

LABOR ACTION

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FIVE CENTS

SPOT-LIGHT

Shooting-Crisis over Quemoy Is Adventurism on Both Sides

By GORDON HASKELL

The peoples of the world have hardly finished the sigh of relief with which they welcomed the truce in Indochina, when they are confronted by another situation with explosive possibilities in Formosa. The banquet speeches about "peaceful co-existence" between the systems of Stalinism and capitalism on a world scale are drowned out by the threats of war over Formosa, and the firing of artillery over Quemoy island.

And Americans, even more than the peoples of other nations, must once more think through the cold war policy of their government as it applies to another distant part of the globe.

Immediately, the problem presents itself like this: if the Chinese Stalinist government should seek to conquer Quemoy and then Formosa, should the United States try to prevent such conquest with arms? Is there anything of a political nature the United States could do to lessen the likelihood of Stalinist conquest of Formosa or have the issues there reduced themselves to a stark issue of military force?

Of course, Formosa is not merely a territory with a native population which is being fought over by the rival Stalinist and capitalist imperialisms. It is also the symbol and the seat of what remains of the power of Chiang Kai-shek, who in turn is the symbol of the determination of a section of the world capitalist class to re-establish its rule over



CHIANG: FUTILE



MAO TSE-TUNG

China, as well as a puppet of the United States.

OPPRESSOR IN FORMOSA

It is hard to imagine any possible situation in which the utter futility and the reactionary character of the cold war could be more clearly illustrated than in a possible war between China and the United States over the retention of Chiang's rule over Formosa. To be given any meaning whatever, such a war would have to be transformed into an attempt to overthrow the Stalinist regime in China by force of arms, and to restore the government there to Chiang Kai-shek. This is exactly what American leaders like Admiral Radford and Senator Knowland seem to have in mind. All the less reason why any thinking American in the labor or liberal movements should be taken in by the pretext that what is involved is the independence or freedom of the island of Formosa.

Why is this the purest example of reactionary futility which can be imagined? Because Formosa is now conquered and ruled by a foreign, reactionary, totalitarian government headed by Chiang Kai-shek. The six million natives of the island are held in complete subjugation by an administration set over them by people who came from the mainland. Not only have they not been consulted on what role they want to play in the unfolding drama, but when they sought to establish their right to play a free, independent role in 1947 by rising up against the corrupt Chiang administration, their demand for an end to governmental abuses and for local autonomy was crushed with a massacre of 20,000 people.

Although Chiang was able to win a victory over the Formosan people, to defeat the Stalinists in his own country was an altogether different matter. Ever since he was driven off the mainland, it has been clear that his only hope to re-establish his rule, and that of the corrupt capitalist class he represents, was to get the United States to defeat the Stalinists for him in World War III.

In the past few years Chiang's hopes were raised to the heights by the wars in Korea and Indochina. If either of them had exploded into the war in Asia, his chances to play an important role would have been enhanced tremendously. The stalemate and truce in Korea, and the

(Turn to last page)

Permanent Revolution

We have two interesting cases before us of liberals writing about how to make a revolution.

The first is by a columnist whom LA quotes now and then with pleasure. But everybody knows one can't be good all the time. In his September 7 column in the N. Y. Post, Murray Kempton unleashes his prose in the not unfamiliar task of paying a tribute to Walter Reuther. The occasion is Reuther's Labor Day speech in Detroit. The columnist's mind and rhetoric rove back to the '30s and the latter produces the following: "They have made a revolution in those 20 years. . . ."

"Walter Reuther could not resist reminding them of the great depression and the new recession but he himself stood as an argument that things were unlikely ever to be what they had been in those terrible days.

"He stood for the peaceful, undreamed-of revolution that has changed the face of America and is proof against economic or political reversal."

Now, Kempton is obviously being unfair to himself in attempting such a poor imitation of his journalistic neighbor Sylvia Porter, the girl-gusher economist who announces revolutions in the Post every time a new statistic appears. But we didn't quote this for a polemic.

(Continued on page 2)

Washington's Government in Guatemala Intensifies Union-Smashing Tyranny

By BERNARD CRAMER

The democratic trade-union movement in Guatemala is fighting for its life.

The military dictator whom Washington helped to put into power is exceeding expectation in the tempo of his return to the old days of brutal despotism and anti-labor terror.

For a second time the CIO has delivered a blast at the repression under way by the Castillo-Armas regime. (For the first, see LA for Aug. 30.) Conditions are going back to what they were under the dictator Ubico, who was ousted by the 1944 revolution.

The CIO News reported September 6 that "A wave of repressive measures against trade unions under the new Castillo Armas regime in Guatemala has driven two legitimate groups of unionists into a fighting, unified labor organization," according to Benedict of the CIO's international affairs office, just returned from a second trip to the country.

"In addition, many employers have taken advantage of unsettled conditions by firing and in some cases jailing employees who were active non-Communist members, he said. . . .

"Among the unions whose legal existence was abolished are the railroad workers. Most of its members are employed by the International Railways of Central America, of which the U. S.-controlled

United Fruit Company is the main stockholder. The railroad in addition has discharged some 170 non-Communist but pro-union employees, Benedict said."

Two reactionary groups are struggling in the regime for power:

"It is reported," says the CIO representative, "that a struggle is going on between the old Ubico crowd, who believe in a political dictatorship accompanied by an economic regime of laissez faire where businessmen are pretty much free to do whatever they want, and a group centered around Col. Monzon, which is working toward a complete reactionary military dictatorship.

"Various political and business figures are making proposals that all labor rights be suspended for periods varying from 6 months to two years, with the obvious hope that the suspension would never be lifted."

The report adds: "The land reform the new government promised to maintain is being wiped out. . . . Many Indians who had been granted small farms, either individually or through cooperatives, have been driven from their land by the government or by former owners."

HEADSHRINKERS BACK

A recent issue of Time magazine shed a ray of light on the nature of Castillo

Armas' appointments. José Linares, his choice for command of the secret police, has shocked even his own supporters.

"When Linares last ran the secret police under the late dictator Jorge Ubico," says Time, "his men submerged political enemies in electric-shock baths and perfected a head-shrinking steel skull cap to pry loose secrets and crush improper political thoughts."

Time concludes: "Whatever else Linares' appointment meant, it suggested that Castillo Armas' latest command decision was not to toy with the enemy forces but to erase them."

Less well known is the fact that the U. S.-installed regime is driving out Spanish Republican refugees residing in the country—men and women who fled from the Franco terror. The regime has declared them "undesirable." The recent congress of the French Socialist Party passed a special resolution on this crime calling on the Socialist International to protest.

When U. S. Ambassador Puerifoy worked to put this head-shrinking dictator into power, he (as well as the U. S. press) was brimming over with mealy-mouthed talk about "maintaining progress" in Guatemala. Now that his dirty job has been done, Puerifoy is being taken out of the country for new assignment.

TO DEFEAT STRIKEBREAKING, AUTO WORKERS HELP UE STRUGGLE—

UAW Locals Mobilize Against Square-D

By BEN HALL

Detroit has become the scene of an experiment in strikebreaking. Nine locals of the UAW mobilized pickets at the Square D Company on Thursday, September 9 to aid the local strikers against scabs, police and injunctions.

Twelve hundred workers at the plant went on strike on June 15. They were, and remain, members of the United Electrical Workers Union, expelled from the CIO on charges of Stalinist domination.

But UAW locals took up their cause despite their UE connections because of the drastic implications of recent developments to the whole labor movement of the city.

(1) On September 3, the company announced the beginning of a back-to-work movement; began to hire scabs; advertised openly in Detroit papers for new "permanent" employees. They relied on the lure of a job to turn hungry unemployed into scabs.

(2) Simultaneously, to bolster this move, the company also appealed to the courts for an injunction. The Circuit Court obligingly issued a temporary injunction limiting pickets to five at each

gate, an order timed to coincide with the surge through the picket lines.

(3) Detroit police were mobilized in mass to offer full protection to strikebreakers. Ford Local 600 of the UAW headlined its strike story: "Detroit Police Act as Strikebreakers."

Square D's owners obviously counted on getting away with this all-out campaign, unknown in recent years in unionized Detroit, by highlighting its charges against the UE. Strikebreaking was to be camouflaged as Communist-hunting. But Pat Quinn, vice-president of UAW Dodge Local 3, and Carl Stellato, president of Local 600, said that they were offering support to Square D strikers, not to the UE, because the pattern of the strike resembled "strikebreaking company tactics of 1937 and use of police."

Seven hundred pickets massed at the gates to discourage scabs and supervisors from entering the shop. A delegation of 200 came from Dodge. Carl Stellato, who led more than 50 pickets from his local, said, "We'll get more help if we need it." Paul Silver, president of UAW Local 351, brought a group, and others came from UAW locals at Hudson, Budd,

Plymouth, De Soto, Chevrolet, Chevrolet Forge, and Detroit Steel.

The Detroit and Wayne County Tool and Die Council of the UAW announced, according to one UE official, that it would revoke the membership cards of anyone who crossed the picket lines.

Scabs entered the plant on Thursday through a heavy police cordon of 130 cops. As the pickets arrived, police officials called for reserves. And they went into action at 5 p.m. as the scabs left the plant. Three hundred pickets surged forward to reach the departing strikebreakers but police on foot and on horse charged and clubbed the pickets to clear a path.

The mass picketline defied a week-old injunction. But with powerful UAW backing for the pickets, it is hard for anyone to try to enforce it. Judge Frank B. Ferguson, who issued the injunction, seemed uncomfortable. When told of the day's events, he said that the violation of his order had not been officially called to his attention.

If these UAW locals succeed in smashing this strikebreaking effort, other attempts will be stifled.

LABOR'S SCOPE

LABOR STRUGGLES BUILDING UP RESENTMENTS

By BEN HALL

The squeeze is still on and there is no sign of any easing in the position of the unions. This is a period when labor's grievances slowly accumulate, awaiting the first favorable turn to explode in a wave of struggles and vociferous demands. Here are some items.

(1) Long-drawn-out negotiations between General Electric and the IUE-CIO finally ended when the union reluctantly accepted a 2.6 per cent wage raise.

But the agreement was no sign of a relaxation of tension. In voting to accept, the union charged that the company was "dominated by greed and arrogance" and was clearly intent on weakening or destroying our union.

In a radio broadcast on September 6, James Carey persisted in his attacks on GE.

"Today, corporations like General Electric are spending literally millions of their stockholders' money to build new plants in communities far removed from the industrial centers where their wealth was created. Why? Because they fondly trust that unions will not grow in these communities, that wage scales will re-

main substandard, and that profits will grow even greater."

(2) Rubber workers settled their 52-day strike at Goodyear for a 6 cent increase. But this settlement, like the settlement of the IUE with GE, highlighted the collapse of the CIO's demand for a guaranteed annual wage, at least for 1954.

By this time, three of the largest unions in the CIO have finished off their 1954 negotiations: steel, rubber, electrical. Not only have they failed to win the guaranteed wage, but they utterly failed even to press the demand with vigor. The UAW drive is to start in 1955 when its main contracts expire.

(3) But the UAW has its own troubles. Its Studebaker local retreated before a company demand for a wage-cut. Last week, it was reported that an agreement between the UAW and the Pressed Metals Company in Port Huron, Mich., provided for cuts in piecework rates, a 20 per cent pay-cut for foremen and supervisors, and a reduction in the office staff.

The United Automobile Worker reported widespread layoffs in August under the

headline: "Big Three Plan Tremendous Layoffs." The UAW paper pointed out that (a) Chrysler, which had gone down from 115,000 workers in May of last year to 53,000, was planning to shut down completely for 6 to 8 weeks in September. (b) General Motors planned shutdowns of two weeks in its Chevrolet, Fisher, and Pontiac divisions. (c) Ford's work force of 142,000 would be cut by 10 per cent.

Meanwhile the industry faces the revolutionary implications of automation, destined to turn out more production with fewer men at a time when auto production and sales are dipping catastrophically.

(4) In the Northwest, the lumber strike of 100,000 CIO and AFL workers which began on June 21 has been coming to an end piecemeal; with the unions accepting increases as low as 2½ cents an hour. The New Look in labor relations was in evidence. Lumber operators spent thousands to advertise for scabs, and in a few cases succeeded in stimulating back-to-work movements.

THREATEN DEMS

Everywhere it is the same story of rough times, hard-headed bosses. When the November elections roll around, labor will get its first opportunity to let loose its resentments. The unions are beginning already to beat the drums for the Democratic Party and will undoubtedly succeed in arousing their members for a mass march to the polls to return the Democrats to power in Congress. Meanwhile, the unions have troubles within the Democratic Party too.

In Texas, where right-wing Democrat Shivers defeated the labor-backed liberal, Yarborough, for the gubernatorial nomination, the CIO came under severe attack from the conservative wing of the party.

"The smear campaign by Shivers against PAC reached fantastic heights," reports the CIO. "Shivers leaflets depicted CIO-PAC as an insect running from under a rock, a blowsy blond, a gangster type, and the arm of a gorilla."

In New York, the state CIO convention rejected the choice of the Democratic Party machine for governor, Averell Harriman, and voted to endorse Franklin Delano Roosevelt Jr., urging him to put up a fight at the state convention of the party. Feeling ran so high that a motion to endorse Harriman as second choice was defeated.

At the convention, Michael Quill, president of the Transport Workers Union, assailed the wardheelers and threatened that the CIO, tiring of "taking crumbs off the table of a few political leaders, may have to decide to create a party of labor."

Right now, this is an empty threat. Everyone knows that the labor movement will go along with the Democratic Party. But it is a significant reminder that labor will not always remain a mere camp-follower of the Democrats.

SPOTLIGHT

Continued from page 1

We just want to point out that the same Kempton who sees the "revolution" as immune to all reversal, is also the columnist who announced last month that liberalism was all but dead in this country, killed by the cowardly liberals themselves. This was under the impress of the anti-Communist saturnalia in the Congress.

But as economic uncertainty and fear of unemployment covers Detroit like a pall, the writer of the liberals' obituary announces the Theory of the Irreversible Revolution.

Yet, if Kempton does not much mention the present economic climate of Detroit, he compensates by putting all the more stress on some other noteworthy events:

"[Reuther] spoke in Cadillac Square in Detroit before 60,000 people, with his friend the governor of Michigan sharing the platform with him. He had been on television Sunday with his friend Paul Hoffman, of Packard-Studebaker. . . . A year or so ago, the president of the Ford Motor Co. made a reference to 'my friend, I hope I can call him, Walter Reuther.' It was a libation to the awe and majesty of the United Auto Workers of America."

Awe, indeed. But whose?

Friend Paul Hoffman of Studebaker has put through a wage-cut on the auto workers. Ford's libations would be more intoxicating if the UAW's awe and majesty succeeding in wringing the guaranteed annual wage out of him. And our friend the governor of Michigan is far happier sharing a platform with Reuther than sharing government funds with the Detroit unemployed.

A case could even be made that these gentlemen's awe of the UAW was more sincerely expressed when the auto workers were sitting down in their plants. . . .

This case might even be made by Murray Kempton, if he were not standing in awe of the awe to which Ford offered his inexpensive libation.

Anonymous Revolution

Our second example, also a column in the N. Y. Post, is quite different. On September 12 Arthur Schlesinger Jr., chairman of ADA, discussed the social revolution he says is going on in Costa Rica, which he is visiting.

In this column Schlesinger performs an awe-inspiring trick.

It is, after all, a social revolution that he says he is reporting. He lauds President José Figueres. He lauds the "Figueristas." He quotes one of their leaders about "our party." He makes all kinds of references to their program, particularly their staunch "anti-Communism." But in a half-page of print, he never brings himself to say the dirty words—

—that this is a socialist government he is writing about.

Now we ourselves don't know too much about the socialism of the Costa Rica government—the Figueres regime seems like a rather timid social-democratic government—but our liberal columnist cannot sully his report with any reference to socialism, even "staunchly anti-Communist" social-democrats.

In its own small way, it is a remarkable token of the climate of the U.S.A. in 1954.

Life Is Bitter

"General Zahedi remarked bitterly that Iran had become so impoverished in the last three years that 'there is hardly anything for anyone to steal nowadays, but we trust that the situation will change for the better once the oil revenues begin flowing into our treasury around October 1.'"—N. Y. Times, Aug. 13.

AMERICAN DEMOCRACY AT WORK

During the Senate Debate on the Outlaw Bill

Mr. KEFAUVER. . . . The bill, as it is presently written, does not actually make the Communist Party illegal. Is that not correct?

Mr. BUTLER. In my opinion, the bill outlaws the Communist Party and makes it illegal. It strips the Communist Party of all its rights, privileges, and immunities under the Constitution of the United States and all the laws of the United States. . . .

Mr. KEFAUVER. I had understood that the Department of Justice was satisfied on the theory that the House bill even with the Butler amendments does not actually outlaw the Communist Party; and on the theory that the bill does not outlaw the Communist Party, the Department feels that it can still force registration under the Internal Security Act. But the legislative intent now being stated by the senator from Maryland might be to the effect that the bill outlaws and declares illegal the Communist Party. . . .

Mr. BUTLER. . . . The bill does not outlaw the Communist Party by making its activities criminal. It makes the Communist Party impossible. It destroys all of its rights, privileges and immunities, and strips it of all legal rights under the Constitution and the laws of the United States.

Mr. KEFAUVER. That is not what the senator said a few minutes ago.

Mr. BUTLER. That is precisely what the senator from Maryland said a few minutes ago.

Mr. KEFAUVER. The senator said a few minutes ago that it completely outlaws the Communist Party.

Mr. BUTLER. It does. The senator from Tennessee is equivocating with words. . . .

Mr. KEFAUVER. I do not want to vote for anything which will void the registration provision of the Internal Security Act. I want to give it an opportunity. So a person could be a member, and he would still have to register under the Internal Security Act?

Mr. BUTLER. That is true. . . .

Mr. KEFAUVER. By what legal conception could a person be a member of something which legally could not exist?

Mr. BUTLER. I did not hear the question.

Mr. KEFAUVER. How can one be a member of an organization which by law cannot exist?

Mr. BUTLER. I assure the senator I am not going to worry about it.

—U. S. Senate, Aug. 17, from Cong. Record, pages 14079-82.

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LONDON LETTER *German Rearmament Issue Is an Augury —* **TUC Vote Encourages Labor Party Left**

By DAVID ALEXANDER

LONDON, Sept. 9 — The resort city of Brighton is often associated in the minds of the people with activities risqué and slightly unrespectable, but during the Trade Union Congress this week in only one case could the delegates be considered as having kicked over the traces.

This highlight of the congress came yesterday, when the General Council of the TUC won a Pyrrhic victory on the issue of German rearmament. An emergency resolution introduced by the General Council, maintaining that the collapse of EDC did not require a departure from Labor's official policy on German rearmament, was carried by 4,077,000 votes to 3,622,000 on a card vote.

The narrowness of the majority (455,000) makes it very likely indeed that at the Labor Party's forthcoming conference at Scarborough, the whole official policy on German rearmament will be revised.

It is almost certain that in the Labor Party's "non-union" affiliations, the large majority is against both EDC and German rearmament, so that the Labor leadership, unless it can produce a lot of big guns from nowhere, will probably have to reverse its previous policy.

In the debate on the resolution, Ernest Jones, president of the National Union of Mineworkers, said that just as realists had demanded armaments against the Nazis in 1935 at Brighton, so they wanted rearmament against Russian imperialism in 1950. "The cause of peace is best strengthened by a realistic rather than a sentimental appraisal of the facts. This appraisal . . . indicates the necessity of West German contribution toward its and the West's defense, and the need also to demonstrate to German democracy and German trade unions the confidence in them of the British trade unions."

AGAINST REARMING

James Campbell of the National Union of Railwaymen stepped down from the platform to oppose the resolution:

"If you rearm West Germany now, when the East is already rearming, you will get a system of Dutch auctions, 100,000 soldiers in the West, 150,000 in the East, 200,000 in the West, and so on. . . . Hitler was able to develop mass hypnotism in Germany merely by reference to Versailles. Today German militarists can do it merely by referring to the division between East and West. From this hypnotism, border incidents can arise and, instead of the open door for negotiation, the door is slammed. Border incidents will provide the flash of the pistol that may well open the Third World War."

Renazification on the East

We carried an article last week on "The Renazification of [West] Germany under Adenauer." Below is a companion piece on renazification in Stalinist East Germany, as detailed by Hans Jaeger in Soviet Orbit (London, Aug. 20).

Dr. Otto John has said that he fled to the east because of the "renazification" of the Federal Republic. . . . But what about the east? The Communist regime and its Moscow masters use former Nazis and SS men as long as they are loyal to the Soviet Union. These have no compunction about this—provided they can continue the fight against the hated democracy of the west.

Let us name a few Nazis in the People's Police, the future East German Army:

General Vinzenz Müller, former Assistant to General Schleicher, faithful servant of Hitler until he was captured by the Russians. Now he is Deputy Minister of the Interior.

Luftwaffe Major-General Fritz v. Weech, former C.O. in Norway, is now Chief Inspector and Head of Supply in the People's Police.

Major-General Walter Freytag, former C.O. of Elbing and member of Su-

When the TUC's Annual Report (to the congress reported in the accompanying London Letter) was published, the Bevanite *Tribune* greeted it with a devastating question.

In all of the 250 pages written by the TUC General Council, "There is something missing," it said.

"Whatever has happened to the proposals for the extension of public ownership, to which the General Council was committed by the 1952 Margate Congress?"

Last year the congress got an "Interim Report," which "was a reasonable enough document in some respects," but was only an interim report after all. But now—

It is the second year since Margate, reminds the *Tribune*, "and still there are no proposals."

It would seem that the TUC bureaucracy hands in "leftish" reports only when it feels the force of rank-and-file militancy erupting behind it.

As for other events at the congress:

A Stalinist-inspired resolution calling for cooperation with the World Federation of Trade Unions was heavily defeated. The TUC did not want to be infiltrated by Communists, nor did it want to be used by undemocratic organs of dictatorship. Likewise, an invitation from Shvernik of the Russian TUC (which was broadcast before it was sent out) to send a delegation, and also to re-create the Anglo-Soviet Trade Union Committee was rejected. Deakin recalled how in previous negotiations the Russian trade-unionists had been continually adjourning discussions to consult their embassies.

Meanwhile the Socialist Outlook has been circulating a document signed by the editors of Socialist Outlook, Tribune, Labour's Voice, and New Statesman, protesting about the ban on the Outlook and asking for their support to rescind it at the forthcoming Labor Party conference at Scarborough.

About 1000 delegates representing eight million trade-unionists—from the London Jewish Bakers Union, with 86 members, to the Transport and General Workers, with a million and a quarter—heard Jack Tanner give the presidential address on Monday.

"PEACE" TALK

On foreign policy the main stress lay on "peaceful coexistence," he said: So far, Attlee and his delegation had not reported to the Labor Party on China and Russia, they could not say how much these countries were prepared to cooperate for peace.

"But peaceful coexistence will not come just by wishing for it. It will never come as long as there remain in positions of power and influence persons with the

preme Headquarters Staff, is since 1949 Chief Inspector and Head of the Officers' College in Kochstedt, near Dessau.

Major-General Hans Wulz, former Chief of Staff of the 54th Army Corps, is now Chief Inspector and Departmental Head of the People's Police.

Lt. Gen. Rudolf Bamler, former Commander of the 12th Infantry Division and Chief of Staff of the 21st Army, is now Chief Inspector and Head of the Gowlen Garrison, Mecklenburg.

We could name many more.

Some Nazis joined the Communist Party in the Soviet Union while they were p.o.w.'s, such as Heinrich Bechler, former Minister of the Interior of Brandenburg, who threw his wife into a concentration camp to get rid of her. He now serves in the People's Police, and so does Col. Leopold Markgraf, former President of the Berlin Police.

The State Security Service of Ernest Wollweber has dozens of former Gestapo and SS leaders in its ranks, such as SS Obergruppenführer August Müller; former counter espionage agents such as Major H. Rosentreter who has had a hand in influencing Dr. John. Wollweber, who wanted to get rid of these people inherited from his predecessor, Wilhelm

(Continued on page 4)

Notes on Britain

BLP on Top

It is now freely admitted that the British Labor Party would win the election if one were held now.

A London dispatch to the *Boston Globe* (Correspondent Ernie Hill, Sept. 8) states that "Churchill's Tories are experiencing another sag in popularity and would be demolished by the Socialists in an election at this time." It goes on to say:

"This generally recognized state of affairs is confirmed by a poll which shows the Conservatives weaker and the Laborites stronger than at any time in the last two years."

Estimated figures are 48.5 per cent for Labor and only 42.5 per cent for the Tories (the rest Liberal and others). The first reasons adduced are domestic:

"The Conservatives appeared to have a majority behind them last March when rationing was about to end. But prices have gone up rapidly. Removal of controls has backfired and produced widespread public discontent. Rents have been going up since controls were removed several weeks ago."

Approval of Laborite efforts at talks with Russia and China is also a force, the report says. This foreign-policy aspect is also headlined in a Sept. 14 dispatch to the *N. Y. Times*, "Labor's Prestige Rising in Britain."

Correspondent Drew Middleton admits that "political reports and public opinion polls indicate the [Labor] party has gained ground recently and that it would win an election today."

He ascribes the reason almost entirely to the Attlee group's trip to Russia and China, and the consequent feeling of voters that the Laborites are actually doing what Churchill has only talked about: try to arrange peace at the top.

As a matter of fact, the trend was already marked before the recent Attlee trip, though Middleton does not even mention domestic issues.

Scandal

It is with regret that it is necessary to report a disgraceful development around the *Socialist Outlook* case (previously reported in *LA*). This concerns the attitude taken up by the organ of the Independent Labor Party, *Socialist Leader*.

A little while ago, the Labor Party leadership voted a ban against the *Outlook*, on the ground of its rough criticism of the majority party policy and leadership. The *Outlook* was considered "Trotskyist" in its politics (in U. S. terms, "Cannonite"), and its own following is very limited, but in the face of the leadership's anti-democratic action an outcry arose from all left sections of the party. The Bevanites and their *Tribune* came out strongly against the "outrage." So did some other Labor papers. So did also the Bevanite-Stalinoid (but not CP) weekly, the *New Statesman*.

It remained for the ILP's paper, *Socialist Leader*, to come to the defense of the action by the Labor Party bureaucracy!

In a shocking editorial on Aug. 21, the ILP argued that "No political party worthy of the name can allow a dissident group of its members to publish papers, manifestos or proclamations directed against the authority of the party as expressed in its constitution, and against its general interests." It is quite clear from the editorial that what this means is: no public dissidence from the majority line. This principle, in England, would mean the outlawing of the Bevanite *Tribune* and other Labor papers and the dictatorial repression of the whole Bevanite movement.

The ILP editorial presents the monstrous argument that Labor Party members have "signed a membership form and thereby accepted the constitution and policies of the party" and that therefore they have no right to "bellyache about the leaders, the policies and the constitution of the party."

This outright Stalinist attitude seems to be the unthinking result of trying to prove all over again that it is useless to work within the Labor Party. The ILP is of course anxious to justify its own sterile and sectarian line of staying outside of the mainstream of Labor. That is its right. But when it is led to endorse bureaucratic suppressions of left-wingers in the Labor Party, surely its socialist integrity is at stake.

BOOKS and Ideas

Story of the Secret Press Created by

A Jewish Underground under Nazi Terror

THE SECRET PRESS OF THE JEWISH UNDERGROUND MOVEMENT (Di Geheime Drukerei fun Yidishn Untergrund), by Isaac Kowalski.—Grenich Printing Corp., New York.

Reviewed by AL FINDLEY

This is the story of the secret conspiratorial press of the Jewish underground movement in Vilna, the center of the Jewish population of Lithuania and White-Russia.

Isaac Kowalski, the author of this narrative, was the main organizer and worker in the illicit press organization, and as such he is in excellent position to give us a real picture of what took place.

With this as its important subject, the book is a welcome addition to the literature and history of the Jews during the barbaric reign of the Nazis over occupied Europe. But it is also a little more than that.

The story of the slaughter, cruelty and extermination by the Nazis is well known, though many tend to exclude the enormity of it from their consciousness. The story of the heroic resistance is not as well known.

The account given in this book proves again that not all of the period was one of martyrdom and suffering, but that the Jews, though caught in the toils of a mighty and cunning foe and swept along by the fast current of events, fought back wherever there were possibilities.

The month of September is an appropriate time to review this book. It was in September that the pitched battle with the German troops took place within the walled confines of the Vilna ghetto. September 23, 1943, marked the formal "liquidation" of the Vilna ghetto. This review is submitted not only in order to

Renazification — —

(Continued from page 3)

Zaisser, was ordered by Moscow to keep them on.

The foremost task of the National Front is to advocate the unification of Germany under "eastern leadership." It uses former officers like Col. H. Lehwell-Litzmann; former Nazi propagandists like Horst Andres (he was President of Goebbels' Reichs Film Chamber), and former Hitler Youth Leaders like H. Zander.

The National Democratic Party has been created to attract former officers and Nazi Party members. It is represented in the Government by Col. Luitpold Steidle, Minister of Health. In the provincial government dozens of men like him hold office, such as Colonel Simon, former member of the Mecklenburg Government; Generals W. Korfes, Arno von Lenski, H. Lattmann; Air Commodore Egbert von Frankenberg, and so on.

How does Dr. Otto John like their company? [Ed. note: The magazine *Soviet Orbit*, which printed the above riposte, is quite frenetically pro-"West" in its policy, and cheers Adenauer. Its final question to Dr. John is quite in order. But it does not like to talk about how it likes the company of the Adenauer Nazis, ex-Nazis and neo-Nazis on the "good" side.]

note a valuable book, but also to honor the memory of those who died consumed by the flame of race hatred which reached its peak in Hitlerism but which is present in many other places and which is continually being replenished by the convulsions of a dying social order.

When the Nazis occupied Vilna, they first closed down all newspapers. Nobody knew what was going on and fantastic rumors were rife. The Jews especially were in the dark since they were not only deprived of newspapers but also had their radios taken away.

Later, when the Nazis published their own official paper, it was of course only the "official" version of the news that saw print. The situation cried aloud for an organ to counter the official occupation press. The idea of an illegal press sprouted at this time.

The implementation of the plan was delayed. The first need was for food and shelter. The Nazis began driving all the Jews into ghettos. It was only after some stabilization—people finding rooms and food—that any organizing could begin. On January 4, 1942 the underground actually organized and set up the United Partisan Organization (Fe Pe O).

PRESS SAGA

The staff of the United Partisan Organization, on the motion of Kowalski, decided to organize a secret printing plant. The press was so secret that not all of the staff knew its location. That knowledge was restricted to a few only. For security reasons the shop was set up outside the walls of the ghetto in the name of a non-Jew, Jan Pswalski, a member of the Polish underground.

Among the first requisites for a newspaper are a printing press and some type; but the Nazis had confiscated all printing equipment and the elementary tools had to be obtained illegally and at great risk.

Kowalski was himself a printer, and he was acquainted with many non-Jewish printers who were employed by the Nazis. With the help of a Lithuanian plant superintendent, Kowalski obtained a job at the official Nazi newspaper. He recounts how he went to the superintendent outside the ghetto, this in itself being dangerous both to the visitor and the host because of its violation of the curfew law; this "minor" part of the story by itself will give the reader a real feeling of the innumerable obstacles which the big project faced. It happened, for example, in this case that the superintendent had "official" guests from the Nazi occupation bureaucracy.

The job at the Nazi newspaper was obtained on the superintendent's certification that Kowalski's skill was needed to get the paper out.

Type was spirited out of the plant in Kowalski's pockets and lunch baskets during lunch hour, and transferred to Jan outside the plant. It took three months to accumulate enough type to publish a small paper. Kowalski found an old rusty hand press that was not being used; he laboriously dismantled it and transferred it to a secret location. Any printer will readily appreciate the enormous difficulty of this performance alone.

LINKED STRUGGLE

With these primitive tools accumulated, the underground proceeded to issue the paper. It was not issued as a Jewish newspaper but as a general Polish paper: *Standar Wolnosci*, or *Freedom's Flag*. The paper stressed the atrocities of the Nazis against the Poles generally, and only incidentally the atrocities against Jews. This was done for two reasons: (1) security reasons to conceal the auspices of the paper, and (2) linking the struggle of the Jews with that of the general Polish population.

The line of the paper was that it was a Polish patriot's duty to aid the Jews in the common fight against the Nazis. According to Kowalski, the official émigré leadership of the Polish underground in London did not adopt such an elementary position of solidarity, but rather allowed the Nazis to "settle" the Polish "Jewish question." Their slogan was, "Let them die their natural death."

The effect of the paper was terrific. In the heart of Gestapo-controlled territory, an illegal opposition paper was being published which attacked Hitler and the Gestapo, and gave "unbiased" news. Such a development encouraged all opposition elements in the country.

Later the underground also published

proclamations in Lithuanian and German. A second, reserve plant was also set up in the same manner as the first. This second plant was a usual precaution of undergrounds to have a replacement to fall back on, in case the first plant was discovered.

Since Kowalski had to work almost all night to put out the illegal paper, it was difficult for him to work all day at the Nazi plant. With the aid of a few sympathetic foremen and workers, Kowalski was allowed to sleep a few hours behind rolls of paper and then do his work in the afternoon.

The underground press did more than print a paper and propaganda; it also manufactured forged identification cards and food cards and used the proceeds to finance the activities of the underground and buy arms.

DEFECTS

When the ghetto was liquidated in September 1943, Kowalski joined the partisans in the forest and there too was in charge of publishing a paper. The Russians dropped a press by parachute for the Partisans, but characteristically it was so bad it could not be used; the old hand press had to be pressed back into service.

Politically the book has serious defects. Kowalski—who is also a journalist, a member of the Revisionist-Zionist par-

ty, and presumably a political person—appears to be completely naive politically. He does not bother to identify politically the elements in either the general or Jewish underground nor give any indication of which political groups collaborated (and to what extent) with the Jewish partisans. To the author, anything pro-Jewish is automatically labeled "liberal"; otherwise, all *goyim* are just *goyim*. All non-Jews, with few exceptions, are anti-Semitic as far as he is concerned; this reflects his political affiliation. It is almost with surprise that he mentions that he received help from some non-Jews.

It is undoubtedly true that anti-Semitism was extremely rife among the Lithuanian population (including the workers), and many served in the special Nazi-organized shock troops. Yet Kowalski underestimates the amount of cooperation given him by almost all the workers in the plant—both overtly, and, even more, by "closing their eyes" to what was going on. In a printing plant it is inevitable that almost all would know what was going on. A word or a hint to the officials would have been sufficient.

However, despite these political defects, the positive features of the book give the reader the feeling of participating in the daily struggle against the fascist oppressors, and this is what makes it worthwhile reading. It shows what could be done.

Reviewing Hofstadter's 'The American Political Tradition'

By GERRY McDERMOTT

A major publishing event for the radical public is the appearance in a paperback 95-cent edition of *The American Political Tradition and the Men Who Made It* by Richard Hofstadter (Vintage Books).

There is a thin shelf of books on general American history of great interest to the labor and socialist public. Numbered among them would be Charles A. Beard's *Rise of American Civilization*, A. M. Simon's *Social Forces in American History* and his shorter *Class Struggles in American History*, Louis Adamic's *Dynamite*, and a few more. There are, of course, a larger number of more specialized works. But among the useful overviews, Hofstadter's is the most recent.

The American Political Tradition is in the form of a series of studies of leading American political figures typical of the various periods of American history—men like Thomas Jefferson, Wendell Phillips, William J. Bryan and Teddy Roosevelt. Just the chapter titles are enough to whet the appetite—and the appetite is not disappointed, since the titles are fair indications of the content.

A few are "Andrew Jackson and the Rise of Liberal Capitalism," "John C. Calhoun, the Marx of the Master Class," and Franklin D. Roosevelt—Patrician as Opportunist." A happy feature of these chapters is that they may be read by themselves without losing their value, so that the book need not be read at a sitting or even as a whole to have value.

Naturally, the series of sketches of personalities and ages which makes up the book is not a substitute for a continuous history of the country. They are, however, an illuminating and fascinating supplement for the reader who already has a basic knowledge of the American past, and a serviceable introduction for the novice.

BEARD'S DISCIPLE

Hofstadter himself is a worthy disciple of the giant of American historical literature, the late Charles A. Beard. Beard himself had both progressive and reactionary aspects and his disciples have seemed

to fall into one or the other of the categories.

Beard's reactionary aspect, developed largely in his later years, was marked by a cranky and negative isolationism not only with regard to world affairs but also in the field of economics, and is continued today by Harry Elmer Barnes and Charles C. Tansill. Beard's better side, a searching, honest and profound examination of social history, is exemplified by C. Vann Woodward, Wilfred C. Binkley, Oscar Handlin, Hofstadter, and a few more.

Hofstadter, therefore, is not an exponent of the great-man theory of history. Instead, he shows men as the product of their times, using the life of the individual as an introduction to the life of a period. At the same time, however, he does not neglect to show how the individual can in turn influence his times.

Nor does he ignore the human personality in the historic figure. In this respect, his delineation of Jackson is far superior to that of the younger Schlesinger, for example, and his portrait of F.D.R. is much better than far longer works.

The American Political Tradition presents an interesting example of history (that is, of life) as it is, with all its complexities and contradictions, rather than history in the crude and schematic form of so many propagandists including, alas, some self-styled Marxists. A "debunking" approach is almost as useless as its opposite, patriotic and adulatory history. To know, for example, that Lincoln was not a selfless and all-wise saint is hardly really worth while, and certainly would not justify the reading of history.

The value of history is, rather, that it shows us humans groping and grappling with real political, social, and economic problems, and that is how it should be read and studied by contemporaries groping with similar problems. Such a book Hofstadter has provided, and no one should be without it.

As a footnote, it should be added that the bibliographic essay at the end is not only a charming piece of literature but also a valuable guide to more specialized material.

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STUDENT LIBERALS MAINTAIN DEMOCRATIC POSITION AGAINST PRESSURE —

SDA Convention Reaffirms Stand on Civil Liberties

Climaxing five months of uncertainty over conflicts on Academic Freedom policy between Students for Democratic Action, and its adult affiliate, Americans for Democratic Action, the Seventh Annual Convention of SDA in Boston voted overwhelmingly to retain the core of its civil-liberties program.

In a 4-1 vote of 75 delegates, following a three-hour debate on the SDA student Bill of Rights, the largest student political organization on campus today reaffirmed a principled position on Academic Freedom.

"The sole test for employment, dismissal, and tenure of a teacher should be the test of academic competence. All determinations of the fitness of a teacher should be made by his faculty colleagues in accordance with the academic due process, two cardinal principles of which are that the individual must be considered on an individual basis and that the burden of proving incompetence must always rest with the accusers. Neither the social, economic, political, or religious affiliations of a teacher should be in themselves considered sufficient evidence of disqualification for work in the academic profession.

This policy differs with the past faculty rights section only to the extent of specifying the issue in clearer terms.

CLEAR TREND

The entire discussion on civil liberties, which involved a vote calling for the repeal of the Communist Control Act of 1954 as an abridgement of free political activities, made it obvious to any observer and many delegates that a more militant left-wing trend was represented at the convention such as had been sorely lacking in the past few years.

At one point a resolution, censuring Senators Humphrey and Morse, and the ADA leadership in general, for their initial roles in the Congressional stampede to outlaw the Communist Party, was defeated by a very close vote, so close that a recount had to be taken.

In the foreign-policy debate, lasting late into the night, the same trend was revealed as described

earlier on civil liberties. A more complete denunciation of colonialism and all its inherent evils was evident throughout the completed section on foreign policy. The preamble which was finally passed was a mixture of a pacifist, neutralist, and extreme liberal tendencies.

Criticism of the basis of American foreign policy, though hardly approaching a Third Camp position, was far greater than had ever been hoped for by those who fought for such a platform.

On the domestic scene, the SDA position opposing universal military training was reaffirmed by an overwhelming majority. The extension of suffrage to 18-year-olds was almost defeated in a very close vote for what would have been the first time in SDA's history.

Probably the most significant sign of reaching for some kind of

political maturity was the process initiated for elections to national office. All candidates not only had to present their experience in SDA and other political activities, but were subjected to questioning on their positions regarding recently passed basic policy. Such questions as willingness to compromise on Academic Freedom, agreement with the new foreign-policy program, and other controversial matters were repeatedly asked of the various candidates for National Board (the governing body of SDA during conventions).

A Foothold

It is difficult to say whether this new procedure actually brought about a National Board make-up possessing more militant liberal elements. However, there was no doubt that candidates could not hedge without considerable embarrassment on the important issues confronting students today. At any rate the past procedure of running for office on a popularity-poll basis only was revoked, and what was substituted gave SDA a real foothold toward advancing an intelligent student liberal movement.

Unfortunately, the encouraging signs shown at the SDA convention for a return to real liberal forces on the campus could not be said to truthfully represent the same proportion of feeling throughout the nation.

New York, New England, and some Mid-Atlantic delegates had overwhelming representation at the convention, and though this in itself was heartening, it should not give the readers of Challenge a misleading conception as to what really constitutes student reaction to McCarthyism, the witchhunt, and the professional liberals as represented by the ADA leadership. To the extent that the policies passed gave indications of left-wing tendencies in SDA which can revitalize the organization, the sense of delegates groping for a meaningful political line was extremely obvious.

It is apparent that, internally, SDA's educational program will have to be greatly increased for the benefit of its membership and peripheral elements in order to concretely build a militant liberal student movement today.

Readers Take the Floor

Discussion: STALINIST ECONOMY AND 'PROGRESS'

To the Editor:

In the August 30 issue of *Challenge*, an article by Michael Harrington deals with some examples of bureaucratic bungling in the Stalinist economy. Comrade Harrington's article is informative and interesting, but I must confess that I find some of his generalizations and conclusions rather puzzling.

That Stalinist bureaucratism has a warping and corrupting influence on the planning of the Stalinist economy is a fact long admitted by socialists. But does this admission compel us to conclude that any economic progress under Stalinism is "illusory, even an impossibility"? I cannot see that it does. It was not an illusion which took Europe's most backward nation, fresh from a civil war, brought it through a devastating world war, and in 30 years transformed it into one of the world's industrial powers. It would seem that socialists, instead of allowing cold-war hysteria to turn their just contempt of Stalinism into wild Stalinophobia, would be quick in pointing out that the innate superiority shows through even a badly misplanned economy.

One of the favorite theories of the Stalinophobes is that the economic advances of Stalinist nations are due, not to the advantages of a planned economy, but to totalitarian pressure upon the population. This is indulging in wishful thinking. Throughout history, regimes have abused the energy of the masses without achieving similar productive results.

No one denies the degeneration of the Soviet economy since the death of Lenin. But let us not be led into the absurdity of saying that anything which can be corrupted can't be progressive, and that anything which has undergone degeneration cannot possibly have any progressive features left. J. B.

COMMENT

My original article was an entire page and this reply is lengthier than the criti-

cism. This is so not in order to gain any "advantage" over J. B., but because of the importance of the subject. More space will be given to J. B., or any one who wants to contribute to the discussion.

J. B. asks whether our analysis of Stalinist bureaucratism compels us "to conclude that any economic progress under Stalinism is 'illusory, even an impossibility'?" The answer is, of course, that nothing compels us to such a conclusion. Economic progress (given a limited definition of the word, to be discussed later on) has obviously taken place under Stalinism. This the original article did not deny. What it did call "illusory" was the attitude that Stalinism is economically "progressive." The latter is a far more complex term than the statistical "economic progress," for it relates production to the entire social context.

But first an assumption of J. B.'s which points to the core of the problem: "It was not an illusion which took Europe's most backward nation . . . and in thirty years transformed it into one of the world's industrial powers."

Certainly not. *But what was it?* Was it the "innate superiority" of planning, even Stalinist misplanning, over a free economy, as J. B. holds? The fact that Russia has advanced industrially and the fact that it has a bureaucracy which hands down a master plan does not mean that the second is the cause of the first, that the economic advance is a result of the Gosplan. It is even possible that economic progress could take place in spite of the plan.

How then do we determine what was the cause of the economic advance? By attempting to gather as much empirical information as possible. And if one reads the various Harvard studies on the problem, or Solomon Schwarz, or exaggerations and all, Victor Kravchenko's *I Chose Freedom*, a fairly consistent image emerges: of a master-plan out of

touch with the realities of the situation, which "progresses" with the aid of black and gray markets in labor and materials, and where the manager is motivated by both fear and the desire for a bureaucrat's dacha. The reports in *Masses-Information* confirm this image once more.

Again, note that in attempting to determine what caused the economic advance, one cannot simply argue that it was the plan, on the grounds that the plan was there. One has to evaluate the available data, empirically.

But all of the sources quoted are Western. One could certainly point out that I have relied on prejudiced data. In this case, one need only cite the authority of Nikita S. Khrushchev on the state of Stalinist agriculture. Does the picture which he sketched last year, one which showed farming in some instances below *tsarist* levels, give any cause for confidence in Stalinist planning? Does it furnish evidence of any superiority, innate or otherwise, in such planning?

Russia has advanced economically. It has achieved this at a terrible price in human terms, e.g. slave labor, and all of the evidence seems to indicate that the process is not the consequence of the various master-plans.

But here is where we must mention still another point in J. B.'s letter which is even more important. The letter proceeds from the statement of the existence of economic progress to the evaluation of progressiveness.

Now economic "progress" can be a simple statistical term, an indication of quantity. In this sense of the word, if there are more steel plants in Russia now than five years ago, there has been "progress." But if we use the word in that meaning, we must carefully segregate it from the evaluative overtones of the term "progressive." When socialists use the word progressive, it is not simply a statistical statement which is intended, but an evaluation of how a social phenomenon relates to the working class and the struggle for socialism. The Nazi Air-
(Turn to last page)

The YSL's Aim

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

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

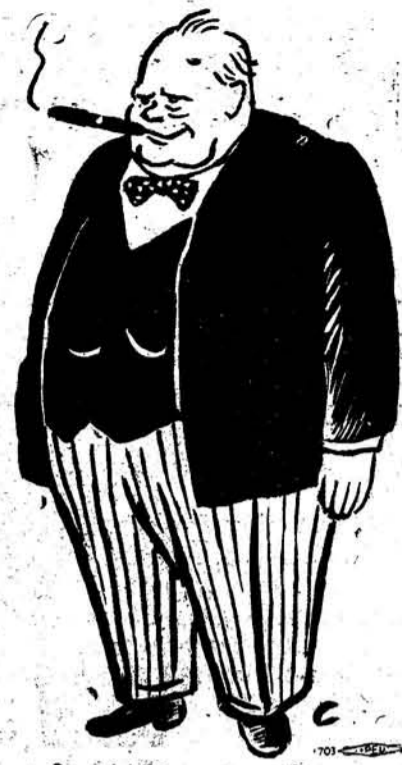
—From the Constitution of the YSL

THE DESPERATE SEARCH:



ADENAUER

Statesmen Scratch for Successor to EDC



By A. STEIN

The desperate Anglo-American search to find a substitute formula for EDC, permitting West German rearmament under conditions acceptable to the French, continues with no solution as yet in sight.

While Washington fumbles and hesitates, the British have seized the initiative and turned to their inevitable and only alternative within the over-all design of Anglo-American policy: to draw West Germany into NATO—the North Atlantic military alliance—where her remilitarization would take place under direct American and British supervision and control. The smaller members of the now defunct "Little Europe," the Benelux powers of Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg, have already given their consent to this proposal.

However, the British formula faces even greater objections from the French side than did EDC. The British scheme would create a national German army. Whatever restrictions there would be on the extent of West German rearmament would to a large degree be self-imposed.

The French National Assembly voted down EDC, even though on paper the European Army plan incorporated stringent measures of control prohibiting the revival of a German General Staff or the creation of an irpendent national army forbidding the manufacture of certain types of munitions and equipment, and subjecting Germany to the veto of the other members in the Council of Foreign Ministers. Certainly, this same French parliament will not approve of a plan which leads directly to the same results it feared would eventually develop out of EDC—the creation of an independent German army.

Inter-Imperialist Fears

Nor does the British scheme satisfy the chief French complaint: that without a greater English involvement in any continental military alliance, there can be no way of maintaining a balance against German domination or of enforcing control should she rebel against her partners in the alliance.

Under EDC, West Germany was assigned 12 active divisions and the same number of reserve divisions. The French planned to contribute five active and seven reserve divisions, although entitled to 14. At the present time, there are five American, four British and two French divisions in West Germany.

Unless the Americans, and above all the British, increase the size of their military contingents on the continent, the French fear the appearance of a West German army would give the latter the dominant and unrestrained power in any kind of coalition. And the new British plan envisages at least the same German contribution as under EDC.

Despite all French pleas, the British refused to join EDC just as they refused to become part of the Coal and Steel Community (Schuman Plan) on the grounds they would not and could not surrender any degree of "sovereignty" to a supra-national authority. (Although, the French complain, the English have urged them to do just this.) Under NATO, the British retain complete control over their land forces with the exception of the four army divisions now stationed in West Germany. And they have made clear they have no intention of increasing the size of their military contribution in Western Europe.

The refusal of the British to commit themselves still further in creating a common continental military organization, and the fear that an unpredictable American Congress might be tempted to withdraw American forces when a West German armed force came into being, helped aggravate French sensibilities to their present state of inflamed indignation.

Old Fox vs. John Bull

On the political side, the British plan suffers from what may in the end prove to be a fatal defect. The drive of the Conservative Churchill government to re-

arm West Germany does not have the unanimous support and backing of the British people. A resolution favoring West German remilitarization passed by only a very slight margin at the recent British Trade Union Congress. This raises the distinct possibility that the Labor Party Conference next month will reverse the official party position.

Should the Labor Party next month take an official stand in opposition to West German rearmament, the authority of the Churchill government would be badly shaken. For 1955 is the year when new national elections take place. A Labor Party victory then might mean a reversal of British foreign policy. This possibility has its political effects now in the discussion on West German rearmament.

As if to confirm the French fears of a revived and rampant German nationalism, Chancellor Adenauer, the "old fox" of European politics, has finally thrown off the mask of moderation, of the "good European." With the death of EDC, Adenauer launched into a savage attack on the French and raised demands for complete sovereignty, that is, the removal of all Allied control over the West German government, the unconditional right to rearm, and an equal voice in the Council of the Atlantic Alliance.

He has rejected the British proposal for a nine-power talk—that is, of the six EDC countries plus the United States, England and Canada—until Bonn first receives complete sovereignty. British Foreign Minister Eden's plan proposes to grant Bonn only the limited "sovereignty" contained in the Peace Contract.

Washington Is Torn

Adenauer has been compelled to advance these radical demands to save his declining political fortunes at home and to fend off the attacks both from the nationalist right and the Social-Democratic left. The crushing defeat suffered by Adenauer's Christian Democratic party in the local Schleswig-Holstein elections last week is the first concrete evidence of the blow dealt his prestige by the death of EDC.

However, Adenauer's new turn, compelled by his domestic political difficulties, can only excite French suspicions and fears still further. It gives the neutralist majority in the French National Assembly, and the Bevanite wing of the British Labor Party, another weapon in their struggle against any form of West German rearmament.

Washington is torn between two desires. On the one hand, the Eisenhower administration understands and sympathizes with Adenauer's plight and would like to strengthen his domestic position, as well as rearm West Germany as soon as possible. But the stumbling-block of French opposition remains and cannot be eliminated. To give Bonn more sovereignty than was provided for in the Peace Contract, or to go ahead with German rearmament without French approval, would threaten NATO and with it the entire strategy of the United States in Europe. And while EDC remained on paper and never came to life, the military structure represented by NATO represents a multi-billion dollar investment and is an existing reality.

The "defense" of Western Europe "in depth," as the Pentagon likes to phrase it, depends on French participation in the Atlantic Alliance. As New York Times correspondent Drew Middleton wrote from London on September 11: "... France is the most important piece of strategic real estate in the Atlantic Alliance. There are 50 jet airfields in France, billions of dollars worth of port

installations, supply depots and communications equipment. No effective fighting front could be maintained in Germany without the willing cooperation of France."

French ability to frustrate the operations of the Anglo-American alliance is not restricted to her own domestic area. She still controls one zone in Germany, and in addition French authorities in North Africa could make life very difficult for the American Air Force Missions stationed at seven air bases there. It is these considerations which have thrown Washington into such deep confusion.

America's Germany

Ever since 1950 and the outbreak of the Korean conflict, the United States has insisted on West German rearmament. But the revival of a militarized Germany is just what the peoples of Western Europe fear today. Behind Europe looms the enormous shadow of two world wars in which German capitalism dragged the continent to the brink of disaster. And to the extent that Stalinist Russia has relaxed its pressure, West European resistance has grown against America's headlong drive to militarize the area with West Germany destined to lead the parade.

The reactionary nature of Washington's policy lies not only in her readiness to sacrifice German unity and independence for the sake of integrating an armed West Germany into the American military machine. It is also revealed in the kind of West Germany the United States has sponsored and nourished. It is a Germany dominated by an unrepentant and adventurous bourgeoisie, a Germany in which the militarists and neo-Nazis lurk in the nooks and crannies of the state apparatus, waiting for their hour to strike.

It is this Germany—the Germany Washington helped create—that the peoples of Western Europe regard with justifiable suspicion. And the consequences of their rebellion against American policy are now unfolding before our eyes. As a result, the United States cannot even bring into existence the only kind of West European federation it could conceive: a military league.

While the other countries of Western Europe, and above all France, have seen their economic well-being and growth sacrificed to the demands of the American rearmament program, Western Germany has recovered its old economic and political dynamism. The upward flight and expansion of German industry has fed the self-confidence and appetite of the German bourgeoisie. They are once again looking for markets and for sources of raw material. This state of affairs has served to increase fears of German ambitions.

Explosive Forces

Today, Germany is no longer the broken, conquered wasteland of 1945. Even the rump Germany of Bonn has a larger population and, in the Ruhr, possesses a more powerful and productive heavy industry than any other country in Western Europe. And since a dynamic, expanding economic base is the premise of an expansive, dynamic politics, the West Europeans are asking: What will this German bourgeoisie do once it has an army of 20, 30 or perhaps 60 divisions at its disposal?

They fear that so long as Germany is divided, the possibility exists that at some later date the German ruling class will turn east to "liberate" the Russian-occupied zone of Germany as well as the lands beyond the Oder and Neisse. There is not only the beckoning lure of their lost properties, the factories, coal mines and steel mills, there is also the pressure of severe overpopulation. More than ten million refugees from East Europe and Russian-occupied Germany have poured into the narrow confines of the Federal Republic. The result is that today the density of population in Western Germany is three times that of France.

These are the explosive forces lodged in the rump Germany of Bonn and Washington. And the West Europeans have no desire to be dragged along in any irredentist adventure that might set off the holocaust of the third world war.

The West European quest for guarantees against the revival of German militarism is understandable against

(Continued bottom of next page)

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BRAZIL

The Demagogues Go, the Generals Remain

After Vargas: New Tasks for Labor

By MADEIRA

RIO DE JANEIRO, Sept. 2—Vargas' suicide, his last political act, was like all his other acts founded on demagoguery and mystification.

He saw no way out for himself, since he had lost much of his popular following and incurred the hostility of decisive sections of the ruling class against his government, which had been linked up with thieves and murderers. He did that which might make him appear as a victim of reactionaries, militarists and U. S. imperialism.

Vargas was a megalomaniac who loved power for power's sake more than life itself.

In order to maintain himself in power, he had held on to the regime as a dictator in 1930-34 and 1937-45; as a constitutional president in 1934-37 and 1951-54; as a fascist in 1937; as a "socialistic" demagogue in 1951; as a sympathizer of Hitler and Mussolini in 1940; as an ally of the U. S. and Britain in 1943; as the South American champion of anti-Communism in 1935-37; as the ally of the Stalinists in 1945; as the man who supported the Brazilian Nazi "green shirts" in 1935-37, and as the man who shot them down in the streets in 1938; as the president who signed the U. S.-Brazil military treaty and as the president who stirred nationalism within the country.

He once told Emil Ludwig he had neither a friend whom he could not get rid of nor an enemy he could not associate with. The Brazilian ruling class found in Vargas the ideal leader for these last 25 years when it has had to change allegiances and banners so many times. Now his desperate situation pushed him to suicide.

IN DECLINE

A letter has also been found which has been presented by Vargas' supporters as his political testament. There are good reasons to believe that this letter was forged by the former Minister of Labor Joao Goulart as soon as he knew of Vargas' suicide.

In this document Vargas presents himself as a victim of "foreign capital" which had hampered all the initiatives of his government on behalf of the working class and had succeeded through slanders and economic pressure to push him into a situation in which he "could not give anything else to the people but my own blood." The Stalinists printed this letter on the front page of their papers as an anti-imperialist document.

Vice-President Joao Café Filho—who is not a member of Vargas' "Labor Party" but had supported Vargas' candidacy

in 1950 and been put forward as the candidate for vice-president on account of his opposition to Dutra's government (1945-1950) and popularity in the north-east of Brazil—took over the presidency and formed a new cabinet which is supposed to be a "national coalition" but, as a matter of fact, has a majority of bourgeois opponents of Vargas' and aims to achieve the purge of the demagogic elements at the head of the state. As soon as Vargas had taken his leave of absence the generals sent 8,000 soldiers to maintain order in the streets of Rio.

Vargas' following in the working class has been in great decline. His "Laborite" movement had only his personal popularity as its rallying center and was completely deprived of any political or union apparatus, let alone a political ideology or platform to consolidate its hold on the masses. Most of the leaders of Vargas' "Laborite" movement are a crowd of plebeian adventurers who intended to get an office or a parliamentary seat by attaching themselves to Vargas' bandwagon. When the "Father of the Poor" won in the 1950 elections the "Labor Party" was unable to provide him with a staff to form his cabinet—he had to resort to old bourgeois political cadres.

PUZZLED MOBS

These are the reasons why Vargas' suicide did not bring about any organized reaction against the army or the new government such as strikes and bold political opposition. As the news of the suicide spread through Brazilian towns, large crowds came out to the streets and, in Rio, walked to the Presidential Palace where Vargas lay in state, but their mood was perplexity and curiosity rather than revolt, sorrow or disposition to fight.

The "laborite" politicians said that the president had died as a martyr to workers' demands, and that workers' enemies had come back to power, but they did not dare to attack the army—they concentrated their attacks on the "liberal" opposition. They began at once to make political capital out of Vargas' suicide, but they were not even smart enough to behave like Mark Anthony before Julius Caesar's body.

The demonstrations, riots and assaults on "liberal" newspapers, as well as on American diplomatic posts, which took place on August 24 and 25 involved only the remnants of Vargas' following, the "lumpenproletariat" led by bureaucrats of the Ministry of Labor loyal to Goulart, and Stalinists, but not the working class as such. The mob of hundreds of thousands which followed Vargas' body from the Palace to the airport, whence he was

flown to his birthplace near the Argentinian border, was far from being a militant demonstration on behalf of a working-class martyr.

Stalinists tried, in Rio, to lead two attacks on the American embassy but were repulsed by the strong army troops that protected the building. The next day the Stalinist paper printed the headline that U. S. marines had fired at the mob from the embassy's windows. In Belo Horizonte and Porto Alegre Stalinists actually succeeded in storming the American consulates.

CP'S AIMS

During the crisis that led to Vargas' suicide the Stalinists denounced the threat of "coup d'état" but supported Vargas and presented him as the target of a conspiracy inspired by U. S. imperialism. It was nonsense for a working-class movement to support such a corrupt government as was revealed by the Air Force inquiry. Such a policy played right into the hands of the self-styled "liberals" who called upon the army to overthrow Vargas on the ground that no popular force or democratic institution could get his legal impeachment. One task of socialist, democratic forces would be to safeguard civil liberties against the danger of a military coup as well as put pressure on the Congress to vote Vargas' impeachment.

When Vargas killed himself and the masses came out in the streets, the Stalinists were chiefly concerned in leading them against the American embassy and consulates. If it were learned outside Brazil, after Vargas' political treatment, that his suicide had led to the destruction by the crowds of the U. S. diplomatic posts, the U. S. would appear as responsible for Vargas' death and guilty of intervention in another South American country.

The Stalinists act as a wing, with their own clear political aims, of the remnants of Vargas' following. They try to stir popular revolt against the new government. Their attempts on the American embassy and consulates have been "provocateur" behavior for it could provide the generals with reasons to "maintain order" through a state of siege or a military dictatorship. In all these events Stalinism revealed once more, in the clearest possible way, its nature as an agent of Russia's world imperialist policy against her American rival, instead of a working-class movement.

As for the Brazilian Socialist Party, it has simply preferred to keep its mouth shut all during the crisis; the "Socialist" senator supported Vargas.

Vargas' suicide means that demagogic

and nationalist forces have lost any hold on the Brazilian state. The present staff will follow a more conservative policy, both in domestic and foreign affairs, without the pseudo-"socialistic" or nationalist pretenses of Vargas. The present political situation is much more stable since the contradiction between the ruling class and the remnant of its demagogic wing, between the generals and Vargas, is resolved with the elimination of the latter.

NEW LINEUPS

The whole of the ruling class is now rallying around Café Filho since there is no longer a fundamental issue at stake between its different wings on a national scale. Yet the danger of a military coup can come up again against the coming rise of workers' demands or Vargas' supporters electoral success, if these occur.

Vargas' death is also a new step forward in the process through which demagogic forces have grown more and more obsolete on the Brazilian political scene. The demagogues and electoral adventurers of Vargas' "Labor Party" have neither a political nor a union apparatus nor a well-known, dynamic leader to replace the "Father of the Poor" nor the instruments of corruption they owned when Vargas was in power.

On October 3 elections for the Federal Congress, state governors and assemblies will be held in Brazil. However, the campaigns for these elections have developed on rather regional and personal grounds. The "Labor Party" is quite unable to turn them into a means of popular revenge for Vargas' suicide. This is the slogan of the Stalinists but they also are very weak; and, as they are outlawed, only through infiltration in other parties can they run in the elections. If there were elections for president—which is the only political event in Brazil that gives place to a campaign on a national level—the "Labor Party" would have much wider possibilities of profiting from Vargas' memory in spite of its own lack of apparatus, platform and leaders. However, not until October 1955 will a new president be elected. By then the emotional shock caused by Vargas' suicide is very likely to have withered away.

After all, Vargas' suicide was a serious blow to the demagogic utilization of the working class by bourgeois politicians. From now on Brazilian workers have nobody else to vote for, from whom they can expect their needs to be granted as a gift. They will have to organize in their own unions and parties and realize that the liberation of workers can be achieved only by the workers themselves.

The Desperate Search

(Continued from page 6)

the historic background of three wars. However, this security cannot be won by denying Germany any of the attributes of sovereignty.

Unity and Revolution

What is necessary is to restore to Germany all the attributes of national sovereignty, and of these the foremost is territorial integrity. The unification of Germany would heal the wound of division and dry up the danger of an irredentist foreign policy to achieve this same end by military means. Even more important, it would prepare the ground for the creation of genuine, democratic social order.

The American State Department has paraded Adenauer as a "good European" because he has been willing to accept American policy. The more usual and cynical explanation is that the German bourgeoisie allied itself with Washington out of fear of Stalinist Russia. However, behind Adenauer's turn toward the West and his readiness to join "Little Europe" were decisive reasons of domestic politics. Like every bourgeoisie when the cards are on the table, the German ruling class was ready to sacrifice the struggle for national unity in order to safeguard its class interests.

The German bourgeoisie temporarily renounced its "national" interests in order to first firmly re-establish its social and economic basis, and then regain that prime attribute of class power, an armed force. While it is weak—and so long as it is unarmed, it considers itself weak—it fears unification, because in Eastern Germany there exists a highly class-conscious working class. The events of June 17 last year revealed the revolutionary temper of this working class.

The integration of East Germany into a united country would immediately pose the risk of bringing the Social-Democracy to power through new national elections. And this Social-Democracy would not be the tame bear it is now under the Ollenhauer leadership. The German SPD would itself experience a life-giving transfusion with the influx into its ranks of the workers and their leaders who rose up against the tyranny of Russia's East German puppet regime.

A socialist regime buttressed on a democratic and militant working class of this kind would be compelled to struggle against reaction at home and abroad. And this Germany would offer no threat to the peace and security of its West European neighbors. A genuine West European federation would then enter the realm of realistic possibility, given the impact of socialism on the continent.

Toward a Free Europe

The defeat of EDC has once again sharply posed two inseparable and mutually dependent problems: German unity and the federation of Western Europe. Western Europe cannot survive as a hodgepodge of small national states. Only if it federates can it create the basis for its own economic expansion, its political independence and military defense. A fragmented Western Europe will be irresistibly drawn into one or the other of the contending power blocs and only help hasten the day when the third world war erupts.

But it is equally clear that until a united, independent and democratic Germany exists, there can be no serious talk of a durable West European federation. And the first step can be taken by compelling Washington to renounce

its reactionary aim of maintaining and rearming a rump West Germany. This means in real life the withdrawal of allied occupation troops.

Today, Stalinist Russia is posing as the defender of European peace and security against the United States and Bonn. The withdrawal of Allied troops from Western Germany would immediately place the burden of endangering European peace and security on Moscow.

At the present time, Western European public opinion listens sympathetically to Russian propaganda. But the mood would quickly turn were Stalinist Russia to maintain its position inside Germany with the withdrawal of Allied troops. West European public opinion would solidarize with the German people in their struggle for national unity and independence. And the threat to German independence would be considered a threat to the independence and security of all Western Europe. While no one can guarantee what Moscow would do, Russian policy seeks to neutralize Western Europe and break its links with the United States. It will do nothing to jeopardize this policy. It will do a great deal toward its success.

Anglo-American policy has failed miserably in Europe and Germany. There is absolutely no hope of resuscitating the dead corpse of EDC no matter how loudly Senator Wiley yells, nor how many tours Secretary of State Dulles and his star trouble-shooter Robert Murphy make through Western Europe.

The time is here to fight for a new turn in the U. S. toward a democratic foreign policy. Its first plank must be the unconditional restoration of German national unity. Now is the time for the democratic elements in American political life, the trade unions and their political affiliates, the ADA and other liberal groups, to speak up.

Crisis over Quemoy —

(Continued from page 1)

deal and truce made in Indochina were stunning defeats for Chiang's hopes. His most pressing problem is to get another war going, with the hope that this time he can make himself and his forces an integral part of it, and expand it to the point at which a real victory is possible.

And his problem is indeed a pressing one. The deal over Indochina extends the prospect of the cooling off of the inter-imperialist conflict. But Chiang cannot wait for his chance in five or ten years. His troops, brought over from the mainland, are growing older every year. The six million people of Formosa are not an adequate source for the replenishment of his aging men. In another five or ten years he will be reduced to a symbol with no military potential in it. Thus for him more than for any other reactionary government which sees its main chance in an attachment to the fortunes of the American war machine, the time for a profitable exploitation of World War III is soon or never.

IN THE DARK

Are the Chinese Stalinists, for their own reasons, going to play into his hands? That is the only real importance of the current fighting over Quemoy.

It is not clear that Quemoy is an absolutely necessary stepping-stone for the Stalinists between the mainland and Formosa. On the other hand, expert opinion seems united on the idea that this island is essential to any reinvasion of the mainland by Chiang's troops, or by any other army based on Formosa. And since the morale of Chiang's clique in general, and his troops in particular is maintained by the hope of successful re-invasion, the loss of this island would deal a heavy blow to their morale. The blow would be heightened by the fact that a failure of the American navy to fight for Quemoy would underline the reluctance of the United States to actually support a major war against China by Chiang at the present time.

And what really is the State Department's policy? What did the Security Council, hastily flown to Denver to discuss these matters, decide to do about a Stalinist attack on Quemoy or Formosa?

So far, the country has been left quite in the dark about it. It is hardly conceivable that if the American navy had been ordered to fight for Quemoy, this would be kept a secret from the world. However contemptuous some sections of the American ruling class and government may be of the opinions of mankind, and specially of the governments allied with the United States, they could not possibly contemplate starting a war with China over Quemoy without prior consultations on the matter.

If the Chinese Stalinists are convinced that in order to conquer Formosa they would have to fight the American navy and thus to risk World War III, they may very well decide not to risk it now. But whether or not they do, the fact remains that politically their demand for Formosa finds a sympathetic echo throughout Asia, and one to which the United States has no way of replying.

CONTENTIONS

The Stalinist contention is that Formosa is part of China, and should be

ruled by the government of China. All of Asia (and most of the rest of the world) accepts the Stalinists as the government of China, whether they like that government or not. Thus, on the basis of the common acceptance by both the U. S. and the Stalinists that Formosa "belongs" to China, the rest of the world views the Stalinist demand as legitimate, and the intervention of the United States as imperialist and reactionary.

As none but the equally reactionary governments like that of Singman Rhee in South Korea regard Chiang as anything but a corrupt historical remnant, they do not have any sympathy for his claims to represent the people of China who have so completely repudiated him and the social class for which he stood. Thus the United States can introduce no moral or legal justification for its decision to involve the American people and probably the rest of the world in a war to prevent China (Stalinist though it be) from conquering Formosa.

There is a basis, however, on which a real political obstacle to Stalinist conquest of Formosa could be erected. That is the recognition of the fact that the people of the island have an independent historical background, have not been involved, except through conquest by Chiang, in the fight between him and the Stalinists, and have a right to an independent destiny,

controlled neither by Chiang and his American backers, nor by the Stalinists.

FORMOSANS' RIGHTS

As long as Chiang threatens the mainland as the political and military spearhead of U. S. imperialist intervention, the Stalinists can find justification among the peoples of the world for conquering the island and eliminating this military threat to their "national security." There would be no similar justification for the conquest of an independent and neutralized Formosa. And the establishment of such a state of affairs would further remove the political justification for the policies of some of the most frenzied warmongers in the United States.

Thus, for socialists in Asia, America, and the rest of the world, the problem need not and should not be whether or not to support one of the two imperialisms in the struggle over Formosa. Their job is to raise the demand for an independent Formosa, free from the imperialist domination of the American puppet Chiang, or of the Stalinists. They should demand the right of the Formosans to determine their own destiny through free elections, and their right to live in peace rather than being dragged into the imperialist struggles of more powerful governments.

Formosa: Police State

Following is a dispatch from Formosa published in two conservative newspapers, the N. Y. Herald Tribune and the London Observer. It appeared in the New York paper on September 13.—Ed.

TAIPEH, Sept. 12—A valiant effort is made to convince every foreign visitor to this green and fertile island that the Chinese Nationalist regime of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek has undergone a profound change.

Political reform, it is said, has pressed ahead. Many of the Old Guard have been removed or retired. The army has been streamlined and made democratic. The native Formosans have been given greater political representation. A land-reform program has been instigated. And a state of democracy, compared with Chiang Kai-shek's authoritarian mainland rule, has been achieved.

Certainly the visitor is impressed by the many truly liberal Chinese who today hold top positions within the provincial and national governments—men of integrity and ability. The visitor is also impressed by the fact that there is no news censorship, that opposition to government can be voiced, that there is no system of mutual spying within the civilian population and that relations between native Formosans and the mainland Chinese rulers are back to normal.

Yet beneath the surface are aspects of the Nationalist politico-military set-up which belie the claim that Chiang's Kuomintang rule has been democratized, or even materially liberalized, in its methods of operation.

An experienced British business man on Formosa described the island thus: "It is a police state, but 70 per cent of the time it is an enlightened police state."

No foreigner knows exactly how many police or police organizations operate on Formosa; but there is little doubt that there are many.

Largest and most open is the Peace

Preservation Corps, which handles most of the more obvious internal security jobs and which does certain political indoctrination work. Next in line is the Army Corps of Political Officers, numbering 15,000, who are scattered from the top commands down to company level and who indoctrinate troops and in some instances maintain secret surveillance of officers and enlisted men.

Overlapping security functions are carried out by the Bureau of Investigation of the Ministry of the Interior; the Kuomintang party's First Section, which handles party security; the Secrecy Protection Bureau, which operates espionage on the mainland, and the Continental Operations Department, which also maintains cloak-and-dagger agents in China.

Over-all coordination of internal security and external espionage is governed by the Materials Office, attached to President Chiang's headquarters and headed by Chiang's elder son, Chiang Ching-kuo.

Ching-kuo, who was trained in Russia, is generally considered by all foreign observers on Formosa to be the most powerful single figure under Chiang Kai-shek himself and to be the logical and probable successor to his father.

He is believed to have mellowed somewhat as a result of his recent trip to the United States as a guest of the State Department. But he is still a ruthless behind-the-scenes administrator, whose experience has all been along totalitarian lines. He has no major political or army post—largely, it is believed, because of severe criticism of him voiced by ex-Governor K. C. Wu, who sought political asylum in the United States in 1953.

There are far fewer cases of police terrorization than there were two years ago. But the police are still there, in every prefecture, city, town and village. They maintain constant surveillance of foreigners; they pry into civil institutions; they have infiltrated foreign business firms.

One foreign business man said he knew of four of his employees who regularly reported on his activities to the police. Another—and oldtime resident both of China and Formosa—told how he had to donate 16,000 Formosan dollars to a local unit of the Presidential headquarters' bodyguard and rebuild its barracks before his contractor could proceed with work on a personal residence in the area.

A local newspaper man admitted that while there was nominal freedom of the press, he felt it advisable to observe "voluntary censorship" of his copy—and this, as he pointed out, is generally more restrictive than the other sort.

On Formosa, an impartial observer sees that many government leaders seek to run a liberal and representative type of regime. He also sees that they are hamstrung by powerful remnants of the old mainland police organization, which the generalissimo himself refuses to dissolve. Beneath the surface this Kuomintang effort undermines the work of liberals and makes them fear to offer opposition.

The ISL Program in Brief

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Readers —

(Continued from page 5)

craft Production Ministry of 1944 was phenomenally successful in terms of statistical "progress"; it was certainly not progressive.

A corrupted process can be progressive. But that is not the point with Stalinism. When a socialist denies that Stalinism has made a progressive solution, he does not deny statistical advance, but he points out the social consequence of that advance in relation to the working class and socialism, which has been tragic.

And he also may, as I did in my article, show how this advance is not the result of planning, even totalitarian planning, i.e., that the Stalinists have not only brutally exploited the worker and the peasant, but that they have not even made a rational use of the fruits of their exploitation. The second is an empirical observation which I think the information on the Czechoslovakian situation confirms anew, for in this situation, bureaucratic mismanagement of exploitation has actually resulted in a halt of even the statistical progress.

Michael HARRINGTON

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