

THE DIRTY WAR IN ALGERIA Mollet Does the Dirty Work ... page 2 The Bloodhound in Algeria ... page 3 'Only Social-Democrats ...'

The Politics of Brainwashing

. . . page 6

MAY DAY

Nationally and internationally,, the year since last May Day has been dotted with the kind of great events which point to the social transformations that lie ahead. Above all, it-has been marked by the irrepressible boiling up of social struggles from below.

This is, after all, what betokens the inexorable thrust toward the socialist victory.

In the United States, there have been two historic milestones:

The welding of a united labor movement makes the American working class the strongest cohesive social force in potentia that the world has ever seen. It is still a bound giant, tied to backward politics, but a giant that is unconquered, self-confident, and demanding.

The outbreak of the courageous and epochal Negro struggle in the South, backed up uncompromisingly by Negro militancy in the North, has delivered shivering shocks to the whole fabric of bourgeois politics. Today the Negro people are in the vanguard of the struggle for emancipation, and they will force labor to catch up.

Abroad, the biggest event of the year was the anti-Stalin convulsion in the Russian bureaucratic tyranny. There has never been the slightest confirmation of the defeatist and pessimistic fear that the imposition of Stalinism means the end of the struggle for freedom. On the contrary, even the established Russian totalitarianism is visibly shaking under the impact of discontent below.

Capitalist imperialism, too, has this year seen the faces of its gravediggers ... in North Africa, particularly in Algeria ... in Cyprus. In Franco Spain, a new wave of general strikes has put the U.S.-supported regime at bay before its workers.

Nowhere, absolutely nowhere, are the masses of people apathetically resigning themselves to tyranny. Only individuals capitulate. The masses fight. That, in the last analysis, is what May Day is here to tell us.

"You can't have Mr. Eastland and have us at the same time."—Walter Reuther Can ADA Back the Negro Fight And the Democratic Party Too?

By PAT PARKS and LARRY O'CONNOR

When the several hundred delegates assemble in Washington this week for the 9th convention of Americans for Democratic Action, the primary question in everyone's mind will be whether the organization of American liberalism can effectively influence the 1956 presidential elections. While the convention agenda calls for discussion of all the usual issues like civil liberties, foreign policy, labor; etc., the background for debate must inevitably be the issue of civil rights and its impact on the relationship of ADA to the Democratic Party.

For the first time since 1948, when ADA almost split over endorsing General Eisenhower for the Democratic nomination it faces a crisis situation.

It involves the present Negro struggle against Southern reaction, the dead-end of American foreign policy, the continuation of the witchhunt, etc.

ADA convention platforms have traditionally extolled the rights of Negroes, attacked undemocratic legislation and the witchhunt in general, cried out against the colonial suppression of peoples throughout

Warsaw Shortens the Leash

In the middle of April, *Pravda* called a halt to the idol-smashing unleashed by the 20th Congress. In an editorial denouncing "rotten elements" who took advantage of the anti-Stalin revelations to "question the correctness of the party policy," it made clear that no democratization was going to be permitted.

At that time we commented: "Whether the unleashed forces can be reined in at the same point in all other places is to be seen. In the satellites, it is clear that in Poland the Stalinist elements are straining to push it further. . . ." And indeed, at the time, the turn in Warsaw seemed deeper than even in Moscow.

Hence it took a little longer in Warsaw to rein-in the looseness set off by the Now it's the turn of the Polish Stalinist regime to follow the lead of Moscow in dogging the hatches to shut off the waters of dissent.

On Saturday Edward Ochab—the party secretary who replaced the hatchetman Bierut when the latter suffered what may have been a heart attack—de-

nounced "politically unstable" elements, "petty-bourgeois" elements, "groups" (not only individuals) who use freedom of criticism to attack the party line, etc.

This is the signal for the attempt to swing back the helm of the Stalinist ship of state, which has been tacking and veering in the winds of the anti-Stalin campaign. But even now, no doubt, it will be harder to do this successfully in Poland than in Russia.

In Russia, the press campaign against the "rotten elements" intensifies. After the general warnings comes the threat of expulsions: "How is it possible to tolerate it if persons alien to our views penetrate this union [the party]?" asks Partinaya Zhizm.

Stalinism without Stalin: this is the nature of the regime of Stalin's heirs. Events are not being kind, even for a short while, to the dupes and dupers who rushed so quickly to explain that the despots in the Kremlin were lifting themselves up to democracy by the straps of their iron-heeled boots. the world, and spoken for the principle of self-determination. But today—1956—ADA can no longer ignore the discrepancies between what it says in resolutions year after year, and where it places its political support.

One has to look back at ADA's emergence as the organized liberal voice in America in order to understand its serious dilemma today.

A DRIFT

Its leadership was formed from the ranks of the Democratic Party's liberal wing in 1947, because it felt a need to organize an independent political group that would be non-partisan in approach to the issues. It insisted then, and at each successive convention has reaffirmed its belief, that ADA cannot be tied to either of the political parties and must act as the liberal "conscience" of both. (No one ever

(Turn to last page)

There's a War On-Where Do You Stand?

There's a war on, and the United States is supporting one of the sides. Americans ought to have something to say about it.

The war is being fought between France and Algeria. One is an imperialist state seeking to maintain its domination of a conquered country. The other is a nation fighting for its freedom.

The United States is supporting the imperialist.

Inside this issue, on pages 2 and 3, you can read about the extaordinary "united front"—of reactionary capitalists, Stalinists, and imperialist social-democrats lined up in support of Premier Guy Mollet's dirty war against the Algerian people.

To this united front, add the Washington government, which has shown its stand by its votes in the UN, by its sale of helicopters and other weapons to the French government, by the statements of its ambassador.

Where does the American labor movement stand? Where do American liberals stand? What are they doing about this war? Which side are they on?

In this struggle there are not even any Stalinist complications to confuse them. No one seriously claims that the Stalinists have any influence on the Algerian liberation fighters.

The Algerians are fighting for simple things like elementary self-determination, recognition as an independent nation, re-establishment of civil liberties. Anyone who even hesitates about supporting these demands is no democrat.

Only last week the news removed the last possible doubt about the representative character of the Algerian revolt. Ferhat Abbas—"considered one of the most moderate [=least anti-French] politicians in Algeria"—announced that he was dissolving his right-wing nationalist movement UDMA in order to make clear to world public opinion that all forces from right to left were united for Algerian emancipa-

tion from the French, in support of the National Liberation Front.

Even in the face of this development, which deprives the French even of the possibility of finding quislings, the N. Y. *Times* editorializes:

"... it would be tragic if France lost this struggle by going down to the sort of defeat she met in Indochina....

"It may be that outsiders are unduly pessimistic and impatient. The French military campaign is only really getting under way now . . . he [Robert Lacoste, Paris gauleiter in Algeria] is one of the ablest and most intelligent public officers in France. Since he believes that this is the right strategy it is prudent to trust to his judgment and wait to see what happens."

Whether to crush in blood the freedom of a whole and united nation is, for the Times, simply a question of "the right strategy." What is it for American labor leaders?

What is it, for example, for Walter Reuther, who has just made a trip through India telling the people how he detests colonialism. How loudly will Reuther speak up for the demand to—

Stop all U.S. military aid to the French government!

Certainly, the very first thing our labor leaders can do is make sure that the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions gives full support, financial and political, to the new Algerian trade-union movement, the Union des Syndicats des Travailleurs Algériens.

Is it simply a question of "strategy" for other liberals, who, as everyone knows, are all against colonialism and imperialism but become very discreet about denouncing what their own government is doing? Are they willing to put up a real fight to demand:

Support the Algerian cause in the UN, against France!

Page Two

THE 'NOSKE' OF THE FRENCH-ALGERIAN WAR ACTS FOR A NEW KIND OF POPULAR FRONT

Mollet Does The Dirty Work

since from Le Figaro, L'Aurore and the

However, it is important to point out

that he could never have undertaken his

job as a policeman if the Stalinist party

had not supported him. The leadership of

this party has justified every infamy, down to the vote-of unlimited "special

powers" for Lacoste on March 13, by the

need to "stick to the SP" in the interests

The bourgeoisie has been properly

grateful. On March 16, La Vie Fran-

caise, the paper of high finance, wrote that "the support of the Communists

facilitates the action of the public pow-

ers. Since 1947 (let us take note: since

the CP last participated in a govern-

ment) there has never been a govern-

ment that had greater freedom of ma-

neuver. Let it take advantage of this sit-

In the same issue, it also wrote under

the title "The Good Will of M. Duclos":

Just in case, and because it is its job,

the High Command is considering the

conscription of four or five age-groups.

If these groups must be called up, it

would be better not to wait too long, in

order to take advantage of the favorable

attitude of the Communist strategists." This "favorable attitude" is only the

translation in French terms of the offers

of collaboration which the Russian gov-

ernment is multiplying in the direction

of the social-democratic parties, and an

application of the Khrushchev theory of

'socialism through parliamentary

means." In France, this means support by the CP of the Mollet government, in-

side and outside of Parliament at all

Mollet has not been slow to seize the

opportunity offered to him by the contin-

ued subservience of the French Communist

Party to the interests of Russian foreign

As a secretary-general of the French

SP and as head of the government, Mol-

let has always revealed himself as a

mediocrity, hopelessly below important

events; however, he does not lack a cer-

tain low cunning in the small side of

The vaguely "neutralist" undertones

of his interview to U.S. News and World

SQUEEZE ON NATO

of a coming "Popular Front."

By A. GIACOMETTI

Paris, Apr. 23

"What is a socialist government?" Mauriac, the Catholic writer, recently asked in L'Express. "Today we know it is a government that does dirty work of a kind that would not be tolerated if a right-wing government attempted to do it."

What has really come as a surprise to everybody is the readiness, in fact, the enthusiasm, the Mollet government has shown for a task

Right in general.

uation."

costs.

policy.

politics.

CP IN CAHOOTS

which, if successful, can only lead to its downfall and replacement by an authoritarian government of the bourgeois right.

Since February 6, when Mollet begged the fascist French rioters in Algiers to have pity on a poor orphan and forced his own liberal governor Catroux to resign, the principal endeavors of his government have been to organize total war against the Algerian people on a scale the Faure government hesitated even to consider, and to clear the path for untrammeled reaction in France and in Algeria.

Nobody but Mollet could have done it. The Faure government had been faced with widespread popular resistance on various levels. The militancy of the workers, exemplified by the strikers in Nantes and St.-Nazaire, the protest demonstrations of the conscripts, the fight of the Algerian partisans threatened to combine into a highly explosive mixture that could have blown up far more than just another government.

A policy of repression in Algeria has direct repercussions in France: the death of French soldiers, a wage freeze and new taxes. War in Algeria can only be waged with the blood and the paychecks of the French workers. Consequently, to preserve Algeria for the min-ing companies and the landowners, the Algerian partisans have to be crushed and working-class resistance at home has to be neutralized.

THIS IS BETRAYAL

The French bourgeoisie received two applicants for these jobs: the army for the first, and the social-democratic and Stalinist leadership for the second.

Rarely before has a "socialist" government betrayed the trust of its voters so rapidly and so completely. When he formed his government on January 27. Mollet seemed to advocate a peaceful solution by negotiations. On February 6, under the impact of rotten tomatoes and other missiles, the line changed completely.

Catroux, who stood for a policy of negotlation, is replaced by the "socialist" Lacoste, who follows in the footsteps of that other "socialist" Naegelen, the organizer of the fake elections of 1944 and the repression of 1945. On February 9, Mollet says that "France will fight to stay in Algeria."

cent weeks. It is necessary, nevertheless, to review its effects. The restrictions on civil liberties are

ance have become painfully clear in re-

unprecedented since the end of the war. The arrest of Claude Bourdet two weeks ago for his courageous editorials against the Algerian war was only one of a series of police measures that have been less publicized because the victims are less prominent.

The editor of the PCI weekly La Vérité, Daniel Renard, has been charged with "insult and defamation" of military authorities and of the government for describing the facts about the Algerian concentration camps and the operations of specialized repression troops (Foreign Legion, paratroopers, CRS, etc.). La Vérité has been seized three times, once with the plates destroyed.

A \$300 fine has been slapped on the anarchist Le Libertaire, weekly of the

Four members of the French section of the Fourth International are under arrest for receiving bundles of Résistance Algérienne, the paper of the Front de Libération Nationale, an Algerian nationalist organization.

The leader of the Mouvement National Algérien, Messali Hadj, has been transferred to an island off the coast of Brittany where he is held incommunicado.

Hundreds of Algerian workers have been arrested in the course of protest strikes and demonstrations called by the MNA in Paris and in Northern, Eastern and Central France.

Two French printers and two Algerians have been arrested in Paris for printing and publishing La Voix du Peuple, the paper of the MNA which is forced to appear illegally.

One issue of L'Humanité has also been seized, as well as an issue of Le Travailleur Algérien, organ of the Algerian CGT.

This is a partial list-it could be extended for pages.

"PACIFICATION"

On the military level, the government has spared no effort to "grant Robert Lacoste the troops he needs for his pacification purposes." In May 1955, there were 80,000 soldiers in Algeria; in January 1956 there were 225,000 of them-half the French army.

At the end of May, four months after the electoral victory of the "Republican Front" which was voted into power because it was going to make peace in Algeria, 150,000 more are going to be called up for the Algerian war. Lacoste thinks that this might not be enough: he feels he needs 400,000 soldiers in all.

Simultaneously, the heavy, motorized NATO divisions, set up for atomic warfare and helpless against the partisans, are being broken up and converted into light units, equipped with numerous helicopters and light armored vehicles. There are now 52 helicopters in Algeria; before the end of the year there will be 228 Fighter planes are supporting the ground troops and are used for punitive bombing raids. In all, 750 planes are in use now and will be inreased to 1400 at the end of the year. Most of these planes are supplied by the United States: 300 T-6 observation planes, 100 T-11 observation planes, 60 B-26 bombers and 50 H-21 helicopters-known as "Flying Bananas" since the Korean war-are to be supplied in the coming months. The troops of the air force, which numbered 21,500 in July 1955, now number 55,000 and will number 64,000 in October, that is a little less than half of the French air force.

"SOMEONE MUST BE THE BLOODHOUND. I DO NOT SHIRK THE RESPONSIBILITY."-Gustav Noske, Social-Democratic leader, January 1919, Berlin.

friendship instead of a menace to our Moslem fellow-countrymen. The young soldiers of France over there cannot be anything but the representatives of our best traditions."

This statement reflects the official theory of the war in Algeria; it requires some explanation.

According to the official theory, Al-geria will be divided up into little squares, each of which will be "pacified" separately. Thus the insurrection will be 'stifled" in most of the country; a few areas will remain where partisans can be isolated, while the government, at last at leisure to prove that it is composed of policemen some of whom are also socialists, will be able to push through a hurried program of "reforms" in the areas which it has "pacified." These include distribution of land, credit facilities, irrigation, public works to relieve unemployment, wage raises.

Meanwhile, the "squaring up" of the country requires a lot of troops-60,000 for Kabylia alone, according to Lacoste since it amounts to a virtual occupation of every square inch of the territory. not counting the "mobile units" which are supposed to chase the partisans.

The government thesis is founded on a series of assumptions which it has borrowed from the Right for the occasion and which are manifestly false: that the Algerian partisans are a highly organized but unrepresentative and foreign-inspired band of terrorists, who have conquered the population's passive support by fear; therefore, that military measures com-bined with a few social and economic measures ("we shall not be conservative." said Guy Mollet) are enough to "stifle" the insurrection.

DEALERS OF DEATH

Nobody believes this any more-a few pretend to believe it. No reforms can be carried out under the present circumstances.

These, as well as the "free elections" Mollet promised if the partisans capitulated, are empty promises which the Algerians, after their experiences of 1936 and of 1945, have no reason to trust. Besides, "reforms" are not the issue-the issue has been, for some time now, independence.

Confronted with the facts of the real situation in Algeria, the official truth becomes a cynical working hypothesis to justify the wholesale slaughter of the civilian population. As Cardinal Saliège of Toulouse said, "peace will come to Algeria when the rebels are afraid."

The real situation is revealed by the figures published by the High Command itself. Officially, the number of partisans is estimated at 15,000 to 20,000. According to the communiqués issued by the army in recent months, a hundred or so are killed every day. If one attempts to add up "rebel" losses since the outbreak of the insurrection in November 1954, the approximate number arrived at is 48,000 dead and 24,000 prisoners, that is 72,000 in all.

The two figures conflict. Who are all the killed and imprisoned? Either the partisan army is about ten times larger than the government admits (120,000 according to recent leaflets of the Front de Libération Nationale) or else a lot of civilians are being killed. The truth is that losses in the Algerian population are even larger than the statistics of the High Command show, that the partisan army is much larger than official figures admit, and also that thousands of civilians have been and still are being killed in the course of indiscriminate reprisals. Villages are being bombed, shelled and strafed for "harboring rebels"-the barbaric principle of collective responsibility is invoked as a justification by the French High Command. According to some reports, napalm has already been used near Palestro, east of Algiers.

Later Mollet declares in Arras: "I hope to be proven wrong, but it seems to me that there isn't in France the necessary current of opinion to save the union between Africa and France. Yet, outside this union, France would be reduced to the tragic role of Spain and Portugal."

On February 28, Mollet threatens the Algerian partisans with "the mobilization of all resources to enforce security by every means" if they do not capitulate. On March 13, he boasts before the Assembly: "I can assure you that there are more troops in Algeria now than there were at the time this government came to power.'

When one of the most reactionary deputies in the Assembly demanded that the "special powers" bill be amended to provide for the repression of anti-colonialist Frenchmen, Mollet hastened to give him the assurance that the government was already considering it.

On March 23, Le Figaro praised Mollet for having understood that his duty was to give up his viewpoint as a socialist militant and to become "the head of the government of France."

Mollet has earned every word of the lavish praise he has been getting ever

Photos (21 Tols Acres 1

Report at the beginning of this month, the earlier declarations of socialist foreign minister Christian Pineau at the Anglo-American press dinner in Paris, the acceptance by Mollet and Pineau of an invitation to Moscow on May 15, have produced two effects: one of ensuring the persistence of the "favorable atti-tude" of the CP leadership and of their hangers-on and apologists; secondly, of creating a panic in NATO circles. Immediately the American ambassador in France, Douglas Dillon, came out with a statement of full support for Mollet's policy of repression in Algeria, and the council of NATO, "recognizing the importance for NATO of security in Algeria," allowed the government to withdraw as many troops for the Algerian war as it felt it needed.

WITCHHUNT TOO

Thus a "Popular Front" of a new type has come into existence, one that stretches from Duclos to L'Aurore and from Khrushchev to Dillon, with Mollet and his cabinet as a keystone—one might even say a "united front" forged by the common interests of the French bourgeoisie and of the Russian bureaucracy and directed against the Algerian and the French peoples

The policy and the aims of this alli-

1101400 110

As to the navy, there are at least three cruisers and half a dozen lesser warships participating in operations at the present time.

REACTIONARY THEORY

The socialist minister of war, Max Lejeune, has proclaimed in Le Populaire that this mighty machine has been set up; not to make war, but to bring peace. He wrote: "I want our soldiers to be numerous, spread out over the country, mobile, bringing everywhere a token of

Charles The Toronto and

ARMY OF THE PEOPLE

On the other hand, the partisan army now operates in every single province of Algeria; it is armed with machine guns and light mortars; it dresses in uniforms, finds protection and support in hamlets, villages and towns all over the country. It is fed by the peasants; its wounded are taken care of by doctors, both French and Algerian.

It grows by desertions from the French army (several hundred so far among the Moslem troops) and by masses of peasants who have nothing (Continued on page 3)

May 7, 1956

The Bloodhound in Algeria

'Under the Thumb Of the Generals

By LUCIEN WEITZ

Paris Already France is halfway into war with Algeria. "There's a smell about!" say the French when things go badly. And there's a smell about now in the pleasant air of Paris in the spring.

The government, torn between its good intentions and its want of courage has lost its bearings. A cabinet drawn from the Left is under the thumb of the Right and of the generals. It is being swept along by the nationalism of the "little man with a bit in the bank" who imagines that the day has come to save the country because he was told in junior school that Algeria is French.

So the Algerians living in Paris are being persecuted. On the eve of Good Friday three thousand of them were arrested, searched, questioned. The good folk of Paris have got to be taught that the "wogs" are dangerous and will knife "the country" in the back.

Algerian Socialists **Repudiate SP Line**

This month the Executive Committee of the French Socialist Party received a long letter from leading members of the Algerian federations of the SP, including the former deputy of Constantine, Benbahmed. The following excerpts were published by L'Express on April 20.

The policy which the government is following since February 6 is one which fills us with bitterness and anxiety. Its president is imposing terrible responsibilities on the party of Jaures. .

Today one can no longer talk of pacification, nor even of blind repression; practically, the unfortunate Moselm populations of the Constantine region and of Kabylia, most of which still trusted the Socialist Party and republican France, are exposed to a campaign of extermination.

Every day so-called suspects and hostages are being executed. . .

All official denials of these facts, in the press or in the radio, only further convince the Algerian population and the representatives of foreign powers of the insolent determination of the public authorities to mislead public opinion in France. . .

Where is this policy going to end? Comrades in Parliament and comrades in the Executive Committee, will you allow it to continue? Do you believe that socialist militants who have not lost their heads can accept it? Are you considering the revulsion that will seize public opinion in France and abroad when the sad truth 1-

Messali Hadj, oldest of the Algerian national leaders, whose influence on the 200,000 of his people living in France is. great, was living under observation at Angoulême. Without any legal pretext, simply to complete his isolation, he has been whisked off to the island of Belle-Isle, where the famous revolutionary Blanqui was imprisoned a century ago.

The police are in their element. The air is full of plots and treachery. The interminable court case about the Dides affair, in which the accused are former officials of the Council of National Defence and a sinister police informer who turned his coat, is throwing light on the dirtest corners of France's Scotland Yard.

But the press is using it to prove that the defeat in Indochina was due, not to political and military reasons, but to the work of spies more or less linked with Mendès-France. A good preparation for clear thinking about Algeria!

And now the hatchet swings against Claude Bourdet, brilliant editor of the weekly France-Observateur. This independent paper of the Socialist Left has always stood for understanding and negotiation with peoples in revolt against colonial rule. It has spoken up against war in Algeria but preserved a kindly prejudice in favor of the Mollet government.

But in the eyes of barrack-room justice, to oppose a war is to "demoralize the army."

So Bourdet is on a charge. He was kept in prison all Saturday, but released for fear that holding such a man in jail would provoke an outcry. For this "traitor" was a member of the directing body of the Resistance, a soldier with an outstanding record, and deported to Germany by the Nazis.

Where does France go from here? In the Government, there are divided counsels. Minister's shy away from the measures demanded by the generals and by Lacoste, Minister Resident in Algeria. A solution is being sought in a call-up plan which would at first affect only regular reservists.

The Right foams against this hesitancy. A voice from the past, the antique General Weygand, pipes up to say: "Leave the troops that belong to NATO in France, call up civilians, and let's have a real war, not just to restore order in North Africa, but to save the prestige of France as an imperial power!"

Bit by bit the government slithers towards this policy, all the while trying to fool the public. "Send plenty of troops and they won't need to fight," is the line. And for the benefit of Socialists comes the whisper: "Trust us-we're still trying to negotiate:"

-Tribune (London)



Imperialist Solidarity in Action

At the end of March, the Reuter news agency announced from Berne that the Swiss government had taken "special measures to prevent Algerians residing in Switzerland from enrolling in the rebel army in North Africa."

On April 5, Le Monde Paris announced that the French government had bought six large-capacity helicopters (S-55) from the Belgian airline Sabena, which had used them for commercial and tourist transport:

"The Belgian company will receive S-58 helicopters, which are to replace those it sold, only in the course of the summer. Consequently, it will be compelled to give up certain tourist services, such as the trip to the castles of the Loire. According to a press release, it nevertheless consented to the sale because of the urgent need of the French forces in Algeria. . . . The usefulness of this kind of helicopter for operations in

Algeria no longer needs to be pointed

the second Page Three

On April 16 the High Command of the French air force announced that the United States committed itself to supplying over 500 helicopters, observation planes and bombers before the end of the year.

The swift, effective and concrete solidarity between imperialist powers has been well-known fact for a long time. If is instructive that even little Switzerland puts an odd slant on its neutrolity when the interests of its investors in Algeria are involved.

Once more then, the question arises: In the face of this alliance, where is the solidarity of the international labor movement with the Algerian people? -

How long will the American labor movement in particular consent to the use of American weapons to slaughter a people fighting for its freedom?

'Only Social Democrats' A Page from History for M. Guy Mollet

"On the Right, there is widespread belief that only a Socialist-led cabinet can

Yes, only the French social-democratic leaders could do this "dirty work of a kind that would not be tolerated if a right-wing government attempted to do it" (as the French Catholic writer Mauriac wrote recently). The French "socialist leader" who is busy hunting down and killing Algerian fighters

freedom is part of a long tradition. for

He is not the first social-democrat who has done dirty work for imperialism that bourgeois politicians would have been unable to do.

For the prototype and classic model of this social-democratic role, read Otto Bauer's The Austrian Revolution. Bauer, the theoretician of "Austro-Marxism" and the ideological leader of them

Austrian Social-Democratic Party, wrote this book as an account of the post-World War I collapse of the Hapsburg Empire, when a social-democratic government temporarily succeeded the old regime. The book is written, of course, as an apologia for the social-democratic policy, not an attack on it.

In this book, this outstanding leader of the old Second International described, in terms that have never been equaled for their frankness, how it was only the socialdemocrats who were able to defeat the post-war proletarian socialist revolution.

The background, of course, is different from that of France today. In 1918-19 Austria faced revolution within. (Nobody, not even the starkest reactionary, even dreamed of holding on to the subject nations, like the Czechs, that were breaking away.)

Bauer describes clearly how the masses turned revolutionary, after the years of pre-war oppression, after the wartime deprivations, after the horror of the trenches, after the terrific impact of the Russian Revolution, after the returning soldiers came back to hunger and unemployment. "The factories were transformed into debating forums. . . .

"Wild excitement prevailed in the barracks of the Volkswehr [the socialist workers' militia]," Bauer explains. ". . . Every edition of the newspaper brought news of the struggles of Spartacus in Germany. Every speech announced the glory of the great Russian Revolution, which with one stroke had abolished exploitation forever. The masses, who had just seen the overthrow of the once so powerful Empire, recked nothing of the strength of entente capitalism; they believed that the Revolution would now wing its way to the victorious countries. 'Dictatorship of the proletariat,' 'all power to the [workers and soldiers'] councils'-these were the cries that now resounded through the streets. . . ."

"ONLY THEY WERE TRUSTED."

But Bauer's social-democratic government had no intention of leading a revolution just because the masses wanted it. He describes proudly how his colleagues-the Mol-

will be known at last, pains taken to hide it?

In our hearts and consciences, we cannot accept it.

The party took a position on the Algerian question at its last National Congress. Neither its ministers nor its Executive Cemmittee had the right to deliberately act against its will, and to ignore its decisions. . .

It was necessary to clean out the administration, to dissolve the city councils and to replace them with special appointed commissions entrusted with the preparation and supervision of free elections.

In the absence of a precise definition of the political status which is implied in the recognition of the Algerian personality, in the absence of any measures to guarantee the free elections to the Moslem population, just like that, in exchange for a cease-fire. . .

Consequently we demand that a factfinding commission be appointed by the party and sent to Algeria, to investigate the situation and to check the truth of the assertions we have made throughout the letter.

If the party should refuse to listen to us, it would only remain for us to disavow publicly, and by all means we may find useful, an insane policy which would forever discredit the party and its public figures.

. (Continued from page 2)

more to lose. It is supported also by taxes which the illegal nationalist organizations are collecting even on the building sites of the city administration of Algiers.

No such partisan army can grow and successfully resist a foe far superior both in numbers and in equipment unless it benefits from the active support of the vast majority of the population. In other words, the war is political, and can be ended only by political means.

Yet, the political issues are precisely what the Mollet government has steadfastly refused to face. For how long it can continue to ignore them is uncertain, but there are indications that it may be losing the race against popular discontent and military defeat.

Within the Socialist Party, opposition to Mollet is growing in strength and determination; in the country, the workers who have been disoriented by SP and CP are regaining their bearings. On April 21, for the first time since last summer, manifestations of departing troops took place near Grenoble.

Although Mollet might chose the career of a Noske or of a Ramsay Mac-Donald, his choice is not the choice of the French workers.

and Lacostes of the time—prevented it from taking place: "... No bourgeois government could have grappled with this task. It would have been defenseless against the mistrust and hatred of the proletarian masses. It. would have been overthrown in a week by street insurrection, and imprisoned by . its own soldiers.

"Only Social-Democrate could grapple with this unprecedentedly difficult task." Only they were trusted by the proletarian masses. Only they could convince the masses that the terrible privations of this first winter after the war were not the fault of the government, but the unavoidable consequence of the world-wide transformation; that they could not be evaded by a forcible upheaval, but only gradually be overcome.

"Only Social-Democrats could procure the ending of wildly excited demonstrations by negotiations and discussions; only Social-Democrats could pacify the unemployed, direct the Volkswehr, and restrain the workers from the temptation to embark upon revolutionary enterprises which would have been fatal to the revolution.

"The functions which at that time were the most important functions of the government could only be fulfilled by Social-Democrats. The severe blows which had been dealt to the bourgeois social order found their most striking expression in the fact that a bourgeois government, a government without Social-Democrats, was downright impossible."

In this remarkable exposition of how "only the social-democrats" were able to preserve the capitalist system, Bauer is surely correct about his reference to "the functions which at that time were the most important functions of the government" -i.e., the basic tasks of the capitalist state machine which the social-democrats were temporarily administrating.

But as soon as the socialist revolution was defeated in Austria, the social-democrats who had done the dirty work were pushed out of the government, since they were no longer needed, and the bourgeois parties plucked up the courage to resume power openly.

This is exactly what is going to happen in France to M. Mollet and his socialistimperialists.

Page Four

LONDON LETTER

Khrushchev Snarls **At BLP Hecklers**

By OWEN ROBERTS

London, Apr. 27

This afternoon Bulganin and Khrushchev sailed from Portsmouth in a Russian warship, leaving British newspaper men to turn once again to crimes of violence and film stars' weddings for their copy.

For a week B and K-as they were immediately dubbed by Britons -have rushed around the country from one social function to another. Vodka has been swilled by the gallon-and caviar swallowed by the hundredweight as the current "collec-

tive leadership" of Russia hobnobbed with the social elite of Britain.

At one session, however, knives and forks were downed and glasses pushed aside while politics took precedence.

The occasion was a dinner given to Bulganin and Khrushchev by the Labor Party's National Executive Committee and Parliamentary Labor Party at the House of Commons. It was the most widely reported-on private dinner held

According to Hugh Gaitsell, the leader of the Parliamentary Labor Party, in a television interview tonight, the Labor leaders had hoped that the dinner would be much the same as that given to Malenkov when he was here a few weeks ago. On that occasion, said Gaitskell, a frank exchange of views took place "with no holds barred."

The Bulganin-Khrushchev dinner, however, did not run according to plan. It began to go astray when Krushchev started on a long speech that went on and on and on. In the course of this speech Khrushchev expatiated on the respective roles of Russia and Britain in the years around the outbreak of the Second World War; in particular he defended the Nazi-Soviet pact and attacked the foreign policy of the then British government headed, by Neville Chamberlain.

This apparently caused George Brown, a right-wing Labor MP, to burst with in-dignation. "May God forgive you," he exploded at one point during Khrushchev's speech-a statement which he repeated at the request of Khrushchev's interpreter.

This was not Brown's only interruption, nor was he alone. It appears that others seated around the table also got in a bit of heckling when Khrushchev made statements which they felt should be challenged.

Now Khrushchev, of course, is not used to having his word doubted. Much less is he used to being heckled while making a political statement. As a consequence he concluded his speech in a very bad temper and the Laborite MPs present can thank their lucky stars that Khrushchev wasn't playing on his home ground where he could have whistled up his bodyguards.

THE NEEDLE

The next speaker was Hugh Gaitskell, who took the opportunity of reminding both Khrushchev and Bulganin that there were a large number of socialdemocrats in jail in various countries now classified as "peoples' democracies" and in Russia. He said the British Labor Party wanted these people released. Gaitskell also raised the question of the treatment of Jews in Russia. Other Laborites followed Gaitskell and pressed home the points. Aneurin Bevan is reported to have offered Khrushchev a list of 200 names of socialists imprisoned in Eastern Europe. Bevan also challenged Khrushchev to explain how "enemies of the people" were defined and how their guilt was established. All of this made Khrushchev exceedingly annoyed. He retorted that Russia had no control over what happened in the "peoples' democracies," that there

were no social-democrats in Russia, and that there was no discrimination against the Jews. He and Bulganin then took themselves off to their hotel in a huff.

Although the dinner was supposedly a private affair the news of what had happened soon leaked out and was featured as the front-page lead story in most British newspapers. The Stalinist Daily Worker, which has been carefully excluding any political news concerning Bulganin's and Khrushchev's visit and concentrating on the social functions, went into a frenzy of rage.

After lashing out at all of the Laborites who had raised their voices in any critical fashion the Worker, with almost starry-eyed innocence, complained that what the Laborites were asking was that the Soviet Union should "interfere in the affairs of other European states." It said that Bevan had one of "his typical emo-tional outbursts" at the dinner, and "at one stage rose and shook his finger at Mr. Khrushchev."

THEY COULDN'T TAKE IT

A few Labor MPs with Stalinoid inclinations have tried since the dinner, to get an official apology sent to Khrush-chev and Bulganin, but they received virtually no support. While many MPs are not quite happy about what happened-in particular they are anxious lest right-winger Brown's outburst over 1939 foreign policy should give the impression the Labor Party supported the stand taken by Chamberlain-none of them are very anxious to scrape before Khrushchev and Bulganin.

The general attitude is that the Russians asked for frank talking and they got it: if they couldn't take it then it is just too bod for them.

In particular many Laborites, and this includes the rank and file, are pleased that the Labor leaders pressed the question of the politicians imprisoned in Russia and its satellite states. They feel that if the opportunity had not been taken to press this point the Labor Party would have been guilty of betraying comrades overseas

One thing is certain: that Bulganin. and Khrushchev will not easily forget the dinner they were given by the leader-ship of the British Labor Party. The only pity is that they did not have the opportunity of attending a similar din-ner as guests of the rank and file-for then they would have had something to complain about.

How the Attorney General **Stalled the ISL Hearing**

By ALBERT GATES

Week before last, we reported in LA-BOR ACTION that the ISL's hearing in Washington on the "subversive list" will be resumed May 21. Here is more information on why it has taken so long for the Department of Justice to re-start the case after its adjournment in August-of last year.

At that time, after a protracted fight over procedures, Attorneys Joseph L. Rauh Jr. and Isaac Groner, representing the ISL, moved for disqualification on grounds of bias of the hearing examiner chosen by Brownell; Edward M. Morrissey

This motion was denied by the attorney general and on Saturday 2, 1955, we were advised that a date would be set for the resumption of the hearing. And so we have waited all these months for this to happen. Inquiries at the Department of Justice and Morrissey's office brought the reply that the Hearing Officer was engaged in "another case" and that as soon as it was completed, he would return to ours.

That seemed fair enough. But weeks passed and nothing was heard from either source. The weeks became months, and each request for information brought the same reply.

We do not know what kind of case Morrissey presided over, since no publicity was ever given to it, but it must have been most important indeed, since it was not until March of this year that we were advised that we could have the re-hearing on March 20 or any date thereafter that we desired.

Rauh informed Morrissey on March 16 that the earliest day at which he would be available would be May 21, for, since no reply had been forthcoming from the hearing officer to his many requests for information, his unbreakable schedule would carry him to that date. In addition, Max Shachtman, key witness for the ISL, was then away on tour, the first part of which lasted to the end of March.

"IRONIC INDEED"

Readers of Labor Action Take the Gloor

Despite this information which was supplied to Morrissey on April 4, Rauh received a letter from the hearing officer announcing that the hearing would be resumed on April 16, six days following, and if that were not satisfactory to file a motion for continuance "not later than April 12."

In a letter of April 10 to Morrissey, Rauh wrote:

"Since we already wrote you on March 16 that our schedule has been completely booked until May 21, your letter is a transparent effort to require us to file a motion for continuance so as to make it appear that we, rather than you and the government, have been stalling the present case. We find it ironic inded that an organization which has been seeking a hearing for years and years should be told to be ready to proceed in six days or file a motion for continuance within two

days. We have been seeking a hearing for more years than you now give us days in which to act."

Rauh pointed out that preparation for the hearing required, among other things, reassembling the witnesses for the ISL, a fact which was brought before the hearing officer last October in an earlier effort to obtain a hearing date. But apparently, the government was not too seriously concerned about this and other aspects of the ISL hearing.

But Rauh's letter also advised that unless some acceptable action were taken by the hearing officer, he would reserve the right to once more move for disqualification on the grounds of prejudice "as well as the government's position taken in the matter of Senator Cain."

Rauh also added that in any event please treat this letter and our letter of March 16 as a motion for continuance."

Thereafter, on April 12, Morrissey, upon consideration of the aforementioned letter, which he treated as a motion for continuance of the hearing, "Ordered that the motion for a continuance is granted as requested, and the date of the hearing in this proceeding is amended to be May 21, 1956 at 10:00 A.M. in Conference Room 'C,' Interdepartmental Auditorium, Washington, D. C."

Perhaps this time we shall be able to see it through to a finish at this point in our fight against the ISL listing by the attorney general.



New York Rally

On Thursday, May 24 at 7 p.m., there will be a giant civil-rights rally in Madison Square Garden sponsored by leading Negro, labor and liberal leaders. Speakers will include Miss Lucy, Gus Courts, A. Philip Randolph, Roy Wilkins and others.

To the Editor:

There are two corrections and one addition I would like to make to my article on "Stalinist Anti-Semitism" in last week's LA.

One is a typo: not 20 but 200 should be the figure of the number of Jews who have been permitted to leave Russia.

Secondly, I should have written "incorporated areas" instead of "satellite countries" in referring to the early February reports on the flourishing of secular Yiddish culture in Russia. Let me make the difference clear, since apparently I did not make it clear in my article.

The fact is that in the Stalinist world there are three different zones with respect to treatment of Jewish culture:

(1) Pre-1939 Russia, where secular Jewish culture has been completely annihilated, and only the synagogue is left.

(2) The areas incorporated as a result the Second World War-Latvia, of Lithuania, sections of Poland, etc .-where there is a remnant: in 1956, a very small remnant. In 1949 there was a sizable remnant, even a school or two. At that time the Stalinist apologists tried the same sleight-of-hand; they

Stalinist Anti-Semitism palmed these off as if characteristic of Russia, and tried to generalize from the incorporated areas to all of Russia, But it doesn't work. There is a real difference between the two in many features of Stalinization, and not only on the Jewish question.

(3) The satellite countries: in these nominally independent countries, the regime has destroyed independent Jewish communal life, all Jewish schools, and almost all the Jewish charitable organizations, but the Yiddish press, theater, etc., are still tolerated,

As for the addition: My article mentioned the London Times report that Stalin had proposed the establishment of a new Russian Pale. It occurs to me now that this should be connected up with the 1949-50 reports of mass deportations of Jews to Siberia. At that time few people accepted that anti-Semitism had reached such a degree in Russia. LABOR ACTION carried a front-page story on it [July 18, 1949] and an editorial on the subject calling for protests from Jewish organizations and leaders.

What Stalin was proposing in 1953 may well have been a renewal on a real mass scale of the earlier deportations of the Jewish population of Russia.

AL FINDLEY

Published weekly by Labor Action Publishing Company, 114 West 14 Street, New York 11, H. Y .-Telephone: WAtkins 4-4222-Re-entered as secondclass matter May 24, 1940, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1874. -Subscriptions: \$2 a year; \$1 for 6 months (\$2.25 and \$1.15 for Canadian and Foreign) .-Opinions and policies expressed in signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent the views of Labor Action, which are given in editorial statements.

Edifor: HAL DRAPER

Associate Editors: GORDON HASKELL, BEN HALL Business Mgr.: L. G. SMITH



May 7, 1956

Edited and Published by the YOUNG SOCIALIST LEAGUE

A Westinghouse Exec Gets a Shock

In Chicago, a shocked Westinghouse executive discovered he wasn't safe from picketing even in the cloistered halls of the University of Chicago. He went to the university, like similar representatives of General Electric, RCA and other companies, to recruit engineering graduates for employment.

It was tough competition, for this year desperate electronic manufacturers are offering engineering graduates unprecedented starting salaries, plus such enticements as free country club memberships, new split-level homes, guaranteed annual pay hikes, free baby-sitters, foreign sports cars, and vacations in South America.

The Westinghouse executive knew what he was up against, therefore, when he was given an office in the university's

Administrative Building to seduce graduates into Westinghouse. What he didn't know he was up against was a student picketline suddenly thrown up outside.

But even more appalling than the picketline were the leaflets the undergraduates were handing out to the engineering students who came to be interviewed. The leaflets were headlined. "DO YOU WANT TO START OUT YOUR PROFESSIONAL CAREER AS A SCAB?"

Later the pickets said they had only one regret: they didn't keep a box score on the number of future engineers who took one look at the leaflet, turned aboutface and left the building-leaving a stunned Westinghouse executive to write a report to his superiors warning that picketlines are no longer restricted to -IUE News, April 9 plant gates.

New Issue of 'Anvil' Deals With Russia, Negro Fight

The latest issue of Anvil and James by Michael Harrington Student Partisan, dated Spring-Summer 1956, has just rolled off the press and is being distributed to its subscribers and salesmen throughout the country. Judging from its contents and from its attractive format, the current number of this student socialist magazine promises to enjoy one of the highest sales of its existence.

It is an extremely well-balanced issue, being about equally divided between political articles of general interest and cultural and student-interest contributions. Under the first category there are articles and editorials on a number of important questions and developments in political life in recent months.

The issue contains a lengthy editorial on the "Struggle for Negro Rights" which analyzes the historica background of the struggles being waged by Southern Negroes for their democratic rights, and explains the role of the exponents of "moderation" as an attempt to brake that struggle.

An article by Max Martin on "The Russian Twentieth Party Congress" discusses the reasons for the dethronement of Stalin and examines the claims of those with illusions about Stalinism that democracy is now being introduced by the ruling Russian bureaucracy.

Also in this issue are: an article on American foreign policy by Sam Bottone, a piece on the AFL-CIO merger by George Post, and an editorial on the Middle Eastern crisis.

One of the most interesting nieces in this issue of Anvil is Debbie Meier's "Careerism on Campus," an examination of the sociological and psychological aspects of the political apathy to be found among today's college students.

Bob Bone contributes a discussion of the relation between the literary "New Criticism" and political reaction, and Mel Stack contributes one on Orwell. An article on modern music by Shane' Mage and a review of Dupee's Henry

round out the cultural section.

Featured in the issue is a symposium on the "Attorney General's List." The editors of Anvil had submitted a series of questions on the "list" to a large number of figures in public life.

Replies were received from the following: Roger Baldwin, Michael Harrington, Murray Kempton, Mailer, A. J. Muste, Joseph Rauh, Eleanor Roosevelt, Arthur Schlesinger Jr., Max Shachtman, Rowland Watts and Walter Lippman. These are all printed in the magazine. With the permission of Anvil, an excerpt from this symposium is reprinted on this page.

The issue is clearly an outstanding one. Challenge readers who have no regular source for obtaining the magazine can get copies by sending 25 cents to the Anvil office, 36 East 10 Street, New York, or to the YSL national office, Third Floor, 114 West 14 Street, N.Y.C. Readers at schools which lack Anvil distributors are urged to order bundles (see the Anvil ad for details).

YSL in Albany

By E. S.

Albany, Apr. 23

The Albany YSL Organizing Committee was visited by Max Martin, national secratary of the YSL, during the weekend of April 21-22. The two days were ones of intense activity.

Parts of both Saturday and Sunday were devoted to discussions with the local comrades. On Saturday evening Martin spoke to a State College group of young students and workers on the topic, "The Domestic Scene." He discussed such questions as the trade unions, the need for a labor party and the aims of democratic socialism in general.

On Sunday evening he spoke to the Channing Club of the local Unitarian Church on "Can America Have A Democratic Foreign Policy?" His major analyzed America's' present points foreign policy and presented the Third Camp alternative.

There were good-sized groups at both meetings: lively aiscus sued. A number of non-YSLers present expressed interest in the ideas of the YSL.

On the Attorney General's List

The following is reprinted from the current Anvil's symposium on "The Attorney General's List."-D.

(1) Do you think that the Attorney General's list should be used as a criterion for hiring in:

- A. Sensitive government employment? B. Non-sensitive government employment?
- C. Private employment?

(2) Do you think the Attorney General's list has been a danger to civil liberties?

(3) Do you think that the Attorney General's list is necessary for the security of the United States?

(4) Do you think that organizations should have been listed without a hearing or continue to remain on the list without being given one?

(5) Are you in favor of the abolition of the Attorney General's list?

Reply by MICHAEL HARRINGTON (National Chairman of the YSL):

(1) I'm opposed to using the list in any way, whether it be for determining employment in sensitive government jobs, non-sensitive ones, or for private work. First of all, the list is arbitrary, the result of an executive fiat: no organization on it has yet had a complete hearing, and one must be sanguine about the fairness of a hearing which the Justice Department will give when it concerns an injustice which the Justice Department has perpetrated. Secondly, use



of the list inevitably breeds the assumption that organizations are homogenous. that all members are the same kind of members, that the simple fact of belonging is somehow evidence of a crime. And thirdly (perhaps most importantly), the list is one more giant step away from the notion of the overt act. It is in its very essence based on a crazy conspiracy theowhich makes no distinction between the legitimate activities of the Communist Party and whatever connection that Party has with the Russian espionage apparatus-and which then goes on to equate the Communist Party, defined purely in conspiracy terms, with all varieties of radical (usually, anti-Stalinist) dissent.

(2) The List is probably one of the most dangerous single threats to freedom in America. It is not simply used by the government; its arbitrariness and its menacing assumptions have become the rule in defense industry and even in totally non-sensitive industries like the movies.

The List has also been used in order to violate academic freedom; that is, student organizations' have been barred from campus, harassed, or reported to the FBI, on the basis of their inclusion on the list.' And then teachers have, of course, been persecuted on the same basis. The Attorney General's List is the Adam's Apple of unfreedom in the witchhunt.

(3) I don't see what the List can have to do with legitimate notions of security. No government is obliged to hire spies, but the List, as pointed out above, confuses espionage and polics, and by doing so, it is actually a detriment to security. Herbert Philbrick, the FBI informer, once reported that the CP was herause his delighted with McCarthy buckshot technique shielded the real party member by hitting all kinds of nonparty people. The same, I think, is true of the List. It creates a chaos, not se-(4) The fact that organizations have been listed-and for nine years now without a hearing, is a significant indication of how far we have gone toward unfreedom. In thinking about this, it should always be remembered that this was started by liberals (Truman, Tom Clark, etc.) and that it is thus also a measure of how almost everybody in the United States has capitulated to the spirit of the witchhunt. (5) I don't think it is enough to abolish the list; I think confidence in it has to be destroyed, that it must be rooted out of our society. The government may decide not to use it officially, but then it x.ill still remain in the top drawer of personnel officials throughout the nation. No, it has to be destroyed, annihilated, and this can only be done if the people are brought to a realization of how arbitary and anti-libertarian it is.

We urge you to see the great film documentary "TSAR TO LENIN"

Commentary by Max Eastman. See the actual newsreels of the Russian Revolution . . . the tsar and tsarina, Lenin, Trotsky, Stalin, John Reed, Big Bill Haywood, etc., in action on the screen. . . . "Tremendously exciting . . . dramatic and above all-it is history ... achieves the stature and the dignity of true drama. -N. Y. Times

. Plus four shorts of special political and cultural interest.

Fri., May 18—at 8 and 10:15 p.m.

Central Plaza Annex, Rm. 2-C 40 East 7 Streef (2nd Ave.), New York

Auspices of Film Classics Society

Contribution \$1.00

May Day Greetings from the Editors of Challenge

NEW DISCLOSURES ON THE POLITICAL WAR-WITHIN-THE-WAR IN THE KOREAN CONFLICT WITH STALINISM

THE POLITICS OF BRAINWASHING

By J. M. F.

Page Six

We yield to few in the meanness of our estimate of John Foster Dulles. His fine feeling for the inept is obviously a native gift, not easily corrupted by experience or the handwringing of the New York *Times*.

This failure to understand the dynamic behind Stalinist politics has nowhere been more nakedly revealed than in the total inability of bourgeois commentators to explain the so-called brainwashing of Ameri-

can prisoners in the Korean war or to set up a program to obviate it. The number of times they have returned to this nagging problem is an index of their perplexity.

We now learn for the first time the extent of the debacle.

In a long interview published in U. S. News and World Report for February 24, Major William E. Mayer, on army psychiatrist detailed to study the problem, states that fully "one-third of all the Americans said they became something they called 'progressives.' By the Communists' own definition, this meant that a man was either a Communist sympathizer or a colloborator—or both—during his stay in a prison camp."

It is difficult not to agree with Mayer that "the fact that so many yielded to the extent they did presents a problem of fantastic proportions and should cause searching self-examination by all Americans, both in and out of uniform."

Think of it! Granting the demoralizing effect of prison life, one-third of American PWs, beneficiaries of the highest standard of living the world has ever known, collapsed in the competition of ideas with a people only emerging from a poverty-stricken, colonial, and semifeudal immediate past!

It is equally hard to disagree with Mayer's conclusion that "brainwashing is an extremely effective weapon which, if it finally succeeds, will render mechanical weapons, if not obsolete, at least needless, since we are engaged in a war basically of ideas."

Take a last, long, lingering look at that statement. It is a last oasis of common sense before we are sent wandering through an interpretive desert strewn with the bleaching bones of psychological banality, methodological sloppiness, theoretical discontinuity, and an absence of statistical data.

Though the major does not understand "this enemy and the systems that the Communists employ," it is, of course, too much to hope that he will in all decency pick up his notes at this juncture

Chiang Kai-shek came out of the same human pool as the rank-and-file Stalinists. What won them over to Stalinism was a social program which responded to their grinding needs. The program of Chiang Kai-shek consisted solely of the preservation of the status quo, a condition which had become intolerable for the Chinese people.

the Chinese people. Chiang Kai-shek's inability to propagandize was not a matter of technique, it was immanent in his politics. The same was true in Korea.

Torture was not employed. Mayer states: "this third that I am talking about were not subjected to physical torture, according to their own statements."

EDUCATIONAL APPROACH

Basically, brainwashing was an educational process:

"these Americans' faith in their own country and its principles" was shaken "not so much by interrogations but by the formal education program in which everyone participated to a certain extent. This was done not by Chinese ranting and raving about the evils of America; they don't attack directly in this way, just as they don't attack religion directly. They merely purport to show you the side of it that you don't know...."

"They began gently, capitalizing upon a sure-fire theme: the unpopularity of the Korean war. This was a subject dear to the heart of many a soldier.

to the heart of many a soldier. "They showed, by using capitalist, rather than the Communist press—that is, by such publications as the Wall Street Journal, Time, Fortune, any magazine that had an extensive business section, like yours [U. S. News and World Report] —by using such material they showed first that business was good in the United States and was improving in many areas during the Korean war.

"Using this as a point of departure, it was not difficult to introduce the idea then that those people who profited most in business and industry were, if not active warmongers, at least favorably disposed toward war."

APPEAL TO IDEALISM

The cumulative experience of talking at length with over 200 ex-PWs, analyzing nearly a thousand interviews, and studying the problem of brainwashing over a period of four years has apparently left the good doctor a little shaken up himself. Evidently a degree in medicine. graduate work in psychiatry, and an estimated two linear feet of service ribbons are not enough. All he can counterpose to this Stalinist presentation is the observation-shakily, defensively, and querulously advanced-that "they left out, of course, such details as the fact that-----is it Dupont that makes a profit of exactly one dollar when building a multi-million dollar atomic-energy plant? and simply pointed out in a highly personal way that huge dynasties have been founded in America, naming families such as the Rockefellers, the DuPonts, the Fords, and pointing to these peoples and others like them as being responsible for the war.' How else did the Chinese Stalinists go about presenting their case? "By emphasizing such things as company police, such things as sweatshop conditions, which they allege exist in the garment-worker's trade, by emphasizing segregation, by emphasizing the evils surrounding the lives of helpless migratory laborers. These are things about which the average soldier knows very little, if anything." Mayer does not, as indeed he cannot, submit any sort of positive denial of those facts.

disturb him, what soldiers call 'Dear John' letters, anouncing that a new sweetheart has been found; such things as notices from collection companies, complaints from wives who were having difficulty getting along on their small allotments, anything of this sort which might conceivably disturb the individual was delivered to him promptly." That is to say, by undergoing all the effluvia of a war unrelieved by any deeply-felt purpose.

Far from appealing to the worst elements in youth, any person not corrupted by the going ideology would have to say that the Stalinist propaganda appealed to their best side: to their hatred of death and war, depersonalization, injustice and exploitation, to their bad conscience over racial discrimination, to their sense of outrage at being manipulated; to their democratic sensibilities, their compassion, and their idealism.

"WE MUST BELIEVE . . ."

In an insane society these are basically healthy responses. But not for Mayer, of course. He wants to adjust the mind to the insane norm. How does he propose to attack the problem posed by the Stalinist propaganda?

He proposes that there be "increased attention in military education and in education in general toward a clear understanding of what this democracy is, how it operates, what its achievements are, where people within it have failed. In other words, a completely realistic, honest presentation of our own system and an equally honest presentation of the Communist system. . . If you have the facts about both, you are going to choose ours. We must believe this."

Desperation lurks in that "We must believe this," as if Mayer felt himself confronted by inexplicable, demonic forces, against which rational explanation is inferior magic.

And, indeed, if material taken from Time magazine proved so subversive, what would "a completely realistic, honest presentation of our system" not do? What would be the effect of an analysis limited to the corrupt Syngman Rhee regime alone? Nothing short of catastrophic, we guarantee.

And where are the Heroes of Capitalist Labor to come from who are to do this educational pioneering? From Outer Space, we suspect, like Major Mayer. Certainly not from that real world whose school systems are characterized by collective avoidance of real problems.

Very important, also, for Mayer is character development—"things like personal honesty, personal loyalty, a belief in higher values" than one's immediate welfare or one's immediate gain. "Some prisoners," says Mayer, "talked about a 'dog-eat-dog' attitude, and 'every man for himself' kind of behavior,"

to defend the

If there is a lack of conviction on the part of the general public concerning the armed services, Mayer reveals to us, it is not founded on objective fact. "There is a kind of legend among us that once in the military service you are pretty much at other people's mercy, and if you're an enlisted man you are really at a disadvantage. And I think many parents, based partly on these things at least, are actually terrified, or at least overly concerned, that there son's military experience may damage him or that he will be abused in some way."

The soldier is singularly insensitive, too: "it should be recognized that military service is no sacrifice but a tremendous opportunity for the average man to grow in himself, to learn fundamental values which he can use in any business, in any profession, in his marriage, or in anything else that he attempts to do."

.Is this a sample of the new realism upon which a higher moral character is to be based? The official World War II approach was more honest. The military life was conceded to be a miserable one. The object was to get the whole mess over with as soon as possible. Of the crucial problem of leadership,

Of the crucial problem of leadership, so near and dear to the heart of the officer caste, Mayer has almost nothing to say except (noblesse oblige!) to blame its collapse upon the enlisted man.

Here was Mayer's ideal group—better educated, better trained to look after others, and with enlisted men indoctrinated to look to them for leadership—and totally without influence when the chips were down. Why? You'll never learn from Mayer. You'll never learn how officers' behaved as a group in comparison with enlisted men. Nor will you, obviously, hear a whisper from this fearless realist of the more than ambiguous conduct of General Dean, for example, when he was a PW.

Nor, equally obviously, will you hear even an aside concerning the ferocious sentences meted out to the enlisted-men collaborators after the war—and the understanding treatment given the officer collaborators. Mayer is so limited by the prepossessions of bourgeois society and its officer caste that his attempts to minister to its crying needs end in futility.

•

HEART OF AN ARMY

We live in a world of overt, conflicting political and social ideologies. In extreme situations what makes an army cohere is not simply a matter of organization, military technique, or technology but the political and social convictions (with their psychological derivatives) of its human beings.

If the post-war revolt of the colonial peoples has demonstrated nothing else it has demonstrated this. The demoralization of the French army in Algeria is as certain as was the demoralization of American PWs in Korea. And in both cases the reason for the collapse is not to be found in psychological phenomena considered abstractly but in psychological phenomena viewed as the product of social forces.

But all this is negative. The problem is not simply to defend the American way of life. This would represent only a holding operation. Mayer for whom the unassimilated cliché substitutes for a dialectical view of life, is surely aware of a basic military one: defense doesn't win the war.

The problem is not to be able simply to defend the American way of life before Chinese Stalinists but precisely to be able to articulate a program corresponding to the aspirations of the Chinese people in terms of their own problems. That these are fundamentally economic and political in origin and are not to be resolved by military force or by a self-righteous and basically irrelevant citation of the United States example is apparent to more sophisticated analysts, as the recent series of articles on the Far East by the New York Times demonstrates. But the possession of such a program is of no real importance in any case. For the Mayer who begins the interview by stating that "we are engaged in a war basically of ideas" believes that "we don't want American prisoners to argue with their captors, because this is a form of communication with the enemy." Children, he obviously believes, should be seen and not heard. Paul Valéry once observed that politics is the art of excluding people from what most fundamentally concerns them. For our immediate purpose it is a good enough definition of the practice of bourgeois politics. By this definition Mayer emerges as some sort of political artistprimitive, unconscious, dedicated, and futile.

and retire to a quiet rural practice. He explains. At length.

TECHNIQUE OR POLITICS?

He begins with the Standard Military Opening Gambit (SMOG) a common feature of discussions engaged in by the military, especially when new and crucial phenomena are in question. It consists of an unruffled denial that there is anything new in a situation which has obviously caught them flatfooted:

"As long as we understand precisely that by brainwashing we are simply using a coined word to apply to an indoctrination and education process, I can say that every prisoner-holding power in every major war has engaged in this kind of activity." But why, then, were the Stalinists so successful? "The Communists simply went about it more intensively, more systematically."

But this is precisely where the question begins. Are the Stalinists more energetic or more systematic organizers than the ndtoriously thorough and hard working Germans, for example, whose success with American troops in World War II was nil? Or the Americans—whose collapse in Korean PW camps is exactly what is under examination?

No, the difference is one kind, not of degree. Rank-and-file supporters of

They also went about it "by selecting his mail, for example, so as to allow him to see only letters which might upset or But this competition of each against all, this exaltation of material values this is the well-known capitalist ethic, isn't it, the spirit of Free Enterprise? Mayer is asking for nothing more or less than the extirpation of the dominant morality of our capitalist culture.

MORAL STANDARDS

There are groups in this country who have broken more or less radically with this tradition. Among them are the trade-union movement, the NAACP, radical political parties, pacifist organizations, the artistic intelligentsia, and fundamentalist religious sects, for example. But these are the groups whose members are stigmatized as troublemakers, radicals, idealists, non-conformists, long-hairs, crackpots, and fanatics. We are sure that Mayer has nothing but a negative interest in them.

But it doesn't matter anyway. To the question, "Would the individual with the higher moral standards be more likely to resist?" Mayer replies, "Not necessarily the higher. We have often seen in this country people who evidently are very sincere, with a very high moral and ethical sense, who can be sold on the Communist approach on this very basis."

Fortunately for Mayer's sanity there is a middle ground: hypocrisy.

But trying.

May 7, 1956

Page Seven

May Day Greetings to Labor Action and the Challenge

Solidarity Forever with the Negro People's Fight for Democracy

Independent Socialist League of New York



We salute the magnificent courage of the Montgomery bus boycotters . . . DETROIT ISL

THE FUTURE BELONGS TO THE YOUTH

Chicago Young Socialist League

MAY DAY GREETINGS

For the Third Camp, For a World of Socialist Democracy

Chicago Branch of the ISL

Greetings to Labor Action on Its 16th Birthday

READING ISL

MAY DAY GREETINGS

"... If our generation happens to be too weak to establish socialism over the earth, we will hand the spotless banner down to our children. The struggle which is in the offing transcends by far the importance of individuals, factions and parties. It is the struggle for the future of all mankind. It will be severe, it will be lengthy. Whoever seeks physical comfort and spiritual calm, let him step aside. In times of reaction it is more convenient to lean on the bureaucracy than on the truth. But all those for whom the word *socialism* is not a hollow sound but the content of their moral life—forward! Neither threats nor persecutions nor violations can stop us! Be it even over our bleaching bones, the truth will triumph! We will blaze a trail for it. It will conquer! Under all the severe blows of fate, I shall be happy as in the best days of my youth! Because, my friends, the highest human happiness is not the exploitation of the present but the preparation of the future...."

-From "I Stake My Life" by LEON TROTSKY

NEW YORK YOUNG SOCIALIST LEAGUE

In Memory of Martin Abern

Monopoly capitalism endeavors to uproot the world for investment and expansion, convulsing the world with blood in its need to expand in order to live; and breeding state capitalism, which is at one and the same time the fullest and final expression of capitalism's economic-political development and its death agony.

But state capitalism offers to the workers only a continuation, in even worse form and content of exploitation, misery and destruction. Dread of the masses—the fear and knowledge that the latter are seeking a permament and better solution to the dilemma, are uppermost in the minds of the bourgeoisie.

Today the vanguard of the bourgeoisie looks to state capitalism to preserve the capitalist order—while the vanguard of the proletariat looks to socialism. Only socialism, which rests its base on the highest techniques of production, and is unhindered by the profit motive, would permit the free development of the means of production and distribution with the object of use.

-from Tomorrow in America by Martin Abern, New International, August 1942

FOR SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY PHILADELPHIA ISL

May Day Greetings

May Day Greetings to All Fighters for Socialist Freedom

YOUNG SOCIALIST LEAGUE National Action Committee

100



1 85°C - 3

May 7, 1956

ADA and the Negro Fight

(Continued from page 1)

seriously proposed that ADA hold allegiance to the Republican Party.)

Rooted in the New Deal philosophy, ADA has tenaciously stuck to it, regardless of the fact that the Eisenhower administration adopted much of its program in moderated form. During the first years of its growth, ADA represented a challenge to the complacency of the Democratic Party by bluntly criticizing its illiberal aspects.

With the passage of time, however, ADA has been torn between its liberal ideals and a rising pressure for respectability which is demanded in the name of "effectiveness."

NEED TO REORIENT

· Under the direct pressure of some of its office-holding leaders as well as of the cold war, it has given up democratic positions on vital points such as the right of Stalinists to teach.

Though it condemned the Communist Control Act of 1954, it refused to include in its condemnation the act's author, Hubert Humphrey. Though it opposed military aid to Franco, one of its vice-chairmen, F. D. Roose-velt Jr., voted for such aid in the House. At its last convention, ADA refused to condemn the American government's blatant imperialism in overthrowing the democratically elected regime in Guatemala.

Though ADA has always stood for the concept of a Point Four-type struggle against Stalinist expansionism, it has increasingly been stampeded into conformity with the official cold-war view that Stalinism is merely a conspiracy at home and a military imperialism abroad, and aawy rfom the recognition that over and beyond these it is a political movement of historic scope, albeit a reaction-

fighting for the implementation of the Supreme Court decision on desegregation in the schools, or are you with the White Citizens Councils who spearhead the fight against it?

Are you with the Negroes who are taking their political rights in one hand and their lives in the other and marching to the polling booths in the South. or are vob with those who encourage or protect the gunmen and night-dynamiters who seek to terrorize them?

Walter Reuther has said to the leadership of the Democratic Party: "You cannot have Mr. Eastland and have us at the same time. No party that joins such incompatible forces is worthy of the support of the American people."

Where will ADA stand with regard to this statement? That is the crucial issue which faces this convention.

During the opening days of this Congress, Senator Lehman attempted to introduce a resolution limiting debate in the Senate in order to force through civil-rights legislation. He was dissuaded by Senators Morse and Humphrey on the grounds that this would divide the Democratic Party. But the struggle of hundreds and thousands of Negroes in the South has made it exceptionally difficult for any political movement in this country to shunt aside the issue of their rights in the interests of unity.

TEST QUESTIONS

For a movement which must either distinguish itself because of its liberalism or cease to have any reason for continued existence, a firm stand on this question is mandatory.

That ADA will itself adopt a platform which backs the Supreme Court decision fully and comes out four-square for civil rights goes without saying. The question which this convention faces, however, is not primarily one of adopting good planks for ADA.

What this convention wil have to decide is what will ADA do about its platform not just in general, but specifically at the convention of the Democratic

ISL

Party, and in the presidential campaign which follows it.

Will the ADA put up a fight for a stiff plank in the Democratic Party platform endorsing the Supreme Court school and bus desegregation decisions and pledging the next Democratic administration to enforce the law of the land, North and South?

Will the ADA delegates at that convention seek a resolution condemning all signers of the Southern Manifesto, including Lister Hill and John Sparkman, and declaring support of the Manifesto as incompatible with membership in the party?

Will ADA join Walter Reuther in declaring that no party can include within itself Senator Eastland and ADA? Will this convention of ADA announce that its attitude toward the Democratic Party and its candidates in the coming election will be determined by the way in which the party passes the test of these minimum requirements from a liberal point of view?

NO MIDDLE GROUND

These are the minimum necessities with which a faltering liberalism can start to stand erect again. ADA cannot hope to speak for minority rights, for labor, for any large section of the population, if it continues to ignore the hypoerisy of supporting a party whose congressional leadership is dominated by signers of the Southern Manifesto.

Although many other issues will confront the delegates at this ADA convention, and these will be important ones, we have concentrated here on the civilrights issue because it is the issue above all others on which everyone will have to stand up and be counted in 1956.

Stevenson thought he could ignore it, or brush it aside, or treat it with vague and not-so-glittering generalities, but he found that this year the Negro people and all who really believe in democracy will not be denied. His experience will be shared by all who seek a "middle ground" on this crucial issue of human rights.



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

ary one. Now that this is once again re- emphasized by the new tack in foreign policy adopted by the Russian Stalinist leadership, the ADA is faced with the necessity of reorienting its thinking.	The Goal Is Un By Albert GATES Fund Drive Director	cent mark, so that quite a number of areas are within striking distance of a	Get Acquainted! Independent Socialist League
WHICH SIDE?	In the closing days of the drive, we are still a bit of a distance from com-	successful 1956 drive. We are looking forward to the next days for the final	114 West 14 Street New York 11, N. Y.
ADA's drift toward a position in which, in deference to its office-holding spokes- men, it tends to adapt itself to the con- servative mood of the day now comes up against the crucial issue of this election year: the struggle of the Southern Ne-	are still a bit of a distance from com- pleting the quota, even though several cities have advised that they are making last-minute efforts to fulfill theirs. As, of this writing, the total contri- butions add up to \$7644, which leaves a little over 23 per cent yet to go before we	results in our campaign. FUND DRIVE BOX SCORE City Quota Paid % \$10,000. \$7644.20 76.4	 I want more information about the ideas of Independent Social- ism and the ISL. I want to join the ISL.
groes for full civil rights. Every political organization, move- ment and tendency is going to have to face one crucial test above all others this year: where do you stand on the ques-	can say we have done it once more. Our past experience has been that for a couple of weeks after the official closing date, moneys continue to come in and	St. Louis 25 60 240 Cleveland 150 150 100 Oregon 50 50 100 Reading 50 50 100 Detroit 350 320.75 91.6	NAME (please print)
tion of civil rights? Are you with the Negroes who are	those sums would put us over the top. We are assuming this will happen again, but we feel it is necessary to urge all our friends that it will take a little doing and	Chicago 2,000 1825 91.2 Natl. Office 1,250 1068 85.4 Los Angeles 650 526.45 80.9 Bay Area 400 300 75	
THE SAN FRANCISCO	will need the efforts of everyone. Chicago and New York kept us in the running this past week with \$233 and	Newark 400 295 73.7 New York 3,800 2798 73.6 Streator 18 72	CITY
BAY AREA BRANCH	\$205 respectively. It lifted Chicago to 91.2 per cent of its quota—a considerable	Buffalo	ZONE STATE
OF THE ISL	achievement by our friends. New York, on the other hand, although sending in	Pittsburgh 200 68 34 Seattle 150 20 13.3	
SALUTES	the largest sum in the drive, is still only at the three-quarter mark.	Indiana 100 0 0 Akron 25 0 0	HANDY WAY TO SUBSCRIBE
THE STAFF	This week saw Cleveland go over the top to reach 100 per cent. Right behind Cleveland came Detroit, which was far	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	LABOR ACTION
of Labor Action	down in the standing until the last two weeks. As you can see from the box score, Detroit will soon complete its quota too.	May Day Greetings	Independent Socialist Weekly 114 West 14 Street New York 11, New York
Labor Action	Only four areas are below the 50 per	Greenings	Please enter my subscription:
WELL DONE, COMRADES!	INDEPENDENT	LOS ANGELES ISL	□ 1 year at \$2. □ New □ 6 months at \$1. □ Renewal □ Payment enclosed. □ Bill me.
MAY DAY GREETINGS. Forward,	GREETINGS	GREETINGS	NAME (please print)
Spanish Comrades,	ON LABOR'S	from the	ADDRESS
Against Franco's Dollar-Supported	DAY OF	EDITORS	
Tyranny!	STRUGGLE	of	CITY
BERKELEY YSL	NEWARK ISL	LABOR ACTION	ZONE STATE

FUND DRIVE