

The United States Court of Appeals has unanimously reversed the conviction of William W. Remington, former government economist, on charges of perjury. The grounds of the reversal, and even more, certain observations made by the court in handing down its judgment, are of considerable importance to the fight for the preservation of civil

> basis of the whole of the testimony of all the government wit-

decision is not so much the technical rule of evidence which the appellate justices required. From the point of view of the rights of persons who are accused of membership in the Communist Party. the government may decide from time to time as being "subversive" or as falling under the criminal ban of the Smith Act. much more important are the court's attacks on the arbitrary, prejudiced and vicious manner in which judge and prosecutor collaborated to deprive the accused of his elementary

At no time was Remington given a bill of particulars as to what specific acts were to be used as proof of his membership in the CP. A motion for such a bill was denied by the judge. "The accused never learned until the filing of the government's brief on appeal what acts the prosecution would contend showed that he believed himself to have been a member of the party," states

Further, the government prosecutor refused to define what constitutes membership in the CP, so that the defendant did not know "even at the end of the government's case what he had

give him access to the minutes

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Their Congress Readies New Tax Steal for Rich

By SAM FELIKS

To complement a "price control" law written by the lobbyists, Congress is getting ready to pass an equally reactionary tax bill. Once again the low and middle income groups are going to be handed the short end of the stick for the support of the war economy.

Already as a result of the "price control" law, prices rose two-tenths of one per cent in the month ending July 15. This is the highest point in the history of the consumer price index.

But it is only the beginning. The forcast is for a rise in meat prices as well as hundreds of other increases. Caught between the rising prices and the new tax boosts, low and middle income families are really in for the old squeeze play.

This will be especially disastrous for the 20 per cent of all American families with incomes under \$2000 a year who receive only 5 per cent of personal income after taxes.

President Truman in his tax message to Congress several months ago proposed a tax boost of \$10 billion. This figure was scaled down to \$7.2 billion in the House bill. And at the present writing, it is under consideration at the Senate Finance Commit-

The Truman proposals placed a heavy burden on the low and middle income groups, while the House bill reversed the relative weight of the high and low income groups. And now the Senate has reduced the taxes on the high income groups.

INCENTIVE-FOR SOME

But all three groups of proposals placed an additional burden on those least able to afford

it. In the mid-year 1951 report of the President's Council of Economic Advisers, crocodile tears are shed over the plight of the lowest paid families:

"While, on the average, income after personal taxes will probably rise under the impact of the defense program, even with the proposed individual income-tax increases, many families with relatively fixed incomes will have no alternative but to adjust to a lower level. Even when disposable income rises, this does not necessarily mean an improvement in the individual's real income position and in his standard of living. In measuring real income, price rises must be taken into account.

But what did Truman propose for these lowest paid families? Nothing but an increase in individual taxes as well as an increased sales tax. No doubt he found it "regrettable." But when he made the proposals for the highest income groups, it was found necessary to preserve the production incentive of big busi-(Turn to last page)



AFL Seamen Peddle Some Dope About Democracy

we would have to say more about

civic virtue than the SIU ven-

tures to do. The Smith Act has

been a law for many years. After

its first application to the Minne-

apolis Teamsters Union and the

Socialist Workers Party, it was

allowed to rest unused. Imagine

a city administration that per-

mitted dope smuggling, known to

all, to continue for five or ten

years. Suddenly the noble-minded

inhabitants of City Hall swoop

down on the dope dens and throw

The same dope peddlers. The

same politicians. Wouldn't we be

justified in probing into the source

Perhaps, a gang of crooked

cops wants a bigger payoff. Per-

haps some rotten wardheelers

want to turn the concessions over

to a new crowd. Maybe if we gave

a second's thought before sound-

ing off, we might learn as much

about the morality of our law-

enforcers as we already know

Why does the administration

begin now to apply the Smith Act

against the CP? Not because it is

the great guardian of "law" and

has no alternative but to carry

out the lofty principles of juris-

prudence. The cold-blooded fact is

quite different. Truman and his

attorneys general, for calculated

political reasons, in order to

carry out their own cold-war poli-

cies, dip into the lawbooks to get

a legal cover. In the same way,

they dug through old law libraries

to find a legal justification for

about the dope-peddlers.

of this sudden display of zeal?

the crime czars into jail.

SUDDEN ZEAL

By BEN HALL

Some weeks ago the United Packinghouse Workers Union (CIO) in its official newspaper published a sharp condemnation of the arrest and conviction of leaders of the Communist Party under the Smith Act. In its understanding of the issues at stake. in sensing the danger to all civil liberties, in revealing the link between these trials and the whole anti-democratic trend in America. this union stands virtually alone in the labor movement. The best of them equivocate or remain silent.

But even this evasion seems like the essence of militant democracy when compared to the latest performance of the Seafarers International Union (AFL).

It's all very simple to the SIU. As it tells us in its publication Seafarers Log: "The recent round-up of leading communists on Smith Act charges and the conviction of 11 party braintrusters have been criticized by some as being a blow to the rights of Americans and one that could foreshadow a crackdown on labor unions." The editor wastes no time refuting the arguments that might bolster such criticisms; in fact he doesn't bother even to mention such trifles. For the whole case is succinctly summarized by him:

"The fuzziness of this thinking is clear, for these people are not up on phony raps. There is a law which makes their practices a crime and putting them in jail is no different from imprisoning dope peddlers."

And as law-abiding dope-peddling-haters, the SIU sees its

fining the miners' union. Their By FRANK, HARPER Even if this were a simple case respect for the law can be exagof reprehensible dope-peddling, gerated.

IT'S THE SAME LAW

Even from the simple-minded SIU viewpoint, things are more complicated than they seem. But it would be hard to justify the comparison between the CP trials and the hypothetical arrest of dope-peddlers. Yes, the CP is accused of violating the law. But this law is not directed against what the CP does but against what it says. It is a law against political agitation, against free discussion. In brief, a law against democracy

And because this law and these trials are intended to restrict the rights of free speech, free press. to intimidate political dissenters. to encroach on traditional liberties, they are in fact "a blow to the rights of Americans."

Under what law are the CPers tried? The Smith Act. This act, we have already said, has been on the books for years; and for years whole sections of the labor movement, AFL and CIO, denounced this law for what it was, an undermining of democracy.

Hundreds of labor leaders protested in speeches and in writing against the enforcement of this law against the SWP and donated good money to fight it. And now that this same law, with its same destructive effects on liberty, for the same reasons that prompted its enactment, is directed against the CP, there are no fewer reasons for denouncing it. Not because we sympathize with the detestable CP but because we must defend democracy.

In the Shadow Over The Cradle of Liberty

PHILADELPHIA, Aug. 24-The Republican-controlled House of Representatives of the state of Pennsylvania voted several days ago to outlaw the Communist Party and other organizations advocating the overthrow

of the government by force and violence. It would also be a criminal offense to be a member of any such organization; the penalty is \$10,000 fine and up to 20 years in prison. The vote count was 145 8. The nays came from one Republican and liberal and prolabor Democrats.

The "anti-red" bill was sponsored not by a legislator but by a udge, Michael A. Musmanno. Judge Musmanno is the Democratic nominee for the state Supreme Court but his bill has been called unconstitutional by the state Department of Justice. To complete the list of contradictions one has only to recall that Musmanno won his recent battle in the Democratic primaries with labor backing against the machine candidate.

The Musmanno bill goes to the Senate where it joins the Republicans' (Pechin) bill setting up a state "loyalty oath" for teachers and other state employees. When the legislature reconvenes on September 17, the two major parties will again vie for the distinction of dealing the more telling blow o political freedoms. At an open hearing last week on the Pechin oill, opposition was voiced by the AFL. CIO, and several liberal organizations.

Judge Musmanno's most coherent comment on communism has been: "It makes me sick at the was supposed to mean...."

stomach to know that the state office of the Communist Party lies on South Broad Street [Philade]. delphia] almost within the shadow of the cradle of liberty." One can only hope that Pennsylvania labor leaders are just as sick when they recall that they gave the judge

their wholehearted support. The Pechin and Musmanno bills may be rewritten in the Senate. Deputy Attorney General R. L. Kunzig Jr. has predicted that if the unconstitutional Musmanno bill becomes law, the jails will be filled and the courts crowded since the Justice Department will then be required to round up immediately all members of the Communist Party and other organizations teaching force and iolence. The concentration of both parties on the Communist ssue indicates that strong limitations are due to be placed on the rights of political expression and public assembly in this state.

All this in the shadow of the "cradle of liberty."

Mystery

From an interview with Henry Ford 2d (by Tex McCreary and Jinx Falkenburg, in the N. Y. Herald Tribune, Aug. 29): "Under his picture in the

Hotchkiss School yearbook the editor wrote this prophecy: 'You've got something there-if you handle it right.'

"And again Ford grinned at the memory of the prediction: 'I have never understood what it

The Audience Will Be Cool but the Show Must Go On

By JAMES M. FENWICK

How swashbuckling was the government's announcement a few weeks ago that it would open the fall season with a neatly staged - and televised - show titled "Signing the Japanese Peace Treaty.'

But as the day of the opening approached a slight quaver began to be noticeable in the government's voice. As often happens in amateur theatricals many of those engaged in the staging of the production were dissatisfied with the parts alloted them. Some of those designated as spectators wanted to be in the play itself. Others who, it was hoped, would not show up at all announced their intention of appearingcomplete with overripe fruits and vegetables. Others, having passed judgment upon the play vance, declined to appear. There was scarcely hidden friction among the principals themselves. Script trouble developed.

HOWLS GO UP

In short, the fall political theater season promises to open inauspiciously for United States capital.

Among the shouts and murmurs first heard were those from the Philippines. The genuinely uncontrived howls of anguish which went up from the corrupt Manila regime were prompted by the draft proposal to waive Japanese reparations. A point of principle and even self-interest had been encroached upon.

This induced the State Department to make one of the few amendments to the first draft of the treaty. In the finest hypocritical diplomatic tradition this consisted of a strengthened recognition-in-principle of the right of the Philippine government, for example, to extract reparations from Japan. The incident also rerealed that consultation among

the powers had evidently been even more exclusive than was scandalously obvious initially. Philippine fears of a renascent Japanese imperialism were allayed by a planned military pact between the United States and the Philippines.

Burma, another country which suffered heavily in World War II. similarly refused to lend its cachet to the Japanese treaty because of the initial waiving of reparations.

Yugoslavia . . . declined.

There were unresolved differences among the major capitalist powers as well. England, for example, differs with the United States upon what regime is to represent China-the de facto Stalinist government or the bankrupt Chiang Kai-shek dictator-This difference led to the equivocation of proposing that Japan herself later decide whom she is to sign with.

Premier Yoshido very featly, if temporarily, flipped this hot potato back into the hands of the United States-a performance which caused the United States press to comment that the premier was indeed a very hard man to understand.

BRITAIN'S STAKE

Even the more obtuse of the State Department minds must occasionally wonder if the current proposals for resolving this question may not be storing up trouble for the future.

Neither does England, walking the economic tight rope, regard the autonomous growth of competitive Japanese industry and commerce with the same gay abandon as does the United States. That these and other questions are not seriously divisive can be ascribed to a number of reasons: they are in actuality not of major importance, they are overshadowed by the total Russian menace, and the United States, not England, is the major determiner of world capitalist policy.

The main reactionary opponent of the provisions of the treaty, of course, will be Russia, the country which the State Department thought would not arrive on the scene. To be persona non grata has been a part of the normal political environment for the Kremlin, and San Francisco provides a golden opportunity and Russia will neither miss it nor fail to wring the last ounce of propaganda advantage out of it.

Russia's line of attack is not difficult to forecast. One type of approach may be called the legal one: This consists of the portrayal of the United States as the disrupter of the World War II anti-axis coalition, as the violator of the agreements consummated at Yalta, Potsdam, and elsewhere.

BOTH PLAY THE GAME

There is no dearth of facts with which to make the story stick. The United States almost from the beginning unilaterally decided the fate of Japan. Japan is being permitted to rearm a bare six years after it was generally agreed that Japanese militarism was never again to be allowed to come into existence.

The United States can truly reply that the Russians are playing the same game elsewhere, but the force of the Russian argument will remain, especially in the Far East, where United States imperialism, unlike Russian, has been very much in evidence and where the ravages of Japanese imperialism are still remembered.

Ironically enough, the reactionary agreements concluded with Russia during World War II against the Axis capitalisms can now be propagandistically employed by the Russians against the reorientation of the United States line in world politics.

capitalism of Russia to undermine the military and economic strength of such countries as West Germany, Italy, and Japan, which were wartime enemies of Russia (at least in the latter phases) and which the United States has been assiduously striving to make into allies.

RUBBER-STAMP RALLY

Stalinist propaganda against the United States derives no small part of its force from the fact that it is mostly true. The unstated-and just as often the voiced — corollary that Russia along with her satellites is a "non-imperialist," "peace-loving," "socialist" nation can more or less easily be demonstrated as demagogy but does not necessarily undercut the truthfulness or the effectiveness of its charges against

Gromyko and the satellite spokesmen' can also be relied upon to make the most out of the amateurish, crude, and ultimatistic preparation of and plans for the San Francisco conference. The Russians can hardly lose on this issue, for the United States has put itself in a position which virtually precludes any changes at the conerence, whose sole task as viewed by the United States is one of imple ratification.

The biggest pre-conference failure for the United States, of course, was the inability to induce India to attend. That there is ambiguity in Nehru's position in regard to Russia (he does not, for example, demand the return of former Japanese areas now controlled by Russia) does not negate the fact that India is currently trying to steer a course between the two giant imperialisms. Needless to say, Gromyko and his as- Francisco. Nobody should be sursociates will make a strong bid for the support of India and oth-It is still to the advantage of er Asiatic countries which feel the bureaucratic collectivist anti- the actual or potential threat of steals the show.

United States imperialism.

Though a true index of Japanese opinion is hardly possible at the present juncture, it is plain that all parties save Premier Yoshida's Liberal Party have been very chary of associating themselves with the contemplated treaty. Though members of the Democratic Party are part of the delegation they will sign only the peace treaty, leaving to Yoshida he unpleasant job of signing the so-called security pact with the United States.

The Japanese ruling class is aware of the strong bargaining position events have placed it in. Yoshida, as has already been indicated, has on occasion crowded the United States. Once the treaty is in effect and relative autonomy restored there will be a clash of interest. What, for example, is to prevent the growth of a sentiment for vitally necessary trade with China? The Stalinist bloc can make effective propaganda with this as a basis. It is in fact currently doing so, coupling the offer with associated threats as to the imperialist construction the Stalinists place upon the treaty.

There is not the slightest evidence that the Japanese people themselves are in any mood for war or for rearmament. This is reflected in the position of the Japanese Socialist Party for neutrality and permanent disarmament. The Japanese people want a restoration of the economy. If this is not achieved and a war economy superimpôsed instead, the

growth of Stalinist moods is not the least of the possibilities which can be envisaged.

This is the situation which confronts the United States as the curtain prepares to go up at San prised if the boys fluff their lines. if the ad-libbing is something less than brilliant, or if the villain

By JACOB DIETRICH

identification between Washbilities of American foreign policies.

White House. Spain and the meaning of these terms." people to think otherwise? A map

"The New Order (This time, American)"

other slogans. LOST ILLUSION

arms of the Russians?"

and was certain that Wall as important the liberty or the rights of people."

much too serious.



Moscow Is Soft on Fight Against Franco

For no people on this much-divided earth does the phrase "neither Washington nor Moscow" have more meaning than for the Spanish people. The weakness of the Stalinists in Spain is an eloquent tribute to the recognition, on the part of the Spanish, of the treacherous role of the Stalinists during the civil war with Franco. And the ever-increasing

ington and Franco has soured all but the most stubborn on the democratizing possi-

The latest issue of La Batalla -the official publication of the Spanish POUM, an issue devoted specially to the recent agreement between Washington and Madrid -makes these points, above all else, amply clear. "Socialism," it writes editorially, "is a false and propagandistic expression in the mouths of the men of the Kremlin; democracy is a word no less false and propagandistic in the mouth of the magnates in the

Spanish people, who have been abandoned time and again by Moscow and Washington, deceived and betrayed, know and are acquainted with the real Is it possible for the Spanish

on the first page of La Batalla, in which the locations of the new American military bases are indicated, is captioned:

And speaking of how easily Spain has been sold out by Franco, one writer from underground Barcelona puts it: "Once the buyer was Hitler, today it is Truman." And from the Spanish point of view, of course, this simple linking of the two names is becoming more and more natural. For, after all, both of them apparently see fit to bolster the fascist regime in their own interests. Little consolation is it for them that Truman supports Franco to protect "Western civilization" while Hitler did it with

'And consequently the hatred for the United States mounts daily. The jubilation of the March and April strikes quickly passes to cynical bitterness. "What do they want to do," asks one man in the street, "throw us into the

"A republican friend of mine," writes one correspondent, "who was always pro-American, told me gravely today: 'The saddest thing about the American decision is its stupidity. Even today, in spite of everything, I had put my hope in the people of the United States, and the Pentagon had not become the only ruling force in politics. Since this tragic date [however] it has become apparent that no distinction is possible, that the Yankee government neither works democratically nor does it count

The writers in La Batalla found it difficult to express the rage and resentment they felt in themselves or in the Spanish air. They had noted that the United States had already supported men as dictatorial as Franco-Syngman Rhee, Chiang Kai-shek, etc .-- but yet they held out a thin ray of hope. "Everyone knows," writes Batalla, "that the Spanish sense of humor is easy and rapid; the least occasion gives rise to improvised jokes which pass quickly from mouth to mouth. However, this time the people were in no mood for joking. The matter is

The official declaration of the POUM, printed in this special issue, compared the Madrid-Washington agreements with the infamcus Hitler-Stalin' Pact of 1939: "A pact against the Span-

ish people. But it was more than that. The

idea that the pact is going to strengthen the military potential of the West in any way is ridiculed. The very fact of the tremendous increase of anti-American feeling as a result of the agreement only further andermines the morale of the Spanish people, makes them less capable (and willing) to fight an American-led war. When Franco now boasts that he has American aid the people are not impressed; instead they silently boo America.

STALIN AND FRANCO

Perhaps the most severe indictment of the pact as an attempt to fortify the West is contained in an article analyzing the failure of the Stalinists to take a vigorous stand the anti-Franco struggle in Spain. Whether or not the reasonng of the article—presented below—is correct we cannot tell from this vantage point; but that the author is correct in suggesting

that the fall of Franco, perhaps forestalled by present American moves, would be a blow to the Kremlin seems beyond dispute. In addition, of course, the article points out the thoroughly corrupt strategy of the Stalinists.

After noting that the Stalinists -alone among political groups on the international scene-have not taken a strong stand on the events in Spain the author asks "How can one explain such a situation?"

CP LIES LOW

"It is known that, in last March, the Stalinists cynically attributed the organization and direction of the great general strike of Barcelona to themselves. This caused the Communist workers of Italy and France to develop small movements of solidarity Movements [however], which did not have proper strength nor possibilities for extension because the Stalinists bridled them in a conscious and deliberate manner.

"But there is more. Following that, neither the World Federation of Trade Unions, nor the leaders of the 'Partisans for Peace,' nor the organizations directed by the **Communist Parties launched the** slightest call to working-class action against Franco and for help to the striking Spaniards. [In fact]

played less activity than the so- of propaganda against American cial-democracy or the Internation- capitalism. If Franco falls toal Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

"In reality it can be shown. without exaggerating in the least, that Stalinism did much more to save Christino Garcia in 1945 than to sustain the brave strikers of Barcelona in the past month of March. Why this difference? Because Christino Garcia was a docile instrument in the hands of the Spanish CP while, on the other hand, the workers of Barcelona were completely free from it? An explanation of this type would be so ingenuous as to be ridiculous. The explanation of the difference extends much further; for the silence and inactivity of the Stalinists in relation to the Washington-Madrid pact it is necessary to look other places.

"The truth is-a truth demonstrated by innumerable facts of extraordinary significance-that the Kremlin is not interested in the fall of Franco.

"Moscow, with its brutal 'realism,' with a realism based solely upon the defense of the interests of Russia and, before and above all, upon the privileged bureaucratic caste that rules it, prefers, day by day, to have Franco continue in power.

"If Franco falls tomorrow the

... the Stalinist movement dis- Kremlin will lose one of its arms morrow the Kremlin would not be able to count in Spain upon a strong CP as in France and Italy. If Franco would fall tomorrow the Atlantic coalition would be rid of one of its most friction-creating problems. MOSCOW'S "REALISM"

> "But Moscow goes even further. Moscow knows that, in case of a world war, only in a Spain domi nated by Franco and occupied by American troops can they find great possibilities of organizing a movement of guerrillas to prepare for the arrival of the Russian army.

"The 'realism' of the Kremlin in regard to Spain is based on this. Therefore, in these grave moments in the destiny of our people, the militant Spanish Stalinists limit themselves to the gathering of signatures in support of a 'pact between the Five Great Powers.' Therefore, the Communist Parties have not launched the slightest call to action against the Franco regime. Therefore the Stalinist press is hardly disturbed by the Washington-Madrid alliance."

The lessons to be drawn from these remarks are obvious: neither Washington nor Moscow offer hope either for the Spanish people or for civilization itself.

Is Poland the Main Danger for Russian Power?

By A. RUDZIENSKI

During the last military trial n Warsaw, the public prosecutor tried to "prove," with the help of the witness General Kirchmayer, that a "nationalist" ("Titoist") wing existed in the Polish Stalinist party, led by Gomulka and Spychalski with the collaboration of other high officials and backed by the Anglo-American intelligence service under Thomas Bett, U. S. military attaché in the Polish capital.

The trial is a new demonstrative pusge of all officials and collaborators of the regime who are suspected of "nationalism." Included are military men, Stalinist as well as fellow-traveler elements, who did yeomen's work in the consolidation of the Stalinist regime in Poland. "Genéral" Spychalski was one of the few Stalinist military officials and a principal support of the regime during its first period. Generals Mossor, Kirchmayer, etc., are the "collaborators" who, disappointed with the policy of Britain and the U. S., supported Stalinism' in Poland.

Now Sp ed and all his collaborators have been condemned by Stalinist "justice." The fate of Gomulka is not known. All the fellow travelers who came over from the Polish Socialist, Populist and Christian Parties now await their purge and trial. They will be replaced by Russian or Russified Poles, trained in Russia by the MVD (the GPU).

At the same time, trials were also held of Stalinist party officials for their "abuse of authority" in actions against the peasants in Pomerania and central and southern Poland. These trials. are a reply of the Kremlin to the recent strikes and peasants' riots and reveal the great difficulties of Stalinism in the country.

NOT CRUSHED

The totalitarian offensive of the Kremlin in Poland has met with great resistance from the entire Polish nation and from all classes of society, in the first place from the working class and the peasantry.

There is no doubt that the degree of totalitarianization in Poland is as yet lower than in Russia. In Poland there still exist the

Christian; there is also the "independent" (pro-Stalinist) Catholic press; with regard to civil liberties-if one can speak of this "bourgeois prejudice"-the situation is still looser than in Russia.

The Polish workers can still buy 100 per cent more for their wages than can the Russian workers. The Polish peasants still have their farms and resist the slave "collecivization" which is the aim of the government. The Polish Stalinist party does not have the prestige. tradition and influence of the Russian Bolsheviks to trade on. And the Polish opposition still exists and fights, if only in latent and illegal form; the Polish masses are also fighting, if only in spontaneous resistance.

When the Russians reinvaded Poland in 1944, in accordance with the Yalta and Teheran agreements and with the "authorization" of Britain and the U.S. for the occupation of the country, a great clandestine resistance existed there. This resistance had led the people for some years in the fight against the Germans. The Stalinists had not particinated in this resistance. ecause they had supported the Russo-German alliance. The authority of the Stalinist "Lublin Committee" was therefore virtually nil. It was backed only by the "authority" and imperialist pressure of Moscow, London and Washington.

·These powers delivered the Polish people over to the Stalinists. forcing the opposition to collaborate with the latter. Under these special conditions, the Russians admitted the shadow-parties to their government and formed their coalition with Mikolajczyk. THE GLOVES ARE OFF

During this period Stalin's policy had to be "liberal," because the Lublin Committee was backed only by Russian bayonets. It was reminiscent of the policy of Czar Alexander I in the Kingdom of Poland, after the Congress of Vienna. Stalin was very "mild" with the Populists, the Catholics and the "social patriots," and his party was officially led by the "soft" Gomulka, Spychalski, etc., in collaboration with fellow travelers from the shadow-parties. The Russian ambassador in War-

shadow-parties, Populist and saw, Libediev, was also "liberal" and took a "mild" line against the Catholics and peasants.

> The Machiavellians of the Kremlin figured that this breathing-space (pieredyshka in Russian) was necessary for the consolidation of Stalinist power, and that it would be ended only as soon as social and political conditions permitted.

International tension and the interests of Russian foreign policy have now made an end of the "liberal" policy, as they did in 1816-1825. The Stalinist party is today the sole master of political power and also the master of the ational economy. So too the mild" policy with respect to the peasants and the Catholics must be brought to an end; and the policy of the Kremlin will remind one of that of Nicholas, which led to the armed revolution of 1830-31 and to the downfall of Nicholas I.

In Stalin's new Nicholas-type policy, the Kremlin has ordered Polish Stalinism to tighten the screws on the workers, in order to speed up war industry; on the peasants, for grain delivery and to intensify the slave "collectivion the state farms; on the Catholics, through organizing the pledging of "loyalty to People's Poland" by the priests.

We described this policy in previous articles, and have also described its setbacks, manifested n the Silesian strike, the peasant riots and the Szczecin street fight between the Poles and the Russian military.

THE "GOOD LITTLE FATHER"

Poland today is not Russia. The intensified totalitarian line of the Kremlin in Poland provoked strikes and riots, and Stalin fears riots and workers' strikes, because he knows their importance. Therefore he ordered new trials in Warsaw and all over Poland. to search out victims, to find scapegoats for his mistakes, and to bolster the legend of the good little father Stalin who does not want the Poles to be oppressed and wants to repair all injustices and crimes committed by his officials.

Russian imperialist policy in Poland develops in a mortal contradiction between the necessities of the "Russo-Polish alliance" against American capitalism and the voracity of Russian imperialism. The atter seeks to absorb all of Polish industry and agriculture and all of Poland itself, and reduce the Palish people to the status of Russian slaves.

After the national defeat in 1864, a period opened in Poland when the bourgeoisie "buried the hatchet of insurrection" and proclaimed an era of "constructive work" for the country. But this lasted only till 1880, till the formation of the first socialist party in Poland and the first mass strike in Warsaw. The Polish democratic revolution and the socialist struggle of the Polish workers made a great contribution to the defeat of czarism and the victory of the revolution. Stalin knows this very wellhence his terror of "Polish riots."

MAIN ENEMY

Only the blockheads of the U.S. State Department can think that Poland has lost its importance as the center of anti-Moscow resistance among the Slav peoples. In reality the Polish people remain the chief enemy of the Russian Stalinist autocracy among all the Slavs and all the occupied countries.

In this writer's opinion, not Tito's Yugoslavia nor even the Ukrainian resistance but rather the fight of the Polish workers and peasants is the main danger for the Kremlin. Poland's economy is today of prime importance in the satellite zone, and the Polish tradition of freedom and revolution is more important today than in the days of the democratic insurrectionary struggles of the nobility.

The spontaneous fight of the Polish workers and peasants has demonstrated that the Stalinist autocracy can be beaten. The Polish opposition has a great responsibility in leading this resistance. It does not need to carry on an armed struggle; it will be enough to lead strikes and organize peasant resistance to Stalinist "collectivization." Not one ton of coal to Russia-not a bushel of grain for Russia! Such a policy must be directed toward the socialist revolution, which will mean also the national liberation of Po- + land, and not toward a capitalisty restoration subordinated to the interests of American imperialism.

Page Four

The **ISL** Program in Brief

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

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

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

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

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

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

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





SCIENTIFIC PROGRESS vs. 'LOYALTY'

By CARL DARTON

A research worker was recently overheard to complain that nothing was being printed in the technical and scientific journals these days because everyone was afraid to violate the government's security regulations. This is a bit of an overstatement but it does emphasize that even within our national boundaries there is great waste of scientific talent because of duplication and unshared discoveries. International science simply does not exist as a free living entity; it scavenges on its past, and its miserable parasitic present is crippled by fear of a handful of scientists doubling in espionage.

For every scientist turned spy, there are at least 10,000 whose loyalty has not been questioned. Unfortunately, though, there are by the same measure at least 100 scientists whose loyalty has been questioned entirely without justification. These people have been personally wronged and science and the nation is the loser. Most of these "poor security" cases do not make the headlines, for publicity would close the last inch of their opening to possible employment in the field of science.

A chemical engineer, working in an industry divorced from all military or security considerations, reports that an applicant for a job was refused simply on the basis of a firing from previous emloyment because the applicant's father had at one time been a member of the Communist Party. Thus do the sins of one generation descend upon the second and curse their handiwork.

Let us turn to another case as related by the engineering manager of an aircraft plant. He was angry at the refusal of the U.S. army to approve the hiring of a promising young British engineer. A year and a half ago the British subject, armed with the proper degrees and a fine record in the Royal Air Force, had first approached the company for employment. Because of one technicality, the application was referred to the army office for clearance.

The young man had been born in Czechoslovakia but had been raised in Ireland from the age of three by an uncle, had later moved to England and become a British subject. The army delayed its decision so long that the young man was forced to take a temporary position as a teacher. Six months later the army OK came through. After a year the Britisher again applied for employment. Playing a safe game, the engineering manager once more contacted the army

The Social Waste of the Witchhunt

This time an answer came back almost immediately: Do not hire the nan. He was born in a country now behind the Iron Curtain. His folks are dead. There is no record that either he or his uncle correspond with or ever have corresponded with anyone in Czechoslovakia. He is not sympathetic to Communist ideas but because of his national origins we cannot be sure of his future allegiance. Refuse him employment

We do not know if either of these young scientists has found a job in their chosen field. Perhaps they have found an employer who is not interested in political conformity of employees or their parents and is not interested in war contracts. More likely they are still unemployed or performing some unskilled tasks.

Individual scientists who are discriminated against because of their political ideas or associations simply make the best possible personal adjustments under given circumstances. These adjustments are seldom satisfactory to the scientist, science, or to society. At a large plant, one engineer works in isolation, in a small room away from hundreds of other engineering employees. He has done so for more than three years because he has never been cleared of "poor security risk" charges. He works in the solitary arena away from restricted areas, confidential information, and classified projects. Clearly no act of sabotage, disloyalty, or espionage is involved. He "guilty" only of being a democrat and a socialist.

An engineer working by himself is anomaly. Modern science, particularly of the applied type, is a cooperative effort. The individual performs specific and limited tasks. His work is based on that of others who preceded him and is used by those who come after. There must be constant consultation with other engineers who are currently working on other aspects of the same project. Picture, then, the waste of working in isolation; the delays in obtaining information, the absence of consultations, and the difficulty of isolating nonclassified tasks from work assignments that are almost 100 per cent classified and restricted.

One cannot draw a balance sheet of social waste for "loyalty program" has been responsible in the field of science. It certainly is not insignificant. A continuation of developing cases such as we have related cannot but harm science and the nation just as it has harmed the individuals concerned.



READING from LEFT to RIGHT

LABOR ACTION

AMERICAN NEGROES IN FRANCE, by Richard Wright.—The Crisis, June-July.

The famous American novelist, himself a voluntary "exile" in France-or rather a "refugee" from U. S. Jim Crow, writes of the more than 500 American Negroes living in France.

For the American Negro, France, perhaps the least racially-conscious country in the world. is a "land of refuge, the only spot on earth which allows him the chance to live in a normal human atmosphere . . . [a] humane civilization in which he is not coddled or singled out, but just simply 'left alone.' "

"With the advent of the Marshall Plan and the Atlantic Pact, the U.S. Negro has witnessed the spread and deepening of American influence in France. The constricting racial influences from which he had fled seem to be coming nearer to him across the Atlantic. For the first time

since he landed in France as a refugee visitor, the U.S. Negro'is asking himself: To what extent will some Frenchmen, eager to please Ameri-

cans, accept racial doctrines alien to French traditions and customs?" France's attitudes, he writes, are being modified under the pressure of "fear of America and

blocs." "With the advent of each new white American GI on French soil, the U.S. Negro feels that his immunity from American racism was that much less secure."

He cites such symptoms as: "White American tourists, laden with dollars and racist psychology, have forced a few French hotels to enforce racial prejudices for the first time in recent French history." as well as the no-Negroes-hired policy of U. S. firms in France, U. S. governmental agencies, the American Hospital in Paris. etc.

Readers Take the floor

further.

Why Did the Stalinists Choose Berlin for Their Youth Festival?

something to do with the fact that

rearmament has become the pri-

mary aim of American foreign

policy. Nothing bears this out

more eloquently than the mone-

tary allotments under the Mutual

Security Program, about to be

passed by Congress, of which a

bare 20 per cent are assigned to

nical assistance, the remainder

going for armaments, and which

such leading administration

spokesmen as Senator Connolly

have attempted to curtail still

In the process of securing the

militarily most favorable condi-

tions for rearmament and prepa-

ratory to creating advantageous

strategic positions, political ques-

tions, such as German unity, ques-

lution" would be utterly meaning-

less because of the inevitable de-

struction of their object in the

course of any war-such ques-

tions are either ignored or their

importance is belittled. Yet it is

the very failure to attempt a po-

litical solution of such questions.

which must speed the coming of

war, for it strengthens the hands

of the Stalinists, allows them to

enhance their power over the

peoples under their control, and

causes a deepening deterioration

in the relations of the peoples of

That the Stalinists should be

able to rally vast masses of youth

in Berlin, that they should be

able to elicit nearly fanatical

demonstrations of solidarity, is

significant of their growing hold

upon this youth. Granted that

various pressures were exerted to

East and West.

tions for which any military

onomic rehabilitation and tech-

To the Editor:

But-

The eye-witness report which you published in last week's LA (Aug. 27) on the Stalinist Youth Festival which took place in Berin during the first two weeks of this month, clearly reveals, implicitly and in tenor, and notwithstanding the anti-Stalinist convictions of the writer, that Stalinism has retained and enhanced its firm grip on great sectors of international youth.

In that sense the report is far more honest and useful than the dispatches to the daily press. These dispatches have dwelt, at much greater length and with more emphasis than is justifiable, on those aspects of the "Youth Festival" which indicated dissatisfaction of the participants with conditions in their homelands. sympathy with the West, preference for the higher standard of living in West Berlin, including television and ice cream sodas; and on the "tawdriness" of the "show," taking place as it did amid the ruins and rubble of the but partially rebuilt city.

Berlin, the supposed "show window of the West," has become the "show window of the East." The West Berlin authorities reported that over a million blue-shirted youth had come into their sector; which means that no serious efforts had been made by the East Berlin police to prevent such an influx. This may have been physically impossible; but it stresses the point that the Stalinists have no fear of the "negative" effects on "their" youth of a visit to the Western sectors: obviously the festival could have been held in some other city, located deeper behind the Iron Cur-

The Stalinists chose Berlin, they spent 300 million marks building sports and recreational facilities for the festival, and they made it an important political center in order to prove the firmness and dynamism of their organization to the West as well as to demonstrate to the Germans that they attach great importance to their former capital, which remains, despite the indifference and provincialism of the Bonn regime, the symbol of Germany's unity and nationhood.

The political motivations in the choice of Berlin have in no way been countered by political acts on the part of the West. When the U.S. High Commissioner in Germany, McCloy, availed himself to some 300 East German youth to answer whatever questions they wanted to ask, they were, to be sure, favorably impressed by the fact that a man in McCloy's position should condescend to talk to them on such an informal level. But then their most anxious queries related to rearmament, especially the pro-

jected remilitarization of Western Germany. And that this should be of such great importance to them has

among the youth.

peace go together.

"SO-

part of the Western powers.

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September 3, 1951



the dread of Russia," the two "nationalistic



assure participation; granted, too, that such rallies tend to affect all who participate in them by the near-religious frenzy into which they can be whipped by skilled hands. Granted further, that the social soil upon which the youth of Eastern Europe has grown is one utterly deficient in normal nourishment, eroded of traditions of socialism and democracy and deprived of the cultural institutions which, to a degree, at least, still anchor the youth of the West to ideas of individual self-determination and political freedom. All these factors contribute to the possibility of consolidation of Stalinism

Notwithstanding them, however, the Stalinists' appeal has been primarily expressed in the slogans of "peace" and "friend-ship," that is, it has used, and undoubtedly with a measure of success, the overweening fear of another war and the pervasive yearning for peaceful collaboration among nations, to strengthen its hold. The ruins of the once great German city, far from making the demonstrations and parades a "tawdry carnival," must have emphasized to the participants that reconstruction and

The Stalinists' appeal, then, is an eminently rational one; it cannot be answered merely by the most thorough-going analyses of their treacherous motivations, by the most justified accusations of totalitarianism and criminality. It can be answered only and alone by rigorous efforts to eliminate the threat of war, by positive economic and social policies on the

Eugene KELLER



The latest New Leader, which ordinarily takes little cognizance of youth, boasted last week that it had played a prominent role in stopping the Cominform Drive On Youth. It seems that the New Leader was the first to expose the forthcoming Youth Festival in Berlin and plans for sending an American delegation. As the indirect result of these revelations, it brags, "passports were denied U. S. Communist youths, the American delegation at East Berlin turned out to be pitifully small, and democracy scored a victory."

While a "victory for democracy" was being scored in Berlin through police action to inhibit the freedom of personal movement, another such "victory" for democracy was being won at Ithaca, New York, the scene of the first General Assembly of the World Assembly of Youth (WAY).

Here were assembled delegates to an organization which originally leveloped "in an attempt to answer the need for a representative body of free youth," as distinguished from the Stalinist-dominated International Union of Students. Unfortunately for such pretensions, there was little that was genuinely representative about the body.

Britain, for example, with its Labor-affiliated hostel and cooperative youth movements, was represented primarily by Tory and Liberal delegates. The French Union delegates were closelly controlled by the French, many of them being holders of official jobs in the colonies, and hence dependent upon official favor. The Asian delegates were almost all upper-class, some of them with personal servants, and of the Indian Congress Party variety.

WAY is ostensibly non-political because of the type of organizations which comprise it: Boy scouts, religious youth movements, social-service agencies, etc. The American delegation, for example, consisted of representatives from groups like the Amerian Youth Hostels, National Federation of Settlements, YMCA, YWCA, National Jewish Youth Conference, and the youth divisions of the National Catholic Welfare Conference and NAACP. The United World Federalists (Student Division) was the only group which in any way could be considered political.

The Students for Democratic Action, Student League for Industrial Democracy and other political groups were not represented inasmuch as they do not belong to the Young Adult Council of the National Social Welfare Assembly, a social-work clearing house which was recognized as the delegating body for the United States.

Conspicuous by their absence were the large social-democratic youth movements of Europe. Following a statement by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions expressing distrust of the real character of WAY, the International Falcon (social-democratic children's movement) had only recently disaffiliated.

Despite its non-political makeup, the WAY Conference was dominated by American State Department ideology. President Truman sent greetings. Secretary of State Acheson sent greetings. Assistant Secretary of State Barrett sent greetings. And that always-present Ambassador of Good Will, Eleanor Roosevelt herself, addressed a olenary session.

Whether or not the State Department extended material aid is roblematical. The entire conference was exceedingly luxurious for an organization which complains that it has difficulty in supporting a andful of functionaries and carrying on routine duties. The American-sponsoring Young Adult Council was reticent about explaining where it got the necessary \$200,000, implying that "most" of it had come from private donors. Whether or not the State Department had any direct hand in the financing, it certainly helped by promptly supplying visas to all the delegates, and permitting them to travel freely around the country in airplane trips during the conference.

As might be expected from a gathering of this kind, the sessions were not particularly exciting. Observers commented on the lack of "spirit of mission," and compared the gathering unfavorably (at least in this regard) with the simultaneous festival of youth in Stalinist Berlin.

The workshops and panels had been "carefully planned in advance" and the outcome was what might have been expected. By solemn vote the delegates decided to adopt the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights as the "guiding principle" of WAY. There was practically no discussion of the universal contravention of these principles by Britain, America and France.

A few exceptions only marred the calm proceedings. A delegate from India stated that WAY was a disappointment because it was ignoring the issues of peace, food, and health. A South American observer made a stirring denunciation of economic imperialism.

Using Bail as Punishment

President Truman has been going around making speeches in which he poses as a defender of basic rights and civil liberties in the country.

At the same time, his Department of Justice continues the roundup of the Stalinist leadership on charges of violation of the Smith Act, the strongest legislative blow freedom has received in this country for many a year.

But not only is the FBI going about diligently rounding up the Stalinists. A particularly vicious aspect of the roundup is the fantastic bail demanded in most cases, and the attempt by the federal attorneys to refuse bail raised through the only source through which bail for the Stalinists could be raised, the Stalinist front and fringe organizations.

Of course the Department of Justice has its excuse: the bail-jumping of four Staliniscs, and the fact that an additional four have evaded the FBI network. Yet this in no way justifies the excessive bail demanded by the government.

We are glad to see that in this situation the courts are at least curbing the department. In the case of the seven alleged Stalinist leaders arrested in Hawaii, bail was set at \$75,000 per person by United States Commissioner Harry Steiner. Federal Judge Delbert E. Metzger immediately reduced bail to \$5,000 on a writ of habeas corpus, commenting that "bail was never intended as a punishment."

And finally an English delegate moved to protest the restriction on travel imposed on prospective visitors to the Stalinist Peace Festival. After attempting to prevent the resolution from coming to the floor, the Assembly voted the motion, but substituted the words "Conferences of 1951" for the term "Berlin Peace Festival." A small minority of delegates voted against this compromise formulationthe only point of violent contention at the whole conference.

Considering its sponsorship, there was remarkably little verbal fireworks directed against "Communism." Rather, there was an attempt to create an atmosphere of constructive, forward-looking, serious-minded thinking marked by "maturity" (which at times came close to resembling intellectual senility.) Mrs. Roosevelt made as the central point of her talk the need for youth to really think about what they believed-truly a major contribution.

Yet all this moderation scarcely helped to publicize the aims of the conference. The press practically ignored it, while devoting columns to the Stalinist conference being held simultaneously.

And this was no accident, because the Stalinist rally, with all of its totalitarian and militarist overtones, nevertheless involved millions of youth, giving them a sense of participating in a truly international novement of dynamic power and mass character. Thus, it was a real collective experience and not merely a gathering of bureaucratically designated and select group of professional youth leaders.

If we were to venture a prediction, it would be that the outcome of Ithaca, insofar as it actually affects the lives of youth throughout the world, will be close to nil. For like many other ideas of State Department apologists, this too will fail because it carries no meaning terms of improving the conditions of youth which are presumably, the main interest of WAY. It cannot and hence will not do anything about improving conditions of health, recreation and literacy throughout the world.



(Continued from page 1)

his own testimony before the grand jury so that he could place the crucial answers and questions in their context for the trial jury. This was also condemned by the higher court.

HITS LIST

Perhaps the most significant part of the ruling was the court's attack on the attorney general's list' of subversive organizations as evidence in court. This section of the court's ruling we quote in full

"Over defense objection the prosecutor was permitted to make numerous references to the attorney general's list of subversive organizations during the defendint's cross-examination. This was error, for the list is a purely hearsay declaration of the attorney general, and could have no probative value in the trial of this defendant. It has no competency to prove the subversive character of the listed associations and. failing that, it could have no conceivable tendency to prove the defendant's alleged perjury even if it were shown that he belonged to some or all of the organizations listed."

It is gratifying to note that the notorious "subversive list" Of course, this does not prevent the government from continuing attack on civil liberties. to practise and encourage all manner of discrimination and deprivation of rights and privileges of individuals on the basis of this list.

We hardly need point out that none of the legal rights which court seeks to preserve to the accused individual in this ruling are accorded by the attorney general to organizations included or which are intended to be included on his list. No bill of particulars, no disclosure of source of information, no chance to cross-examine accusers or witnesses, no statement of grounds for inclusion, and no right to a public hearing or appeal are granted. The organizations are simply listed, their members or alleged members thrown out of government employment, hounded in industrial jobs, excluded from "sensitive" areas, denied passports, pilloried in print.

The Court of Appeals decision not only pointed the finger at this whole series of procedures through which the federal prose-

cutor sought to deny the defendant the information necessary to a proper conduct of his case, and in which he was sustained by the federal judge. It went out of its way to warn Saypol against his vicious court tactics.

SAYPOL WARNED

"We wish, however," the ruling states, "to admonish counsel for the prosecution that in case of a retrial there should be no repetition of the cross-examination attack upon defense witness Redmont's change of name. Redmont testified that he had changed his name for professional reasons and that he had done so pursuant to court order. On cross-examination the prosecutor continued his ine quiry of this matter long after its became clear that the change of name had no relevancy to any issue at the trial, and could only serve to arouse possible racial prejudice on the part of the jury.

All defenders of civil liberties will find this court ruling highly. gratifying. Every setback to the government's headlong attempt to create an atmosphere in which Stalinists, and after them other dissidents, can be railroaded to jail in a process in which their, democratic and legal rights are brushed aside gives the demohas no value as evidence in court. cratic forces in the country more. time in which to rally against the

> It gives them time, but that is all. As the recent decision of the, Supreme Court validating the Smith Act shows, the courts are not at all immune from the prevailing political winds which blog across the country. Unless this · time is used effectively, unless the labor movement and the other. democratic forces organize an allout attack on the whole witchhunt and the governmental and private organizations which are promoting it, this court decision will stand not as a milestone, in the defense of democracy, but rather only as a passing demur against its developing decay.

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LABOR ACTION

The Manufacture of **The Stalinist Bureaucracy**

By PAUL BARTON

Page Six

Among the measures taken behind the Iron Curtain, there are some which, seen from a distance, seem to coincide with the aspirations of socialists and leftists in general. The confusion sown in the minds of honest men by such facts has serious consequences. How can one deny a progressive and socialist character to the Stalinist regimes if they do in fact realize certain ideals of the authentic workers' movement? And if that is true, is not Stalinism the vanguard of the struggle of the exploited and oppressed, indeed of human progress?

The only way to see through a mirage is to analyze it.

To believe the official propaganda, the appointment of workers to managerial posts constitutes material proof that the working class has become the ruling class:

"In our industry the functions of management have already been put in the hands of the workers, who have taken over the posts formerly occupied by the capitalists and manufacturers. The bourgeoisie did not let the workers get to the levers of command; they did not permit them to acquire the necessary knowledge and qualifications. On the contrary, they killed their abilities and talents, condemning them to ignorance and eternal enslavement. But today the working class is the ruling class; it is building a new social order, liquidating the injustices which the bourgeoisie imposed for decades.... These gigantic tasks require thousands of new men, managers, engineers and technicians devoted unreservedly to the workers' cause and able to achieve these historic tasks with the tenacity and firmness characteristie of the working class." (Editorial in Rude Pravo, Nov. 17, 1950.)

The System of "Elevation"

Clearly we must find out if this assertion corresponds with reality. In any case it is rather strange to read if in an article which, by its very title, implies that the factory managers constitute a social layer superior to the workers, who are supposed to be the ruling class: the above-quoted editorial is in fact entitled "More Boldness in Elevating Workers to Managerial Posts!" The term "elevate" occurs in the text very often, as if its author feared that the proletariat would not take too seriously the declarations about its own rule. That would run the risk of leading them to demand the abolition of the social differences which separate them from the "comrades" charged with directorial functions. And that would be a serious matter.

The party organ insists on explicitly countering any misunderstanding which might be raised by its propaganda slogans:

"This plainly does not mean," it declares, "that it is right to replace and eliminate the former economic workers [sic!] and former technicians devoted to the regime of popular democracy who, since they feel a new attachment to their work, have shown themselves to be able, gifted and bold in accomplishing the tasks which the government and party give them." (Ibid.)

3. The old ruling cadres of capitalist industry are then maintained, provided that in exploiting labor in the nationalized enterprises of today they show the same "ability, talent and boldness" as they did in the private factories vesterday. Better still: it is their job to train the directors who are selected out of the workers. This is what the president of the republic pointed out in this regard in his speech to the Central Committee last February 22:

"We ask our older intelligentsia to pay attention to the professional training of the new cadres and to regard the latter as worthy continuators of their own work." (Rude Pravo, Feb. 25, 1951.)

The Old Managers Stay

Besides, the number of workers promoted is a good deal lower than one might think from reading the blurb quoted at the beginning of this article. Rude Pravo's editorial on the subject itself admits that, for example, in the heavy mechanical construction industry only 18 per cent of the directors' posts are filled with men "elevated" from the wage workers. True, it also claims that the proportion of the latter among the directors in the leather and rubber sector has gone up to 70 per cent, but even a quick look at the factories in this sector shows that this is a lie pure and simple. And since the only supplementary training which the "elevated" workers get is a one-year course devoted mostly to their indoctrination, in "Leninism-Stalinism," it is not difficult to guess that the leather and rubber industry would be ruined in short order if more than two-thirds of the strategic levers of command were entrusted to directors of this kind.

To appreciate the meaning of the "elevation" correctly, it is plainly not enough to establish the number of those "elevated." It is also necessary to examine the kind of functions which the state-boss hands over to them.

Here too the above-quoted editorial of the CP organ gives us conclusive data:

"Of the 600 workers elevated to central management, only 19 are section heads, and 36 are bureau heads." (Rude Pravo, Nov. 17, 1950.)

And even where the "elevated" worker has gotten a directorial post properly so called, his role is usually that of a figurehead, if not window dressing. This is in fact what we hear from Gustav Kliment, the minister of industry, about heads of enterprises who have come out of the proletariat:

"Experience shows that the working-class directors pass the test and are worthy of the responsibilities and importance of the tasks which we have entrusted to them. The appointment of directors of working-class origin is not always without difficulties. . . . There were even cases where the director who had supervised the enterprise up to then asked to be transferred to a new post since he could not see himself serving under the orders of a worker director. But he was convinced and kept his post when it was explained to him that, through the appointment of a worker-director, he would be free to take care of the job of being chief of production and head engineer, and that he would thus be able to devote himself completely to the problems of production.' (Prace, Nov. 12, 1950.)

"The appointment of a worker-director to the head of an enterprise has given this substantial advantage: that the engineer who is joint director of the enterprise is freed of the necessity of dealing with different groups and can devote himself entirely to the tasks of production." (Prace, Dec. 6, 1950.)

The More Things Change

It follows that the relations between a factory head who has been "elevated" from the workers' ranks and the traditional manager who is in control jointly with him shapes up along the same lines as the relation which existed before nationalization between the private owner (whether individual or collective) and the very same manager. The latter, afterward as before, remains the only one who controls the working of the enterprise from every point of view. The former has the limited role of representing it before various groups.

To be sure, the manager must give up his title as general director in favor of the promoted worker, but that is only a matter of formalities. In any case it would be a gross exaggeration to consider this a demotion, since it puts no obstacles before the exercise of his real powers. It appears, furthermore, from the already quoted declaration of the minister of industry that the real managers understood all this very quickly.

If the "elevation" of the workers does not hurt the social position of the real managers in the immediate sense, it does not threaten them in the future either. Once the workers-turned-directors get the privileges and other material and social advantages previously accorded to the managers of the old school, there is no reason to look for the germ of a future dissolution of this caste status in their further development. Decidedly, the wish to transform the management system in the factories does not figure in the framework of the Stalinist regime. The social structure in the factories, the social relations established within them, remains the same after nationalization as before. Any contrary claim belongs only to the sphere of propaganda. .

But then, what is the real meaning of the "elevation"? To answer this, we must give closer examination to the way in which the procedure is applied.

Screening for Judas-Goats

Naturally, it would be very naive to believe that a worker's promotion is simply determined by his intelligence, perspicacity and personal talents. The official press eaves no doubt on this score:

"What are the criteria before men are elevated to responsible posts? We look to see to what extent they are politically trustworthy and to what extent they have the qualifications, or rather the possibility, for developing. . . . As far as concerns the determination of his political trustworthiness, we have already more or less learned how to do that: but as concerns finding a man with talent which can be developed with our help, that is an art which we still have to learn." (Rude Pravo, Nov. 17, 1950.)

A worker who is politically trustworthy in the eyes of a regime which is constantly at odds with the wage workers-it is clear what that means. And we have seen that, by the admission of Rude Pravo, this qualification is not only the first but in effect the only one which is taken into account. And let us not be satisfied with the still rather vague formula about "politically trustworthy workers"; a few lines later, the party organ states clearly that the worker-directors must be preferably chosen from among the "shock workers, pioneers in new socialist forms of labor."

The organ of the Ministry of Industry is still more explicit on this subject:

"For the schools we must select the most developed among the shock workers, both men and women, the innovators in production, the heads of labor teams, the inspirers of socialist competition and the heads of shock

The following exceedingly interesting article is translated from the periodical published in Paris on conditions in Czechoslovakia, the July-August issue of Masses-Information: Recueil Mensuel de Textes et de Documents, which is indeed required reading for anyone interested in new Stalinist regimes of Eastern Europe.

Although the material in the present article by Paul Barton is based on Czechoslovakia, its interest lies in its general applicability to all the Stalinist regimes and their system. The study of the new Stalinist bureaucratic class, its origins, development and operation, is of vital importance for understanding the new social phenomena behind the Iron Curtain.-Ed.

groups; next, the comrades with talent and the necessary ability to administer and direct our factories independently." (Ceskoslovensky Prumysl, Feb. 1950.)

In other words, the "elevatees" are chosen among those workers who have distinguished themselves in the eyes of the regime by breaking solidarity with their own comrades. There is nothing surprising about that. They thereby showed themselves to be precious allies of the managers even before being elevated to the heights enjoyed by the latter.

We must make clear, however, that the worker-directors do not make up the only category of the economic bureaucracy which comes out of the ranks of the shock workers. The Stakhanovists are another. These have also been "elevated" from the wage workers. But they differ from the former in that, after as before their promotion, they must carry on their activity among the workers. While the worker-directors move into the offices, the Stakhanovists constitute a kind of agency of the bureaucracy in the very midst of the working class.

It is, however, still too soon to judge whether the two kinds of "elevated" workers constitute two coordinate categories of parvenus or whether they rather represent two different stages in the career of the same individual. For the day-to-day task assigned to the Stakhanovist of playing the role of judas-goat, hated by the workers around him, is plainly a much harder one than that of the workerdirector. It may be, then-even if only in the future when the system will be definitely worked out-that the directorial posts will not be given to workers "elevated" directly but to used-up Stakhanovists.

Care and Feeding of Bureaucrats

By thus encouraging those who break the workers' solidarity, the appointment of workers to directorial functions is designed to demoralize the workers and weaken the cohesion which they show as a social class. This result is not at all accidental. It is in fact the deliberate objective of the whole operation; it is intended to lure the worker with the idea that he need only rely on his zeal and devotion to the regime to emancipate himself from the unenviable position of the proletariat.

The conclusion which follows, without having to be openly formulated in the official propaganda, is: It is treason to the workers' solidarity which pays off.

To impress this lesson on the workers, the regime does not limit itself to "elevating" one of their comrades but continually keeps their eyes fixed on the vicissitudes of the latter's rise in the world-enviously, they hope:

"If we give a good job to one of the workers elevated from a factory," states the CP organ, "their former shopmates are proud of them. In the Soviet Union the organizations in the enterprise keep detailed lists to record where and to what important posts their former members have risen; they maintain contact with them in their new posts and invite them to reunions, either to eulogize them when they score successes or to criticize them when they fall down." (Rude Pravo, Nov. 17, 1950.)

The selection of the candidate is of course only the first step of the "elevation." Before going to his directorial post, the candidate for elevation must go through a serious course of training. In this connection, following the 9th Congress of the CP which met May 1949, the Ministry of Industry established "Central Workers' Schools," organized by branches of industry: one for the Kladno steel works, one for the Stare Hamry mines, one for the Bychory chemical plants, one for the heavy mechanical construction industry at Polebrady, one for textile at Nachod. etc.

Examining the program of these schools, surprises await us at every turn. First of all, there is the length of the course. One might think that it would take several years to turn out a director who can take his place at the head of a big enterprise. The Central Workers' Schools are able to do this in a single year! And if so, one might expect that the schools are highly specialized according to industry and concentrate strictly on technical education, accounting problems, administration and organization of the enterprise, production technique, etc. In actual fact, the contrary is true: (1) The program

of all the Central Workers' Schools is the same, even (Continued bottom of next page)

New York, \$5. By GORDON HASKELL

ment of capitalist society. which the Marxists have pre-

dicted. C. Wright Mills has performed a real service in taking up this new middle class and making a thorough sociological, economic and political analysis of it. White Collar, like Mills' previ-

The Manufacture of the Stalinist Bureaucracy — —

down to some details; (2) the education given in them is devoted only in part to technical problems in order to be devoted more to the political training of the candidates: (3) the political part of the course is considered more important than the technical part. Here in fact is what the Ministry of Industry's organ says:

"The program was drawn up by the Ministry of Industry for all the Central Workers Schools, taking into account the special purpose of the latter in their different sectors. . . . The political part of the program is made up of political economy, dialectical and historical materialism, education on popular democracy in Czechoslovakia and in the USSR, the land of socialism, Czech history and history of the working-class movement. The courses take up the CP of Czechoslovakia as a party of a new type and the struggle of the two camps. This part comprises everything that a director active in the socialist economic system must know in order that the enterprise may achieve its allotted mission in the building of socialism.

"The economic part of the program is divided into the technology of production from the raw material to the finished product; planning from the point of view of the whole state as well as of that of the branch of Dindustry and the single enterprise; a detailed course on planning in the factory, the economics of the enterprise, accounting and various supplementary lectures. This technical part is to provide the students with everything they need to be on top of all their tasks." (Ceskoslovensky Prumysl, May 1950.)

Caste-Consciousness

It is by no means accidental that the political part is dealt with here before the technical part. It is simply due to the fact that it is considered most important: With the same order of priority of ideas, the same organ also states:

"Much depends on the personality of the political director . . . Great responsibility also falls on the shoulders of the technical director." (Ibid., June 1950.) "The technical director of the school constitutes an indispensable supplement to the political director." (Ibid., May 1950.)

We must note furthermore that the political part of the program does not aim only to stuff the candidate's head but also to transform him into a qualified propagandist. This can be seen from the following report on the program of the Central Workers School in the heavy mechanical construction industry:

"In the morning, a quarter hour of physical culture ,

is followed by an information course on politics, culture and sports, prepared for the different groups. We have included this information in the program in order to perfect them in the art of lecturing." (Ibid., July-Aug. 1950.)

"At the school," declare the internes of the Central Workers' School for the mines, "the student undergoes a series of influences. It is especially a matter of the great

September 3, 1951

BOOKS and ideas Mills' New Study--White Collars and the Middle Class

WHITE COLLAR, By C. Wright Mills - Oxford University Press,

The rise of the "new middle

class," the white collar workers, professionals, technicians and managers, has been pointed to repeatedly as a refutation of the Marxist analysis of the develop-

The Marxists have predicted,'so the argument goes, that capitalist society would develop in such a way that the middle class is wiped out and all that is left is a vast propertyless working class on the one hand and a tiny group of powerful capitalists on the other. But instead, we find a growing "new middle class" which holds a position between the capitalists and the proletarians and which thus prevents the development of the kind of sharp class struggle

ous book The New Men of Power. is lively and readable, and also like it, seeks to place the group he is investigating in the broad picture of the development of our society.

BEING TRANSFORMED

The book starts out with an analysis of the decline of the old middle class, the small capitalists of farm and city: He goes into the question of what role this class still plays in our society, and concludes that its future is definitely behind it.

He then takes up the new middle class, and shows its tremendous numerical increase in the past 80 years. Side by side with the industrialization of American society has grown a great army of technicians and office workers who perform the million and one jobs of servicing, supervising and coordinating the new technology. Mills finds, however, that this new group in society has itself been affected by the economic concentration and bureaucratic harden-

ing which has accompanied the technological development. The white-collar skills are being broken

machinery and by the replacement of highly trained professionals by to play? technicians. Even the upper levels of business management are being transformed into bureaucracies in which the big men hold their positions as links in a chain of command rather than as individuals who gain their power through their relatively independent command over large amounts of capi-

The men at the top of the new industrial and commercial bureaucracies remain, in Mills' opinon, representatives of the capitalist class. He decidedly rejects the idea that they have an independent social role and can form a social ideology as a new ruling class, replacing the capitalists.

And at the bottom, the vast majority of the white-collar people have incomes like those of other workers, tend to have little more education than these, and, as time goes by, skills which are closer to those of semi-skilled workers in industry than to those of any other group.

NEED A LEAD

But what about their ideology? down by the introduction of office What political role are they play-

ing, or what role are they likely

The white-collar people are not a separate group which can have a separate ideology. They will follow, politically, whichever section of society seems strongest. If the industrial workers with their vast organizations do not set out on a political road of their own and give the vast mass of the whitecollar people powerful leadership, these will continue to flounder in political passivity, which means to follow this or that group of capitalist politicians.

This is a very bare skeleton of the book itself, which deserves a careful reading by every person interested in what is happening to our society, and particularly by every socialist. Mills has some criticisms of the Marxist approach, to be sure. But his book will give no comfort to those who have been claiming that the rise of the new middle class "disproves Marxism."

[A more extensive review of C. Wright Mills' White Collar will appear in the September-October issue of The New International. -Ed

WDL SECRETARY TO LECTURE FOR **NEW YORK FORUM**

Page Seveni

The effects of the "loyalty" and "screening" program on democratic rights in the United States will be outlined by Rowland Watts, secretary of the Workers Defense League, at the Labor Action Forum on Thursday, September 6. Mr. Watts, who has been active in support of individuals and groups victimized by the administration's program, will report on his experiences in handling such cases and will summarize the most recent and outstanding incidents.

The Workers Defense League, an organization of liberals devoted to the defense of democratic rights, filed a brief recently in support of the protests of the Independent Socialist League against its inclusion on the attorney general's "subversive" list.

The forum, which will be held at 114 West 14 Street is the concluding meeting in the ISL summer series.

You're Invited

to speak your mind in the letter column of L.A. Our policy is to publish letters of general political interest, regardless of views. Keep them to 500 words.

(Continued from page 6)

"We are oriented toward the future mission of the participants and that is why we give more weight to their qualities as organizers and their ideological conceptions than their capacity to absorb a maximum or learned material." (Ibid.)

But the training of the worker-directors is not limited to the education proper which is given in the courses. The Central Workers Schools are organized as interneships. As a result the "elevatees" are removed for a year from the influence of their habitual milieu. Still further: because of the interneship system, it is expected that a new kind of solidarity will spring up among the future worker-directors, or what is the same thing, a caste-consciousness.

importance of a community which shapes the personality of the student during the whole term at school. Thus an important role falls to the work of the CP organization at the school, of the administration and of the administrative organs elected by the internes themselves." (Ceskoslovensky Prumysl, June 1950.)

"Much depends on the personality of the political director. He must unceasingly watch to see that the comrades keep and intensify their enthusiasm for work and that they take their responsibility more and more seriously before the workers of our country and the whole world. They must be concerned with strengthening their character, reinforcing their community spirit and their mutual trust." (Ibid.)

The regime, then, is not merely content with selecting the candidates among those workers who distinguish themselves by their lack of solidarity with the other workers. They also have to neutralize the smallest traces of such solidarity which, though dormant, might still remain in their consciences: the new solidarity, the solidarity of the "elevatees," must take its place. What a school for parvenus, this training school for workerdirectors!

New Methods for Old

But why all these precautions? Why isn't the regime satisfied to select the candidates for promotion among the ambitious characters who lack any sense of workers' solidarity? Why does it insist on taking what may at first seem to be excessive precautions for ensuring their future loyalty by inspiring them with virtues which they already possess in abundance-political devotion and the hatred of the workers? Are these precautions justified by the role which they are to play once they are in their directorial posts? In other words: is their future role of such kind that it threatens to reawake in their breasts a working-class conscience which has been so long repressed?

We have seen that in relation to the managers of the old school, the role of the worker-directors is rather that of a figurehead or even a decoration. And that is incontestably true from the point of view of production. But to keep a plant producing, it is not enough for the management to solve the technical, organization and trade problems. It is also necessary that the workers submit to working under the conditions of the given factory.

Here the interests of the workers and of the factory management are clearly opposed to each other: the former have every interest in getting the most wages for a minimum expenditure of labor; the latter on the other hand have to expend the least money for the maximum amount of labor. In the course of its own development, capitalism has evolved and gradually perfected a whole system of methods to solve this contradiction, and to solve it without provoking crises of a scope which might endanger the structure of the social system itself. To get an idea of the progress on this score that it has made, it is enough to compare the anti-labor laws of the first period of modern industry with the recent legislation on collective contracts, strikes, labor exchanges, etc.

This whole system lies in ruins in present-day Czechoslovakia. It is necessary to seek other means of getting the same results. Therefore it is, for example, that the cop's billy has replaced collective contracts as instrument for the regulation of labor conflicts.

Need one be surprised if the managers of the old school show a certain unskillfulness in using the new methods? Here in fact is how the managers, their foremen and time-study men are most often criticized:

(1) They show insufficient firmness when it comes to resorting to police repression against the workers' tendencies. Thus, for example, after violently denouncing the laziness of the workers in one of the plants of the Skoda works, Prime Minister Zapotocky reproaches the directors

with failing to attack it with enough vigor and declares that it was necessary to deport the slothful workers to a forced-labor camp (Prace, April 14, 1951).

(2) The directors and the foremen also showed themselves to be too timid in the face of pressure from workers' demands. The official press never stops making the criticism that instead of following the government's assignments, they follow a "popular" policy.

(3) The directors and plant supervisory personnel of the old school apply the anti-labor measures in too bureaucratic a manner, using circulars instead of facing the worker in person and softening his resistance by, demagogic means or (to use the official term) persuasion.

The directors promoted from the workers' ranks get the job of remedying these weaknesses of the economic bureaucracy. On the one hand, backed up by their devotion to the Stalinist regime and by their economic and technical incompetence, they must keep an eye on the oldschool managers and force their hand whenever the official assignments seem unrealizable to a specialist, On the other hand, emboldened by their own proletarian past, they must directly confront lagging workers in cases where a "bourgeois" manager would prudently prefer not to leave his office and work only through circulars.

"Formerly," reports the party organ about a mine in the Moravska Ostrava basin, "there was a problem here when the workers either had to work overtime (because of non-fulfillment of the plan for digging per day) or eave the pits and let the director worry about the digging. But as soon as a new director came in, an old pit miner named Hlubina, everything changed. He had no hesitation about bringing them up to his office, and immediately 'Well, fellows, why haven't you gotten the job done? What's the trouble?" " (Rude Pravo, Dec. 12, 1950s)

The appointment of workers to directorial posts is, then, designed not only to weaken the working class, as we saw in examining the way in which the candidates are selected, but also to strengthen the bureaucracy, as we have just seen. The rather vague formula of the Ministry of Industry-the worker-directors are supposed to "deal. with different groups"-is considerably concretized by a closer examination. The "different groups" are, in the first place, the workers; and to "deal" with them in the style of the "elevatees" means to terrorize them and stuff their heads. It is easier to understand now why the regime takes so many precautions before finally assigning a directorial post to an "elevated" worker. It is because the latter must become not only a simple parvenu but still more a regular janissary.

The Czech worker has a trade-union past going back several generations. Therefore he quickly understood the danger that the institution of worker-directors represented for the defense of his own interests. And he reacted here and there by figuring out some "elevations" of a slightly different kind, according to his own taste:

"The correct idea that the shock workers, as pioneers in new socialist forms of labor, must be elevated is sometimes discredited, since these shock workers are transformed simply into non-manual workers. Thus, a girl who had set out to work as a shock worker in an enterprise in Slovakia was sent into a school course for the training of midwives." (Ibid., Nov. 17, 1950.)

This case, which is not unique, proves not only that the totalitarian regime has not succeeding in killing the trade-unionists' sense of humor but also that the latter sometimes succeed in solving an apparently insoluble problem: on the one hand, they want to rid the plant as soon as possible of the shock workers, whose performances worsen labor conditions for the other workers; on the other hand, they naturally do not want to see the Stakhanovists take on a director's power. So they gave the ambitious girl a chance for a harmless "elevation" as a midwife, she could satisfy her urge to surpass the norms of production!



India Speaks Up for Asians

ment says that it can just as well voice its one hour of opinion on the treaty from New Delhi; and this is exactly what it has done.

The nations whose governments oppose the terms of the treaty are, of course, taking their lives in their hands when they make it public. The reaction of American officialdom and the press has been, as might be expected, sharp-to the point of frothing. It is immediately suggested that any and all opposition to the treaty is playing into the hands of the Russians, who oppose it. The Dutch Washington's use of Japan representative, for example, expressed the fear of many that a pro-Russian label will be fastened That Nehru can speak so on him if he speaks up. "On the one hand the draft is unacceptable [to the Dutch] on three points; on the other hand, the Netherlands wishes to avoid being classed with the Soviet Union Indian parliament are also an and its satellites as obstructionists.'

OLD DEVICE

All powers which object to any aspect of American foreign policy face this risk. The New York Times-which hews closely to the State Department line on most international questions - writes that India, by taking the position will be accepted to the treaty, has, it has, "has, perhaps [sic] quite unwillingly or unwittingly, given more ammunition to the Soviet delegation if it attempts as is expected, to impede, and possibly sabotage, the treaty signing."

This is an old and familiar deof speaking time allotted to each vice which the State Department nation. But the Indian govern- has used to force the weaker na-

tions in the Western bloc into line. ". . . there can never be united action for peace," the State Department told the Indians, "unless the nations are willing to accept what, to each, may seem imperfections." The guestion may well be asked as to precisely what serious "imperfections" the United States has accepted for the sake of unity on this matter.

The New York Times, in an editorial, proclaims that the aim of the peace treaty is "peace in the Far East." Yet it can write that "India's approval for the terms of peace with Japan is, of course, not essential. Indeed, it might even be suggested that since the Congress Party, now in control in India, objected to waging a war against Japan and sought to obstruct it with a giant civil-disobedience movement in 1942, India's attitude toward making a peace is somewhat irrelevant." In other words, the question of a settlement in the Far East is "irrelevant" to a government in the Far East which represents 350 million people . . . because of the refusal of that government to sacrifice its independence movement to the second World War.

SLOT-MACHINE PACTS

But the conference plans steam ahead full-speed. The program of events is mapped out with a view to signing the maximum number of treaties in the minimum number of days, belt-line fashion.

August 30: Signing of Philippine - American mutual - defense

Sept. 1: Signing of an Australian-New Zealand-American defense pact.

Sept. 4: Opening of the Japanese peace conference. Sept. 5: Election of conference

president; U. S. and Britain explain treaty to the delegates. Sept. 6-7: Series of statements

on the treaties by the various delegates. Sept. 8: Signing of the Japa-

nese treaty. Sept. 9 or 10: Japanese-American security pact to be signed, providing for retention of U.S.

troops and bases in Japan. And thus the Far Eastern problem will be "settled."

After All We Did for Him . . .



"The tragedy of India's Prime Minister Nehru is his dark suspicion of the West. Perhaps because of his long suffering in the struggle with Great Britain, including 18 years in British jails, he seems always ready to believe the worst about the West....' -Marquis Childs.

"We have good grounds for our impatience with Nehru's stand on the treaty. Item one: We have helped the Indian people with our wheat shipments, and here they are biting the hand that has fed them. . . . "-Max Lerner (who thereupon presents his own reasons for justifying Nehru's stand in spite of the above serious difficulty).

New Tax Steal for the Rich

pay about 60 per cent of the income-tax increase. While the 80 per cent with incomes under \$5000 who receive about 55 per cent of personal income will have to pay 40 per cent of the increased

GIFT FOR FAT BOYS

taxes.

tions.

tions.

The House bill had similar provisions where the groups with in-

comes over \$5000 would pay 62 per cent of the increase. But since the total amount to be raised was to be higher, the lower groups would have to pay more. The Senate committee, in deal-

ing with the corporation-tax features of the bill, appeared hellbent on easing the burden as much as possible on the corpora-

• It eliminated a House provision that would prevent chain stores from claiming multiple deductions on the basis of individual stores. It allowed corporations to jugigle assets to obtain tax deduc-

• It kept the present excess-profover \$600 million.

• It is considering the taxation *of cooperatives and mutual banks. This has been a target of big-busimess agitation for many years. The result of these proposals

der the House figure of about \$3 billion.

Still to be considered is the excise (sales) tax. In all likelihood, neither the House nor the Senate will give Truman the \$3 billion he has asked for in sales tax. But this is hardly out of any consideration for the low income groups.

NEW TAXES AHEAD

Congressional leaders on financial matters have long ago announced that, with the next round

of tax increases, a sales tax would be the prime source of additional revenue. It is not unlikely that the reason for their refusal to include it in this tax bill is that it is being saved for the next one. That there will be new tax bills in the near future is not in doubt. The report of the Council of Economic Advisors arguing for the present tax bill stated:

"With federal expenditures for the fiscal year 1953 expected to total between 80 and 90 billion dollars, compared to the fiscal year 1952 estimate of 68 billion, an even larger deficit rate is indicated for that year.

"As was emphasized when the \$10 billion program was first presented, it is a minimum program which, if speedily enacted, would meet the immediate revenue needs." (Our emphasis.)

And these new proposals by the Truman administration will also call for larger excise taxes. The report of the CEA states the justification from the point of view of the Fair Deal: it will serve as an anti-inflationary devise. And this is the same argument that the Congressional reactionaries and the NAM have used.

WHERE ARE OUR "FRIENDS"?

- In the August issue of the Its tax and deductions credit at UAW's Ammunition, there is an 85 per cent before payments begin attack upon the NAM for its This one saves the corporations - sales-tax proposals, but nowhere is there a mention that the Fair Deal has already expressed its fundamental agreement with the NAM on this issue. It is also pointed out that in 1948, the 20 per cent of families with incomes

was to decrease the tax boost on under \$2000 a year paid an avcome on sales taxes, federal, state and local.

One may justly ask: while the Senate reactionaries led by Senators George and Milikin were busy protecting the interest of the corporations and placing the load on those least able to pay, where were the Fair Deal senators? The fight over the "control" bill was marked by a conspicuous lack of

Where were Lehman, Humphreys corporations by \$760 million un- erage of 10 per cent of their in- and Douglas? Or the Senate Democratic Party leaders? Nowhere to be found—not even a word or a statement denouncing this assault upon the pockets of the working people.

Nor did the labor leaders put up anything approaching their fight over the "controls" bill. How could they really launch into an attack upon the tax hikers in Congress when Truman and the Fair leadership from those staunch de- Deal has gone them one better in fenders of the underprivileged. asking for stiffer taxes? How of the American working people.

could they support Truman's reouest for a high sales tax when they know that it will have to be paid by the rank and file?

This tax bill and the subsequent ones to come are just as much a part of the Fair Deal controls program as was the Defense Production Act. As long as the labor movement remains, by and large tied to the apron strings of the Fair Deal it means that they are giving support to those who are undermining the living standards

Voices from East Germany: 'War, Even Victory, Will Be a Defeat!'

dispatch from Bonn in Western the refugees from Eastern Germany think and say.

reports in the same paper and the rest of the press about the festival in Berlin and the "longing" of the East German wouth to get to the fleshpots of the West, the quotation from the refugee repair and that secret police are is an accurate reflection. The same speaker said:

"Those devils have our young people . . . we admire American optimism, but it will take more than some ice cream and a talk with Mr. McCley IU. S. high commissioner in Germany] to break the Russian hold on them."

The leader of the German So-

improvements in the Western sec tors. The people of East Germany know all about that, but see no "hope and faith" in the West. which offers them only "liberation" in a Third World War, in the last analysis.

And war, even victory in war for the United States, will be a

"defeat" for us, says the refugee. Another is quoted: "Almost all adults in East Germany realize that the system imposed on us by Communists is harsh, cruel and inefficient. We know better than your propagandists that there is not enough to eat, that buildings are tumbling down from lack of everywhere. We know all that. What we want is some real hope for the future."

WITHOUT WAR!

The refugees deplore "the lack of any dynamic alternative offered by the West. 'Show us, prove to us how Western philosophy will conquer in the end without war,' they said."

The dispatch emphasizes that the refugees quoted are far from a movement directed against both State Department's propaganda ists, not radicals. Their senti- for the world.

"No alternative is being offered line has been almost exclusively ments are common to the whole

What they ask of American capi talism and the Western bloc is what the latter cannot give. They have no dynamic alternative to Stalinism. They can only preach the virtues of capitalism, when they find tongue to preach anything; and their idea of doing even that is to point to full shop windows in Western Germany.

The people behind the Iron Curtain hate the totalitarian regime. but do not look on a return to the old system of capitalism as a perspective which offers them "hope and faith," especially when the West makes clear that even this road backward must pass through the fires of war. What they are asking for is a political appeal to the peoples under Stalinism which can fire them to fight their masters-to fight for something positive, by which they mean a new and sane societyand not merely to go through another war to save democracy.

The report quoted, in the groping language of the refugees, gives the basis for the independent socialist conviction that only been criticizing U. S. propaganda the socialists in their political capitalism and Stalinism and as lacking "real arguments." The viewpoints. They are not social- their wars offers a road forward

by you in the West. It is not concerned with the evils of the people. enough to tell us the Russians or Stalinist regime and the material Communists are bad. Give us some sign that democracy will defeat them in the end. I do not mean by war. Even if you win for us, war is a defeat."

This, reports a N. Y. Times Germany (August 26) is what

As a change from the recent "failure" of the Stalinist youth

cial-Democrats, Kurt Schumacher, the dispatch points out, has