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Ike Picks Big Business To Run the Government

With the exception of the posts of secretaries of Labor and-Commerce which may be filled by the time this issue of LABOR ACTION appears, President-elect Eisenhower's cabinet and chief aides have been chosen.

The men appointed are weighted heavily on the side of big business (some say it is a General Motors cabinet) and they reflect the respect which the new president has for the power and ability of the men of finance and in- trialists. dustry. He chose Chas. E. Wilson, president of GM, as stand the thinking of this Secretary of Defense because he wanted to "get business brains in a 60-billion dollar business." In this way, war production comes fessionals and businessmen; under the direction of the his knowledge of social head of the largest corpora- problems and his feelings for

tion in the United States, an the genuine interests of the enterprise holding the greatest number of government war_orders.

MEDIOCRITIES

The type of men chosen by Eisenhower reveal so clearly the mediocre mind of the new president himself, because only a man whose ideals are themselves the commonplace of a business civilization could select a cabinet of mediocrities composed so overwhelmingly of big financiers and indus-

It is not hard to underprofessional military man. Throughout his life, his chief contact with civilian life has been with government pro-

people at large are almost non-existent. Where he is not wholly ignorant of the grave social problems of our time, his understanding is very shallow. That is why he could select a cabinet whose very conservatism precludes any social vision and broad understanding of the problems of the masses of the world.

Is it any wonder that the conservative New York Herald Tribune wrote enthusiastically that "The administration of president-elect Eisenhower was shaping up as one in which business men would have a large share: In selecting the occupants of high posts, the general looked to men who were successful in business. whether or not they were politicians ... Academicians, who were favored by President Roosevelt, will be conspicuous by their absence."

To Eisenhower, men who are successful in business are the men who have gained achievement. Making money is equated to intelligence. And the money-makers are men of stature. When he spoke of selecting a cabinet with the best brains in the had a more important post? Hardly. Just imagine a cabinet meeting which is discussing what, to do about any major labor problem, such as a strike of miners. steel workers, or railroad men in the midst of the cold war. Around the cabinet table will be assembled the general, the head of General Motors flanked by two of the major automobile distributors in the country, the head of the Hanna iron and coal mining empire, a former director of the National Association of Manufacturers (Sinclair Weeks, just appointed secretary of com-

(Turn to last page)

Stalinist Rejection of India Truce Proposal Increases Danger of Full-Scale War in Asia

A removal of major troop contingents from Korea to shore up Indo-China would hardly seem feasible. Although the bloody fighting there has involved only forces available, this is probably Americans but of the North Koreans and Chinese also. A withdrawal of American reserves could well bring on a major Stalinist offen-

Of course, there is much that the United States could do in Indo-China short of a major commitment of ground troops. It could probably send carriers with sufficient aircraft to make a major change in the relation of forces. But even this would mean the direct participation of American armed forces to keep a European colonial power in Asia. Although everyone knows that the French could not have maintained themselves till now in that area without the constant aid in military equipment and finances from the United States, the dramatic effect of open American participation in the war could hardly fail to have serious political repercussions in

But even if the situation in Indo-China is stabilized by the French for the time being, the problem of Korea remains. To continue the stalemated war seems less possible

politically as time goes by. There is the further consideration put forth by some milifary analysts that the North Korean and Chinese potential have been growing more rapidly than that of the Americans in the past few months, and that ly the time will be reached when it is so evidently preponderant that a final Stalinist offensive would have every chance of success.

Such arguments may be based on facts or on fancy. But in any event it is clear that they are propounded toward one end: to convince the American people of the feasibility and desirability of an American offensive in the near future to put an end to the stalemate in Korea. This notion has been preached far and wide by the military commanders in the field, and there can be no doubt that they will urge it on Eisenhower when he gets there.

BIGGER STAKES?

It is quite possible that this is exactly what the Russians were (Turn to last page)

The national convention of the CIO is in progress as LABOR ACTION goes to press. Next week we will feature a full report on the convention by members of our staff who are in Atlantic City.

LABOR ACTION

Major Court Test Due on Segregated School Laws

which concern themselves with civil liberties and civil rights, and two religious organizations have filed a "friend of the court" brief before the Supreme Court in a case involving racial segregation in the public schools. The organizations are the American Civil Liberties Union, the American Jewish Committee, the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, the Japanese-American Citizens League, the American Ethical Union and the Unitarian Fellowship for Social Justice.

This brief was sent to the court a week before it will hear oral argument in five pooled cases attacking segregation laws in Kansas, Delaware. South Carolina, Virginia and the District of Columbia. The Congress of Industrial Organizations filed a separate brief dealing specifically only with the Kansas case, but arguing in general that segregated schools are by their very nature unconstitutional.

NAACP CASES

All these cases were initiated by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. In the Kansas case, three appellants were denied relief when they sought a declaratory judgment to compel the state to permit Negro children into the Topeka elementary schools on an unsegregated basis. A special three-judge federal court admitted that the segregated school system put the Negro children at a disadvantage, yet upheld the Kansas law barring their attendance at "white" elementary schools. The state claimed that the Negro children had "separate but equal" facilities available to them.

The brief of the ACLU and associated organizations was devoted primarily to an attack on the "separate but equal" doctrine.

"The unchallenged finding (of the lower court) that segregation irreparably damages the child," it stated, "lifts this case out of the murky realm of speculation on the issue of 'equality' of facilities into the area of centainty that segregation and equality cannot co-exist. That which is unequal in fact cannot be equal in law.

. . We are convinced that integration can and will be accomplished in the pubhe schools of the South without 'bloodshed and violence'

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Four major organizations if the law enforcement agencies, federal or local, demonstrate that they will not tolerate breaches of the peace or incitement. Americans are law-abiding people and abhor klanism and violence."

CIO EXPERIENCE

The CIO brief noted that "threatened resentment by some whites" was often cited as a reason for denying to Negroes the equal protection of the laws, and went on to say that:

"Certainly the experience of the Congress of Industrial Organizations supports the view that the dire consequences which are so often predicted are merely phantoms. The CIO, through its Southern organizing committee, is proving daily that the myth of incompatibility between white and Negro is but a myth.

"There are frictions and tensions to be sure. But they are not nearly of the magnitude usually pictured. We have proved that it is possible for free men, white and Negro, to associate themselves together voluntarily without conflict, in the absence of compulsion by the state."

The struggle against segregation in the lower schools is likely to be a long and difficult one, even if the Supreme Court rules against segregation in the present cases. Already governors Byrnes and Talmadge have tried to intimidate the organizations involved in the fight by threatening to abandon free public education in their states rather than submit to such a ruling. They propose to evade the issue by resorting to some legal subterfuge under which all education in Georgia and South Carolina would be conducted under private auspices.

A HARD STRUGGLE

Just how far they and their similars in other states would actually go in the event of an anti-segregation ruling by the court, it is difficult to say. If they actually attempted to turn the clock back from free public education in their states, the long- PONTIAC FEPC range result might well be to speed the end of segregation rather than to retard it. The expense and administrative complications involved would tend to bring home to many people who might take longer to see it otherwise the economic waste and absurdity of segregated education. It would certainly put pressure on all people who favor public education to line up who otherwise might tend to favor continued segregation. or at least to be indifferent to the issue.

Nevertheless, the ability of these governors * to get support for their scheme, even if only as a threat, indicates the bitterness with which the forces of reaction will fight against un-segregated education. The labor movement and all groups who oppose discrimination will have to marshall their forces to fight this battle through to victory.

"Reds" Arrested in Lousiana

has made its first arrests un- on the form calling for a der the state's new Commu- write-in of party affiliationnist control law. The law, signed by Governor Kennon last July, requires Communists to register or face imprisonment for two to 10 automatically filled in "Comvears, pay fines of \$1,000 to munist Party." \$10,000, or both.

The first arrested were and Louis James Lockett. Both denied that they were registration forms. The two munist oaths before.

Louisiana's state police said they had misread a line They thought the line read "I am not a member." whereas the actual wording was "I am a member." They

they were "good Demotwo Negroes, Robert Burns crats," and that if they had been Communists they would never have said so in Communists, contended that a public form. They both their arrest was the result of said that as veterans- they an error in filling out vote had signed many non-Com-

Burns and Lockett said

UAW Begins a National Campaign Against Discrimination in Hiring

The United Automobile Workers (CIO) has started a campaign against discrimination at the hiring gate in plants with which it has contracts throughout the nation. An administrative letter to UAW-CIO locals instructed their officers to take up all cases of discriminatory hiring at the next regular meeting between their local plant managements and bargaining committees. If they are unable to settle the prob lems there, they were instructed to inform appropriate international union officers so that they can be taken up with top corporation officials. In his letter, President Walter Reuther emphasized that local unions are to take up cases of hiring discrimination on both civilian and military work.

In addition to attempting to mobilize the union itself for action against discrimination in hiring, the UAW leadership has sought to dramatize the problem by involving nation, state and local agencies in its solution. On the same day that the letter was sent out to the union locals, Reuther also sent one to Dwight R. G. Palmer, chairman the President's Committee on Contract Compliance which is supposed to see to it that companies do not violate the anti-discrimina tion clauses in government contracts. Reuther called for an immediate Detroit hearing to receive evidence of discriminatory practices in violation of such contractual provisions, and to establish whether or not a full scale investigation is warranted.

At the same time, letters were ent to G. Mennen Williams, gov ernor of Michigan, urging that an FEPC bill be introduced at the beginning of the new legislature's session, and one to the Detroit Common Council urging that its Internacial Committee investigate discriminatory practices and that it pass an FEPC ordinance.

All these moves should be welcomed as an effort to crack down on the continuing discrimination in employment. They may be specially effective in Michigan at the present time, as two cities in that state have just passed local FEPC ordinances. The voters of River Rouge approved an FEPC referendum at the recent elections and Pontiac's city commission passed an ordinance by a vote of 5 to 2 which affects every employer in the city having ten or more workers, and prohibits dis crimination in employment beagainst them . . . even many cause of race, color, creed, national origin or ancestry. Pontiac is the 31st city to take such action in the United States since 1945. The real test of the seriousness of the UAW leadership in pressing

tion with the action taken by the locals on receipt of Reuther's letter. They are in the best position to know of the hiring practices of their various managements. But to prove discrimination is not always casy. Workers who are turned away because of their race or religion rarely turn to the union for help, for unless they have been members of a union which took a good stand on such questions in the past, they tend to look on the union as a partner to the employer's discrimination. To get the cooperation of such workers, the UAW locals will have to carry on some kind of campaign in their local communities which will bring the union's campaign to the attention of Negroes and other minorities. Of course, the best kind of publicity campaign would be not only one carried on via the usual

Notes from Peronland

At a recent meeting of the Metalworkers' Union (FOM) in Buenos Aires, Peronist candidates obtained insufficient votes to enable them to be re-elected constitutionally to the Executive. Upon the announcement of this result the chief of the Peronist General Confederation of Labor, Senon Espejo, accompanied by other leaders, about one hundred thugs and two truck loads of, assault troops with machine guns, entered the premises and attacked the metalworkers. There were over fifty casualties, including four killed. The press was instructed not, to report the incident.

Information Bulletin of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, October 22. .

Dockers at Buenos Aires went on strike at the beginning of August coupling a claim for increased wages with a demand for the re-opening of their trade union premises which had been closed down for over two years. Eighty per cent came out. Two of their leaders, Vilpi and Santana, were arrested and tortured by the authorities, Santana being subsequently transported to the notoriously unhealthy prison camp on Demarchi Island.

On August 20 a number of dock



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the campaign will come in connec- media of public communication, but one in which trade unionists go to the Negro community directly via speakers in their churches and other organizations.

In the long run, the success of such a campaign will depend not only on the amount of energy which is thrown into it directly but on the amount of effort the union puts into the fight against discrimination inside the shops. It is a rare local in which every Negro really has the same chance of up-grading and promotion as every white worker, and particularly in the skilled trades departments. A campaign inside the shops to make equality a living, day-to-day proposition would soon get known in the Negro community, and the union would then be regarded as a constant and vigorous ally in every phase of the fight against discrimination

ers were arrested, and subjected to torture, for having distributed leaflets calling upon dockers to resist the deduction of one day's wages for a monument to Eva Peron. One of the arrested men, Victoriano Javier, was beaten in the presence of his wife. Jose Axman, held as hostage for his father, Abraham Axman, was also beaten These outrages took place on premises belonging to the Ministry of the Interior. The prisoners were taken to Demarchi Island on August 29. A radical deputy, Carlos Perethas informed parliament of these events.

A habeas corpus petition has failed to secure the release of four trade union offiicals, including Alfredo Léon Ferreira, secretary of the exiled Argentine trade union organization (COASI), who have been in the Villa Devoto prison now for over three months Cristoff, secretary of the 'Municipal Sanitation Workers' Un-

ion, and Cano, a member, have been sent to Devoto Island while a strike of that union continues The strike has been declared illecal by the Minister of Labor and Social Insurance, the union not being approved by the regime.

ICFTU Spotlight (uncensored news from the dictatorship countries) October 1952.

As I had not been to a Communist Party meeting for many a year, I thought I might take this opportunity of renewing my ance with the CP line. The fact that James Klugman, author of "From Trotsky to Tito" and memher of the executive committee of the CP was giving the lecture added to the interest of the meeting. I was also anxious to find out how much the CP's present line was affecting Labor Party members. Much to my astonishment, on arrival I found only a handful of CPers at the meeting. Neither the local Young Communist League

nor a substantial portion of the local CP branch materialized to hear this leading theoretician give the line on the 19th Congress [of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union .- Ed.] Only two members of the Labor Party were present. I was one of them, the other was a friend of mine. By the time Klugman had gone through half his one and a half hour lecture, there were still only about twenty people present. Klugman said that the 19th Congress of the CPSU discussed two major topics -the transition from socialism to communism and peace. He gave endless figures (nearly all in percentages) to "prove" his conten-

To the Editor:

"Tottenham Socialists Hear

James Klugman, famous commu-

nist lecturer, on the New Soviet

Five Year Plan. Central Library

(Small Room), High Street, N.17,

This advertisement in a social-

ist paper caught my eye recently.

Thurs. Nov. 20, 8 p.m."

The American Federation of Teachers alerted all its members to the dangers of a NAM scheme to finance public education in America. According to Irvin R. Kuenzli, secretary-treasurer of the AFT, the plan advanced by the NAM would permit big business to escape taxation by making private contributions from income to support the impoverished school system.

READY FOR BATTLE

vention:

contributions.

Kuenzli quoted this statement from a declaration adopted at the last AFL con-

"The labor movement today must battle against the ominous proposal of big business to support the public school system by private

"Labor must let it be known to all the world that the control of the public schools of the United States is not for sale to big business at any price and that those who attempt to avoid taxation for public education through private contributions will meet the unalterable opposition of the labor

movement of the nation." Kuenzli warned in a letter to the union's members that the NAM scheme could wreck the school system in less prosperous times when industry would not be able to maintain its contributions. He predicted that classroom teachers would suffer from reduced salaries and unfavorable working conditions, to say nothing of

pressure to slant the thinking of students along big business lines.

GREATER THREAT

The NAM in lieu of a broad program of federal aid to education, which it opposes, suggested that business enterprises could contribute \$1 billion a year to education by setting aside 3 per cent of earnings for contributions to schools. It is estimated that the nation currently is spending about \$5 billion a year on its public schools.

"Those citizens who are genuinely interested in 'democracy in education and education for democracy' will recognize a far greater threat to academic freedom in control of the schools by private industry than in control by the government of the United States," Kuenzil declared.

"It seems ironical that the sponsors of the Taft-Hartley Act, which provides federal control of organized labora dangerous step toward totalitarianism-should be so deeply concerned over federal control of education.

"The extent of control of higher education in the United States by private industry and the restriction on academic freedom .resulting therefrom, are evidence of the danger to freedom of education in the NAM proposto finance education al through voluntary contributions from private profits." AFL News Reporter,

November 21, 1952

"GOOD TIDINGS" GO UNHEEDED

AFL Teachers vs. the NAM **A** Short History of the Indonesian Trade Unions

By DAVID ALEXANDER

Indonesian official circles have always been recalcitrant in giving information about their left wing parties and their labor movement The reason is fairly simple. In order to obtain capital from overseas to develop the country's very rich raw materials, the government must make investment in the country attractive. No suspicion must enter the minds of potential investors that their capital might be nationalized. Hence the government has always played down the strength of the labor movement in Indonesian politics. Recently, however, the Indonesian government has released some information about the development of trade unions. Before this is summarized, however, one point should be made clear. Since the war ended in 1945 there have been many organizations which call themselves 'national" trade unions. So bad, however, are the communications, and so recent is the development of trade unionism in Indonesia, that the most these "national" groups consist of are loosely federated local trade unions. They are not to be thought of in terms of the degree of organization and centralixation of the American Federation of Labor, let alone of the Congress of Industrial Organizations. The recent development of labor has been largely due to the fact

that Indonesia has so far been primarily an agricultural and mineral-producing country. The town proletariat has only existed since about the beginning of the century, when the Dutch started building factories and cotton mills. Even today the estimated number of trade unionists varies between a quarter and a half million. Many more workers are engaged in the production of tin, cubber, quinine, copra, etc., all primary raw materials.

Trade union history may be divided into three main phases:

1908-1930; 1930-1941; and 1945 to the present.

In 1908 Indonesia's first trade union, the Rail and Tramway Emplovees, was founded. This was at times influenced by the Serikat Islam, a religious association founded in 1911, the Social Democratic Party (founded in 1914), and also the Communist Party of Indonesia which began activities in 1919.

RELIGIOUS INFLUENCE

The Serikat Islam, although primarily a religious organization, helped to found the "Union of Indonesian Employees" in 1916, but the left wing elements led by Seamaun soon captured control of this organization.

In 1919, after negotiations beween the Serikat Islam and the Union of Indonesian Employees, the first Indonesian Labor Federation was founded, so heterogeneous was the membership of this federation, that differences between a right and left wing soon appeared. The struggle became so serious that in 1921 fourteen of the more militant trade unions broke away to form the Revolutionary Labor Federation.

Meanwhile the first strike had ccurred in 1920. This was organized by the Factory Workers Union and was partially successful. In the same year railway workers also came out on strike. This enormously increased the influence of the left wing. At Semaun's instigation, the Indonesian Federation and the Revolutionary Labor Federation reunited under the auspices of the Indonesian Communist Party. Another milestone was the formation of a Dockers and Seaman's Union in 1923.

It was in this year that the Indonesian Trade Union Federation organized widespread strikes of railway workers. Their solidarity surprised the Dutch who reacted by banishing Seamaun and deporting all the other leaders to the islands off Indonesia.

The years 1926 and 1927 are remembered well in the annals of Indonesian history as a time of struggle against the imperialists. Practically every Indonesian nationalist of any note from Sukarno to Sjahrir to Sjarrifudin were arrested at one time or another. There were strikes and lockouts all over the country, as well as a few abortive premature rebellions. The trade unions took their part however, a little later. For in 1928 a newly founded Alliance of Indonesian Workers began to gain influence in the labor movement. If was affiliated to the Pan Pacific Labor Federation and the League Against Imperialism. By 1930, the end of the first phase, all its leaders were also in prison.

SECOND PHASE

In the second phase of Indonesian trade unionism, ending with the Japanese occupation, there were only two significant groups of organized labor, and even these had to tread very warily. One was the Federation of Non-European Government Employees which had been formed under religious auspices, and the other was the Union of Indonesian Labor, formed in 1931. This split in 1933 on the nationalist issue, when the Indo-

nesian Nationalist Party gained control.

August 17, 1945 is Indonesian Independence Day. It marks the resurgance of organized labor. With in a month a new Labor Front had been formed, headed by Sjamsu Udaja. It started its own private ormy, a guerrilla formation. This arew under the auspices of Mohammed Sjarrifudin, but its implication in the attempted Madium caup d'etat in 1948 caused it to be liquidated in that year.

There soon appeared in Indonesian labor a schism between those who thought that it should be organized on a feudal basis, as primarily a union and secondly a political grouping, and those (mainly Stalinists) who wanted a unified, centralized political weapon.

In 1946 this divergence of opinion caused a split between these two views, the former being put forward mainly by Udaia and his followers. By a clever piece of strategy, Alimin, the Stalinist leader, managed to reunite the two groups and a few other small unions into SOBSI, the largest federation in Indonesia. In 1947 it affiliated to the World Federa tion of Trade Unions.

Shortly afterward four further splits occurred. The first one, led by Udaja, opposed the Linggad jatti agreement with the Dutch A second one came at the time of the Madiun affair. It was engineered by a labor organization of the same political complexion as the British Labor Party and opposed the alignment with the Stalinists. A third, made by 12 unions on the East Coast of Sumatra. supported Sjahrir's Socialist Party. A fourth defection was led by ilitants of the Murba Party.

BANDUNG CONGRESS

In 1950 the latter group took the initiative in calling a meeting to coordinate the activities of all non-SOBSI unions. Fourteen labor organizations were represented at this Bandung General Labor Congress. Its terms of reference were "non political" in the sense that it contained members of various shades of opinion." Also, it did not want to be associated with the obvious coherent "left" tendency in Indonesia which is prostituting the country's labor movement in the interests of Stalin's foreign policy. Its manifesto outlined a policy "aiming at a social order which will assure the wellbeing and progress of the whole Indonesian people and the working class in particular."

All over Indonesia today trade unions are rising as a result of the social need for them. Their policies are often ill-defined and badly organized, and they contain political iements of many different hues.

Up till now three main groups have crystallized out. The Stalinist SOBSI, the revolutionary socialist (my term-D. A.) SOBRI, and the Muslim Trade Unions. There are besides a number of individually strong local unions not organized in federations. Insofar as the nationalist movement in Indonesia developed at the same time and in consonance with the labor movement one can expect that the latter interests will have a great deal of influence on the future of the country.

The Standard Biographical Work—

"KARL MARX"

by Franz Mehring

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tremely unlikely that the CP will be able to organize the undoubtedly strong pro-Stalinist sentiment that can be discerned at many levels in the Labor Party and trade union movement. There is every chance that Bevanism will accelerate the clarification of a policy distinct from that of either imperialism or Stalinism.

attitude of the CP to the Labor Party. I asked him if among the characteristics of the "transition from socialism to communism'

which he enumerated (increasing production, the general raising of the standard of living, the abolition of the difference between town and countryside) he forgot the abolition of the wage differentials. He did not answer the question directly. Yes, he said, the wage differentials will go. I interjected: "I did not ask if the wage differentials will go, but are they going?" On the second question, Klugman carefully evaded the direct question of the CP's attitude to Bevan, and concentrated on the CP's policy for Britain. It was quite evident that the CP has no clear line on Bevan, only a negative policy of bringing down the Tories and throwing out the right

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to realize was the obvious isolation that the transition from sotion of the CP from the mainstream cialism to communism was the immediate task of the 19th Congress

TWO QUESTIONS

Readers Take the Gloor

When he finished. I asked him two questions: (1) about the "transition from socialism to communism" allegedly taking place in the USSR. and (2) about the

wing Labor leaders.

What was even more heartening

We can supply yeal

of the labor movement. Klugman was quite unaware of the real problems facing the rank and file our movement. Labor's rank and file is not interested in "it could happen here" (the alleged transition from socialism to communism Russia); it is interested in the great struggle between the Constituency Parties and the Trade Union Branches and Parliamentary abor Party bureaucracy heade by Deakin and Attlee. Our move-

ment is concerned with the extension of nationalization, the injection of workers' control in industry, colonial freedom, a socialist foreign policy based on the interests of the international labor movement — not Stalin's lutest "peace" move, Stalin's latest indigestible pronouncement "The Economic Problems of the USSR," or the Dean of Canterbury's germ allegations.

Fortunately for the socialist forces in the Labor Party, the CP's sectarianism, imposed on it by the Stalinist machine's insistence that it devote its whole energy to broadcasting "good tidings" from Moscow-makes it ex-Allan VAUGHAN

London, Nov. 21.

New York 11, N. Y.

Page Four

The ISL Program in Brief

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

INTERESTED? Get Acquainted — Independent Socialist League

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□ I want more information about the ideas of Independent Socialism and the ISL.

 \Box I want to join the ISL.

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H-BOMB NO PROTECTION AGAINST WAR By JACK STUART

Two weeks ago LABOR ACTION carried as its lead article a discussion of the facts and the military and political significance of the H (for hydrogen) bomb. In the Sunday New York Times Magazine for November 30, Brigadier C. N. Barclay of the British Army, editor of the Army section of Brassey's Annual (the British armed forces yearbook), summarizes a recent article of his in that journal and it is this article which I wish to discuss this week.

Barclay tries to demonstrate ". . . that there is a good chance . . . that we may be spared the experience of an atomic war." I shall first outline the main points of his thesis and then analyse each in turn.

The first, and apparently most important, deterrent Barclay feels not the fear of human destruction but rather the consequences of the widespread economic dislocations and particularly the impact on the standard of living arising from a great war. He points out the world-wide economic chaos resulting from each of the last world wars and states (and correctly so) that ". . . there can be little doubt that a third world war on the 1914-18 or 1939-45 scale even with conventional weapons would reduce the world to a condition of shambles. If it was [sic] a nuclear war of long duration it is certain that devastation and disorganization of world economy would be irreparable."

From this alone he concludes, and here I agree, that if ". . . mankind to survive at anything like the present standard of life we must either give up war altogether or conduct it on a limited scale with conventional weapons." Since the first is but a pious hope the only alternative is the latter which is, of course, his main thesis. (I wish to emphasize here that Barclay does not imply the destruction of the race nor of the mechanical basis for our civilization in a "nuclear war" but only of the present standard of life. This position I made clear two weeks ago and it is important to bear it in mind during any sober discussion of atomic warfare.)

The second point is that military equality makes the issue of any war in doubt; hence no nation starts a war unless it feels that it has the superior advantage. Since the size of the atomic stockpiles is unknown to the opposing members of the present global conflict the military leaders must assume at least atomic equality: this is a deterrant to atomic war.

The third point is that atomic fuels are a very scarce raw material and the cost and complexities of manufacture make the atomic arms so precious that this will prevent ". . . the indiscriminate use of this weapon." Thus the decision to use these weapons will reside at only the top-command levels which, he implies, are endowed with an unusual supply of responsibility to civilization and the human race.

Two of his minor points are of interest. One is that gas was used in World War I but not in World War II and this precedent has significant implications for the future. Secondly, that since the West is unlikely to be the aggressor and holds the sword of atomic retaliation in its fist our potential enemy will probably not take the plunge especially since he still relies on human numbers rather than excellence of equipment.

An Argument Used Before

The argument that the certainty of widespread economic chaos will operate as a deterrent to one form of warfare or another has been used before (I recall serious discussions before World War II in which this was the main support to the argument showing why a large scale war could last no longer than four years!). However, while this and the gas warfare precedent may be a significant argument for intra-class feuds other factors operate when two different systems with totally different ruling classes are engaged in combat.

As never before in the modern era this war, if fought, will necessarily mark the end of one and/or the other of these ruling classes and the systems they dominate. Each knows that its class existence will cease if t loses the struggle; hence even long term chaos will be considered preferable to oblivion. Furthermore, it is axiomatic that each new weapon produces new defenses and tactics, and the A-bomb has certainly been fruitful in this sphere of thought.

Just recently Major de Seversky (an American aircraft manufacturer, author of the World War II book Victory Through Air Power, and an ex-Czarist Russian) outlined his strategy for global conflict which would militate against this widespread economic chaos. His plan, without recourse to a discussion of questions of military practicality, is simply this: The atom war is in three phases: (a) against the enemy's airfields-knocking out his immediate air strength; (b) aircraft assembly plants-knocking out primary replacements; and (c) against engine and airframe factories; no major strikes against cities as such. Whether or not this is a military answer is beside the point-it may, however, be a sufficient answer which would set off the first A-bomb strike and even Barclay would agree this would bring forth immediate atomic reprisals. Thus this economic chaos argument is not a sufficient one to deter the use of the atomic weapons.

I turn now to major and minor points number two. Certainly military equality makes the issue of a war in doubt and hence acts as a deterrent. The West, however, has the H-bomb and at this instant military equality is only a Russian hope of the future. If the statement that the West cannot be the aggressor could be firmly proved then there would be no worries from this score. However, an immediate war is to the West's advantage for in the industrial build-up the tremendous gap between Russia and the West now extant is only lessened by time (the West's rate of industrial expansion is decreasing while that of Russia is still increasing)-witness the drive to integrate the satellite economies with the Russian. For the next decade, even with military equality, it is to the West's advantage to force the war issue for equality is only of military machines in the field not from a total economic viewpoint-there the advantage lies, for the present, with the West.

Finally the last point that the potential enemy does not have excellent military machinery at his command is pure Western chauvinism. After all a sword and spear economy would not be able to build the very fine airframes and turbojets which make up the MIG-15 nor replace them at the fantastic rate at which the UN airforce claims to knock them out of the air. I wouldn't stake a laboratory rat's life on the Russians' inability to make fine, modern, complex, machineryto do so would be self-delusion and suicide.

Barclay's whole point-of-view is then just another justification, perhaps on a higher plane than usual, for the coming imperialist war. If this war can be justified to enough people to get it started, then atomic weapons or no the "fat's in the fire" and there is no return.

READING from LEFT to RIGHT

LABOR ACTION

THE BYRD MACHINE, by William Manchester.—Harper's Magazine, November.

The Byrd machine in Virginia is a unique institution. It is still a "rule by gentlemen," a monopoly of the state's politics in the hands of the "best families." The machine is so effective in controlling elections that few people bother to vote.

"Dr. Robert D. Meade, professor of history at Randolph-Mason Women's College, has looked into this matter of voter apathy and turned up some curious examples. His home city of Lynchburg. with a population of 44,000 cast 879 votes in the congressional election of 1946. A city-wide meeting of Lynchburg Democrats drew 42 people; another of Republicans fetched nine. Moreover, Dr. Meade's findings clearly indicate that the decline of enthusiasm among the Virginia electorate approximated the rise of the machine. In the gubernatorial election of 1885, over 86 per cent of the state's voter potential cast ballots; in the same race sixty years later, only 9.4 per

Senator Byrd's opposition to all social service measures which cost money is well known. He and his "gentlemen" keep such expenditures to a minimum in Virginia. . the average American family on

relief gets \$47.98 a month; straitened Virginia families receive \$26.45, and the state program for helping dependent children ranks forty-first in the country. Virginia's mental health expenditures (rank) eighth from the bottom

... nearly one in four of Virginia's adult population is 'functionally illiterate,' with less than five years of school. Even Arkansas, Tennessee, and Kentucky rank higher.'

. the state's expenditures for oldage assistance-\$1.55 per inhabitant, compared with the national average of \$9.56-trail the nation . . . less than half as many old people are receiving state help in Virginia as in the country at large, and they are getting half as much money.

Bolivian Revolution Turns Right

platform.

laroel.

capitalist nationalization,

the Bolivian state, in which

power, is transformed from

Thus the position of the MNR

is stronger now not only be-

cause of its control of the

most important resource of

the country, but also be-

cause it now has the argu-

ment that it has fulfilled the

first and most important

plank of the revolutionary

According to my informa-

tion, the situation has taken

position of the government

party is now stronger than

before. The cabinet crisis

will probably give ascend-

ency to the right wing of the

MNR, to the people who

come from the time of Vil-

But this tendency to the

right is opposed by the un-

easiness of the workers who

are discontended with the

nationalization bill because

of the indemnity payment,

and who are also alarmed by

the danger of the bureau-

cratization of the mines and

the dominance of the new

employers, the "comrades"

of yesterday. The struggle

is going on in the factories,

in the mines and in the un-

ions between two tenden-

cies: the rightist nationalist

tendency which seeks to re-

geois, and the workers' ten-

dency which wants to "be-

gin" the revolution now,

that is, to go over to the

workers' government and

workers' control in the en-

tire economy of the country.

STRUGGLE GOES ON

By JUAN REY

SANTIAGO. Nov .- A delegation of Bolivian workers in Santiago has furnished us with concrete information on the new turn of the political situation in their country.

The nationalization of the mines has been decreed, but not according to the program and wishes of the majority of the workers. The nationalization bill provides for indemnity to the proprietors if they pay all taxes and back debts to the government. Of course, the question is purely theoretical since the government has no money and hence will not pay any indemnity. But the workers regard the expropriation of the mines as a legitimate claim of the revolution.

More important is the question of workers' control. This is a demand of the Central Obrera (trade union federation) and the unions, and is legalized in the nationalization bill, but in a vellow, totalitarian form.

WORKERS' CONTROL

The Central Obrera had demanded workers' administration, that is, administration of the mines by workers' committees elected by general meetings of all workers, and a national committee to be elected by all mine committees. But the government, while accepting the principle of workers' control formally, has passed a bill which creates a Corporation Minera Boliviana as a great state mining trust in the place of the three private capitalist corporations. In the new trust the representatives of the workers are in a minority, and are to be agrarian revolution, to a nominated by the government.

In this bureaucratic form, workers' control has been transformed into control of the Central Obrera the

over the workers. With this rightist tendency under the backed by the workers. As personal leadership of Lechin overcame the left tend- the government seeks to limency and defeated the it the "agrarian revolution" the nationalist MNR now has "workers' bloc" led by the to the distribution of unproa weak political machine in- POR. But now I have been into the sole employer of mine formed that new elections in workers with great eco- the factory workers' union cal aid to the farmers. This nomic and political power. have given the left tendency means the preservation of a large majority, and resulted in a defeat for the nationalists and Stalinists. The left proletarian tendency is also going to win a victory in the building trades unions. If this information proves to be correct, the left tendency should win a majority in the Central Obrera Boliviana, and Lechin's control over this organization would be ended. The workers would a turn to the right, and the then have a political organ of their own through which they can express themselves both against the government and the Nationalist Party.

> It is quite possible that these new facts have obliged President Paz Estenssoro to postpone the reorganization of his cabinet to the end of December, after the national convention of the Nationalist party. Additional news about the change in the relationship of forces in the Central Obrera will be available shortly. Lechin won his "victory" on the nationalization bill by a vote of 17 to 13, including the votes of the Stalinists who supported Lechin against the left tendency. The Central Obrera will re-consider the nationalization bill, as the government needs the support of this representative workers'

aims of the petty bour- AGRARIAN REVOLUTION

The focus of the fight between nationalist and socialist tendencies is not only the way in which the nationalization is being achieved and organized. Next on the agenmillions of Indian peasants, tries.

In the last two meetings

strict the revolution to the body.

December 8, 1952



By MARION REUTER

In a recent article in the New York Times Magazine Clellon Holmes characterizes our generation as the "beat generation." Time magazine, earlier, called us the "silent generation." Both characterizations contain a good deal of truth though the reasons given and the results expected do not.

Holmes, a young novelist and a member of the generation he describes, explains 'the word "beat" as meaning "more than mere weariness, it implies the feeling of having been used, of being raw. It involves a sort of naked-

we have pointed out before. ductive estates and the granting of certain technifeudal property relations and of the existing relations of production in general.

But the peasants are waiting for the land; they want to destroy the feudal "Padrones" completely, and they are backed by the workers. I believe that the agrarian reform is more important to the country as a whole than the nationalization of the mines, and will also have more revolutionary consequences. Because of the resistance of the nationalist party to agrarian reform, the peasant war in the villages will support the workers' revolutionary struggle, and can end in the creation of a worker-peasant government which can overcome the present political power searching for convictions. and go beyond the limits of capitalism in Bolivia as well.

Such a government would have characteristics of workers' power and would be forced, after carrying out the agrarian reform, to proceed to socialist measures such as workers' control of industry and the establishment of a monopoly of foreign trade.

The importance of such a government does not lie in its durability, but rather in its capacity to destroy feudalism for good and to exhaust the present potentialities of the revolution. Hence such a government should not be considered a political adventure, because it could be the starting point for similar revolutions in Peru, da is the agrarian revolu- Chile, Colombia, Venezuela, tion, promised by the presi- Paraguay and other backdent, and awaited by the ward Latin American coun-

ly, of soul; a feeling of being liefs, and illustrates the reduced to the bedrock of consciousness. In short, it means being undramatically pushed up against the wall of oneself." •

LOST GENERATION

We are the chldren of the lost generation, the flappers and jazz boys of the twenties. Only our grandparents remember "normal times" and everyone expects pleasant fairy tales from grandparents. We cannot remember the twenties though we read about them nostalgically. Our earliest memories are of the depression, of eating for a week the spaghetti into which our unfortunate father had dropped a cigarette; our adolescence coincided with the second world war or the long hysteria which preceded it. We remember wondering what the newspapers would use for headlines if the war were ever over; we have never had a chance to find out.

And now in a period which we cannot call peace but which many of us can regard as a protracted furlough we respond in two ways to the pressures of our generation, to having been, and expecting to be, used. Some of us try to build for ourselves an oasis of normalcy: we buy a house in Levittown, a car, a television set. and we vote for Eisenhower. Others seek to burn the candle at both ends on the theory that it makes a lovely light; we are "sent" by jazz. we drink, we take marijuana, and we vote for Stevenson. (This does not imply a criticism of Stevenson.) To socialists either sort of life and either sort of vote is unconstructive.

Clellon Holmes believes that our generation is He compares us with Stavrogin in Dostoevski's The Possessed who committed suicide when he could not find faith. He says that we are desperately searching

ness of mind, and, ultimate- for beliefs, almost any besearch with the suggestion that young copywriters read God and Man at Yale during their Sunday afternoon hangovers. The young copy-writers I know read Buckley for laughs. They and the great majority of our generation do not seem to be searching for conviction but to be avoiding it.

League Socialist fouth League Socialist fouth

Is the "Beat Generation" Looking for a Faith?

They are amused at, or suspicious (or both) of any conviction or any person who has convictions. And to some extent this is a healthy attitude for they have had ample illustrations of the development of reactionary fanaticism in Russia, in Germany, and perhaps now in the United States. If they are searching for conviction they are not searching "desperately." They are considering the solutions offered them cooly, even cynically.

REALISTIC APPRAISAL

Holmes' article as well as Time magazine's earlier one indicate some of the beliefs that our generation does accept. There are others which their editors might find even less satisfactory. But we will begin with the ones they mention. Our young men, they say, do not plan to "be-their own bossbut to find jobs in big corporations. Our editors are shocked. But it would seem a truism that the conviction that the day of small business and free enterprise is over is based on a more realistic apraisal of the facts of economic life than that of the generation which jumped out of windows in '29. And our young men not only accept calmly the fact that they probably will never own their own steel mills, they also accept the fact that they may not be able to squeeze a satisfactory living out of their corporation solely by their own efforts. They join unions; they even create new ones. When insurance agents and engineers begin to organize one may be sure that some convictions are in operation though they may not be those shared by the big business of publishing.

In the day of subversive lists, of tion, of the banning of lecturers of youth's convictions. with unorthodox associations from campuses, of firing of teachers for their beliefs and the expulsion of students for theirs. Time and the New York Times (including its liberal education editor) find it possible to criticize our generation

because it does not "issue mani festos, make speeches or carry posters." They deprive it of jobs when it does and then mourn the lost enthusiasm of youth.

Yet the fact is that three significant youth movements have been organized since V-J Day. The American Veterans Committee had an extremely liberal if not radical program. It committed suicide in an effort to avoid being labeled "red." The militant approach of the Young Progressives of America also appealed to large numbers of youth until the fact of its Stalinist control discredited politically and brought forth the inevitable suppression by campus authorities. The Students for Democratic Action began with the more conservative young liberals and was soon largely absorbed into the Democratic Party. If there is today no "mass" organization of liberal or radically oriented youth, is it to be really expected in the face of this record of failure, disorientation and persecution?

POLITICS DANGEROUS

Politics, the discussion of social questions, above all moral commitment to a "cause" have become unpopular, not to mention dangerous. Yet without much fanfare, students in colleges all over the country have been partly responsible for one of the few progressive developments of our time That is the admission of Negroes to many schools from which they had been barred, and their integration in schools where they were admitted. Granted that other forces were operating, the activities of students and the pressure they applied undoubtedly hastened the process immeasurably. Even in the South polls of students (and, most often, students initiated the polls) indicated that the majority favored admissions. Sometimes demonstrations were organized in favor of it. In other places they expressed their convictions by electing Negro students to campus offices and by admitting them to social organizations from which they had been barred. At Oklahoma they quietly removed the Jim Crow signs day after day until the administration stopped replacing them. While this may not seem. and in truth is not really indicative of a high level of political consciousness, yet it does indicate that where the barriers are not impermeable, the young generation is capable of morally oriented behavior. A belief in human brotherhood is not loyalty oaths, of guilt by associa- such a small thing, and it is one

Our generation is a "beat generation." In a dying economy it has been used, it expects to be used and it has not yet found a way to prevent being used. Perhaps it is not even trying. But if it is desperately searching for anything it is for a way not to be used and it is not, as Mr. Holmes has said, for a faith in any of the old values to which it has been sacrificed.





LABOR ACTION



To the Editor: On the basis of a recent superlative review in LABOR ACTION of the film High Noon, I betook myself to the local flea pit which shows second-run movies. Prepared by Philip Coben for "not only a good film but a great film," I emerged profoundly shocked at the reviewer's political insensibilities. The film is a pro-war, "antiisolationist" propaganda piece, straight out of the OWI of World War 21/2. How the reviewer managed to bypass its blatant international implications, and see only an epic of personal courage, in the face of social opposition and apathy is a mystery.

ing in the background.

democratic community to this in-

vasion? To a man (except for Our



the charges as though they were true. The defendants were a "mest of paid spies, planted in some cases many years back, in some cases during the war years or immediately after. The Hitler Gestapo recruited some of these spies in the concentration camps [the Jews, no doubt-A. G.]; others were in the service of the British and Washington intelligence services." Which one of the defendants? When? Where? The Daily Worker doesn't know a thing about the trial. The editors merely repeat the slanders of the regime. They know as little about the details of the frameup as anyone else with the difference that they believe in it, while the non-Stalinist world knows that the trial is false, from beginning to end.

The venality of the Daily Worker editors is again illustrated by the following: "It is known that the U. S. army officials seized the Gestapo files in the closing months of the war. Here they found a treasure trove of agents ready to their hand. And they sure used them.' The implication is clear: the Americans have employed ex-Nazi spies. But-eleven of them turn out to be Jews! The charge that the Prague trial is anti-Semitic or has anti-Semitic implications and intentions is dismissed with: "The truth is exactly [sic!] the opposite. The truth is that a gang of political agents plotting a crime against Czech democracy was caught.

"The truth is that certain top circles [who?] in the state of Israel were low enough to betray the interest of that new state by using its officials [which?] as a coverup for the espionage of the worst anti-Semites and reactionaries in the U.S.A., headed by John Foster Dulles and his brother Allen, a notorious intelligence operator. Certain Zionist officials have used their theory-which offers the racist idea that all Jewish people must return to Israel since they cannot work in equality with non-Jewish peoples who are, according to this theory, inherently anti-Semitic-as a cloak for political crimes against the new people's governments of Eastern Europe [is this a hint of new trials elsewhere?].

Terror Is a Political Policy

The "Daily Worker" Apologizes, While the Prague Trial Emphasizes That:

By ALBERT GATES

PRAGUE, 1984—The democratic people's government of Czechoslovakia were avenged when the high court rendered its verdict in the Slansky spy trial. No one was surprised at the verdict of guilt because history has shown that the leaders of the fatherland know how to rise to the defense of their country, especially when they are so excellently directed by the leaders of the Greater Fatherland of Russia, Rudolph Slansky, foreign agent who wormed his way into the post of secretary of the Communist Party, and Vladimir Clementis who, by underhanded tricks became foreign minister until he was exposed. have been sentenced to hang with nine other defendants for betraying the country.

Three defendants were sentenced to life imprisonment. These three were minor figures who were almost innocent puppets of Slansky. The verdict on them shows that our Stalinist state really knows how to temper justice with mercy.

But none of them will be really missed, because the Stalinist state knows how to renew its leadership. Even when Slansky and Clementis were directing the affairs of the country, there were far more capable and truly patriotic people waiting to assume their rightful places in the leadership. They would have done so long ago had not the plotters and agents of Israel prevented them. We will now go on stronger than ever under our leader. Joseph Stalin, the greatest benefactor mankind has ever known, who gave us the historical slogan:

STRENGTH THROUGH PURGE!

• If any of our readers thinks the above report of the purge trial in Prague as an exaggeration, then he has not followed life in the Stalinist jungle for the past two decades. The pattern set in the successive Moscow trials has repeated itself in the satellite states, in Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Rumania and Poland. The Czech trial just happened to be the biggest, but it is merely another, or perhaps the first in a new round-robin. For there is still Anna Pauker in Roumania and Gomulka in Poland, and behind them still others. The purges have never ceased behind the Iron Curtain. Of prominent leaders known to have been executed, we can count one in Albania, three in Hungary and one in Bulgaria.

The reasons for the present purge in Czechoslovakia are several and these we outlined in our previous article. First the necessity of strengthening the Kremlin's domination of the satellite states by sure regimes; second increasing the direct domination of Stalin's Russian agents in these countries (what better reason is there for this than the proven unreliability of so many of the former national leaders); third, strengthening the war alliance of the Stalinist states; and fourth, the production of seapegoats for the enormous political and economic difficulties which these countries experience as a result of their isolation from the world market and the ruthless economic exploitation they suffer at the hands of Great

Daily Worker to Rescue

The world clearly saw the utterly reactionary nature of the trials in their anti-Semitic character. The regime drew attention to eleven defendants as Jews. This alone was calculated to incite the basest feelings in the people at large. But when the regime in Moscow, speaking through Czech mouthpieces, charged them with being the principals in an international Zionist plot originating in

"I BELONG ON THE GALLOWS"

"I come from a German Jewish petty-bourgeois doctor's family in Liberac. . . . Though I entered the Communist Party I remained inwardly a smug, petty-bourgeois, intellectual without nationality.' Ludvik Frejka, former economic adviser

to President Gottwald. "I evaluate myself as a criminal who deserves the most severe punishment. As a conspirator, I am responsible for every act and crime committed by every member of our conspiratorial center. I am of Jewish origin. In what countries does anti-Semitism fourish? In the United States and in Great Britain. I allied myself with the espionage services of these countries. In which state is there a law against racism and anti-Semitism? In the Soviet Union. I allied myself against the Soviet Union with the anti-Semites, with the American, British and French espionage agencies. I was a writer. The beautiful formulation says of a writer, that he is the engineer of human souls. What sort of engineer of souls was I since I poisoned souls? Such an engineer of souls as I belongs on the gallows." André Simone, former editor of Rude Pravo.

Tel Aviv and Washington, it was playing for support of neo-Nazis in Germany and the Arab League in the Middle East. The Stalinist prosecutor borrowed from such illustrious predecessors as Goebbels, Streicher and the Mufti.

In the United States, the Stalinist party and its Daily Worker were, as usual, unprepared for the turn which the Prague trial took. Without a line from Moscow-it makes no difference whether it comes directly or indirectly, or whether it is picked up from the proceedings itself-the Daily Worker did not know what to sav. So it merely recorded in a few brief lines that a trial was taking place in Prague against "traitors." A news report, that is all.

The loyal Stalinist editors, working under the direction of loyal party leaders, knew this was insufficient. In the first place, the Kremlin expects not only obedience, but enthusiastic endorsement of all its actions and detailed expositions. Secondly, the anti-Semitic aspects of the trial had produced the sharpest reactions throughout the world but nowhere more than among Jews in the United States.

The long silent Daily Worker therefore finally caught up with the Prague Trial. In an editorial of Monday, Dec. 1. entitled. "Who was Caught at Prague?" the editors wrote a slavish defense of the trial, in which stupidity is exceeded only by mendaciousness. It goes without saying that the cynical tools who edit the paper repeat every Stalinist slander and lie about the defendants. A Stalinist mind never doubts because it never thinks. It only believes and follows. Therefore, Slansky and his

co-defendants are "fellow-spies," and everything critical that has been said about the trials is, in the deadly prose of the Daily Worker, "a heavy dose of lies . . . calculated, deliberate lies. . . .

Then it comes. Everyone knows that only the indictments and confessions have been made public, that not a single foreign correspondent was permitted to attend the trial. Nobody knows what went on behind the scenes or how the confessions were obtained. There was no legitimate defense counsel present who might have carried on an independent investigation to challenge the premises of the government. None of the individuals in Great Britain, France, Israel or the United States who were named as co-conspirators were called as witnesses or permitted into the country for the purpose of challenging the alleged evidence of the confessions. Yet, the Daily Worker, in face of this frame-up, now writes quite indignantly

Remotest Resemblance . . .

"The Prague trials have been broadcast to all of Europe, every single word. But the reports we have been getting in the press have only the remotest resemblance, to what the actual trials have been, and what they revealed.

What was the trial and what did it reveal? That the defendants were framed-up. Yet the Daily Worker repeats (Continued bottom of next page)

Why the Prague Purge?

The Prague trial against the "repulsive gang of Trotskyite-Titoist Zionists, bourgeois-nationalists, cosmopolites, war criminals," led by the "arch-scoundrel Slansky" has ended. In order to make some sense out of the ritualistic proceedings of the Prague trial, it is necessary to realize, that its fourteen victims formed a group only by virtue of the trial itself. They were arrested at different times, under different circumstances and for different reasons. Altogether, there were three waves of arrests leading up to the trial, and their sequence yields at least some clues beyond the theory of scapegoatism.

I. CLEMENTIS

Early in 1951, after a dramatic police hunt and a month-long official silence, the arrest of Vlado Clementis, former minister of foreign affairs, was made public. If the Kremlin wanted to put its hand on a potential "homme de liaison" of President Gottwald with the outside world, Clementis was the man to take. In any case, the arrest of Clementis meant a personal and political loss for Gottwald.

II. SLANSKY

Simultaneously with the arrest of Clementis, the regime announced other arrests: some Slovak compatriots of Clementis, people not on very friendly terms with Gottwald; some provincial CP secretaries, protégés of Slansky, the secretary general; several "Moscow-men," grey eminences: in the Secretariat, Geminder; in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Arthur London; in the Ministry of Defense, Bedrich Rejcin; and in the Ministry of Interior, Karel Svab.

This series of arrests culminated in the disgrace of Rudolf Slansky himself in September 1951. It was accompanied by an over-all reshuffle of the party and state apparatus in which the economic bureaucracy, planners as well as managers, gained most at the expense of the autonomy of the party machine.

As Slansky had been an old-time rival of Gottwald, his fall and the crippling of his apparatus must be counted as a victory for Gottwald.

III. FREJKA

The final wave of arrests came during the first months of 1952. It included several top men of the economic bureaucracy, the main social basis of Gottwald's faction. The most prominent among them was Ludvik Frejka, Gottwald's economic adviser. With him disappeared another top economist, Goldman, and a whole list of General Managers. From the Ministry of Foreign Trade were purged Evzen Loebl and Rudolf Margolius, the latter known as negotiator on international trade conferences.

At this point of the development, prime minister and unofficial ruler of the trade union apparatus, Zapotocky, emerged as the chief denouncer of Frejka. It was Zapotocky, too, who initiated the drive against Zionism. (In this connection it should be noted that Zapotocky may be, according to some indications, a protégé of Malenkov. Cf. article by Daniel Simon in the French publication Masses-Information, July-August 1952.)

Whatever the stakes may have been in these purges and counter-purges, whatever the concrete "modus operandi" of the police-machine or machines, whatever the agents through which the interested parties negotiated and influenced the preparation of the trial, all this motivating background was ironed out at the final perform-

An artificial common denominator was found for all the disparate groups of the accused: Zionism, propped up by Titoism (Trotskyite) and bourgeois-nationalism, all of them being at the service of "anti-Semitic Anglo-American imperialism."

The double purpose of this anti-Zionist orgy is clear:

(1) It serves Russian political interests in the Middle East.

(2) Still more important is its mystifying function of a cover thrown over the game which the competing Great Inquisitors play behind the scenes.

(3) Probably a third intention was in the minds of the stage-managers: to channel by the same token the widespread popular anti-Stalinism into the dirty bed of popular anti-Semitism (why should one reactionary regime be less desperate and more original than any other?)

Indeed, under the broad cloak of anti-Zionism even some scapegoatish side issues found their place. Thus Mr. Frejka was made responsible for the rationing, for the high cost of living, for the chaos in planning, for too much investment and for too little investment, etc.

But there was no indication whatever of the real forces behind the trial. It was the expression of a temporary compromise, the resultant of the tension between the domestic Stalinist bureaucracy and the Kremlin, the point of an unstable equilibrium between the Russian communist factions and their Czechoslovak counterparts. All these participants prefer to have their conflicts (and alliances) hidden from the public. To bring them into the open would mean incalculable risks for all.

THE TRIAL

Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor ...

"HIGH NOON" SEEN AS INSIDIOUS WAR PROPAGANDA

The metaphorical situation posed in the film is so transparent that only a child could miss it. A respectable, law-abiding Western community is "threatened by the invasion of a hated gunman. to use the words of the LABOR ACTION reviewer. The gunman and his cronies, throughout the film, are presented as naked symbols of Evil Power. They strut their muscle, parade their hardware, look ugly as sin, are utterly ruthless and without pity. As they goon-squad their way down the street, the rumble of Russian tanks can be heard by the discern-

The aspect of their "invasion' which receives greatest emphasis is its absolute inevitability: there is no escaping their coming, no place to hide, and No Way Out: except to face them and shoot it out. This inevitability is emphasized by such mechanical devices as the clock, the railroad schedule, and the stretch of tracks down which the train is certain to appear at High Noon. "Don't worry," says one citizen, "Frank (the Gunman) will be on that train. What is the response of the

Hero) they refuse to do their duty. They talk when they should be acting; they equivocate; they pass the buck; they flee; they manage not to be home; in one way or another they chicken out. Faced with an unpleasant but absolutely necessary task of defense, they fold up. Metaphorically, they dodge the draft. Crucial is the nature of the responsibility they refuse. It is a responsibility to perform an act of violence (from posse). It is clear to all that blood must snill, heads must roll and coffins be filled before inight. It is counter-violence, in the face of utter ruthlessness, from which they shrink.

Equally important is what lies at stake. This is nothing less than the entire peace-loving and lawabiding basis of the community. Frank Miller returns, the If streets will not be safe for a decent woman: Everyone realizes that "law and order" is at stake, but nobody is willing to make the requisite sacrifice to insure a peaceful community. They will not undertake the necessary "police action.'

Into this arena steps a deviant: a man of highest personal courage, willing to stand up and be counted for what he believes, even if he has to do it alone. Now these are virtues in themselves to be admired-especially the ability to resist social pressures of the strongest sort. But to compare this man with Karl Liebknecht, or any left-wing deviant, is preposterous. We have only to ask 'In what did this man believe?" to grasp the distinction. There is no separation of law and justice in his struggle, as in that of a Liebknecht, a Gandhi, or any social revolutionary. To this man, haw and justice are one. His courage, his sacrifice, are employed in the service of the status quo-the paradise of law and order which he, as marshall, has created for

the town. He never challenges the social values of the community in any way. He is only more orthodox than the others in their defense. He is a radical rightist, who isists upon a "pure" application of the tribal norms.

He is the vigilante par excellence-the man who is alert (vigilant) to danger while his fellows sleep. He is the 200 per cent lawabiding American who wants only to enforce the laws and defend them against the laxity and neglect and complacency of society. He is a stubborn "fundamentalist," whose actions condemn his fellows as backsliders. He is an American Legion hero, a superpatriot who courageously, and at the risk of his own life, reminds the citizenry of its unpleasant responsibilities-in this case to bear arms against an "invading" gangster. The theme of the movie is the familiar Paul-Revere theme, or in more modern terms, the For-Whom-the-Bell-Tolls theme: the Redcoats, or the Fascists, or the North Koreans are coming: to arms

Among the more sinister aspects of the film, validating the hero's essentially vigilante role. is his semi-legal status throughout. It is never quite clear whether or not the hero's extremely effective counter-violence is invested with legal authority. He has officially resigned as town marshall early in the story, and he returns to his post at a mere personal whim.

The episode of the wife is interesting as evidence of conscious intent on the part of the film's producers. Like her fellow-townsmen, she deserts her husband in his crisis, but on the explicit ideological grounds that she is a Quaker and abhors violence! Her essential "womanhood." however. comes through in the pinch, and "in defense of her man," she shoots one of the attacking goons. This ideological plant is altogether too obvious to be an accident. When did a Quaker pacifist last appear in a Western?

It would be a mistake, however, to regard the film as primarily anti-pacifist. Though from the viewpoint of the film-makers, the wife is clearly in ideological error, she is redeemed in the end by her act of violence. Our hostility and disgust go out not to her, but to the townsmen, who are the real ideological antagonists of the film. American public opinion, even in the face of this most unpopular war, has never been seriously pacifist. Indifference, evasion apathy, unwillingness to make the blood sacrifice, is another matter

The film attempts to contend with this ill-defined, half-antiwar, half-isolationist sentiment, which recently crystallized into a vote for Eisenhower, and which the American ruling class rightly fears. When in the final scene our victorious hero throws down his marshall's badge in bitter scorn of the surrounding townspeople. it is their "isolationist" sentiment. "lack of responsibility" which is rebuked. The film is thus a thinly-veiled argument for "collective security": with 12 armed deputies, successful defense of the community would have been assured.

However obliquely, this film is an attempt by the head-fixing industry to cope with the unpopularity of the Korean War. It is a deliberate attempt to finesse movie audiences into girding their loins for the permanent "policeactions" which lie ahead. We socialists are altogether too reluctant to attribute conscious maninulations to those who control the mass media, even in the face of clear evidence like the notorious issue of Colliers prepared at the suggestion of the War Department. High Noon is simply a product of our internal "Voice of America" program, strictly for purposes of building morale on

the home front

As for the hero's high courage, and his Liebknecht-like ability to stand alone against society-this misses the point entirely. In a democratic society, it is precisely the fascist's determination to buck the current, to resist social pressure, and even to play the martyr. that is one of his outstanding characteristics. Anyone familiar with Bill Buckley's career at Yale will recognize the pattern Even policemen can be courageous upon occasion, and even fascists may be willing to lay down their lives in splendid isolation for what they believe. Bob BONE

REPLY

As one who also viewed "High Noon," I must admit that the "metaphorical situation" seen in it by Bob Bone escaped me completely. I was not, I fear, discerning enough to hear the Russian tanks rumbling in the background, though I am usually rather sensitive to that kind of thing. If this was indeed the intention of the movie-makers, it is a good bet that they completely failed in their purpose as far as the vast majority of their audience is concerned.

It appears to me that there is reasonable basis for argument as to whether the film's meaning to most people emphasized the social virtue of standing against the stream even alone, if need be, or the idea that the masses are likely to desert their own best interests in the face of danger. The motivations in the film are sufficiently complex and subtle to permit the viewer to be impressed by the film in the direction in which he already inclines. But to read into it an obvious analogy to the Korean war, a defense of the status quo as against radical change . . . that is stretching things a bit. This remains so, it seems to me, despite the undeniably dirty sideswipe at pacifism.-G. H.

Terror a Political Policy---

(Continued from page 6)

Struck Blow at Jews

"Certain top Israel circles have eagerly recruited themselves [recruited themselves, yet!] as 'a reliable bastion for Western Democracy'-that is, as hirelings of the Pentagon, the State Department and the U.S. military intelligence. In so doing, they have struck a blow at the Jewish people of Israel, at the new state of Israel, at the progressive people everywhere, not least against the Jewish community in the United States."

So you see, it is not the trial which has raised the anti-Semitic flares again. The Jews themselves are responsible, and, in the first place, the Israeli government. The reactionary anti-Jewish Arab League will surely remember these kind words of the Daily Worker.

Having implicated the Israeli government in one paragraph, the editors seek to mollify the Jews in the next by writing that "It is the enemies of peace, of democracy, of the state of Israel as distinct from its present government circles, who have been caught. For that all Americans, all friends of the state of Israel, all enemies of anti-Semitism, should be grateful."

There it is, the logic of Stalinist cunning: "bad Jews" are the real anti-Semites because they incite resentment by their acts. Isn't that what "friends" of the Jews have said through the decades and the centuries?

To prove that no anti-Semitism was present in the trial and no harm was intended the Jews or their organizations, the editors add:

"It is no crime to hold Zionist beliefs in Czechoslovakia, though Zionism is reactionary whether it be in the U.S.A. or in Prague."

No Crime . . . ?

No crime? The trouble is that the editors of the Daily Worker are always a day late in getting their cabled news and instructions, for the prosecutor in the trial declared:

"It is no accident that of the fourteen accused, eleven are the product of Zionist organizations. [Who? Slansky, Geminder, Frank, Fischel Frejka or London? When were they Zionists and to what organizations did they belong?-A.G.] The danger of Zionism has increased with the foundation of the Zionist state of Israel by the Americans. [Who is striking a blow against the Jewish people of Israel?-A. G.] Zionism and Jewish bourgeois nationalism are two sides of the same coin, which was minted in Wall Street."

No anti-Semitism intended, please. Anti-Semitism was present only in the trial of the convicted atomic bomb spies, Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, a trial which the Daily Worker ignored almost completely in an effort to prove no connection with, sympathy for, or knowledge of, the Rosenbergs. Now it is engaged in the world-wide Stalinist campaign in their behalf, denouncing their conviction which, it declares, was based on anti-Semitism.

The Prague Trial brings to mind once more how Stalinism devours its own. Throughout its history, tens of thousands of loyal Stalinists have been destroyed by the - brutal regimes. If we take seriously the charges of the never-ending frame-up trials, we must conclude that it is in the nature of Stalinism as a system to produce traitors, spies, saboteurs, and agents of foreign powers. Such men are not found in the lower echelons of power; they are not part of the gray rank and file mass. They are always leaders, heads of governments, the main functionaries of the party, the principal heads of the conomy.

Why So Many Traitors?

No corrupt Stalinist functionary or agent dares think too long on this riddle. Why is it that no other regime inhistory, no other social order, has ever produced so many foreign agents, wreckers, traitors, and saboteurs? Is there something in the nature of Stalinism as a social. political and economic movement that is responsible for this phenomenon?

Of course, the charges of the Stalinist hierarchy against its victims are nothing but lies. Stalinist states produce no more of the above-mentioned types than any other state. Perhaps even less, because the totalitarianism of the regime makes such practices more difficult. If this is not the case, why daes the regime persist in a practice which conveys the impression that its ranks are always filled with enemies who are unceasingly engaged in undermining it? And why are these always outstanding leaders?

It is not easy to understand the totalitarian mind. But totalitarian regimes characteristically and periodically employ the violence of the purge and frame-up trial to solidify the bureaucratic power of the state. The threat against the individual is permanent. Terror is a political policy. It signifies political changes; it needs scapegoats explain mistakes and failures; it seeks out signs of hesitation, doubt, and independent thought as dangers to the regime.

The greatest fears of the totalitarian masters are: contradiction, conflicting facts, argument, the truth. The oureaucrats therefore suppress all means of expression. Under such conditions they can say and do as they please. What difference does it make how big the lie, how infamous the charge, how brutal the persecution?

That is how a Prague frame-up trial can take place. The poor Stalinist functionaries who are its victims believe so strongly in the regime, are so stricken with fear for their families and friends, or feel so hopelessly lost, disappointed and crushed by the way their world has collapsed around them, that they become the perfect foils for the bloodiest regime the world has ever known-Stalinist Russia.



Business Ezra T. Benson, of Utah, ministration and act as liai-

coal, oil, natural gas, copper, rayon, plastics and shipping. Interests in Pittsburgh Conworld's largest producer of soft coal.

Theory and tike of

A GM STALWART

Donald McKay, Secretary of the Interior. Governor of Oregon. Owns Chevrolet and Cadillac agency. Chevrolet agency reputed to be one of the largest in Oregon. Opposes federal development of hydro-electric power and more TVA's, defending interests of private utilities. Selected for the post precisely because he is a conservative in the matter of public power and public lands. With his political weather-eye always open, he is a joiner of organizations. These include the American Legion, Veterans of Foreign Wars. - Shriners. Knights Templar, Elks, Eagles, Kiwanis, the Capital Card Club, etc.

Secretary of Agriculture. son for Eisenhower. One of the twelve apostles solidation Coal Co, the of the Mormon Church. Well-to-do farm marketing specialist, and former head of National Council of Farmer Cooperatives. Conservative who is against "leaning on government aid instead of your own initiative."

> Herbert Brownell, Attorney General. Leading figure in the Dewey, wing of the Republican Party, a member of one of New York's most conservative law firms, Lord, Day & Lord. Career largely in GOP politics, being former chairman of the party and manager of Dewey's campaigns.

Sherman Adams, Assistant to the President. Governor of New Hampshire, and successful businessman. Reputed to be man closest to head of the U.S. mission to corporation, the crusading the new president and will the United Nations; Joseph spirit of the investment take charge of coordinating M. Dodge, President of the trust and the progressivism the chief agencies of the ad- Detroit Bank, a director in of the NAM."

ANOTHER GM BOY

Arthur E. Summerfield, Postmaster General. Present chairman of the GOP, and head of giant GM Chevrolet agency with headquarters in Flint, Michigan, Arch-conservative in politics and a General Motors representative.

Harold E. Stassen, Mutual Security Administrator. Not a cabinet member, but holding this high office in repayment for vigorous campaigning in behalf of Eisenhower. The former governor of Minnesota, once regarded as a "liberal," now revealed as an overambitious politician having no principles.

Then come lame duck Senator Henry Cabot Lodge,

the Chrysler Corporation. appointed Budget Observor: Mrs. Ovetta Culp Hobby former head of the WACs, appointed Federal Security Administrator, and Mrs. Ivy B. Priest, Assistant Chairman of the GOP, appointed as Treasurer of the United States.

The Republican candidate promised a conservative administration and he has kept his word. The main posts of his cabinet will be held by locked-ribbed conservatives from the big business world. The new "team" reflects the character of the president himself and emphasizes what is meant when it is said that the new administration will represent a right turn in American politics. For, as one columnist put it, "the cabinet choices reveal a belief in the divinity of the

.abor Secretary: A Hostage

(Continued from page 1) merce), a couple of top corporation lawyers . . . and the president of the plumbers' and pipefitters' union. Just to describe the cast is to indicate the course of the drama. Even if one were to assume that Durkin would take a strong stand in defense of the interests of the workers, he would be wasting his breath.

The really interesting thing about Durkin's appointment is not that it was offered, nor that it was accepted. The thing that makes one gag is that the AFL leadership requested that Eisenhower appoint a labor leader to this post, and that the new president of the AFL has hailed the appointment as a good choice for the country and for labor.

This whole performance casts additional light on the type of thinking to which the AFL leadership (and many of the CIO leaders, though in a less abysma form) is addicted. During the election campaign they stumped the country to tell the workers that if the Republicans get hold of the government there will be a devastating depression, a drive to destroy the labor movement, an attack on all the social reforms of the past twenty years. The moment the Republicans actually get hold of the government, these same labor leaders shower Eisenhower with telegrams of good wishes, George M. Humphrey, and practically trample each Secretary of the Treasury. other in the effort to be the Head of the M. A. Hanna first to offer the Republican Co., named after the old president their cooperation. GOP leader in Ohio, Mark Just about every major AFL Hanna. Recommended by leader (and several of the Gen. Lucius Clay, present CIO), have rushed into print chairman of Continental proclaiming that they will Can Co. Hanna interests em- support the general as long.

and will only oppose him if vicious personal as well as nounced, Durkin stated that he does the wrong thing. The political attacks levelled he believed the new presifact that they predicted for against Truman, and Roose- dent will treat labor fairly the past six months that he velt before him, by the lead- and with "full and complete was bound to do every wrong thing in the book if Scripps-Howard and Mcelected does not seem to deter them a bit.

POLITICAL CHILDREN

Of course, this is just part of the good old American tradition of rallying behind the president, and respecting his high office, regardless of how low a man may inhabit it. It is a mark of the dangerous degree of political immaturity which still prevails in the labor movement that this Polyanna view of the presidency is still given lip-service by the labor leaders long after it has been completely and openly abandoned by the class-conscious ideologists of the right wing. right after his appointment

ing columnists of the Hearst, consideration." Cormack press?). It is part of the continuing ardent desire of the labor leadership to be considered as part of "the team" even when the most obtuse of them can see that the team is being organized against them.

Martin P. Durkin, the captive of big business, is a fitting, though perhaps extreme representative of their way of thought. Contacted at his union office Durkin; the captive of big business, is a fitting, though perhaps extreme representative of their way of thought. Contacted at his union office (Remember the furious and to the cabinet had been an-



The United Press reports that Durkin noted that he had voted for Governor Stevenson in the last election, and then added that "he may find it necessary" to change his political affiliation "now that I'm in the cabinet." To this we can only say: "Why bother, Brother Durkin. No one will be able to tell the difference anyway."

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(Continued from page 1)

counting on when they sank India's frail barque at the UN. On the face of it, Vishinsky's performance was sheer stupidity at a moment when the United States and Britain seemed to be having one of their most bitter disagreements in years. Yet it was evident that even though a disagreement over such a question might cause a good deal of friction and hard feeling, it could not actually break the American bloc into pieces. For that much more vital differences are needed:

But is it not possible that an extension of the war in Korea by a major offensive to the Yalu with all the risk which this involves of a full-scale war with China and perhaps Russia is exactly the kind of vital difference which could break up the American bloc, or at least chip away some of its weaker parts?

But what if the Americans should launch an offensive, and win it? Would that mean that the Chinese government would have to enter the war formally, and on a fullscale basis to "save face"? Not

necessarily. It is the Americans who have proclaimed a policy of military containment, not the Chinese. The latter could well claim that their volunteers did the best they could, but finally were unable to stand up to the concerted might of American imperialism. For them. Korea could be almost as useful as a martyr to the struggle against imperialism as it is as a battlearound.

Of course, there is no guarantee that the Chinese and Russians would react that way. The freedom of choice is theirs as to whether it is now time for all-out war in Asia, or whether they can hope to gain more in the long run by the "little" politico-military wars now going on. Their reaction might very well depend on whether such a brash move by the Americans would strike a major blow at its Asiatic and even European alliances.

But would not a quick American victory be considered a major success by the allies, whatever misgivings they might have while the battles were in progress? Wouldn't it prove that the Americans know best, and that their aggressive methods are exactly what is neded to call Stalin's bluff?

ABHOR WAR

That the success of an Ameriran offensive would have a less damaging effect on the U.S. bloc than a failure is beyond question But that is just a matter of degree. The peoples of Europe and Asia are not primarily worried about a defeat in another world war. They abhor the thought of the war itself. What infuriates them most about American leadership in the anti-Stalinist bloc is the thought that the U.S. is willing to risk it.

For Eisenhower and for the American government in general the choices are very difficult ones. Whichever way they may turn, much is to be lost, and very little to be gained. But then, such is the fate fo those who chose the "easy" and "practical" military way of solving the problems of the world. Unfortunately, the fate of all of us is closely bound up with theirs.