

LABOR ACTION

Independent Socialist Weekly

EUGENE V. DEBS
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THE IMAGE OF GENE DEBS

Revolutionist—Working-Class Leader—
Anti-War Fighter—Internationalist

SPECIAL SECTION — FOUR INSIDE PAGES

NOVEMBER 7, 1955

FIVE CENTS

U.S. Must Stop Aid to French In Algeria!

Walter Reuther's was one of the few voices raised in the American labor movement pointing to the disgraceful military aid which the U. S. is giving to the French colonialists for their purposes of repressing the North African people by armed force and terror. In a statement the CIO president had spotlighted the loan of eight helicopters to the French.

But one letter of complaint to Washington is not enough.

The Algerian liberation fighters have given a cue. Will Reuther support them?

"The Algerian nationalist movement was quick to utilize Reuther's pronouncement by writing to Secretary of State Dulles demanding the return of the eight helicopters loaned to France for use in Algeria. France has told Washington officially that the helicopters were being used to take care of sick and wounded. This, of course, is the primary purpose of such planes, rather than combat operations."

—David Lawrence, "The Reuther Statement on North Africa," in the N. Y. *Herald Tribune* of Sept. 7.

But this claim by France is a lie. There is copious evidence of this, such as the following:

"After the horrible killings of August 20, insecurity continues to reign in the Northern Constantine region. Most of the outlaws sought refuge in the mountains which are inaccessible to modern armies. They have scattered in caverns and in hundreds of "mechtas," small settlements of clay huts with straw roofs. . . . In order to reach them in their refuge, the Commander Crespi, of the North African Helicopter Group, has devised this new technique, the "helicopter-carried" operation. On August 31, for the first time, eight Sikorski helicopters, on which our reporters had also taken places, took 50 Foreign Legion soldiers to attack the mechtas around the Hef-Hakomer caverns. Balance sheet of the offensive: 28 prisoners. Ever since, a 'helicopter-carried' operation has taken place almost every day."

—Caption to several pictures showing the various stages of the operation, in the illustrated weekly *Paris-Match*, No. 338, of September 24.

Other news reports have described the use of the helicopters as one of the main arms of terror used by the French forces.

It should require only three threads of decency for the American labor movement to pursue the demand that this government rescind its gift of the helicopters' use for the purpose of keeping the Algerians in chains. If Reuther is serious about this, he has the influence and the power to make it a national scandal—which is the only thing that will move France's friends in Washington to reconsider.

More than that, it is undoubtedly not only a question of helicopters, though this aspect happened to be exposed. In how many other forms is aid flowing to the French for use in the North African repression campaign? Isn't there enough evidence to demand an investigation into this? Will our labor leaders and ADA liberals, who are never tongue-tied about Russia's crimes against democracy, speak up for elementary justice?

Geneva—from Spirit to Flesh: Political Warfare as Usual

By GORDON HASKELL

Between the world of the spirit and the material world there is an inescapable though often complicated relationship. Even though it accomplish little else, the Geneva conference of the foreign ministers of the great powers may prove valuable if it serves to remind the world of this truth. After this conference it will be difficult to speak of the "Geneva spirit." For when that phrase is used people will be as likely to call to mind a picture of stubborn, sordid and futile imperialist bargaining as one of hearty international good will.

The editorial writers who review the news of the week each Sunday for the *New York Times* put the matter bluntly and even a bit cynically in the October 30 issue:

"The reason for the change in mood [between the first and second Geneva conferences] was not hard to find. The Big Four chiefs had met at the summit to express good intentions and to outdo one another in persuading the world that it was not they who stood in the way of lifting the terrible threat of a hydrogen war. It was the foreign ministers' task to grapple with the deep conflict of interests that had produced the threat of war in the first place. Behind them lay the three-month interval between the two Geneva meetings—an interval in which Soviet moves had tended to convert the Geneva spirit from a bond into a weapon.

"At issue in the Geneva talks was the

struggle for Europe. The struggle had been going on since the Hitler regime came crashing down in the rubble of Berlin, and Germany became the key to domination of the continent. . . ."

That is clear and straight talk. The issue at Geneva was not in July, and is not today, to clear up misunderstandings, or to seek to unravel some tangled but very vague series of issues which have prevented the Stalinist and capitalist worlds from settling down to a long period of peace. The central issue is the struggle for Germany, which is the key to the domination of Europe, which is a key to the domination of the world.

When the *Times* writers say that the Stalinists have moved in recent months to "convert the Geneva spirit from a bond into a weapon," they mean that the Stalinists have sought to exploit the loosening of political-psychological tensions which was aided by the first Geneva conference, for the purpose of undermining the position of the United States in Europe and winning additional support to their own cause.

UAW Faces a Dual Union Revolt by Skilled Workers

By JACK WILSON

By a rather interesting coincidence, an angry protest meeting of 1000 skilled workers of the United Auto Workers and a *New York Times* editorial last Sunday said the same thing: The skilled workers ought to get more money now.

The *Times* said it in the usual dignified manner, and it used a recent government survey of skilled wage trends to serve as the foundation of its argument. This editorial intrusion into a very delicate and difficult problem of the UAW leadership was hardly welcomed by Walter Reuther and his associates.

Even more disturbing or at least distasteful to the UAW leaders was the mass meeting called by the Wayne County tool and die council of the UAW-CIO. A committee from this official group had met with the international union executive board, and a sharp clash of views took place. The UAW leaders sought vigorously to end the increasing revolt among the skilled workers and gave the UAW committee some blunt warnings and hard talk.

The mass meeting itself heard a detailed report of the hardened attitude toward the demands of the skilled trades for an immediate 10 per cent raise, and for two and a half hours speaker after speaker fore into the UAW leadership in what

was the most unusual meeting since Reuther took power in the UAW in 1947. For the skilled-trades section, historically, has been one of Reuther's strongholds.

The mood of the skilled workers was not softened by the policy of the UAW leaders to ignore this meeting. Not a single one of them responded to an invitation to attend the affair and present the top leadership's viewpoint.

SHREWD RIVAL

What makes this affair important symptomatically is that this meeting was called by UAW loyalists who are trying to work for a new policy within the framework of the UAW, and are competing with the new dual-union movement, the Society of Skilled Trades, for leadership over the skilled workers.

The new dual-union movement already claims over 5000 members, and it seems

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In this they have been aided considerably by the explosion of the democratic national revolution in North Africa against France; by the democratic vote of the Saarlanders which threw a monkey-wrench into the already faltering machinery of the North Atlantic Alliance; and by the struggle between Israel and Egypt in the Middle East.

NEW FEARS

The gains made by Russian foreign policy in this period are not a result of some diabolical cleverness on the part of the Stalinists who know how to turn the world's feeling of relief at relaxed tensions from a bond into a weapon. They are far more a reflection of the weakness and instability of the capitalist world itself, and hence of the foreign policy by which the United States seeks to hold together and dominate this world in the face of Stalinism.

Times correspondent M. S. Handler reports from Geneva on October 31 that circles close to West German Chancellor Adenauer "feel that some formula should be found to hasten the end of the Foreign Minister's Conference before irreparable harm is done to the cause of the reunification of Germany."

The considerations which give rise to this feeling that only harm can come from further negotiations appear throughout the American press discussion of the conference and the German question. They run along these lines:

Adenauer is old and sick. Yet he is the indispensable coupling-pin which holds together the whole train of American policy in Europe. Pull him out, and who knows what will happen to power relationships inside Western Germany, and hence to the relationship of the Bonn republic to Russia and East Germany on the one hand, and France, NATO and the United States on the other.

If the whole train depends on this one old man for its cohesion, it is obvious that the Stalinists need do nothing more than sit and wait. But they are not confined to so inactive a policy. They are applying maximum pressure to the coupling-pin himself and to the rest of the draught-gear assembly.

STUCK ON NATO

One of the chief ways in which they apply this pressure is to make it perfectly and inescapably clear that they do not intend to permit the unification of Germany under conditions in which the united country would become part of the NATO alliance. For the time being, as long as they make this clear they do not have to commit themselves on whether they would be willing to permit the unification of Germany on ANY terms except such as would make the whole country a Stalinist satellite.

They don't have to make this clear, for the issue is stuck on the insistence of the United States that West Germany must enter NATO, and that a united Germany must be free to enter NATO, while the Stalinists simply stand back and say: "No, we are for the unity of the country, but on terms which it is clear you will not accept. Let us, therefore, stop haggling over this question, on which it is obvious settlement is not

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LONDON LETTER

Storm Greeted Tory Soak-the-Poor Budget

By OWEN ROBERTS

London, Oct. 27

Big storms were expected when Chancellor of the Exchequer Butler introduced his special autumn budget to the House of Commons yesterday; and the expected storms arrived. It was one of the noisiest budget days within memory and certainly the roughest passage that Butler has experienced since he became chancellor four years ago.

Angry Labor members heckled his every sentence, and in some cases every word. At times Butler's voice could not be heard through the chorus of howls, cat-calls and hisses from the Labor benches. The usual placid scene of Parliament was rudely shattered as Labor members stamped their feet, waved their order papers and chanted, "Resign, Resign."

It was party conflict with the lid off and the sort of demonstration which brings a warm glow to the hearts of rank-and-file Laborites. It was the Parliamentary Labor Party responding to the pressure of the party left wing and reacting violently against a fresh Tory onslaught on the workers' living standards. It was an accurate reflection of the great wave of anger which is now sweeping through the working class as it realizes that it has once again been sold a pup by the Tories.

This week's budget was introduced as an emergency measure to rectify the situation which has arisen primarily through the stunt budget that Butler introduced just prior to the general election. Having succeeded in pulling the wool over the electorate's eyes with his April budget—and encouraging thousands of gullible people to vote for the Tories—Butler has now clamped the screws on with a vengeance.

He has altered the rates of purchase tax so that the prices of cheaper clothes, shoes, furniture and textiles will go up,

while prices of luxury clothes and furniture will come down. Goods previously outside of purchase tax, such as kitchenware, tableware and other household goods, are now brought within the purchase tax scheme. Purchase tax rates are now 30, 60 and 90 per cent of the wholesale price.

TAXES UP

Housing subsidies, which operate to keep the rents of municipally owned houses and flats down, have been slashed. At present they are subsidized to the extent of 22 pounds a year from Exchequer Funds; beginning next year the subsidy on new houses will be reduced to 10 pounds and will ultimately be abolished altogether. The Rents Acts, which peg the level of rents of privately owned houses, are to be amended so that landlords can increase rents.

Capital expenditure of nationalization industries is to be restricted and local authorities have received instructions to prune their expenditure. Hospital management boards have been instructed to undertake only those works which are urgent and most necessary. The post office is to step up its charges for postal and telephone services.

The only measure in the entire budget designed to affect the capitalist class is an increase in the tax on distributed profits from 22½ per cent to 27½ per

cent. The escape clause is that, by holding back the distribution of profits and then paying them out in the form of bonus shares, or waiting until the tax rates again come down, the capitalist can dodge the full effect of this tax.

The reaction of the Labor movement outside of Parliament has been swift and determined.

UNIONS TALK BACK

Today the executive committee of the National Union of Mineworkers, which has 700,000 members, met and discussed the budget. It issued a statement viewing the budget proposals with greatest concern and saying that it was an attempt to lower the living standards of the people. Because of this the NUM has decided to press for wage increases in order to resist attacks on living standards.

The 370,000 strong National Union of Railwaymen has also announced its intention of pressing a wage claim. An NUR spokesman said today that the union was faced with choice of either having to accept a lower standard of living or else press for increased wages as the cost of living rose. The budget obviously means an increase in the cost of living and therefore, said the NUR, it intends to press its wage claim as speedily as possible.

Percy Belcher, secretary of the 40,000-strong Tobacco Workers Union, said today that his union was likely to make a claim for increased wages as a consequence of the budget. Tomorrow the workers' side of the national joint negotiating committee for the tobacco industry are meeting to consider the amount which they should claim.

Next week the leaders of the 3 million workers in the engineering industry are due to meet the engineering employers

to discuss their claim for what is termed a "substantial" increase in wages. This claim was made before the budget but, as no specific amount was decided upon by the union, it is now expected that they will stick out for a much larger rise than originally intended.

Inside Parliament the Labor members have begun a fight against the government which is sharper than anything which the Parliamentary Labor Party has indulged in during recent years.

ANGER RISING

It took the unusual step of dividing the House of Commons immediately after Butler's budget speech instead of waiting until the final budget motion was put. This is a departure from normal Parliamentary practice and has not happened since 1931 when Snowden introduced an emergency budget.

On Monday the House of Commons will debate a motion of censure presented by the Parliamentary Labor Party. The wording of this resolution has offended the taste of many who are anxious to preserve the "dignity" and "decorum" of Parliament. It charges the Tories with deliberately framing the April budget in a manner calculated to deceive the electorate and in order to gain votes for the Tories in the election. It alleges that the government is guilty of incompetence and neglect.

Outside of Parliament, in the local parties, the anger of the rank and file is rapidly rising. Everywhere the local Laborites are spoiling for a fight with the Tories and in many areas plans are already being laid to encourage the maximum amount of resistance to Tory policies—particularly those designed to push rents up.

It is quite obvious that, contrasted with the easy election pace, the next few months in Britain are going to see fur and feathers flying in the political arena.

Geneva—Spirit to Flesh — —

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now possible, and go on to other matters, such as disarmament."

The United States and its allies at Geneva are not willing to abandon the question of German unity so easily. This is not because the hearts of the American, British and French negotiators beat strongly with a passion for German unity. Not at all. It is rather because from their point of view the pretence must be kept up that German unity still remains one of their objectives. Further, that it is attainable through the policy of "negotiation from strength." The pretence must be kept up that the Russians can learn to accept peacefully, and perhaps even graciously, the inclusion of the whole of Germany into an alliance whose only purpose can be to limit, and at a propitious moment roll back, the gains in Europe made by the Stalinists in World War II.

RIGHT BACK

So strong is the need of the capitalist side to keep up the illusion that their policy can unify Germany, that they are compelled to ignore or even play down the clear indication the Russians have given that as far as they are concerned German unity is off the agenda at Geneva, and outside the area which is to be thawed out in the cold war.

Thus the *Times* reports: "there was concern in Allied circles that the West might actually make too strong a case against the Russians. The feeling was that if the Germans became convinced that unification would never be achieved through Big Four negotiations, they would have no recourse but to deal directly with Moscow."

Since Germany is the key to the domination of Europe, it is clear that no scheme for the reduction of armaments, for a "security system" in Europe has any but the remotest likelihood unless the German question can be solved.

So there we are, right back where we started from. The "Geneva spirit" clashes with the material interests of the powers right in the middle of Europe. It can be preserved only if that clash is ignored. True, the spirit thus preserved would have a mighty tenuous relationship to the material world, and even if an expansion of cultural and economic relations may be possible under these circumstances, it is

hardly likely that any but the softest-brained people in the world will really think that a new era of peace has been entered.

COMPETITION

The probability that the old "Geneva spirit" may well decamp into the realm inhabited by dissolved mirages and the vanished smiles of Cheshire cats is increased by the fact that nothing in this world stands still. Since the government of Egypt announced that it is going to buy some arms from Czechoslovakia, the American, British and French governments have been crying "foul" with ever-increasing stridency.

Their contention, it would appear, is that only the United States and its allies, who have traditionally played an imperialist role in this area, have the right to sell arms there. The intrusion of any outsider in the game is "aggression" and "contrary to the Geneva spirit."

Actually, of course, what the Stalinists are doing in the Middle East is simply to exploit a favorable opportunity to wage a little political warfare against the older imperialisms. From their point of view, it would be useful to keep the capitalist powers worried about what is going on there.

At best, in the long run the Stalinists might be able to make some real imperialist advances of their own in the area. If the struggle between Israel and the Arab countries should develop into a shooting war, why should not the Stalinists don the mantle of "protectors of Islam" as handily as have the British and French imperialists in their day?

The situation in the Middle East illustrates all the possibilities of "competitive coexistence." Surely the Americans, who so admire initiative, the "go-getting" spirit, and who oppose monopolies, will understand the legitimacy of the entry of a new competitor in this area. And if similar opportunities should open up in other parts of the world—well, "peaceful coexistence" could get mighty dull if it were not spiced with a bit of rivalry. . . .

As long as the peoples of the world permit their fate to rest in the hands of the ruling classes of the two war camps, Geneva conferences will come and go without actually resolving any of the real problems of the world. Whether this one

breaks up in obvious and even acrimonious deadlock, or results in some deal which seems to leave the door open to further and more basic negotiations in the future, will not be decisive. Only such action can decisively influence the course of events in the interest of the peoples of the world as is organized and developed by them, independently of and against the will of the two imperialist war camps.

SDP'S CHANCE

Because the basic deadlock in the power struggle is most obvious over the German question, the pressure is greatest on the German people to introduce a decisive shift in the world's power equation by striking out on an independent policy.

So far, the Russian Stalinist stand has tended to weaken the position of Adenauer in West Germany by making it clear that on the basis of his policy no German unification will take place. By the same token, it has strengthened the hand of all his opponents, from the Social-Democracy on the left to the extreme right-wing elements. The Social-Democratic Party has opposed Adenauer's NATO orientation from the beginning, on the claim that Germany can be united only through "sincere negotiations" among the four occupying powers, and that German rearmament with its NATO link would make such negotiations impossible.

The Stalinists have proved the Social-Democrats to be partly right as against Adenauer, in a negative way. But since the United States will not abandon its NATO orientation, and since the Russians will not permit German unity as long as that orientation exists, the Social-Democrats, along with all other Germans, would have to reconcile themselves to living in a divided country from now on if they look for unity to a negotiated deal among their conquerors.

A deadlock at Geneva will build up the pressure inside Germany for some independent solution to the question. It is difficult to see where the German Social-Democracy will be able to find such a policy except in the direction of eliminating the United States and its allies from West Germany, and on this basis demanding that that Russians leave East Germany also.

The possibilities of such a policy in its effect on the whole Russian empire are evident. It would make it possible for the Germans to take up the phony Russian

proposals on disarmament and troop withdrawals and explode them in the face of the Kremlin oligarchy. It would make it possible for the Germans to expose and draw the teeth from the Russian propaganda in the whole world, and above all to its own people, that the only reason for its vast armaments and for its imposition of satellite governments on the countries whose territory it conquered during and after World War II was to defend them from the rapacity of capitalist imperialism.

Is there any possibility that the German Social-Democracy will adopt such an independent course?

It must be admitted that there is not much in the record of the present leadership of the party to instill one with confidence in its ability to rise to the situation. But the political pressure inside Germany for a new departure will become irresistible once it is clear that the present course simply guarantees partition of the country for the indefinite future. The existence of a left wing in the German Social-Democracy gives one the right to hope that it will be the working class and not the reaction in Germany which will initiate this new departure.



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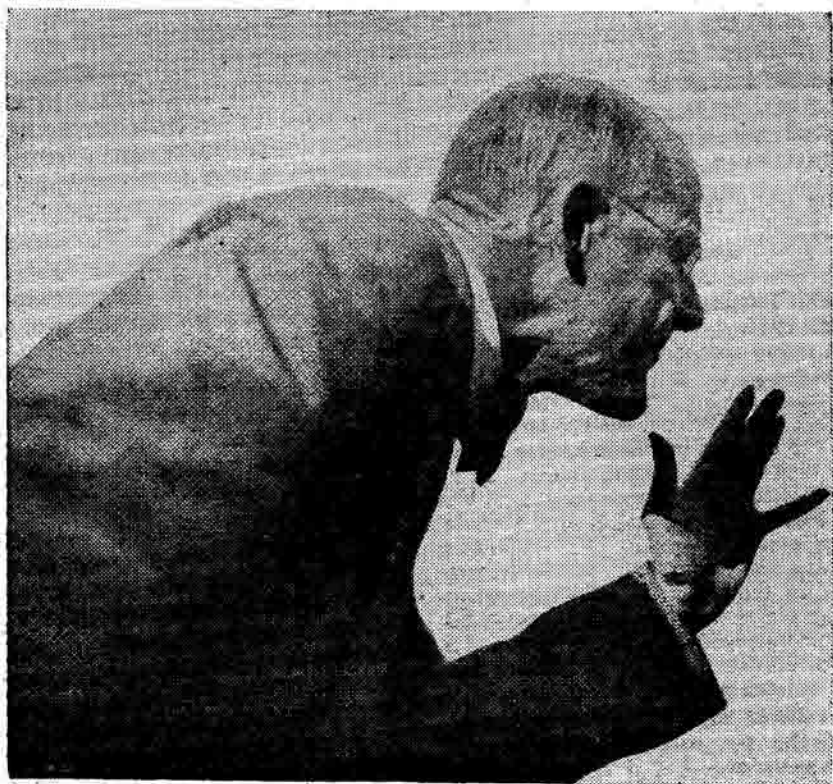
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EUGENE V. DEBS 1855-1955: A Four-Page Special Section

THE IMAGE OF GENE DEBS



By PHILIP COBEN and GEORGE RAWLINGS

The 100th birthday of Eugene Victor Debs, America's greatest revolutionary leader, is being celebrated by an anomalous variety of commemorators. In one sense this testifies to the universality of his appeal as a tribune of the people, and it is not possible simply to regret it. But it is thought-provoking to see, among the names of banquet sponsors and rally speakers, so many who have made their shabby peace with everything against which Debs fought and who would revile him if he were alive.

Debs has been accepted into the pantheon of the social-democrats of various stripes, of the Stalinists, of Christian pacifists, and of liberals, as well as of his own comrades the revolutionary socialists. Each has manufactured a Debs in his own image.

In his introduction to the *Writings and Speeches of Eugene V. Debs* (a literary desecration if there ever was one) the ADAer Arthur Schlesinger Jr. presents a cleaned-up and dehydrated Debs with the class struggle squeezed out of him—that is, with only a sneer for "the violence of his socialist rhetoric." In a final thrust to the heart of his subject, this liberal historian indicates that Debs was a very lovable fellow with the minor but forgivable idiosyncrasy of being opposed to capitalism, but that he deserves to be remembered because he was the John the Baptist who prepared the way for the Lord—Franklin D. Roosevelt.

The Stalinist image of Debs is prinked out with a show of Debs' enthusiastic support for the great Russian Revolution—namely, the revolution which Stalinism overthrew and destroyed.

The social-democratic and Socialist Party image of Debs is carefully based on the fact that he remained with the SP, after all—though the reformists whom Debs denounced for their gutting of socialism were ferocious left-wingers compared with the SP today.

Is our next step, then, to propose our own image of Debs as the "real" one—Debs as a modern Independent Socialist?

We propose something different.

We propose to point the finger specifically at that conception among all of Debs' conceptions, at that idea among all of Debs' ideas, at that principle among all of Debs' principles, which alone lies at the heart of "Debsian" socialism.

Then let who will, claim it as his own, and live it as his own.

THE HEART OF DEBS

For this principle, we do not point to his staunch anti-war internationalism; for that was a consequence, not the base.

We do not point to his heart-felt identification with the revolution every-

where, and with the Bolshevik revolution in particular, for that was a consequence.

We do not even point—though here we get next door—to his living assimilation of the class-struggle viewpoint as his own, till in fact the class struggle seemed built into the very fibers of his being and the synapses of his mind.

For there still lay something behind this: something so simple, so elemental from the point of view of the very roots of revolutionary socialism, that no socialist leader in the world, none whatever, has ever hammered away at it so often, vividly and so untiringly as Eugene Debs.

This is his conception that nothing progressive whatsoever can be accomplished except on the condition that, and only so long as, the masses of workers THEMSELVES go into action, into motion, not depending on "leaders" to "do something for them," but doing it themselves. It is the concept of the self-emancipation of the working class.

We beg our dear reader not to feel disappointed at the simplicity of this revelation. It is one of the hardest of all socialist ideas to understand with one's head. That is because it is so simple.

In Debs the elemental conception of the self-emancipation and self-motion of the working class took on fire and flame and became a social force. This is what he conveyed across the million platforms of the land.

MARX VS. MOSES

And this is also what separates revolutionary socialism, "Debsian socialism," from every variety of liberalism, reformism and Stalinism. This, at bottom; not the formulas, however valuable, which are derived from it, concerning state and revolution and classes.

This is the Debs whose image we wish to exhibit here, for our time.

Constantly Debs recurs to this theme, paraphrasing Marx's famous words that the emancipation of the working class must be the work of the workers themselves. "The working class must be emancipated by the working class," he said at the end of his 1904 acceptance speech. In 1907: "The great discovery the modern slaves have made is that they themselves their freedom must

achieve. This is the secret of their solidarity; the heart of their hope . . ."

Perhaps his best-known statement is the classic—

"Too long have the workers of the world waited for some Moses to lead them out of bondage. He has not come; he never will come. I would not lead you out if I could; for if you could be led out, you could be led back again. I would have you make up your minds that there is nothing that you cannot do for yourselves."

REVOLUTIONIST'S THEME

This was what he was saying from his early days as a socialist.

• "I invoke no aid but that which springs from the misery of my class; no power that does not spring spontaneous from the prostrate body of the workers of the world. . . . On this occasion above all others, my comrades, we are appealing to ourselves, we are bestirring ourselves, we are arousing the working class. . . ."

• "The working class can wipe out the wage-system: "They can do this, and only they can do it. I cannot do this for you, and I want to be frank enough to say that I would not if I could. For if I could do it for you, somebody else could undo it for you. But when you do it for yourselves it will remain done forever."

• "The average workingman imagines that he must have a leader to look to; a guide to follow, right or wrong. He has been taught in the craft union that he is a very dependent creature. . . . You have depended too much on that leader and not enough on yourself. I want you to cultivate self-reliance. If I have the slightest capacity for leadership I can only give evidence of it by leading you to rely upon yourselves. . . ."

• "In the struggle of the working class to free itself from wage slavery it cannot be repeated too often that everything depends upon the working class itself. The simple question is, Can the workers fit themselves, by education, organization, cooperation and self-imposed discipline, to take control of the productive forces and manage industry in the interest of the people and for the benefit of society? That is all there is to it. . . ."

• "They [Socialists] are not waiting for some so-called 'great man' or 'good man' to do something for them, but they are preparing to do all things for themselves. . . ."

"[The workers] unite in one and the same industrial union and one and the same political party. And the union and the party must be managed and directed by themselves, not from the top down, but from the bottom up." (Italics in original.)

CALL TO INDEPENDENCE

Debs as a democratic socialist knew all about the threat of labor bureaucratism, and he did not need a foreign revolution to learn its menaces, but could look right around him at the conservative labor leaders: "I confess to a prejudice against officialism and a dread of bureaucracy. I am a thorough believer in the rank and file, and in ruling from the bottom up instead of being ruled from the top down. The natural tendency of officials is to become bosses. . . ." But he was not bemused by any theory about the Iron Law of Oligarchy and knew the remedy: the continuous self-activity of the masses moving independently.

When he inveighed against "leaders" it was not from the anarcho-syndicalist viewpoint, whose hollowness he knew:

"The workers now realize that they have got to build their organization themselves, and that it has got to be built from the bottom up, and that it must include them all. . . . In proportion as they have lost faith in their former 'leaders' they have acquired faith in themselves." (1912).

And of course there is the well-known passage in his Canton anti-war speech (1918) beginning "I never had much faith in leaders." The crowd laughed, appreciating the pungency of this advice

from their leader. Debs went on: "I am willing to be charged with almost anything, rather than to be charged with being a leader. . . ." And soon: "I would be ashamed to admit that I had risen from the ranks. When I rise it will be with the ranks, and not from the ranks."

Never did he rise to such heights of scorn and invective as in hurling bolts at the "false and cowardly plea that the people were 'not yet ready'" to take their destiny into their own hands, but always had to bow before alien class elements who would save them. This he did in his "The Day of the People," his great defense of the Russian Revolution:

"Away with all such perfidious doctrines. . . . The people are ready for their day. . . ."

"That is the attitude of Lenin and Trotsky in Russia and was of Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg in Germany, and this accounts for the flood of falsehood and calumny. . . ."

It also accounts for the revolutionary passion of Gene Debs.

FOUR IMAGES

Debs has been unwisely and ignorantly belittled as no "thinker" though a kindly old man and a fiery agitator. What Debs understood about Marxism was its essence—and a great deal more. What others do not understand is that what we have been quoting is the essence of revolutionary Marxism.

Mention "faith in the working class"—one of Debs' refrains—and the liberal smirks. Think of the independent self-activity of masses in revolution, and the Stalinist summons the secret police. Face the upheaval of surging millions in revolt, as the Scheidemanns and Eberts did in Debs' day, and the social-democrat squeals for "law and order" and "constitutional processes."

For all of these people, Debs' burning faith in his class, not idealization of it, his insistent call upon them to act not to follow, was an unfortunate tendency of his toward soap-box agitation and "violent rhetoric." In our image of Debs, it is the heart and soul of his socialism.

Here are your images.

It is in this context that the three articles that follow should be read. It is in this context that one should read his reiterated attacks on the growing reformism (even in his own day) of the Socialist Party, on the tendency of its right-wing leaders to look on the class as voting cattle.

"The truth is that we have not a few members who regard vote-getting as of supreme importance, no matter by what method the votes may be secured, and this leads them to hold out inducements and make representations which are not at all compatible with the stern and uncompromising principles of a revolutionary party. They seek to make the socialist propaganda so attractive—eliminating whatever may give offense to bourgeois sensibilities—that it serves as a bait for votes rather than as a means of education. . . ."

"FOR THOSE WHO COME AFTER"

It was this which made it possible for him to remain loyal to his convictions, and not break, when it was necessary to swim against the current, to continue fighting as a reviled minority. He knew what to expect as long as the masses were quiescent, passive, the subject of domination, not in motion. He knew what to expect once they started moving.

Above all else Debs believed that the cause of socialism and the working class was invincible. To struggle with the minority was for him a badge of honor, for it placed him with the men whom he revered above all others as the great radicals of the American past, John Brown, Thaddeus Stevens, the Abolitionists, Frederick Douglass. . . .

"It is the minorities who have made the history of this world," he said in his Canton speech. "It is the few who have had the courage to take their places at the front; who have been true enough

(Turn to last page)

A Portrait and Some Contrasts...

DEBS AS WORKING-CLASS LEADER

By BEN HALL

As an authentic socialist leader of the American working class, Debs in a literal sense is incomparable.

Today the U. S. labor movement is limited to unionism, and socialism is tragically reduced to propaganda groups working to maintain the socialist tradition. But at one stage in the rise of American labor, socialism constituted a powerful section of the working class, its most class-conscious wing. Debs was its most inspiring leader.

Today labor is led by union officials of assorted types. Leaving out the racketeers, grafters and crass corruptionists, the ordinary officials are simple time-servers, content to receive their members' dues and their own salaries. On pressure from their ranks or on signal from the rest of the labor movement, they may bestir themselves for higher wages or for better working conditions.

A more progressive wing of union leaders press constantly for improvements in workers' standards and rights and seek to defend unionism from the standpoint of capitalist democracy. On the extreme left of the labor officialdom stand the ex-socialists like Walter Reuther in the CIO and David Dubinsky in the AFL.

It is they who accurately represent two basic features of the modern labor movement: political action and social responsibility. Their political action remains cramped within bourgeois politics. Their social responsibility is compounded of two mutually antagonistic elements. On the one hand, they seek the shelter of respectability by disavowing the philosophy of class struggle; on the other, they urge the labor movement to fulfill its responsible role as leader of all the people against monopoly and reaction.

These two tendencies are eternally clashing and mutually defeating. They can never gain full and permanent acceptance by the industrial rulers of the country; and they can never truly fulfill the role of working-class leaders, nor under them can the working class fulfill its role as leader of the people.

It is their ex-socialism, their socialist past, rather than their respectable present, that makes it possible to elevate them to a point where one can even contrast them with Debs.

TWO COURSES

Debs began as a conservative, imbued with the philosophy of the harmony of interests between labor and capital. But he was just as deeply imbued with the determination to lead his fellow workers in the fight for a more human existence. He entered the class struggle, which he did not recognize nor accept.

From class harmony, to strike struggles, to industrial unionism, to socialism: the course of his development in the class struggle led him at last to seek nothing short of full democracy, the self-rule of the working class free of the industrial tyranny of a minority ruling class. For such was socialism to him, as it is to us: the most consistent and uncompromising democracy in political, social and industrial life.

Our ex-socialist leaders have traveled the same road, only in the opposite direction.

They began their careers as socialists, guided at the outset by the liberating philosophy which Debs had done so much to create. Walter Reuther virtually inherited Debsian socialism from his father, a friend and follower of Debs. Their lives in contrast were courses of gradual retreat from their own goals and desertion of their own ideals.

They too were once inspired by a vision of industrial and social democracy. But now they have lost faith in the very class which they lead. By rejecting their

own socialism, they assign a permanently subordinate role to the working class as an exploited, ruled subject dominated by a capitalist owner whose power is not broken but only checked by unions.

They have moved backward from democracy to constitutional monarchy in industry. They, these labor leaders, have been false not only to their socialism but to themselves. They adjusted, subordinated, and abandoned their goals under the pressures of conservative public opinion inside and outside the labor movement.

Debs remained true to himself, at each turning-point.

TOWARD INDUSTRIAL UNIONS

In 1874 Debs joined a newly organized lodge of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen in Terre Haute and soon became its secretary. He began by sharing the Brotherhood's outlook. "Some have gone so far as to say that there is a natural, a necessary conflict between labor and capital," said the young Debs. "These are very shallow thinkers or else very great demagogues."

He rejected strikes but he believed in organizing. As national secretary in 1880 he started a barnstorming campaign all over the country that maintained the declining Brotherhood and even helped other crafts to organize—the railroad brakemen, the car men, the switchmen.

The 1880s were years of upsurge. The Knights of Labor enrolled 800,000 members. The AFL took form and organized the 8-hour strike movement in 1886. These were the days of Haymarket and of a big packinghouse strike in Chicago. The railway brotherhoods were growing restive under their paralyzing no-strike policy. They faced blacklists, long hours, yellow-dog contracts; without the strike they were defenseless.

In 1885 the Brotherhood rescinded its no-strike clause and, under Debs, launched real struggles on the rails. "The strike is the weapon of the oppressed," Debs now said. But a long strike against the CB&Q was lost because the rail crafts could not hold a common front; some worked while others struck.

Debs flung himself into a campaign for united action and did build a Supreme Council of the decisive crafts, which had its successes; but by 1892 it was torn apart by petty craft rivalries again. More local rail strikes were lost as craft scabbed on craft.

At last Debs reached a critical decision. He resigned from his Brotherhood post, informing its 1892 convention that he rejected the principle of craft unionism and was going to devote his life "to unify railroad employees and to eliminate the aristocracy of labor which unfortunately exists and organize them so all will be on an equality."

Life and struggle had taught Debs the lessons of industrial unionism.

THE PULLMAN WAR

With a small group of militant rail labor leaders, on June 20, 1893, Debs helped found the industrial American Railway Union. Thousands stampeded into the ARU. Whole lodges of some Brotherhoods joined en masse. The unskilled, underpaid, unorganized poured in as President Debs followed the rails all over the country in his crusade. The next year an ARU strike brought the Great Northern system of James Hill to its knees. In a year the ARU enrolled

150,000 while the Brotherhoods claimed only 90,000.

The surge toward the industrial ARU was a portent of the later rise of the CIO and industrial unionism. But 1894 was not 1937.

The rising monopolies were too strong and labor still too weak. Government and big business were crassly intertwined. Just two years before, the strongest union in the country had been broken in the Homestead steel strike, when state troopers escorted imported scabs into the mills. Federal troops had broken a silver miners' strike in Idaho. The ARU was beginning the struggle for industrial unionism on the railroads at a time when the big trusts were initiating an open-shop union-breaking campaign with the support of the federal government and the injunction weapon.

The railroad employers counterattacked. In Chicago the railroad bosses' united front openly provoked a showdown fight when the ARU struck the plants manufacturing Pullman cars.

FORGED IN FLAMES

The ARU was destroyed in the Pullman strike of 1894 but only after the vastest concentration of anti-union violence in all American labor history before or since.

The craft unions mobilized scabs. The press howled insurrection. A federal injunction prohibited strike leaders from any aid to the rail boycott against Pullman cars. Union leaders were jailed. State militia were called out in 20 states. Democratic President Grover Cleveland sent troops into Illinois, the strike center, over the protests of Governor Altgeld, and declared virtual martial law in Indiana. Troops protected train movements and fired with abandon into crowds of strike sympathizers. Debs himself went to jail for "contempt of court," i.e., violating the injunction by continuing to lead the strike.

In describing how he became a socialist, Debs relates of the Pullman battle: "At this juncture there was delivered, from wholly unexpected quarters, a swift succession of blows that blinded me for an instant and then opened wide my eyes—and in the gleam of every bayonet and the flash of every rifle the class struggle was revealed. This was my first practical lesson in socialism though wholly unaware that it was called by that name."

On June 15, 1897, Debs met in Chicago with the battered remnants of the ARU and voted to transform the union into the "Social Democracy of America," which later merged with the Hillquit wing of the Socialist Labor Party to establish the Socialist Party.

For Debs this was the continuation of his fight on a new battlefield. By 1912 he received almost 1,000,000 votes as Socialist candidate for president. In that year the AFL counted a membership of 1,700,000. The membership of the Socialist Party stood at 113,000.

In the fire of class struggle, Debs became a socialist, and socialism emerged as the political wing of American labor.

RENEGADES' ROUND

Forty years after industrial unionism was crushed in the 1890s it rose again, this time to victory, in the 1930s. Hundreds of socialists were swept up into the movement for mass unionism in basic industry and elevated into positions of leadership.

The mood of New-Dealism pervaded everything; after its initial successes the labor movement was offered the smooth road of relatively peaceful growth; NLRB elections rather than strikes; governmental toleration rather than suppression.

The socialists who rose in the unions drifted into ex-socialism. They accepted the proffered gift of leadership and respectability. Gradually, imperceptibly, they dropped their socialist ties, then

their socialism. Almost without thinking they became, in public at least, defenders of "free enterprise."

But they shed more than their socialism. They lost perspective, drifted with the tides and could not maintain even their own new self-chosen positions.

Walter Reuther could hardly remain a good Reutherite. In 1948, he had just fought his way into full control of the UAW along with a small group of close collaborators, ex-socialists all. As the presidential elections drew near he saw himself on the eve of great things. He no longer spoke of socialism; his socialist past was conveniently omitted from official biographical handouts.

But he vowed to lead the workers forward in his own, new fashion. In a dramatic letter to all UAW locals, he announced a momentous conclusion. America needed a new, progressive, political party, he said, and he would devote all his energies to fulfilling that need. In a few months all was forgotten. Six years later, now as CIO president, he praises the virtues of the two-party system and admonishes workers against a class spirit in politics.

Reutherism, the rallying grounds for ex-socialism in the labor movement, remains a distinctive tendency but vague, ill-defined, submerged and diffused. Reuther's personal rise accompanies a blurring-over of what distinguishes him and his followers from the others.

They raise no new banner, no defined program, no distinctive goals. And because they cannot unite themselves and others around a social program they fall prey to the curse of American unionism, bureaucratism. Even in the most democratic unions, they reinforce themselves by a bureaucratic machine based upon distribution of posts, salaries and jobs, and upon the uncritical obedience of subordinates and inferior officials to their superiors. They fall in stature as they rise in power.

DEBS VS. GOMPERS

Debs lived in a relative golden age of American socialism. Today's union officials have witnessed only its decline and disintegration. If it is "unfair" to compare them to him, it is eminently just to compare him to the conservative union leaders of his time.

When he was elected to leadership in the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen, the AFL was taking shape. The founders and intellectual leaders of the AFL had already come under the influence of socialism. In his account, Samuel Gompers describes the men who inspired the AFL as once members of the First International. The AFL was more radical and more militant in its origins than Debs. Unlike Debs, it recognized the class struggle. In this, the founders of the AFL resemble our own ex-socialist officials as they took their first steps in the labor movement.

But Debs grew in stature; the leaders of the AFL dwindled.

The Pullman strike marked a new alignment in the ranks of American labor. The defeat at Homestead followed by the defeat on the rails was a warning signal that the combined forces of the trusts and government were determined to wipe out unionism in the trustified industries.

Labor could capitulate or fight. A respectable union movement, one which would not try to challenge the capitalists at the source of their trustified power, could hope for a tolerated existence on the fringes of industry. The official AFL bowed.

It abandoned its own militant philosophy, abandoned all effort to enroll the masses of unskilled, and decided not to risk the retaliation of the powerful bourgeoisie. It sought safety in respectability. During the early days of the Pullman strike, the ARU tried in vain to win the moral support of the AFL. But Sam Gompers was silent.

Those in the labor movement who were determined not to capitulate were too weak, just as the labor movement as a whole was too weak to organize the trusts. But they carried on their struggle by other means through the formation of the Socialist Party.

Now, Gompers who retreated, not Debs who fought, is memorialized by union officials. And rightly so, for in their way and in their times they too adjust to the power of capitalism. In honoring Gompers above Debs, they reverse the narrow, restricting petty elements in the history of American labor.

Debs, a pioneer of industrial unionism, is ignored by the industrial CIO. That will change. When the U. S. labor movement rises to its responsibilities in the fight for democracy, peace, and socialism Debs will assume his rightful place in its history.

'... Animated by the Unconquerable Spirit of the Social Revolution ...'

HOW DEBS FOUGHT AGAINST WAR

By MICHAEL HARRINGTON

It is a paradox of the Debs Centennial that most of the socialists in the United States who celebrate it are supporters of one of the two blocs in the world. A paradox because Debs' steadfast opposition to imperialist war, and to World War I in particular, probably reveals more than anything else the quality of the man. His devotion to the cause of anti-war socialism was unwavering, and he maintained it at a time when the entire nation, and many socialists, were off on a binge of chauvinism.

It was in the Federal District Court in Cleveland, after he had been convicted for his anti-war speech in Canton and just before he was to be sentenced, that Debs made one of his most moving statements of socialist faith. Whenever this is quoted, its context, that of intransigent opposition to imperialist war, should be remembered:

"Your Honor, years ago I recognized my kinship with all living things, and I made up my mind that I was not one bit better than the meanest of the earth. I said then, I say now, that while there is a lower class, I am in it; while there is a criminal element, I am of it; while there is a soul in prison, I am not free."

Among the souls in prison to whom Debs referred were anti-war socialists. Indeed, it was immediately after he had talked to three of his jailed comrades that Debs made the speech which eventually resulted in his conviction.

His own sentence was, of course, the price which he paid for his anti-war views. If there is any aspect of Debs' life which one would want to emphasize today it is this one. And yet, at the banquets in his honor, among the various testimonials, it will be carefully pointed out that Debs' opposition to a war now past has nothing to do with a socialist's attitude toward a war now threatening.

In order to destroy this attempt to recruit Debs, it is only necessary to let his words and his actions speak for themselves, for the very basis of his stand was a clear presentation of the internationalist socialist position on imperialist war.

"WHERE I STAND"

Debs was not, of course, a pacifist. His position in opposition to war proceeded from those socialist fundamentals which were abandoned by the parties of the Second International in 1914. As far back as 1914, immediately after the massacre at Ludlow, Colorado, he had said:

"It remains only to be said that we stand for peace, and that we are unalterably opposed to violence and bloodshed if by any possible means, short of absolute degradation and self-abasement,

Harrington Tour

Michael Harrington, national chairman of the YSL, will make a tour of Mid-Western cities and campuses during the last half of November. Harrington will speak before YSL units and campus clubs in localities in Pennsylvania, Ohio and Illinois. His main topic will be "Peace or Coexistence," an analysis of the trends in international politics after the big-power conference at Geneva.

Harrington will be in Pittsburgh on November 14-15, Antioch on November 16-17, Cleveland and Oberlin on the week-end of November 19, Chicago on November 22. In addition, speeches are being planned for the Ohio State campus at Columbus and the University of Wisconsin at Madison. Other places on the schedule are also being lined up.

Friends of the YSL in the area of Harrington's tour are asked to contact local units for further information.

these can be prevented. We believe in law, the law that applies equally to all and is impartially administered, and we prefer reason infinitely to brute force. But when the law fails, and in fact, becomes the bulwark of crime and oppression, then an appeal to force is not only morally justified but becomes a patriotic duty."

And in 1915, he made a general statement of his anti-war position: "I am not a capitalist soldier; I am a proletarian revolutionist. . . I am opposed to every war but one; I am for that war with heart and soul, and that is the world-wide war of the social revolution. In that war I am prepared to fight in any way the ruling class may make necessary, even to the barricades. That is where I stand. . . One wonders if this statement will be read at the banquets or printed among the testimonials. . . ?"

In 1914 Debs particularized this position. At a time when few besides the Bolsheviks and Italian socialists, among the major parties of the International, were true to the International's own declaration on the issue of war, Debs wrote:

"We socialists are not wanting in genuine patriotism, but we are deadly hostile to the fraudulent species which is 'the last refuge of the scoundrel' and which prompts every crook and grafter and every blood-sucking vampire to wrap his reeking carcass in the folds of the national flag, that he may carry on his piracy and plunder in the name of 'patriotism.' Patriotism, like brotherhood, must be international and all-embracing TO BE AT ALL."

FLAYED SOCIAL-PATRIOTS

By 1916 Debs was attempting to implement this attitude by seeking the unity of the Socialist Party and the Socialist Labor Party. He emphasized that this was now made all the more necessary because all anti-war socialists must be united. And he broke sharply with the Hillquit and Berger wing of the Socialist Party when he generalized this position into a criticism of the Second International.

By July of 1915, he was calling for a new international which would "utterly outlaw war and declare against the abomination under any and all circumstances." Toward the social-patriotism of the Second International, he felt only scorn: "those so-called socialists who prefer nationalism to internationalism must never be given another chance to betray and destroy the movement."

When the Bolshevik Revolution took place, Debs supported it. When Germany began an offensive against the new revolutionary state, he spoke out bluntly against the German pro-war socialists: "In standing for this crime, they cap the climax of their betrayal and disgrace of the Socialist movement. In standing for this, the majority socialists of Germany prove that they will stand for anything except Socialism and Democracy." Here again is the image of Debs which hardly fits in with the polite Debs legend that has grown up in recent years.

In the period when Debs was taking these stands, a wave of chauvinism and anti-radicalism was sweeping America. In many cases, there was mob violence; in others, anti-war radicals were put in jail. The Socialist Party had taken a position against war in an emergency convention in 1917, but its right-wing leadership was moving rapidly in support of America. In New York, a group of So-

cialist aldermen who had been elected on an anti-war ticket came out in favor of a Liberty Loan as one of their first acts after they took office.

It was in this atmosphere that Debs became restive and more or less decided to court a prison sentence by taking the road in defense of his socialist convictions.

On June 16, 1918 Debs arrived in Canton, Ohio, to give a speech to the Ohio Convention of the Socialist Party. In Canton the leaders of that party were in jail, among them Alfred Wagenknecht, Charles E. Ruthenberg and Charles Baker.

DEFIED WARMAKERS

Before his speech, Debs was asked by Clyde R. Miller of the Cleveland Plain-Dealer whether or not he still supported the St. Louis Manifesto of the party, an anti-war statement. Debs answered that he continued to support it but felt that the times called for a restatement of the party position. When requested to spell out what he meant by a restatement, Debs said that the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia had become the inspiration of the world, and that he hoped that the ideas of this movement would come to prevail in the United States. This was to be one of the pieces of evidence used against Debs at his trial.

In his speech, Debs defended Tom Mooney, Bill Haywood, the Wobblies, the Russian Revolution. He denounced capitalist super-patriots who were linked by ties of mutual interest and friendship throughout the world, and he told the audience, "The master class has always declared the wars; the subject class has always fought the battles. The master class has had all to gain and nothing to lose, while the subject class has had nothing to gain and all to lose—especially their lives."

It was in this speech, too, that he turned on those socialists who had left the party: "They lack the fiber for the revolutionary test; they fall away; they disappear as if they had never been. On the other hand, they who are animated by the unconquerable spirit of the social revolution; they who have the moral courage to stand erect and assert their convictions; stand by them; fight for them; go to jail or to hell for them, if need be—they are writing their names, in this crucial hour—they are writing their names in fadeless letters in the history of mankind."

And finally, Debs said, "Yes, in good time we are going to sweep into power in this nation and throughout the world. . . The world is changing daily before our eyes. The sun of capitalism is setting; the sun of Socialism is rising. . . In due time the hour will strike and this great cause triumphant—the greatest in history—will proclaim the emancipation of the working class and the brotherhood of all mankind."

DEBS' CHALLENGE

When Debs was brought to court for his anti-war activity, he made no attempt to contest the facts.

In his summation he told the jury, "Gentlemen, I am the smallest part of this trial. . . What you may choose to do to me will be of small consequence after all. I am not on trial here. There is an infinitely greater issue that is being tried in this court, though you may not be conscious of it. American institutions are on trial here before a court of American citizens. The future will tell."

And in his speech just before he was sentenced, Debs concluded:

"I am, thinking this morning of the men in the mills and factories; I am thinking of the women who, for a paltry wage, are compelled to work out their lives; of the little children who, in this system, are robbed of their childhood, and in their early, tender years, are seized in the remorseless grasp of Mam-

mon and forced into the industrial dungeons, there to feed the machines while they themselves are being starved body and soul. I can see them dwarfed, diseased, stunted, their little lives broken, and their hopes blasted, because in this high noon of our twentieth-century civilization money is still so much more important than human life. Gold is God and rules in the affairs of men.

"I never more clearly comprehended than now the great struggle between the powers of greed on the one hand and upon the other the rising hosts of freedom. I can see the dawn of a better day of humanity. The people are awakening. In due course of time they will come into their own. . ."

These were the words with which Debs accepted his prison sentence and climaxed his struggle against the war.

ANTI-WAR HERITAGE

These were the words of Debs; these were his actions. They were the work of a man who was deeply committed to the socialist struggle against war—and it is all but impossible to convert them into rationales for one or another of the sides in the present cold war.

To be sure, there is much in what Debs said and wrote that strikes one as old-fashioned. His oft-repeated conviction in an ever-growing American socialist movement, indeed in the inevitability of socialist triumph, is from a period before the rise of Stalinism, fascism and the outbreak of the Second World War. In this sense, they strike our ears as old-fashioned. They do not help in characterizing our own time in which one totalitarian police power masquerades under the banners of the very socialism for which Debs fought, in describing the complicated interaction of imperialist struggle that we call the cold war.

No, the anti-war heritage of Debs is not an analysis or an analytic methodology. To say this is not to subscribe to the legend that Debs was an almost mindless creature of pure protest—he wasn't. But it is to realize that his opposition to the war had as its basis a fundamental, even an instinctive, reaction—for the oppressed, against the oppressor, for struggle against imperialism. Debs maintained this in a time somewhat similar to ours, during a period of chauvinism and war economy in which labor leaders, socialists and progressives deserted their principles to back Wilson's War For Democracy.

At the same time, Debs' support of the Russian Revolution must be placed in perspective. He supported the Bolsheviks because he saw in them the very antithesis of the official socialists, the State Department socialists, the German Social Democrats, the pro-war parties of the Second International. He saw in their revolution the triumph of his own convictions. To equate this with a support of the present Stalinist bureaucracy—whose ideological conformism makes Scheidemann and Ebert appear to be free and independent spirits, socialists of the first order—requires a fundamental violation of the spirit of Debs.

The world of today is distant from that of Debs. This allows many to make of him an apologist for this or that departure from his own principles; he is no longer around to defend himself. But Debs' anti-war position still speaks loudly and openly. Can anyone doubt where his sympathies would lie today? with the North African independence movement, or against it? with the political prisoners in Stalinist jails or with their jailer? with one of the imperialist camps or against both?

The world of today is more complex than that of Debs, yet in times of a hundred chauvinisms the spirit of his simplicity remains absolutely necessary to any socialist analysis: with the oppressed, against the oppressors, against the imperialist war.

This Week Sees Their Joint Anniversary —

DEBS AND THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

By JULIUS FALK

"Lenine and Trotsky were the men of the hour and under their fearless, incorruptible and uncompromising leadership the Russian proletariat has held the fort against the combined assaults of all the ruling class powers on earth. It is a magnificent spectacle. It stirs the blood and warms the heart of every revolutionist, and it challenges the admiration of the world...."

"From the crown of my head to the soles of my feet I am a Bolshevik, and proud of it."—From "The Day of the People" by Eugene V. Debs.

This first week of November is a red-letter day in socialist history.

November 5 marks the birthday of Eugene V. Debs, the incorruptible American revolutionist. And during this same week November 7 marks the birth of the Bolshevik revolution in Russia which, in the view of one of its warmest defenders, was "the greatest, most luminous, and far-reaching achievement in the entire sweep of human history."

The coincidence of dates is fitting. There is a basic harmony between the life-work of Debs, who agitated, argued, organized and fought for the revolutionary organization of the working class against capitalism, and the work of the early Bolshevik regime before the Stalinist counter-revolution.

Debs' socialism was rooted in American life; Bolshevism was a product of Russian conditions, just as every genuine revolutionary movement must be rooted in its native soil. But the one responded powerfully to the other, across the differences in national forms, because both were made of the same ore, tempered in the flames of militant class struggle, and based on the same iron principles of internationalism.

Debs' relation to, and views on, the Russian Revolution have been hidden, played down, ignored or lightly glossed over by the social-democrats and liberals who have been in charge of fixing up a "respectable" historical image of the great revolutionist.

EULOGY TO BOLSHEVISM

In his Canton speech Debs touched on many problems, not the least of which was the Russian Revolution, including the following:

"Here I hear your hearts beat responsive to the Bolsheviks of Russia. (Applause.) Yes, those heroic men and women; those unconquerable comrades, who have by their sacrifice added fresh luster to the international movement. Those Russian comrades who have made great sacrifices, who have suffered more, who have shed more heroic blood than a like number of men and women anywhere else on earth. They have led the first real convention of any democracy that ever drew breath. The first act of that memorable revolution was to proclaim a state of peace with an appeal not to the kings, not to the rulers, but an appeal to the people of all nations. They are the very breath of democracy; the quintessence of freedom...."

Nearly three months later Debs, in his address to the jury noted:

"I have been accused of expressing sympathy for the Bolsheviks of Russia. I plead guilty to the charge. I have read a great deal about the Bolsheviks of Russia—that is not true. I happen to know of my own knowledge that they have been grossly misrepresented by the press of this country. Who are these much-maligned revolutionists of Russia? For years they had been the victims of a brutal czar. They and their antecedents were sent to Siberia, lashed with a knout, if they even dreamed of freedom. At last the hour struck for a great change. The revolution came. The czar was overthrown and his infamous regime ended. What followed? The common people of Russia came into power—the peasants, the toilers, the soldiers—and they proceeded as best they could to establish a

government of the people.

"... It may be that the much-despised Bolsheviks may fail at last, but let me say to you that they have written a chapter of glorious history."

On March 10 the Supreme Court under Holmes upheld the 10-year sentence imposed on the 63-year-old socialist leader. But Debs found a bit of satisfaction in the decision with the unfulfilled prophecy that—

"The decision just rendered placed the United States where old Russia under the czar left off. It is good for, at least, a million Bolsheviks recruits in this country."

An article by Debs printed on November 1, 1918 was occasioned by two events: it was the first anniversary of the Russian Revolution and it followed by only a few months the landing of 4000 American troops at Archangel as part of a world-wide capitalist conspiracy to crush the Soviet regime. With this intervention in mind Debs wrote:

"When the Revolution in Russia occurred a year ago and the actual toiling and producing masses came into power under the leadership and inspiration of Lenin and Trotsky, all the ruling class powers on earth, the United States not excepted, instinctively arrayed themselves against the new-born working-class republic and predicted freely that the new regime would not last one week. From that time to this the powers of imperialism and capitalism and their corrupt politicians, their slimy priests and their whole vast brood of mercenaries and sycophants, including their filthy and venomous press, have gone to every extreme of falsehood, calumny and personal vituperation to discredit the leadership of the Russian revolutionaries and ruin and destroy the Bolshevik administration, the first real attempt at actual democratic administration in the history of the world."

HE TOOK HIS STAND

The liberals and social-democrats lavish praise on Debs as a man with an enormous heart. But all too often they insinuate that this was nature's compensation for a weak intellect. But Debs had more than spiritual greatness. His character was an American blend of Silone's saint and Lenin's professional revolutionist.

His support of the Bolsheviks was not merely the reflex of a generous disposition. He appreciated the complexities of the revolution. He understood the nature of the conflict between Menshevism and Bolshevism and he made his choice. As a generous man and a thinking socialist he gave the Bolsheviks unqualified support before the revolution degenerated.

Referring to the overthrow by the Bolsheviks of the Kerensky regime, Debs wrote (in the same article just quoted):

"The chief glory of your revolutionary triumph is that you have preserved inviolate the fundamental principles of international Socialism and refused to compromise. It will be to your everlasting honor that you would rather have seen the Revolution perish and the Soviet with it than to prostitute either one by betraying the workers to alleged progressive reforms which would mean to them an extension of their servitude under a fresh aggergation of exploiters and parasites."

Debs' voice, loud, clear and defiant, in his defense of Bolshevism was not ignored by his comrades in Moscow. The Bolsheviks did what they could to get Debs freed of his felon's garb. They offered to release an American held prisoner in Russia for sabotage in exchange for Debs'

freedom. Nothing came of the Russian proposal. Debs in jail was worth more than a hundred such prisoners to Wilson.

SYMPATHIZED WITH LEFT

During the time that Debs was in jail the Socialist Party was split into unequal parts. The bulk of the membership had been expelled or left the party to form two Communist parties in August and September of 1919. The split revolved largely around the attitudes to be taken toward the Bolshevik regime and the Third International. The right-wing leadership included elements hostile to the Bolsheviks and the leadership as a whole vigorously fought against any attempt to give unqualified endorsement to the Third International.

Although Debs supported the Bolsheviks wholeheartedly and favored affiliation to the Third International he remained with the Socialist Party. But politically he belonged more to the Communists than to his own party. On the third anniversary of the Russian Revolution and one year after the split in the Socialist Party Debs greeted the Russian people as follows:

"The emancipation of Russia and the establishment of the Workers' Republic is an inspiration to the workers of the world, and this people's government is a bright star in the political heavens and will light the way of the world; it is the great hope of the human race and its example will lead to the emancipation of the workers of the world; all hail to those noble comrades who have carved out a people's government on an impregnable foundation of granite that shall stand for all time."

But there are grounds more relevant than the above to show where Debs' political sympathies lay in the dispute which rent the American socialist movement. On May 29, 1920 Debs delivered a written communication to the Socialist Party in which he accepted the party's presidential nomination. In it he wrote:

"I regret that the convention did not see its way clear to affiliate to the Third International without qualification.... We should withhold criticism of those who have left us. I was sorry to read a speech of Berger's the other day attacking the Communists. I have known many comrades in all these parties. I have high regard for them. They are as honest as we are."

REPELLED BY CP

Among the issues in dispute between the Communists and Socialists was the phrase "dictatorship of the proletariat" and the fact that acceptance of this idea was one of the famous 21 conditions required of a party applying for affiliation to the Third International. Many right-wing Socialists were adamant in their opposition to the phrase and to the concept. Debs was not.

He disapproved of the phrase, but not of the concept; his differences were terminological. In his acceptance speech just quoted, following his note of regret that the party leadership did not affiliate "without qualifications," Debs continued:

"There is some difficulty about that unfortunate phrase about the dictatorship of the proletariat.

"A dictatorship does not imply what we mean. It is a misnomer. Dictatorship is autocracy. There is no autocracy in the rule of the masses. During the transition period the revolution must protect itself.

"It is an unfortunate term and leads to misrepresentation. I am sorry it is used. I am opposed to dictatorship in every form. We are for freedom and equal rights. When we say dictatorship, we give the capitalist press opportunity to attack us. Phrases do not make a revolution.

"I heartily support the Russian Revolution without reservation."

Why, then, didn't Debs join the Communist movement? There is no single an-

swer to this question. Debs had been the most prominent spokesman of the Socialist Party since its inception. His sense of loyalty to a movement he personified in the eyes of the American people was undoubtedly a major reason for not administering a coup de grace to the party. Then, too, Debs was in jail when the faction fight in the SP was most intense. Had he been in a position to participate in the internal life of the party in 1919, under the pressure of the party struggle and his own beliefs he might have given organizational support to the Left Wing.

But it was not only jail or sentimental devotion which was responsible for Debs' continued allegiance to the party. Debs admired the Russian Bolsheviks but his political nervous system was jarred by much of the activities and bombast of the then American Communists. And for good reason.

The early American Communists were much given to romantic, super-revolutionary posturing. They had to be dragged out of their underground encampment by the Communist International when there was no need for secrecy. They virtually made a principle of revolutionary violence, renounced reform, and, also as a matter of principle, looked askance on election activity.

Where the Communists were estranged from American life, Debs was attuned to it. He was pro-Bolshevik but he could not be wholly given to a movement in the United States which parodied more than followed Bolshevism. Debs had this in mind no doubt when he wrote:

"Before serving time I made a series of addresses supporting the Russian Revolution, which I consider the greatest single achievement in all history. I said at that time that I was a Bolshevik. I still am a Bolshevik, but I am not a Russian Bolshevik in America."

"BEACON LIGHT . . ."

Debs understood that the Russian revolutionary government, fighting for its life against capitalist invasion from without and tsarist and social-democratic armies from within was forced to restrict political liberties. That is what he meant when he said, "During the transition period the revolution must protect itself."

But as the restrictions during the period of war communism in Russia did not give way to full political freedom in the early 1920s, Debs was greatly disturbed. In July of 1922 he sent a sharp note of protest to Lenin over the trial of 22 Social-Revolutionaries accused of treason.

However, as if to tell the world that his telegram to Lenin and his general uneasiness were not to be misconstrued as a repudiation of Bolshevism, Debs commemorated the fifth anniversary of the Russian Revolution with the following praise of the Bolsheviks:

"For five years they have stood with more than Spartan courage against the foul assaults of the whole criminal capitalist world.

"They have waded through hell in their own blood to banish hell from the earth and bring peace to the world.

"They have fought in rags to clothe the naked, they have starved themselves to feed the race, and they have died in fetters to free the world.

"The Russian Republic stands triumphant, gloriously triumphant on its fifth anniversary, a beacon light of hope and promise to all mankind!"

INDOMITABLE REVOLUTIONIST

When the Communists left the Socialist Party and Debs left jail, there was between them a degree of collaboration. For all the sectarianism of the early Communists, they were devoted to the principles of class struggle and international socialism. And so was Debs. He belonged politically with the Communists and he erred in not joining them.

The warnings of the Communists that the Socialist Party would be reduced to a reformist sect were justified at the time and proved correct. Debs himself recognized this in 1920 when he chided the party for "the tendency in the party to become a party of politicians, instead of a party of the workers." The tragic fate history held for the Communist movement does not validate Debs' conclusion to cast his lot with the Socialist Party.

And, in a sense, his failure to join the American Communists was as much a failure of the Communists as it was of Debs.

To Debs, "Bolshevik" rightly meant not an imitator or sycophant of the Russians but an indomitable revolutionist. In his response to the Russian Revolution we see the real Eugene V. Debs: American Bolshevik.

French Conscripts and Workers Join in Spontaneous Mutinies

By A. GIACOMETTI

Paris, Oct. 25

Popular resistance to the war in North Africa has manifested itself where it is most effective and where it was least expected: in the army barracks.

The demonstrations were staged by men who were torn out of their social environment, subjected to the particular form of demoralization known as military discipline, and kept under close supervision in easily controllable quarters.

That effective resistance should have been possible under these conditions shows that opposition to the policy of repression in North Africa is now an absolutely universal phenomenon, in all layers of French society except the topmost.

It is all the more scandalous that the SP and CP should have confined themselves to purely verbal opposition, revealing themselves once again, in a critical situation, as the major brakes on any progressive mass movement.

When the first demonstration occurred last month in the Gare de Lyon, official opinion attempted to play it down. In a pathetic attempt at minimizing it, *Le Monde* suggested that it was due to "technical mistakes," that the soldiers were left too long with their families in the station, and that there were too few officers around. The incidents therefore had an "accidental character" and one should "guard against hasty generalization." The government talked in a gruff, paternal tone of "hotheads" and "deranged minds."

If this had been the only incident, some people might have believed this interpretation of the events, even though the demonstration had a clear political content: the soldiers were demanding that Morocco be returned to the Moroccans, and that the civilians join their demonstration.

In the following weeks, however, demonstrations became a common occurrence in the barracks where new recruits were stationed. For the most part, the government succeeded in suppressing information about these incidents.

The only one that was well publicized

was the "silent demonstration" of the St. Séverin church, when soldiers of the 401st Artillery Regiment distributed a leaflet stating that repression duty in North Africa was not reconcilable with their conscience.

The most important demonstration of all took place in the Richepanse barracks of Rouen, where the 406th Artillery Regiment was stationed. For the first time, civilian elements joined the soldiers in a demonstration.

FRATERNIZATION

On Thursday, October 6, 480 out of a group of 600 soldiers about to be shipped off to North Africa, refused to leave the barracks, telling their officers that if they wished to get licked in North Africa they could go, but that they themselves wouldn't. They went back to their rooms and later blocked the main gate with a truck, "meeting the officers' orders with total indifference." According to some versions, a colonel who tried to get nasty was locked up in a detention cell, and two other officers were locked in the toilets, after which the soldiers tore down part of the wall surrounding the barracks square with a truck.

During the night and the following morning, the soldiers were in the streets explaining to the inhabitants of the district what had happened. They were surrounded by sympathetic crowds who gave them food, wine and money. At one point, civilian groups started singing the Internationale, and the soldiers answered singing the Marseillaise.

Towards the end of the morning, city police arrived on the scene but behaved themselves and nothing happened. At

noon a police captain came to make a speech and was booed down.

In the afternoon, several trucks of CRS arrived and surrounded the barracks. At 6 p. m. several hundred workers coming out of the factories went to the barracks to support the soldiers; after breaking through a first line of police, they were face to face with the CRS standing in front of the gate. There was more singing of the Internationale and of the Marseillaise, and a local CP functionary made a short speech stating that the soldiers shouldn't leave and that they were the true nation.

PITCHED BATTLE

As the crowd was about to leave, the CRS (special police) started hitting, probably expecting to disperse it without much trouble. The crowd immediately reacted by picking up everything in sight and throwing it at the CRS: cobblestones, bricks, rocks, etc. The CRS were caught between the crowd in the street and the soldiers who began throwing large rocks and tiles from the barracks roof. By 9 p. m., there were at least 50 CRS wounded, 7 in critical condition. More truckloads of CRS kept coming.

At midnight, the barracks were surrounded by four hundred CRS and policemen; the soldiers agreed to leave, and the barracks were immediately occupied by the police.

On Saturday, the CP, the CGT and other organizations held a public meeting in town; about a thousand attended. The speeches were far from inflammatory, and protested in a general way against the government's policy in North Africa.

In the evening, fighting broke out again, even though the soldiers had left during the night. Several youth had set fire to the wooden barrier that had been built to close the gap in the barracks wall. The CRS started throwing hand grenades and tear gas. The tear gas annoyed the whole neighborhood, and everybody who wasn't in the streets before came down to get at the CRS. The demonstrators were throwing gasoline bottles and rocks; a truck loaded with lemonade bottles passed by, was stopped, and its contents were thrown at the police.

Sunday morning, groups started reforming, and by evening the fight was on again. At 9 p. m., a CP representative arrived with a portable loudspeaker and said that one must know how to end a demonstration. He also mentioned "provocateurs," meaning not the CRS but the more militant elements among the demonstrators. He was booed down, but by 10 p. m. the fighting had stopped.

LED FROM BELOW

It was no longer possible for government supporters to talk of "technical mistakes." On October 10 *Le Monde* wrote that "from now on the government will have to take into account [these disorders] in evaluating the quality of the military means at its disposal in North Africa."

On October 14, more demonstrations occurred in Toulon. Soldiers belonging to the 405th Anti-Aircraft Artillery regiment answered the order to leave the barracks, by singing the Internationale, and demonstrated once again in Marseilles while going on board the troop ship.

On October 18, 600 soldiers of the 401st A.-A. Artillery regiment pulled the emergency brakes of the train that was to bring them to Valence, and shouted slogans. The train finally got to Valence three hours late, whereupon the soldiers left the train and demonstrated in town. They later went back to the train and demonstrated once again in Marseilles.

These demonstrations are all the more significant as they are neither organized, nor seriously supported, by any of the major political parties. They are completely spontaneous and led by young people of a great variety of tendencies: left-Catholics of every description, stalinists, socialists of various kinds, and others. Their success shows that if any one of the working-class-supported parties seriously tried to stop the war in North Africa it could do so within ten days.

But, far from being an occasion for taking the political initiative, these demonstrations have only been a source

of embarrassment for SP and CP both.

The case of the SP does not need elaboration: it is sufficient to note that the present crisis has not succeeded in lifting the party out of its swamp any more than other crises have in the past. Its opposition to government policy has been purely verbal and unsteady to boot, with the sole exception of the SP Federation of the Seine (Paris region).

The policy of the CP requires closer attention.

Let us consider the general situation for a moment. The greatest strike wave since 1953 has just swept over the whole country; everywhere the workers showed that they were ready for an all-out fight. What does the CGT do? It sets up different demands for every little category: so many francs for the skilled workers A, so many francs for the unskilled workers B, so many francs for the unskilled workers A, etc. Then it pulls out one factory at a time, and often one category of one department at a time in the same factory. By the end of September, the strike wave is broken for practical purposes.

The soldiers go out and demonstrate all over the country, at considerable personal risk to themselves. What does the CP do? Nothing, absolutely nothing. A few articles in *L'Humanité*, a few meetings, usually local initiatives. No street demonstrations, no mass meetings, no solidarity strikes, as in 1925 against the war in Morocco.

Not only doesn't it do anything, but it undercuts and sabotages those who are trying to do something. In Nantes, it slandered the Trotskyists and other militant elements as "provocateurs," giving the prefect a welcome opportunity to slander the whole strike movement. In Roue, it slandered the demonstrators as "provocateurs." In Paris, the Stalinist youth organization slandered as "provocateurs" the leaders of a Youth Committee who decided to hold a protest meeting even though it had been prohibited by the chief of police.

YOUTH IN THE FOREFRONT

This Youth Committee included youth groups of the New Left, of the Catholic Left, of the anarchist FCL, the Youth Hostel Associations, Boy Scout groups and the SP Student group. The SP youth, which is directly affiliated with the party, and the Stalinist youth both pulled out on orders from their parties.

The theory of the advocates of a "Popular Front" is that collaboration with the CP is necessary to bring about a decisive change in government. Never since the end of the war has the time been so favorable for a decisive change as now. So what does the CP do? Entangled in the "Geneva spirit" and in the imperatives of Russian Foreign policy, it is in effect supporting the government, and doing everything in its power to undercut the mass movements that could break the deadlock in French politics.

What strikes there have been have taken place against the CGT; what resistance there is against the war in North Africa is asserting itself against the CP.

This is why effective protest has come only from the youth, who organized effective demonstrations under the leadership of the MNA, or from the minor groups of the independent Left.

UAW Faces Revolt — —

(Continued from page 1)

to be guided by shrewd advisers who are prepared for any legal moves of the UAW against its supporters, and whose aim is to create an independent union in 1958 when contract negotiations permit NLRB elections.

Only a few weeks ago, a shop-committeeman and a chief steward at Local 212 were suspended from office for supporting the Skilled Society, a move which was perfectly legal under a policy motion adopted by all local unions as a preparation for a purge of open supporters among UAW secondary leaders of the dual-union movement.

What shocked UAW leaders was that the skilled workers at the old Briggs plants went on a wildcat to support the two suspended leaders. The two men were fired by the Chrysler Corporation, of course, and the UAW refuses to negotiate for them, since they were involved in a dual-union movement. The situation is under "control" but the resentments of the skilled workers have not been allayed.

DILEMMA

Thus far, the organizational actions of the skilled workers give little comfort to the comfortable theory of the UAW leaders that the unrest among the skilled workers after the Big Three contracts were signed was purely a temporary episode.

Another source of embarrassment is the use by the skilled workers of the argument that every contract is a "living document" and it ought to be modified when conditions change, and the skilled workers keep asking for a 10 per cent increase. This issue, and others by the way, will be dealt with at the skilled-trades conference meeting on November 4 and 5.

The dilemma of the UAW leaders is clear. If they make a major retreat (which we think is not probable) and do fight for another wage increase for the skilled workers, they know that unrest

among the production workers would force action along those lines soon thereafter.

A further difficulty in quieting down this situation is the publication of the earnings of the Big Three. It becomes less easy for UAW leaders to talk about big gains in the 1955 negotiations when these are contrasted with the fabulous profits of the corporations. General Motors, for example, will clear \$1,200,000,000 profit after taxes for 1955. Ford and Chrysler are doing quite nicely too.

THE CRYSTAL IS CLOUDY

As for 1956, the picture presents anything but cheer for the UAW, in spite of the fact that most labor economists—and, we think, the UAW research department—have concluded that another great year lies ahead. Actually, all independent surveys for 1956 auto production see quite a let-down, with production losses anywhere from 15 to 25 percent contemplated. If the auto workers, and notably the skilled workers, are not satisfied in the year 1955, the best in auto industry history, what can be expected in 1956 when wages become more "normal," that is, lower?

Even the built-in cushion of unemployment-compensation supplements is not likely to keep the men and women in the shops satisfied, partly because of their minimum character, and partly because over-all yearly wages will be less. For it is the overtime work among the major producers that is keeping the ranks from showing more discontent, rather than the contractual gains in the 1955 contracts.

Historically, it was the revolt of the skilled workers against conditions in the auto industry that gave a driving force to the idea of unionism in the 1930s. It remains to be seen what the current rebellion portends. One thing is certain: Nothing is certain for the policy of unionism-as-usual in the uncertain days ahead.

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The Party-Line Press Cries Foul: Dirty Journalism and the Saar

By BERNARD CRAMER

The Saar vote of October 23, which was a blow against the French grab of this German territory and a slap to NATO policy, has been getting the treatment in this country's press. Once again, our Great Democratic Press has demonstrated that it can falsify in almost as monolithic a fashion as its Russian opposites—purely voluntarily of course.

We take as our prime example the N. Y. Times, not only because of its general stature as compared with the ordinary venal press, but also because it provided a textbook case for students of journalism: While it printed dispatches from the Saar itself, by Harold Callender, which told most of the truth, yet in editorials and editorialization unsupported by any factual references it sought to convey the impression that the legitimate German nationalism of the Saarlanders was merely a new edition of Nazism.

In London, newspaper headlines on the Saar referendum read "The Nazis Won." A Fitzpatrick cartoon in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch echoed the "Nazi victory" motif. The case of the N. Y. Post was briefly noted in LA last week.

Now, we are quite ready to assume that neo-Nazi influence among the Saar Germans is at least as rife as among the Germans of West Germany. The question is not whether neo-Nazi elements helped the no vote of the Saarlanders which rejected the fraudulent proposal for "Europeanization" of the territory; of course they did. The question is the dishonest attempt by the kept press to represent the people's pro-German nationalism as itself evidence of "ugly Naziism," and the rejection of the Europeanization statute as motivated decisively by resurgent Nazi appeals.

The "Europeanization" statute, which was supported by the party of the pro-French premier of the Saar, Johannes Hoffmann, supposedly was the banner of the idealistic, internationalist (European unity) forces of the Saar; while the bad Germans opposed it for nationalistic reasons (which are called "emotional" reasons in American party-line journalism) equated with Nazi appeals.

HOLLOW "EUROPE"

But this antithesis was exposed in detail in a series of dispatches from Saarbruecken by the Times correspondent Harold Callender.

In the first place, repeatedly and forcefully he explained the reasons why the "Europeanization" plan was an empty fraud, serving only as a figleaf for French economic control. There is talk about the "European Movement," he says, but no one can say what it's moving toward or whether it is moving; it has no content.

The Saarlanders alone are asked to entrust themselves to this "Europe" that does not yet exist, and which no other people would conceivably deliver themselves to. He appreciatively cites a cartoon showing the Saar as a girl on a divingboard above a waterless pool, being urged by France: "Go ahead and dive; the water will come later."

Worse, the French don't want any water in the pool. The French, as much or more than anyone, helped to spike any

The American Way

Under the satirical title of "Justice," we read a report on a U. S. army court-martial in Salzburg, Germany, where they broke up an alcohol-smuggling racket that was run by a captain and five enlisted men. Murray Kempton's column of October 20 presented the clipping from the army paper *Overseas Weekly*.

Three of the enlisted men got 18 years; one got over 13, and one over 7. The sole officer involved, the captain, who was presumably not the innocent rank-and-filer in the smuggling gang, got a \$1200 fine and—a reprimand.

Kempton comments forcefully: "In the army an officer is judged by his peers; an enlisted man is punished by his superiors. An all-officer jury in the court martial of an enlisted man means the same thing as an all-white jury in the Till case. The army represents every state, but its system of justice represents only Mississippi."

such "Europe": Callender is referring to how they killed EDC and hamstringing even the supranational aspects of the existing Coal and Steel Community.

The concrete embodiment of this non-existent "Europe" which would control the Saar under the rejected statute, he stresses time and again, is nothing but a military alliance of seven Western states, the so-called Western European Union.

The Saar's acceptance of the statute, he admits outright, "would not mean much in the way of uniting Europe," and would not even give a boost to the possible creation of other "European" institutions. In every meaningful respect, the statute merely legitimized the existent French grab of the Saar's rich coal deposits, to be united to Lorraine's iron ore; just as German imperialism seized Lorraine for the same reasons.

"The present 'European' plan for the Saar was a French afterthought. The French began by detaching the Saar from Germany as a measure of reparations. Later they wanted it to stay detached, to reduce the inequality of steel production between France and West Germany by placing Saar steel in the French monetary zone."

ECONOMIC MOTIVES

France desperately hangs on to the Saar because it "needs that production to escape a dangerous inferiority to the Germans," confesses even an anti-German editorial in the Times. The idealistic French want this alien territory because of the very concrete economic interests of their own national capitalist class; the Saar Germans are abused as Nazis because they do not want to be used as a foreigners' economic bludgeon against their own country. No one at all questions by so much as a hint that the Saar is German by nationality and by every other criterion of self-determination.

And how about the "idealistic" and "European-minded" supporters of the statute, who got one-third of the vote? Callender was equally frank about the economic motives of this section of the Saarlanders. He shows that the Saarbruecken Chamber of Commerce welcomed the "Europeanization" statute because these industrial and commercial interests expected it to mean that the Saar would retain its French markets in addition to being allowed to recover its former markets in South Germany. Very idealistic "Europeans," verily.

"The problem, according to the industrialists, is whether the logical markets and sources of supply of the Saar, France and Germany, shall be equally available," writes Callender. And "Those who vote yes would be voting for these freer economic relations."

But, to supply some background for Callender's implicitly class approach, we may note that 70 per cent of the Saar's population consists of wage-earners in the steel or coal-mining industry or in the finishing industries of the region—a relatively enormous proportion.

The American press, like the French, suddenly discovered the threat of Nazism in the Saar when, once the campaign was under way, they found out that majority opinion was against the statute. Then the leader of one of the three pro-German parties, the Democratic Party, was put into the forefront in the news dispatches for the simple reason that he is an ex-Nazi and represents the neo-Nazi elements. This was Heinrich Schneider.

"NAZI APPEAL"?

Yet, though watching like a hawk, the reporters in Saarbruecken were able to cite absolutely nothing from his speeches of an overtly Nazi character—not even a phrase; he was obviously being careful and posing as a simple patriot. His leading role in the campaign, however, gave the press a kernel of truth with which to smear his rival pro-German parties, the Saar Socialist Party and the Christian-Democratic Union, respectively affiliated to their fraternal West German parties.

In an interesting passage, Callender cited the Nazi appeal as being an *incumbence* to the pro-Germans: "German nationalism still counts, for the Saar-

landers think of themselves as Germans. This is offset somewhat by memories of the Nazi regime and its consequences for the Saar and Germany." He states also that the most notable sentiment against the statute is among the youth.

All this does not prevent the Times—and in isolated passages, Callender himself—from making general broad smears identifying German nationalism and Nazism in the Saar.

For a couple of weeks in August, when the referendum campaign first got started, there were reports from the Saar of "rowdiness" against Hoffman's pro-French meetings; a stench bomb was thrown; there were boos and heckling, etc., and some references to mob violence. After a vigorous attack upon this sort of thing by the pro-German parties, all disorder ceased, and Callender twice testified to the calm, orderly and quiet nature of the campaign that followed and of the balloting itself.

Moreover, one has to understand that, up to the start of this campaign, the political organizations and views of two-thirds of the people had been repressed under French military control; the German parties had been illegal under foreign guns. Coming out from under this armed repression, the Saarlanders emerged with a head of steam, which was soon con-

DISPATCH FROM DUBLIN

Irish Laborites Under Attack For Coalition Collaboration Policy

By M. M.

Dublin, Oct. 12

The coalition government in Ireland is losing some sleep over the economic crisis which is daily gathering momentum, with inflation and the price-wage spiral having their effect on the workers' standards. The cornerstone of the government is threatened by the militant attitude of the unions as the latter seek to preserve their wage positions. Labor Party elements in the coalition are wincing at the arm-twisting technique of the unions.

These Laborites are attempting to allay the mounting criticism against their wretched policy of collaboration with the clerical-ridden reactionaries of Fine Gael (United Ireland), through a series of articles in the weekly tabloid *Times Pictorial* justifying continued support for the government.

It is abundantly clear that these Labor politicians are doing their damndest to hold down their fat jobs in the administration and perhaps a ministerial pension as well after 3½ years in office. The continued support of the government must be decided by a policy resolution at the party's annual conference next year. Hence the "theoretical" smoke-screen for the membership.

The Stalinist undercover-men in the Labor Party's Dublin organization have in this connection emerged as the "radical" theoreticians of MacDonaldism, i.e., of coalitionism. And the payoff? It is membership in this, that and the other governmental commission where Labor ministers have influence, in consideration of dirty chores done.

On the other hand, the official Stalinist organization, the Irish Workers League, has come out in its organ *Workers Voice* with devastating "Third Period" attacks on the coalition.

Yet their darling, Deputy Jim Larkin (who scorns their open political advances) has consistently acted as a left cover for the wretchedly corrupt right-wing leaders. He has all but claimed his mantle of political respectability, and it seems unlikely that the Stalinists will ever again get near enough to derobe him and lay bare his former association with the Stalinist movement in this country of some 20 years ago.

REACHED A CRISIS

It is evident that the Irish Labor Party has reached a crisis in its evolution. Economic and political events are posing the question of a radical transformation of the economic and social basis of Irish society: the undercapitalization of the land and industry; unemployment and mass emigration as a permanent feature of the economy; the demagogic appeal by the biggest of the two conservative parties

verted to orderly mass-organization and propaganda work.

This is part of the background for the mendacious *Times* editorial of August 29, which began by stressing the importance of a favorable Saar vote for the sake of "Western defense," and continued with the stupid slander that "the parochial pro-German parties" have been "whipped up by ex-Nazis and Communists." The *Times*' own dispatches had never even mentioned the Communists' role except in passing notice of their existence and their pro-German line.

As a matter of fact, in an editorial after the vote, the *Times* had the amazing gall to give the Communists first mention: "This nationalism has been instigated [no less!] and exploited by the Communists . . . but even more by former Nazis. . ."

AFTERMATH

One facet of the pro-German argument in the Saar was verified 100 per cent in the aftermath of the referendum.

The French had huffed and puffed with threats that, in case of a no vote, there would be no renegotiation of the question, there would be no new concessions, and above all the pro-German parties would again be suppressed.

As it turns out, and as the Saarlanders and others rightly expected, this proved to be wind. The French have hurried to discuss renegotiations, they are talking about new concessions, and the pro-German parties are still operating. In fact, one might almost argue that the Saarlanders concretely gained more by their no vote than they could have gained by accepting the French deal.

(De Valera's) for the erection of a welfare state to disorient working class support for the Labor Party; the clerical stranglehold that virtually robs parliament of its sovereignty and makes a partition of adult suffrage; and the threat to democracy and a free working class inherent in the neofascist-putschist IRA.

The conservatism of the Labor leadership allows the two capitalist parties to continue the fiction of independent existence, and dissipates the energies of the working class on the "lesser evil" merry-go-round.

The once-revolutionary bourgeoisie here has exhausted its mission in Ireland, in spite of the "new look" five-year plan of De Valera's party (which this correspondent will discuss in a later article). Only the vista of socialism can call up the energy, the dynamism, the capacity for struggle, the ideological and physical motive forces for a further push along the road of human progress and freedom in Ireland. This is the practical value that is never faced by the Realpolitikers of the Irish Labor Party.

Image of Debs — —

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to themselves to speak the truth that was in them; who have dared oppose the established order of things; who have espoused the cause of the suffering, struggling poor; who have upheld without regard to personal consequences the cause of freedom and righteousness. It is they, the heroic self-sacrificing few, who have made the history of the race and who have paved the way from barbarism to civilization.

"The many prefer to remain upon the popular side. They lack the courage and vision to join a despised minority that stands for a principle; they have not the moral fibre that withstands, endures and finally conquers. They are to be pitied and not treated with contempt for they cannot help their cowardice.

"But, thank god, in every age and in every nation there have been the brave, and self-reliant few, and they have been sufficient to their historic task; and we, who are here today, are under infinite obligations to them because they suffered, they sacrificed, they went to jail, they had their bones broken upon the wheel, they were burned at the stake and their ashes scattered to the winds by the hands of hate and revenge in their struggle to leave the world better for us than they found it for themselves: We are under eternal obligations to them because of what they did and what they suffered for us and the only way we can discharge that obligation is by doing the best we can for those who are to come after us."