of tourists, is a city of fleshless beggars and crumbling structures while the Atlas Mountains conceal an emaciated and famished population. The pashas drive sumptuous American limousines and generously distribute, on order of their French guardian angels, years in prison to Moroccans guilty of wanting independence.

LEFT Morocco before the shootings at Casablanca. But the storm signals were already apparent. For several months, the leaders of the Istiqlal Party, whom I had the occasion to meet, were expecting a provocation. On April 5, 1952, their paper said: "The heralds which announce a sweeping repression are already here. The plans are ready and await only the chosen moment."

The coincidence between the date of the troubles and that of the discussion of the Moroccan question in the UN was undoubtedly not accidental. At the very time the United States was to take a position, the French wanted to make Americans believe that their interests and security in Morocco were gravely threatened by an alleged collusion of nationalism and communism. The maneuver was more or less successful.

Knowing that the French administration was looking for the slightest pretext of "disorder" to put its repressive plans into execution, the Istiqlal Party manifested an extreme caution when I was there. At the time, I at-

tributed this astonishing reserve to a desire to treat General Guillaume tactfully, but I understand the real reason now. However, after the assassination of Ferhat Hached, the Tunisian union leader, a challenge both to the Moslem world and to the world of labor, the Moroccan trade unionists could not refrain further from showing their solidarity with their Tunisian brothers. The general-strike order of the General Union of Confederated Moroccan Trade Unions (whose leadership was controlled by Istiglal) furnished the police the awaited pretext to create the incidents leading to a blood-bath whose scope we are only now beginning to appreciate.

But provocation alone cannot explain the event. If the provocateurs found favorable soil, it was because for a long time there had been rumblings of revolt in the *bidonvilles*, and in fact in the whole Moslem and proletarian "red belt" on the outskirts of Casablanca. Exasperated by the provocative actions of the police, this proletariat, which had at first demonstrated peacefully, rose up. For the first time in the history of French Morocco a movement of national liberation arose



but not from the bourgeois and religious cadres, not from the *souks* or the Koran universities, but from the exploited of modern industry. While regretting that the demonstrators fell into the trap set for them, while deploring the blood shed on both sides (and native blood flowed much more freely than that of the Europeans), I believe the event of historic significance. Morocco has experienced something which belongs to the 20th Century: a first conscious and organized attempt at a workers' general strike. Henceforth the haughty Casablanca businessmen will no longer be able to recline in their luxurious offices with a feeling of beatific security. They themselves have brought the enemy to their door. They have engendered their own negation. And let General Guillaume not imagine that he will conjure it away by transforming Morocco into a concentration camp!

PROCEEDING from Morocco to Algeria, we see a continuation of the same earth, red and ochre, the same undulating mountains, the same Arabo-Berber population. However, colonization, more than a century old here, has put a somewhat different stamp on Algeria.

One is agreeably surprised on arriving from Morocco at the appearance of the "French Moslem" (as they say here in their strange official jargon). He has left the Middle Ages. At least in the urban centers he dresses more or less like a European. He generally has some notions of the French language. He gives the impression of a certain consciousness of dignity and of his rights. But on closer scrutiny, the first impression gives way to much less satisfactory observations.

The native population here as in Morocco is growing very rapidly: roughly from 150,000 to 200,000 human beings annually. Here also the country people are moving into the cities where there is neither decent housing nor work. It is estimated that a half-million Algerians live in the bidonvilles. I visited some of these "zones" in the environs of Algiers. Although due to insistent pressure of MTLD municipal councillors, running water installations have been built, human decay is sometimes even more apalling than in Morocco. Entire families live like troglodytes in caves dug in the soil or rock, with a few patchwork boards for doors. I have seen emerging from the depths of these black holes haggard, debilitated human beings shaking with fever while on the adjacent hills the "non-Moslem French" flaunt their vast buildings which are going up at an ever faster pace. But the slums of the "native" quarters are hardly better than the

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bidonvilles. The Casbah of El Djezair (Algiers) has preserved all its picturesque quality, but its Moorish houses, charming in their antiquity, house ten and more families although they were originally built to lodge only one. The density of population is more than 2,000 inhabitants per hectare [two and one-half acres]. The death rate is three times higher than in the non-Moslem districts and tuberculosis ten times more widespread.

The "Moslem French" who have literally invaded the small Louis-Phillippesque cities and villages and who kill time on the terraces of the Moorish cafes are usually out of work. The big colonists have deliberately kept Algeria an almost exclusively agricultural country. Contrary to Morocco, industrialization is embryonic. The urban native, if not doomed to perpetual unemployment, has a choice between a limited number of degrading vocations. "We have brought enough future porters and shoe-shine boys into the world," Ferhat Abbas, one of the national leaders, told me.

THE situation on the countryside is not much better. Successive expropriations of land by colonization have transformed a good part of the Algerian fellahs into agricultural day laborers. There are a million and a half of them who receive daily wages of 250 francs (about 70 cents), are subjected to a medieval serfdom and in most cases have no right to family allotments or social security. In the fertile Mitidja plain, one of the richest in Algeria, I have seen them ragged leaving the immense orange plantations of the big colonization to return to their wretched straw huts, very similar to the Moroccan noualas. I thought I was in California in the Imperial or San Joaquin valleys, among the unfortunate seasonal laborers immortalized by Steinbeck: Everywhere big private property uses the same methods and yields the same results. The little fellahs who have remained independent and who have to gain their livelihood from roughly two hectares (under five acres) of bad land have not a much more enviable lot. "The rural Algerian," a senator writes, "has a very deficient living standard, as his usual ration of calories is only one-third that of the normal ration of the European consumer."

But if the physical decay is as bad as just described, the moral decay seems to me even more lamentable. In Morocco and Tunisia the natives are subjugated and exploited, but at least their personality, their traditions, their language, their religion have been respected up to a certain point (and sometimes even unduly because the civilizing power has made a practice of preserving the most archaic, the most reactionary features of this culture). There is nothing of the kind in Algeria. They have tried to kill the soul of this country. They have conquered so as to people it with colonists, so as to annex it to the metropolis. The natives narrowly missed the treatment which the American pioneer inflicted on the Indians. At the outset, militarists like General Bernard in 1833 seriously considered "driving out, exterminating the native population." The project, however, proved impossible. But, unable to physically eliminate the native, they have tried to break him spiritually and morally.

After a century of discouraging servitude, the Algerians regained hope. The post-war period finally brought universal suffrage. It was not exactly what they wanted, since they desired not assimilation but autonomy or even independence. And then also, the unjust system of two electoral colleges conferred on a million Europeans the same representation as eight million Algerians. However, the ballot for them constituted a not unimportant weapon and they immediately used it with success. But what was given them with one hand was taken away with the other. The socialist governor, Naegelen, made "a state institution of electoral fraud," to use the expression of a noted writer on North Africa. The elections were prefabricated just as they are in totalitarian regimes.

ON the boat returning to Marseilles, the visual memories of my journey through North Africa were blurred by hallucinations of the repression.

Already, I had not been able to meet in Morocco (for residence in their own country is proscribed for them) the founders of the national movement, my friends of twenty years ago, men like Ahmed Belafrej, Mohammed El Ouazzani, like the legendary Allal El Fassi, whom I did not know personally, but for whom I and my friends had

once attempted to secure a commutation of exile at Gabon. In Algeria, it was painful for me not to be able to greet Messali Hadj, today the idol of Moslem Algeria and also a very old friend: After having so many times imprisoned, condemned, deported him, the civilizing power ended by committing him to forced residence in the French Department of Deux-Sèvres. But I read almost everywhere on the Algerian walls the inscription in big letters: Free Messali! In Tunis, I was not able, as I would have liked, to renew with Habib Bourguiba an association which goes back to the time of the People's Front: the Count de Hautecloque had cast him, like a criminal, on a small wintry, deserted island.

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And if I dig back beyond the recent past to my pre-war memories as far back as I can remember, there appears a long and monotonous series of massacres on the public highway, arrests, deportations, floggings, torture, police machinations, of deliberately provoked fights to nip a movement in the bud, of newspapers suppressed, of sovereigns surrounded in their palaces by troops or deposed and exiled.

But it isn't enough to be emotional and to try to move others. It is also and especially necessary to try to understand so as to be able to attack the evil at the roots. And that is why I am trying now to go beyond the visual memories, and to discover the deep, the hidden meaning of what I saw. And I arrive at this conclusion: North Africa suffers and it moves us to pity because it is bent under the yoke of one of the most severe and pitiless agrarian feudalisms history has known. Seen from this angle, the problem is even more social than national. It is national to the degree that this feudalism is foreign to Maghreb and is founded on the right of conquest. But its fundamental power is economic. Like all feudalisms, it rests on a small minority. The million and a half Europeans, the little unimpressive colonists or the plethora of civil servants are only a docile flock who can be made to march at will by stirring up their racial prejudices. But the real masters are hardly more than thirty thousand---perhaps twenty thousand-planters in Algeria, five or six thousand in Tunisia, five thousand in Morocco, who have succeeded by violence and ruse in seizing the most fertile lands, the smallest of whose domains is not less than 200 hectares (494 acres) and the largest of which cover 10 to 15 thousand hectares.

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 $\mathbf{T}_{\mathrm{from \ scandalous \ tax \ exemptions,}}^{\mathrm{HESE \ planters \ not \ only \ benefit}}$ but they are generally subsidized by the administration, that is from taxes levied on the natives. They have only to lift their finger and the public works administrations jump to build them roads and railroads, bridges and irrigation works they need. They have not only grabbed the land, they have also confiscated the water, so rare and so precious in North Africa. They command a labor force which is at their beck and mercy. Courts, caids, prisons, police are impressed into service to keep it obedient. Sometimes they even maintain jails on their own properties for recalcitrant personnel. No labor unions which might curb their omnipotence are tolerated. Their conservatism is blind. Although these gentlemen have eagerly introduced modern techniques on their own properties, they have remained hostile to any attempt at the regeneration of the native peasantry. Just think, if the fellah ceased being an agricultural laborer and became an independent and enlightened farmer, that would be the end of a docile labor force at starvation wages!

The planter is not restrained by legal forms except when they serve to strengthen his domination. Treaties signed, laws passed in the metropolis, are to him so many scraps of paper. Algerian universal suffrage? He has to manipulate that. The protectorate treaties? They are pleasant fictions behind whose threadbare screen he rules directly. Rabat and Tunis are home to the planter. The "native" is the foreigner. To him the Sultan and the Bey are puppets who dance on his strings, rubberstamps, as the Americans say. But if the marionettes maintained at great expense don't show themselves compliant, if they don't play the game, if they need to be pressured into affixing their seal, then the planter smiles on substitute puppets, he pushes them forward to frighten the titled ruler with an eventual successor.

The planter is not merely conservative, he has fascist tendencies. He hates the metropolitan democracy. When the Republic is represented by a liberal proconsul, he loses all respect for authority and becomes disaffected, factious. When France takes a Left government, he inclines to separatism like the American planters who once preferred secession to the emancipation of their slaves. There was a time when the big Maghreb colonist admired Mussolini and was indulgent to the Hitlerite regime. Petain was his idol



during the last war. Today, after having cursed the Charles de Gaulle of the Resistance, he is resolutely de Gaullist.

And it is here that the ordinary Frenchman should cease being indifferent, for even if we do not become unduly alarmed over what the "natives" must bear, we would be wrong to underestimate the danger the planter represents for us. He is not only the enemy of the North Africans; he is ours as well. If fascism should one day triumph in France, he will have much to do with it. He has never at any time exercised on the metropolis, on the president, on the government. on the parliament, an influence comparable to the one he exercises nowadays. Have you heard the arrogance with which French delegations from Morocco have tried to dictate their orders in Paris? And this permanent blackmail of the authorities is not due solely to the fact that in violation of

the treaties the French of the protectorates have been granted parliamentary representation. I see another, a deeper cause for it.

NORTH AFRICA today is the last bastion of French capitalism. While colonial investments are more than compromised in Indo-China, in Maghreb they are swelling conspicuously. In the metropolis itself, the capitalist system is decadent and it no longer functions with its erstwhile regularity, vitality, pomp. But in Maghreb it has not only succeeded in surviving, it is at its pinnacle. That is why the European cities of Casablanca, of Algiers, sparkle with a brillance one would seek in vain in France. And that is why the rich cousin speaks so haughtily, so disdainfully, to the poor relation.

Besides, this is not only a rural feudalism. Claude Bourdet [an editor of France-Observateur] has pointed out that a number of the big plantations belong to corporations and tributaries of finance capital. There are close ties between the big colonists and industrial, mining, banking concerns. These powerful interests are aligned against the "native" and reject all concession, all reform. However some of the industrial groups, particularly the newcomers, seem to have less backward conceptions than the old landed feudalism and its allies. An example is the Walter group in Morocco. With regard to the North African planters, they are, as the Southern planters of the United States, the last stand of the counter-revolution. And like the French aristocrats on the eve of 1789, like the southern Bourbons today in America, their intransigence grows along with the threat to their privileges by movements of national or racial libcration. Instead of meeting the demands of the native masses, they stiffen in their reactionary attitude and talk only of repressing, punishing, deporting, deposing, shooting. If we let them do it, they would be capable of gutting Maghreb in fire and blood rather than give up one iota of their power. That is what has already happened elsewhere, and the spokesman of the Tunisian colonists, the Jesuit Hautecloque, is about to start a conflagration in North Africa not unlike the one lighted by the Jesuit d'Argenlieu in unhappy Indo-China.





Radicalism in India

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA, by M. R. Masani. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1954, \$3.50.

WITH the ruling Congress Party displaying serious weaknesses and the Communists registering electoral gains, India appears to be advancing toward political and social crisis. Mr. Masani, former secretary of the Congress Socialist Party and now connected with the Tata steel interests, is a spokesman for right-wing groups who are increasingly articulate in demanding an uncompromising approach toward the Communist Party and a firm alliance with the capitalist West. His book, published here under the auspices of the Institute of Pacific Relations, is important for an understanding of the situation currently unfolding in Asia's most important "uncommitted" country.

The Communist Party of India was founded in 1925. It was influential in the Bombay textile strike of 1928 which lasted almost six months. Thirty-one leaders were arrested, resulting in the "Meerut Conspiracy Case." There was widespread sympathy for the defendants, and Nehru offered his services as a lawyer.

In 1930, the Indian National Congress under Gandhi started its civil disobedience campaign against the British. In the face of the people's commitment to the struggle, the Communist Party pursued a grotesque policy of sectarianism. With the boycott of British goods supported by the entire population, Communists conspicuously sported English-made clothes "as a gesture of solidarity with the British workers in Lancashire," and tried to organize a "League Against Gandhi."

The Communists called a nation-wide textile strike in 1934, which met with a ready response. As a result, the party was declared illegal and went underground.

Against a background of Hitler's consolidation of power, the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International in 1935 initiated the Popular Front line. In his report on the colonial countries, the Chinese Communist Wang Ming declared: "Our comrades in India have suffered for a long time from 'left' sectarian errors; they did not participate in all the mass demonstrations organized by the National Congress or organizations affiliated with it. . . . By their sectarian policy and isolation from the mass anti-imperialist movement, these small Communist groups objectively helped to retain the influence of Gandhi. . . .'

The new orientation led in 1936 to a united front between the Communists and the Congress Socialist Party. Mr. Masani directs sniping attacks against Nehru for his "leniency" toward Communism in those days and, in fact, throughout his life. This is part of the pressure and running fire that the right wing is currently maintaining against the Congress leadership.

FOLLOWING the Stalin-Hitler pact, the Communist Party began to attack the Congress for soft-pedaling the anti-British struggle. As this criticism happened to coincide with the general popular feeling, it received a good deal of response, and largescale arrests of Communists followed. When Germany invaded the Soviet Union, however, the Communists adopted an unequivocal pro-war policy, apparently in the face of serious opposition inside the party. In July 1941, a significant Communist Party pamphlet was issued which stated: "The Communist Party declares that the only way in which the Indian people can help in the just war which the Soviet is waging is by fighting all the more vigorously for their own emancipation from the imperialist yoke. Our attitude towards the British government and its imperialist war remains what it was. . . . We can render really effective aid to the Soviet Union only as a free people." This statement of one of the factions was made in the course of a sixmonth discussion period following the German invasion of Russia. But the opposition was silenced, and the leadership went allout for the war.

The imperialist rulers of India were not ungrateful. In 1942 the ban on the party was lifted. At this same time, the entire Congress leadership was jailed, and the remarkable nation-wide "leaderless revolt" erupted. The Communist Party however, was provided with otherwise unavailable resources and allowed to publish newspapers, one of which was called The People's War. Mr. Masani, an extremely shrewd and purposeful polemicist, appears to be on safe ground with his estimate that "the Communists battled on the side of the British. The underground resistance leaders were condemned as fifth columnists, and the party members often considered it their duty to spy on them and get them arrested wherever possible. They earned thereby the odium attached everywhere to traitors and police informers." (For a Communist view, the interested reader is referred to a book published by the British Communist Party in 1944, "British Soldier in India," by Clive Branson, a Communist who served with the British army in India during the war.)

When the Congress resumed functioning in 1945, the Communists were expelled. In the Legislative Assembly election that year they failed to win a single constituency, and lost their war-time influence in a number of cultural organizations.

IN 1947, the Communist Party under Joshi offered support to Nehru. The idea was to strengthen Nehru's liberal hand against the iron fist of Sardar Patel, the Deputy Premier and spokesman for the industrialists. But a shift soon occurred, paralleling the emergence of the Zhdanov orientation in the Soviet Union. Class war-

fare was stepped up throughout Asia, notably in Burma, Malaya and Indonesia.

In February 1948 the CP held its Second Congress in Calcutta. Its thesis stated: "There exist illusions about Nehru. Nehru is seen as a fighter against Patel's policies and almost made to appear as the leader of the democratic forces. . . . It must be clearly understood that Nehru is as much a representative of the bourgeoisie as Patel is."

Under the leadership of B. T. Ranadive, the party now entered a period of ultraleft adventurism. A wave of agitation swept over Calcutta, West Bengal and the southern rural areas. The party was again illegalized in many parts of the country, numerous individuals were arrested, and the government dispatched troops to Andhra (Madras), where full-size battles took place. Communist activity was most spectacular in Telengana (Hyderabad). There a virtual civil war erupted, and large tracts of land were distributed to the peasants. There was considerable fighting before the government succeeded in gaining the upper hand.

In 1950, Patel, strengthened within the Congress by the party's aimless tactics, which would have been more suited for an insurrectionary situation than what obtained, steamrollered the Preventive Detention Act through Parliament. It still stands, recently extended, as one of the most repressive laws enacted in modern times by a government professing democratic beliefs.

Confronted with the failure of its adventurist policies, the resentment of many who felt that they had been exploited for no clearly perceivable end, great demoralization in the ranks, and the growing oppressiveness of the state, the CP suffered enormous losses. Membership is said to have dropped from a 1948 peak of 90,000 to 20,000, and in the Communist-influenced All-Indian Trade Union Congress from 700,000 to 100,000. Some of these losses were absorbed by the Indian National Trade Union Congress-in effect, a huge company union under government sponsorship -formed by Patel to offset Communist influence.

Ranadive opposed all attempts at what he called "right deviation" toward the peasantry. He launched a virulent attack against Mao Tse-tung, charging the Chinese leader with being a reactionary and a "Titoist." The denunciations were motivated by Ranadive's belief that Mao "failed to fight for the hegemony of the proletariat."

AFTER the Cominform journal published an article in January 1950 declaring that Mao's way was the only correct one for colonial peoples, Ranadive was denounced as a "defender of the Trotsky-Tito type of left-sectarian political line" and replaced by Rajeshwar Rao, leader of the Andhra section.

In June 1951, the Politburo of the CP, in an important policy statement, declared: "The tradition of our party, especially since the 'People's War' period, has been to swing like a pendulum from one extreme to the other. . . . We woke up suddenly like Rip Van Winkle at the end of 1947 to jump into left-sectarianism which has brought the party and the mass movement to the present plight of total disruption." It urged a Peoples Democratic Front including sections of the bourgeoisie, based on a program of transitional demands. It further favored a united front with anti-imperialist parties such as the Forward Bloc and the Revolutionary Socialist Party, both bitterly attacked in the past. Formal apologies were offered to Mao. The Ranadive wing, however, maintained remarkable strength within the party, and the new orientation failed to emerge clearly.

With the general elections approaching, a center group, led by A. Ghosh, took over. Although the internal crisis was soft-pedaled, it remained unresolved. In several areas the party now resumed legal existence. The Congress apparently felt (perhaps from its own experience) that the people might attach credit to a group which was so severely persecuted. Simultaneously, Congress influence had undergone considerable weakening. In spite of repeated promises by the ruling party, the standard of living had not risen after four years of independence. Famine conditions existed over wide areas, and unemployment had assumed crisis proportions.

The CP issued an Election Manifesto which stressed these points: agrarian reform, confiscation of land without compensation, cancellation of peasant debts, expropriation of foreign interests (both concerns and foreign-controlled managing agencies), and peaceful relations with other countries (about half of the total Indian national budget is devoted to military expenditures). The Manifesto stated: "Freed from feudal exploitation and with their demand for land satisfied, the peasantry will be able to increase production of food and raw materials, build dams and irrigation works, stop floods with their vast manpower, feed the cities and towns and change the very face of the country as they are doing in China."

This basking in the reflected glory of China proved instrumental, against the acknowledged Congress failure to bring about significant improvements, in boosting the party's influence, especially with the intellectuals. They, in turn, command great prestige among a people which is almost 88 percent illiterate. The Chinese revolution is the most compelling factor in Asia today. It raises the social struggle to new levels, and enables the CP to present itself as a viable alternative to the Congress.

THE united front tactic was intensively pursued. The only organization on the left that failed to respond was the Socialist Party. Its disintegration parallels the weakening of Congress. It is now socialist in name only, and Narayan has openly proclaimed his conversion to a "socialist-Gandhian synthesis." He is currently devoting his time to a scheme initiated by Bhave, a follower of Gandhi, who is touring the Indian countryside urging landlords to make voluntary gifts of land to the peasants. The CP emerged from the election as the most important opposition group, and in several southern states its gains were spectacular.

The Third Congress of the CP met in the southern state of Madras in December 1953. It showed that the Ranadive group has kept its strength. In its "Andhra Thesis," this group rejected the official view that the United States was now the chief enemy, and urged a concentrated fight against British imperialism. It argued that 80 percent of foreign capital in India is British and added: "It is wrong to talk of a general anti-imperialist fight without specifying the particular imperialism that is dominating our country." It should be remembered that Nehru's administration has made a series of moves on the H-bomb. Korea, Pakistan arms pact, agreement with China on Tibet, SEATO, which were supported by the Communist Party. The Ranadive faction felt that the proposed policy made it practically impossible to maintain electoral gains and build a mass movement, for support of the Nehru government meant abandonment of the social struggle.

When the official resolution was brought to a vote it was approved by only half of the delegates. The division was so deepgoing that the central committee had to be enlarged to include members of the defeated opposition. According to the author, a message to the congress by the Chinese CP was not read. Harry Pollit, the British Communist leader, is reported to have addressed the delegates and accused them of political unpreparedness, divided leadership, underestimation of the fight for peace.

In considering the outlook for India, Mr. Masani fears the creation of "parallel government" in areas where communist influence is likely to achieve the required strength. In a number of places this is felt to be very possible, and although the lack of weapons may be an obstacle, "the common frontier which the country now has with Communist China in Tibet will serve to create conditions in which the drawing of parallels with Yenan in Communist China will cease to be altogether academic."

One finishes this book with a strong feeling that the Indian stage is set for momentous social developments. The entire situation is volatile, for the Indian people are growing increasingly convinced that their struggle for independence is not yet completed.

F. G.

The Investigators

FEAR, THE ACCUSER, by Dan Gillmor. Abelard-Schuman, New York, 1954, \$3.00.

INTIMIDATION, incrimination and punishment by congressional investigation is the subject of Mr. Gillmor's timely book. The power to investigate, presumably only as an aid in passing legislation, has become a weapon of terror. Just how the terror is employed, as shown by the records of the Velde, Jenner and McCarthy committees, is plainly documented by this book.

The chief value of Mr. Gillmor's book is its well-reasoned and convincing explanation—an explanation presented in factual form—of the functions of the Fifth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, and the reasons why witnesses before committees "take the Fifth" and refuse to answer questions on grounds of self-incrimination. The Fifth Amendment provides: No person . . . shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself. . . .

Mr. Gillmor's reasoning emerges something like this: The congressional committees are motivated by two main impulsions—an insatiable greed for names, names and more names, to keep the publicity mills grinding, and a rancorous animosity against every "un-cooperative" witness. This means that every witness who is called before the committee is under a terrific pressure to either act as an informer —often against insignificant actions of associates or former associates which are then blown up into fantastic accusations of "disloyalty" or "espionage" in the newspaper headlines—or to bear heavy punishments in case of refusal to be an informer.

The committees, moreover, do not make available the safeguards of the courts, so that a witness is in effect on trial without having any opportunity to present his side of the case. He may bring a lawyer, but the lawyer is not permitted to say anything and is often sworn in and himself grilled. He may not call witnesses to refute his accusers, his lawyer may not question him to develop his side of the story, and everything he says is subjected to the rudest and most unreasonable distortion, while he has no recourse save to protest to reporters after the hearing, a protest which goes unrecorded more often than not.

SHOULD he enter into a difference of opinion with the committee to the effect, for example, that anyone who was against Chiang Kai-shek's corrupt dictatorship in the mid-Forties was not necessarily a Communist, he may find himself indicted for perjury, as was Owen Lattimore. (Lattimore has been twice indicted for perjury on the ground that he lied when he said he wasn't following the Communist line; the chief ground for calling him a liar has been that he was against Chiang.) Many of the arguments at congressional hearings take place in the shadowy and much-disputed areas of doctrines and ideologies, and anybody who is to the left of William Knowland may find himself in jail for perjury if he denies he is or was a Communist.

It is for reasons such as these that many people who were never members of any radical grouping, and who freely assert as much, have refused to answer questions about membership before the committees. For one thing, their refusal constitutes a protest and a defiance which can help arrest the witch-hunt, and for another, it protects them against the risks of a perjury indictment.

Aside from the factors previously cited, the menace of the professional informer, who is ready to go into a courtroom and swear to anything his paymaster wants, is becoming ever greater. Most Americans don't realize it, but much of the testimony which is being used against witch-hunt victims comes from paid professionals for whom informing is a trade-light work, about \$5,000 a year. Since such informers lose their jobs by necessity when they have nothing further to testify, their memories get stronger as the events recede further into the past. Thus, informer Paul Crouch, featured by the government in over 60 proceedings, testified in 1949 that he "had no knowledge of" an alleged Philadelphia Communist leader, David Davis. In 1954, used as a witness against this same Davis in the Philadelphia Smith Act trial, Crouch readily testified to knowing him well, having "worked together" with him on "infiltrating the Army." On another occasion, Crouch, asked to point out someone whom he claimed he had "worked with for many years" as a Communist, unerringly pointed to a bystanding newspaper reporter.

The prize case, of course, is the present scandal over Harvey Matusow, who has filed affidavits in two federal courts, admitting perjury in the New York Elizabeth Gurley Flynn Smith Act case and the El Paso Jencks Taft-Hartley non-Communist oath case. In both cases, the defendants had been sentenced to long prison terms on testimony such as that of Matusow, who now asserts that he lied—lied wholesale. He admits having, together with Roy Cohn who was then a U.S. Attorney, fabricated testimony to inflammatory speeches that were never made and "treasonous" remarks that were never uttered.

MATUSOW has been used as a witness in the cases of scores of individuals and organizations, including the Lattimore case, and has testified freely and repeatedly before congressional committees, pouring out names like a phone book. As Gillmor points out, the witness who attempts to follow a committee through its maze of questions is liable at any moment to be confronted by a Matusow or another of his ilk, and denounced as a perjurer, and be sent to jail on the word of such a witness.

The protection of the Fifth Amendment has been sharply curtailed recently by the Compulsory Testimony Act passed by Congress last summer, which, under pretext of granting witnesses "immunity from selfincrimination," removes the protection of the Fifth Amendment—a law which is certainly unconstitutional, although the courts may not so decide in the present atmosphere. The first case to which it is being applied is that of William Ullman, a former Treasury Department official, accused by professional informer Elizabeth Bentley of being a member of the "Harry Dexter White spy ring" in Washington.

Mr. Gillmor's book performs the valuable service of probing this "spy" scare thoroughly. The White case, it will be recalled, was the one in which former President Truman was charged by top Republicans with "knowingly" promoting a spy—Harry D. White. Truman replied with indignation that he did not know about White's being a spy when he promoted him. In the uproar that followed, everyone took White's espionage more or less for granted, although no evidence of any weight had been



presented, no case had been heard, and there was in actuality no real indication that White was anything but a New Deal liberal, and many indications that Miss Bentley was a plain liar. Mr. Gillmor has gone into this case in greater detail than has been done anywhere else, and from the record produces a picture which seems to add up to one thing: The Harry Dexter White "spy ring" was Miss Bentley's own creation.

Another excellent feature of Mr. Gillmor's book is that, by sketching out in detail the procedure involved in calling a witness, and the many serious decisions which a prospective witness should make before he goes on the stand, he has furnished leftwingers with a manual of information and guidance to this ever-more-common problem.

T. R.

New Deal

To War Deal

THE SECRET DIARY OF HAROLD L. ICKES: The Lowering Clouds, Vol. III. Simon and Schuster, New York, 1954, \$6.

ROOSEVELT'S shift from the New Deal to the War Deal, the beginning of which was delineated in Volume II of Ickes' diary, is traced to its completion in this volume which covers the years 1939 through 1941. Ickes reveals that the remnants of the New Deal wing in Roosevelt's staff attempted to organize themselves and exert pressure on "the boss," but completely without success.

Ickes seemed to have had a two-fold program for the war preparations and the war itself: the military build-up should be administered by the liberal wing of the Democratic Party, and the Secretary of Interior should be entrusted with the oil industry, power industry and of course, forestry, which had been promised to Ickes time and again.

On the very first page of this volume, Ickes refers to Roosevelt's reorganization of the White House staff. In September, 1939, Steve Early, White House press secretary said, "The brain trust was out the window," which meant specifically that Tom Corcoran and Benjamin Cohen, who had written much of the New Deal legislation, had been cast aside in favor of those Ickes called "the fat cats of Wall Street." Ickes reported that "not only was Tom hurt, but underneath he was mad."

Throughout the years dealt with in this part of the diary, Ickes attempted to reason with and put pressure upon Roosevelt to keep the New Deal liberals in key posts. But Roosevelt consistently shunted Ickes and the others aside and turned the reins of the war mobilization over to the representatives of Big Business.

But while he did fight a rear-guard action against this process, Ickes was far more concerned with his own narrow ambitions. His repeatedly frustrated desire to get his hands on the forestry department is reported in detail. Roosevelt had a consistent method to deal with this. He would solemnly promise to draw up a bill transferring forestry from Agriculture to Interior. Then he would avoid Ickes for several weeks. When finally Ickes nailed him, Roosevelt would wriggle out by insisting things had changed since his promise. This went on for years, and the naive Ickes never seemed to catch on that Roosevelt fully intended to keep the bait permanently dangling out of reach. Judging by the man's own entries in his "secret" diary, Ickes was far more concerned with this petty ambition than with the developing war situation, the crushing of his New Deal associates, or the diversion of government funds from public welfare to military buildup.

ICKES was worried by the activities of the Dies Committee, predecessor of the McCarthy committee. He saw in it an attempt to repeat the suppression of civil rights directed by A. Mitchell Palmer after World War I. His solution to this problem is typical of present efforts of some liberals to put the witch-hunting on a respectable basis: He supported Attorney General Frank Murphy's proposal to set up a Federal Grand Jury in Washington to hear evidence on subversive activities, as a means of sidetracking Dies.

Ickes reveals himself in this thick book as a cantankerous but naive and limited politician. On the big questions of the times he has little to contribute. He was one of the foremost advocates of immediate United States entry into the war, was for a huge military production program, but at the same time he wanted to keep the New Deal intact. That the two aims were mutually exclusive never occurred to him. He never understood that his failure to increase his power and authority by adding to his department's jurisdiction was not merely because Roosevelt wasn't playing straight with him, but because Ickes was already part of the past.

J. G.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Scandalous Intervention

In the week-end paper here, there was a declaration of the AFL European bureau calling on the trade union movement of western Europe to support German rearmament. This is an attempt to counteract the campaign carried on by the German unions. The facts of the matter make this intervention truly scandalous:

1. Last October, the six-million-strong German unions, in convention, decided virtually unanimously against re-armament. They are associated in this position with the Social Democratic Party (which received one-third of the votes in the last elections in September 1953), with the bulk of West German youth, and with the evangelical churches. No communist organizations are involved in this anti-armament movement, which will hold 6,000 rallies and demonstrations this month.

2. Their position is based on the following: a) re-armament will close the door to unification of Germany; b) it will revive a Nazi-type militarism which can lead to Germany becoming the cockpit of another war; c) it will strengthen the hand of the reactionary forces at Bonn and particularly the Ruhr barons, against whom the unions are now planning a campaign for the extension of co-determination in industry and for a shorter work-week (it is now 48 hours).

3. The AFL says re-armament is only "protection against totalitarianism," etc. But the fact is that the opposition of German workers to re-armament has resulted in the Russians changing their position on unification of Germany to where they now accept free elections without conditions in effect the Eden plan at the Berlin conference, including international control.

If the AFL can't support brother trade unionists taking a progressive position, the least they can do is keep their hands off. The German workers don't need the kind of advice that tells them to accept the new Wehrmacht and then try to make it "democratic." In effect, that is like them telling the AFL to support Eisenhower to make him pro-labor. C. G. London

Should be a Ringer

I have just read your February issue, and the article on the guaranteed annual wage should be a ringer if it can be gotten out as a leaflet and had a wide distribution in the auto plants in and around Detroit.

The articles on the Socialist Party before World War I by Bert Cochran are true to facts as I know them in detail, as I was in the struggles recorded by him, and looking back I am not too much ashamed of the positions I lined up on at the time.

It looks like the international pot is about to boil over. But any way the imperialists move, it will be a setback for them. China must and will take a principled position.

S.'J. G. Detroit

I think you should feature the issue of contract changes in a future article about the auto union. I feel very strongly about this matter because working conditions under the present contract in General Motors are miserable and that is the burning issue there. Conditions in Ford and Chrysler are little better and getting worse.

The leadership responds with a conspiracy of silence. At the recent national Ford and GM conferences, virtually nothing was decided on basic contract changes. This is an issue that can't be fought and won on a local basis, but must have the full support of the International Union on an industry-wide basis. But neither the top nor the local leaders have any stomach for that kind of a fight.

Your article on the guaranteed annual wage [February 1955] gives no idea of the indifference of the UAW membership toward it. Raise the question of contract changes or the 30-hour week and you get a much more positive response.

J. A. Detroit

Clearest and Healthiest

I have been reading the American Socialist since its first issue. I am convinced that the outlook behind the magazine is the clearest and healthiest on the whole Left. I am sure that it is a present source of strength and will become even more so in the coming months. I had been drifting for quite some time when the American Socialist caught me up and stirred me.... H. L. Chicago

Perspective for Future

Received the January issue of your magazine. I find it quite to my liking, particularly that phase which deals with your perspective in building a future socialist movement, etc. I passed it along to two of my many friends with commendable reaction.

However, I am handicapped in popularizing the magazine by just having one copy. I suggest you send me about five copies of the January issue and bill me for the same. . . I have hopes of getting more subscriptions.

D. D. Portland, Oregon

Lack of Crusading Spirit

Fellow auto-workers and even some union officials with whom I discuss the American Socialist speak favorably of the articles on the Automobile Workers, especially those that point to the lack of crusading spirit in the union. Some who are for the present guaranteed annual wage proposal recognize that it is not an issue which can arouse the members like the 30-hour week. The ranks just don't appreciate the annual-wage demand, especially since Reuther has watered it down into a nickel and dime affair.

S. D. Flint

I was shown your December issue with the article on the church and witch-hunting by Rev. H. Weston. After buying a copy of the February magazine, I was much impressed with your comment and information on the problems we face today, *especially* the prospects for action and regrouping on the Left. Please enter my subscription for two years...

D. H. Connecticut

A Comment from Monthly Review

THE February issue of MONTHLY RE-VIEW, an independent socialist magazine, carried in its "Notes from the Editors" section the following paragraph:

"We have watched with interest and sympathy the development during its first year of existence of the AMERIČAN SO-CIALIST, a monthly magazine which, as its title indicates, is dedicated to the cause of socialism in the United States. At first, we must confess, we were somewhat skeptical as to whether the AMERICAN SOCIAL-IST could transcend the arid tradition of sectarianism which has had so baneful an influence on the American Left (the editors had just recently broken away from the Trotskyite Socialist Workers Party). In this respect, however, the magazine has been a pleasant surprise. Sectarian squabbles have been absent from its pages, and it has been well edited and written in simple, straightforward language, not in jargon. In a sense, of course, the AMERICAN SO-CIALIST is a rival of MR, and we welcome it as such: the more rivals we have the

better we like it. But in another sense, the two magazines supplement each other. We have more theoretical articles than they do; their coverage of labor is more thorough than ours; and their book review section fills a need which we have long recognized but lack the space to attempt to meet. We commend the AMERICAN SOCIALIST to the attention of MR readers. If you would like a free sample copy, drop them a note. . . ."

We have received a substantial number of sample-copy requests as a result, the most common note of which is: "If MR says it's all right, that's good enough for me."

MONTHLY REVIEW, founded in May 1949 by Leo Huberman and Paul Sweezy, has had a markedly successful growth from small beginnings. It sounded a new note on the Left by its independence of thought, and has gained an international reputation (and an impressive following) by its increasing grasp and Marxist treatment of the social realities both here and abroad.

Unusual Performance

A RECENT subscriber, only three months on our file, has already sent us eight new subscriptions for friends. If all of our new readers worked that fast, we would, of course, be growing at a phenomenal rate. But we can't and don't expect that kind of unusual performance. All we can ask is that every reader who is in general agreement with our aims and purposes do what he can, and we are satisfied that on this basis the AMERICAN SOCIAL-IST can become an ever more powerful instrument of a revived Left in America. We repeat our request that readers keep on their toes for possible new subscribers. That's the way we can grow, and that's the way the Left can grow.

IN Great Britain, where we only recently began to push our circulation through advertisements, we now have close to a hundred subscriptions. The most common appraisal of the AMERICAN SOCIALIST in that countryand in continental Europe as well where we are starting to get subscriptions—is that it is most important to foreign readers for its coverage and analysis of the American labor movement, which they do not get in any other publication. One French reader, for example, wrote: "[The AMERICAN SOCIALIST] is very interesting for us, especially the articles on the labor movement. We here need a publication which provides us with information on the American unions, and not merely on discussions among young radicals. . . . When we read good, well-documented, factual articles on the American workers' movement, THAT, it seems to us, is America."

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NEW YORK READERS:

The spring lecture series of the AMERICAN SOCIALIST will begin with two lectures on "The History of American Socialism" on Friday, March 11 and 18. Bert Cochran will be the speaker. Lectures begin promply at 8:15 pm; there will be time for questions and discussion; refreshments will be served. The place: 863 Broadway, near 17th St.

Contrib.: 50 cents

CHICAGO READERS:

"The Continuing Fight Against School Segregation," a lecture by Ernest Drake, Detroit unionist and NAACP activist. Friday, March 18, 8 pm, at the Midland Hotel, 172 W. Adams.

Contrib.: 50 cents

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